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The first waves of a rising tide: the early history of Youth With A Mission, 1956 – 1970

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

Dissertation

**THE FIRST WAVES OF A RISING TIDE:
THE EARLY HISTORY OF YOUTH WITH A MISSION, 1956–1970**

by

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M.A., Fuller Theological Seminary, 2017
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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the founding generation of YWAM.

To the women and men, old and young, who believed that young people were essential in the global work of God's mission and acted on that belief – this history is your story. Thank you for sharing it.

To the pioneers and risk-takers who in your bold faith, youthful innocence, and willingness to fail created new opportunities and avenues for global mission, intercultural friendship, and ecumenical collaboration – this history is your legacy. May you be honored by it.

To the world's diverse, interconnected, and global pentecostal, charismatic, evangelical, and interdenominational families, churches, and youth groups who supported, or in the least allowed your young people to follow their YWAM wanderings – this history is our story. May we learn well from it.

~ Psalm 107: 43 (NLT)

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**THE FIRST WAVES OF A RISING TIDE:
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation reconstructs the founding history and early development of the modern global mission organization, Youth With A Mission (YWAM). YWAM emerged as one of many evangelical mission organizations in post-war North America that rapidly spread around the world. As a continuation of revivalist pentecostalism, YWAM sparked a global youth mission movement that mobilized and sent untrained young people as evangelists and missionaries across the street and across the world. Outside of North America, YWAM spread through networks of pentecostal missionaries, historic evangelical mission agencies, established Protestant denominations, and indigenous churches. Through its involvement in global religious networks, YWAM connected interdenominational and international volunteers with an expanding missionary vision that was, by 1970, active on every inhabited continent. YWAM constructed and catalyzed a distinct form of pentecostal-charismatic world Christianity: it pioneered new mission models, adapted evangelism methods in diverse cultures, and partnered with global churches.

Founded and developed into a global movement during a historic period known as the long 1960s, YWAM reflected wider social and religious trends in the West and

around the world. This dissertation explores YWAM's continuities, discontinuities, and relationship with revivalist pentecostalism, entrepreneurial evangelicalism, the Charismatic Renewal, world Christianity, youth counter culture, and women's movements. YWAM expanded because it both continued the past and innovated in dialogue with the youth culture of the day.

To date, little research has been done on YWAM and other decentralized world Christian mission movements like it – a surprising fact given the extent of YWAM's influence on mission history and world Christianity in the modern period. This dissertation recovers and explores the actors, events, and factors involved in YWAM's early years. It constructs the chronological narrative of YWAM's complex, transnational social and religious history. The research relies upon a range of archival sources, popular literature, biographies, and oral history interviews that collectively uncover the often-obscure details of the founding generation's experiences, memories, and recollections. The dissertation represents a first step in the work to recover and chronicle YWAM's complete history.

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List of Abbreviations

ATW	Around-the-World Team
AG	Assemblies of God
BBC	Bethany Bible College
CICCU	Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union
CAM	Central American Mission
CBC	Central Bible College
CBI	Central Bible Institute, later renamed CBC, later renamed Evangel
C.A.	Christ's Ambassadors
DFM	Department of Foreign Missions
FEBC	Far East Broadcasting Company
FGBMFI	Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship
IVCF	Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship
LMS	London Missionary Society
MAF	Mission Aviation Fellowship
OM	Operation Mobilization
OUBU	Oxford University Bible Union
PAOC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada
SCC	Southern California College (later renamed Vanguard)
SCM	Student Christian Movement
SFMF	Student Foreign Mission Fellowship
SVM	Student Volunteer Movement

SOS	Summer of Service
STM	Short-term Mission
WSCF	World Student Christian Federation
VV	Vocational Volunteer
YL	Young Life
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
YFC	Youth for Christ
YWAM	Youth With A Mission

Chapter 1: Introduction

Suddenly, I was looking at a map of the world. Only the map was alive, moving! I sat up. I shook my head, rubbed my eyes. It was a mental movie. I could see all the continents. Waves were crashing onto their shores. Each went onto a continent, then receded, then came up further until it covered the continent completely. I caught my breath. Then, as I watched, the scene changed. The waves became young people – kids my age and even younger – covering the continents. They were talking to people on street corners and outside bars. They were going from house to house. They were preaching.¹

It was the summer of 1956. The King's Magnifiers, a gospel quartet from Central Bible College in Springfield, Missouri, had journeyed to Nassau, Bahamas on a singing tour. Hosted by the local Assemblies of God missionary, Reverend John Wilkerson, the quartet – Ernie Wood, Dave Scott, Loren Cunningham, and Warren Flattery – sang in churches and spent time with the missionaries and pastors.² One evening, Loren Cunningham experienced what he described as a spiritual vision. He saw young people covering the world's continents like waves and preaching the message of Jesus and helping people. Loren was impressed by what he saw, although he was unsure of what it meant and how it could be possible. The King's Magnifiers returned to the United States and continued their singing tour for the summer before the new school year began in September.

¹ Loren Cunningham and Janice Rogers, *Is That Really You, God? Hearing the Voice of God* (Seattle, WA: YWAM Publishing, 1984), 28. This experience took place during the summer of 1956 in the Bahamas while Loren was on a gospel singing tour with the quartet The King's Magnifiers.

² Photograph of King's Magnifiers, circa 1956, Digitized file, Flower Heritage Pentecostal Center. This 1956 photo lists Johnny Leverett at piano with Ernie Wood, Dave Scott, Loren Cunningham, and Warren Flattery as the singers.

Four years after Loren Cunningham's spiritual encounter in the Bahamas, he founded Youth With A Mission (YWAM). With a goal to help untrained young people become cross-cultural missionaries, YWAM's vision challenged institutional norms and echoed mission and revival movements of generations past. Rooted in the belief that a person was qualified for mission service by their professed faith in Jesus Christ and the presence of the Holy Spirit evident in their lives, YWAM was a return to radical evangelical mission fervor and early pentecostal revivalism. At first, it acted as a bridge for a few dozen young pentecostals to volunteer for a year or two with Assemblies of God foreign missionaries in a program it called Vocational Volunteers. After Loren married Darlene Scratch in June of 1963, the couple expanded YWAM's programming to include evangelistic opportunities at home and abroad for students with restricted school holidays. These condensed evangelistic campaigns, Domestic Crusades and Summers of Service, mobilized hundreds and thousands of young people into evangelistic missionary service and unintentionally contributed to the development of a new mission model to be later called "Short-term missions" (STMs).³

³ Short-term missions are missionary trips that last from one week to one year. Prior to the creation of STMs, a missionary typically gave a commitment to mission service for a minimum of five years. A missionary candidate underwent the necessary training and served the purposes of their denomination or supporting mission board by speaking in churches to fundraise. The STM model meant that people going on short-term mission trips received little to no training and used their own funds or fundraised individually for their trip and work. Often STMs work with local churches and pastors or denominations, but many go to impoverished places and work independently of local churches and long-term organizations, creating a host of conflicting agendas and residual issues. STMs have been widely criticized by mission historians and scholars. See Brian M. Howell, *Short-Term Mission: An Ethnography of Christian Travel Narrative and Experience* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2012); Robert J. Priest, *Effective Engagement in Short-Term Missions: Doing It Right*, Evangelical Missiological Society Series; No. 16 (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2008). See also Don Fanning, "Short Term Missions: A Trend That Is Growing Exponentially," *Trends and Issues in Missions* 4 (2009): 1. Elizabeth P. Sutphin, "Developing Ethical Training Curriculum for University Short-Term Missions" (Honor Thesis, Nashville, Belmont University, 2022), 9. Sutphin called YWAM "one of the first" to organize STMs.

Within a few years, these North American young people predominantly from pentecostal churches were annually travelling with YWAM to “foreign” destinations to share the message of Jesus Christ with local populations. By the middle of the 1960s, YWAM expanded its full-time presence beyond the US to places like Canada (1966), New Zealand (1967), and Switzerland (1969). While YWAM’s short-term mission opportunities increased and welcomed young people from a growing number of world regions and Protestant denominations, by 1969 it channeled the majority of its energy towards the creation of its new missionary training program. The School of Evangelism (SOE) was founded to prepare its participants for long-term missionary service, something that YWAM was beginning to do by 1970.

Following the decentralized structure of its pentecostal roots, YWAM grew as a relationally-based and evangelistically-focused faith mission intent on mobilizing the world’s Christian youth to share the message of Jesus Christ with the whole world.⁴

While no comprehensive quantitative data exists to argue the success of YWAM’s aims

⁴ The definition of a faith mission refers to historic trends in Christian mission popularized by British missionary J. Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission, and further promoted by American Methodist missionary William Taylor. See J. Herbert Kane, “The Legacy of J. Hudson Taylor,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 8, no. 2 (1984): 74–78; David Bundy, “The Legacy of William Taylor,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 18, no. 4 (January 1, 1994): 172–76. The premise of faith missions rested in the belief that the missionary simply needed to trust in God, pray for God to provide for her or his needs, and wait for God to work in the hearts of people to give towards God’s missionary work. Thus, “faith” missions relied on the belief, or faith, of the missionary. The missionary’s role was to belief and trust God and God would do the rest. YWAM was founded on this premise. No YWAM worker was ever to receive a salary from the organization, although in the early years some office staff did receive small remuneration for their work and the first YWAMers did receive reimbursements for some travel expenses. Still, YWAM missionaries were from the beginning full-time volunteers responsible to pay their own way, or in other words, responsible to believe God to provide for all their needs and ministry expenses. For a look at the history of Faith Missions, see Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions: From Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2011).

to complete world evangelization, the data that does exist is telling. Within its first decade, YWAM mobilized thousands of young people, foreign and local, into missionary evangelism on every continent.⁵ Global-oriented Christian young people shared the message of Jesus Christ in print and proclamation with tens of thousands of people around the world. After their summer, Christmas, and Easter holiday evangelism experiences, some of them became pastors and long-term cross-cultural missionaries eager to change the world for Christ. Many of them joined YWAM full-time after they finished formal schooling: they pioneered year-round evangelistic efforts, founded new YWAM operating locations, and started missionary training schools. The first generation of YWAMers crafted the foundations of a movement that ultimately changed the face of global missions and modern world Christianity. Through its clear vision of the need for young people's participation in world mission and its unique brand of pentecostal-charismatic missional spirituality, YWAM created a global mission movement that shaped modern world Christianity and had, within its first decade, transformed mission practice on every continent.

This chapter gives an overview of the dissertation. It begins with a summary of what the dissertation seeks to accomplish and a word on how it does so. A lengthier section follows and explores some of the main contextual factors relevant to this study – mid-century world mission, pentecostalism, youth, and women. Also included in this

⁵ YWAM's long-term work in South America did not begin until 1972 under the leadership of Wedge and Shirley Alman, but according to "1969 Youth With A Mission Report," *Youth With A Mission Advance*, 7, no. 1 (January 1970), YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive, Publications – 1964-1994 ADVANCE, Folder 1970, YWAM teams did work in northern South America, marking its foray onto that continent.

section is a brief discussion of the literature that laid the groundwork for this study and the theses that this research extends. Next, a section outlining the significance of this dissertation's contributions precedes a description of the chapter structure and organization. The dissertation closes with a brief conclusion.

Why YWAM?

The significance of YWAM's role in the world Christian movement today is evidenced by its place as one of the world's largest mission training and sending organizations.⁶ Millions of Christians from around the world have participated in and been touched by YWAM's evangelistic, humanitarian, and educational work that is present in over 180 countries. Despite YWAM's historic and ongoing influence and its intercultural expressions throughout the world, it has been given little scholarly attention. While studies on aspects of YWAM's locations, specific operations, organizational structure, and theological and mission contributions have begun to emerge and are increasing, much research remains to be done.⁷ The studies on YWAM that do exist are relatively inaccessible or unapplicable to scholars. To the point, early in 2024, 17 of the 22 scholars presenting papers on YWAM's influence in Holland at a symposium hosted

⁶ It is worth noting that YWAM does not consider or self-define itself as an organization. According to its own definition, it is a movement and a "family of ministries" connected by relationship and shared values. For this dissertation, I have chosen to call YWAM an organization because it is a definable group of people with a shared purpose and organizational structure. "Our Story: His/Story," YWAM.org, accessed December 31, 2024, <https://ywam.org/about-us/history#:~:text=HIS%2FSTORY,of%20the%20Holy%20Spirit's%20leading>.

⁷ The most recent studies on various aspects of YWAM are included in the bibliography.

by the Dutch Evangelical Alliance at the Christian University for Applied Science in Ede had difficulty finding sources for their papers.⁸ Thus, the need for a critical history of YWAM is increasingly urgent.

While minimal historical analysis of YWAM does exist, it is created and curated from within the organization and meant to preserve an internal narrative and keep its historic vision and mission alive for its alumni, members, and future participants. YWAM's institutional history relies heavily on the narrative history of the founders and first generation of YWAMers, many of whom have entered into the final stage of their lives. In fact, the age of the first cohort of YWAM participants is between 70 and 90 and a number of the first generation, including YWAM founder Loren Cunningham, have passed away during the course of the dissertation research.⁹ Given the centrality of these individuals to the keeping and recovery of YWAM's early history, the urgency and need for a comprehensive, critical history of YWAM persists.

The dissertation is an answer to the need for a critical history of YWAM to be written. Focusing only on its first decade, the dissertation reconstructs the early history of YWAM during the long 1960s, from 1956 to 1970.¹⁰ Using archival material, popular

⁸ Jeff Fountain, "Out of the (YWAM) Box," Weekly Word from Jeff Fountain, email newsletter, March 17, 2024. Fountain noted that the symposium was held under the "auspices of MissieNederland, the Dutch Evangelical Alliance."

⁹ Some of the people who assisted me in my research passed away before its completion including Loren Cunningham and Rod Gerhart. Bernice Coff passed away right as I was planning to contact her. Ross Tooley, Floyd McClung, Anrie Breikreuz, and Wedge Alman passed away before I started research, but their records and stories were included thanks to their wives who were their partner in the ministry and retained records.

¹⁰ For the "long 1960s" in evangelical context, see Brian Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Billy Graham and John Stott* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013), 28. See also Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c.1958-1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 7.

literature, biography, and oral history, the dissertation uses the historical method to retrieve and craft a chronological narrative of the pre-history, founding period, and early global spread of YWAM. To reconstruct YWAM's development, the dissertation documents the history of YWAM's origins, names the founding generations, describes its early mission programs, and organizes the chronological history of its geographic reach and local reception. The dissertation pays attention to the social, religious, and cultural contexts and dynamics that contributed to its development, shaped its character, and aided its global proliferation. The dissertation reconstructs the relationships and networks responsible for holding YWAM together across disparate and, at times, conflicting transnational, intercultural, and interdenominational boundaries. The dissertation places YWAM in the context of wider Christian, mission, and social histories, demonstrating that it was a continuation and product of the past and a unique creation of its present.¹¹

YWAM replicated the tightknit familial networks of the previous generation responsible for pioneering the early pentecostal movement and the Assemblies of God denomination in the Southwestern, Midwestern, and Western United States in the first decades of the twentieth century. These family networks had regional, national, and transnational scope with strong ties to the expanding mission work of the Assemblies of God, which were, as historian Michael Bergunder has argued, extensions of earlier

¹¹ This dissertation is not a theological, missiological, or sociological analysis of YWAM and its practice, but intends to offer the foundational history, chronology, and detail that will inspire and facilitate further research in a diversity of scholastic disciplines.

radical evangelical missionary networks.¹² Thus, YWAM’s continuation of and replication of past pentecostal itinerant and mission ministries travelled along the same “gospel trail” as the first generation of pentecostal mission and evangelist pioneers in the US and around the world.

YWAM’s global growth was also made possible because of the social upheaval and religious innovations of the long 1960s that gave rise to entrepreneurial evangelicalism and the independent churches and mission organizations that sprung up after the Second World War.¹³ YWAM, like other independent evangelical mission groups and organizations of the time, retained its pentecostal character and missionary vision as it welcomed interdenominational participation and branded itself as non-denominational. A clear commitment to the evangelization of the world, all the while retaining its pneumatic spirituality and mission practice, made YWAM a perfect partner

¹² Michael Bergunder, *The South Indian Pentecostal Movement in the Twentieth Century*, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 4–9. The terms “radical evangelical mission networks” and “radical holiness evangelical” refer to aspects and offshoots of the holiness movement inspired by John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, and the doctrine of sanctification or perfection. In the UK and US, Methodism was the holiness movement’s cradle. While Christian perfection was the theological underpinning of the holiness movement, so too were strong beliefs in healing and the agency of the Holy Spirit in the believer’s life. Holiness and radical holiness groups formed associations and networks and spread their message through periodicals and camp meeting. The movement was also known for embracing premillennial dispensationalism and expanding global missionary work. All of these elements of the holiness and radical holiness movements are acknowledged by scholars as some of the antecedents to pentecostalism. Hence, my reference to radical evangelical networks and the radical holiness movement throughout the dissertation asserts the connection and continuity with pentecostalism that extends to YWAM’s pre-history and early development. Sang-Ehil Han, Geordan Hammond, and David D. Bundy, *Holiness and Pentecostal Movements: Intertwined Pasts, Presents, and Futures*, Studies in the Holiness and Pentecostal Movements (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2022), 4-12.

¹³ Mark Noll, *The New Shape of World Christianity: How American Experience Reflects Global Faith* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009), 85; David P King, *God’s Internationalists: World Vision and the Age of Evangelical Humanitarianism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

for global evangelical initiatives and the coming waves of young people touched by the Charismatic Renewal.

Held together by an evangelical ecumenism that maintained old networks and forged new partnerships with global and local ministries, YWAM rapidly extended its short-term, youth focused evangelistic campaigns around the globe, adding and adjusting its programming as it developed. With the support of the pentecostal and evangelical mission networks in the English-speaking world, pentecostal young people from countries like Canada and New Zealand made YWAM their own. They spread its message in their churches and recruited an ever increasingly global constituency of members who could be found knocking on doors to share the message of Jesus Christ with local residents from Nevada to New Zealand and Toronto to Tonga.

Beyond its formal expansion through permanent local organization, YWAM trained and mobilized thousands of local and indigenous pentecostal youth from a multitude of countries in the Caribbean, Central America, the South Pacific, and South Asia. While these young people worked with and through local churches, they replicated and adapted emerging techniques in personal evangelism that included having conversations with strangers, sharing their personal testimonies of Jesus Christ, and distributing Christian literature.¹⁴ Some of these methods were less culturally sensitive than others and while YWAM's evangelism trainings remained mostly uniform throughout the world during this period, local youth aided the young missionaries in

¹⁴ The use of literature distribution and sales, also known as colportage, was a historic practice in Protestant missionary evangelism.

adapting and adjusting their techniques for particular cultural contexts. The dialectic between YWAM's pentecostal mission ethos and evangelism methods rooted in western cultural norms, and the local cultural expressions of the Christian faith and contextual applications of evangelism shaped YWAM's emerging identity in the world. By the close of the 1960s, YWAM and its members were an active and influential force in the creation of a distinct form of pentecostal-charismatic missional world Christianity, especially among young people.

Context and Background

YWAM did not fall out of the sky as an uncorrupted gift from God in heaven, contrary to the commonly held restorationist myth that animates much of modern and contemporary pentecostal revivalism. It was a product of complex socio-cultural and religious factors at work throughout the globalizing world. This section explores some of the factors, contextual and historical, that influenced YWAM's founding, development, and what it became in the world. YWAM's founding and development took place as a part of a larger reorientation in Christian mission during the long 1960s in light of rising secularism, the Cold War, and shifting theologies as global Christianity grew exponentially.

First, a short section of a cursory appraisal of the trends in modern global Christian mission that led up to the period of YWAM's founding helps to locate YWAM in the broader context of Christian mission. Next, an overview of Classical

Pentecostalism offers some background to the modern religious movement from which YWAM emerged and by which the founders' families were shaped. Directly related to YWAM's pentecostal roots, an overview of the emergence of a fundamentalist and evangelical ecumenical impulse of the long 1960s gives the broader context of the globalizing religious and mission milieu that influenced Loren Cunningham's conception of YWAM as an interdenominational organization. A section exploring the creation of youth counterculture in response to the social upheaval following World War II reflects on how the founding of YWAM was a product of the social trends of the long 1960. Finally, a brief section addressing the complex and contested histories of women in mission and pentecostalism provides the context for the majority of YWAM's historic and contemporary membership – young women.

Mid-Century Mission: Evangelical Mission, World Christianity, and Conversion

Modern Protestant mission was pioneered hundreds of years before YWAM was founded. Its history and development were central factors that contributed to the emergence of new evangelical mission groups, like YWAM, in the long 1960s. Before YWAM can be located in the continuum of modern Christian mission history, a brief overview of modern mission trends is necessary. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, new missionary societies and mission boards were created and run by the Moravians, Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Baptists in their Western Europe, UK, and North American heartlands. They sent missionaries around the world proclaiming the good news of Jesus Christ and starting churches connected to their

western-based institutions.¹⁵ The global reach and interdenominational cooperation of the traditional Protestant, or “ecumenical,” church family was extensive and carried widespread momentum, as evidenced by the historic World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910.¹⁶ With delegates representing 139 Protestant denominations from Africa, South America, North America, and Europe, the world’s Protestants planned and committed to more comprehensive missionary endeavors to cover the globe in the new century. At the time of the World Missionary Conference, pentecostalism was a young global and grassroots movement and faith missionaries were a radical minority in the world of a more organized, institutionally-based global mission.

Through the decades of the First World War, Inter-war period, and the Second World War, western Christianity underwent significant changes that had an effect on its missionary programs and presence. Not only did the popularity of liberal theologies play a significant role in these changes, but so too did the rise in secularism and the continued waves of social revolutions inspired by Communism and the struggle against colonial rule in countries around the world. Radical evangelical and holiness denominations and

¹⁵ After the Protestant Reformation in 1517, reformed denominations did not formally organize for missionary endeavors until the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries with the founding of the Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Before the founding of mission societies, individuals, like John Eliot, did engage in formal missionary activity with the intent of sharing the Christian faith, the conversion of non-Christians to Christianity, and the establishment of new Christian churches. Still, the majority of Protestant mission developed in the eighteenth century and with many mission societies sending personnel around the world during the nineteenth century, the so-called “Great Century” of Protestant mission.

¹⁶ David Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 5-10. Hollinger calls the traditional Protestants “ecumenical” as opposed to the “evangelical” second church family, later referred to in this chapter as the “Second Protestant Mission Family.” Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910*, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2009).

those who saw themselves as traditional evangelicals responded to what they perceived as the heresies of liberal theology by bolstering their resolve to defend Christianity's "fundamental" tenets and to create a separate sphere of evangelical institutions.¹⁷ One fundamentalist commitment lay in the concept of true evangelical conversion. To modern evangelicals, conversion was the reason and purpose of the missionary enterprise. Conversionism mixed with the popular radical holiness doctrine of premillennial dispensationalism animated and motivated early pentecostalism and many new evangelical missionary societies and organizations in the inter and post-war period.¹⁸

Admittedly brushing over the complex historical narrative that led to its recession, a combination of shifting theologies, changing understandings and methods of mission, and adjusting focus on the issues and concerns of church and society ultimately resulted in the decline of the ecumenical Protestant, or first, missionary family in the second part of the twentieth century and the rise of what historian David Hollinger calls the evangelical, or second, church family.¹⁹ While missionaries from traditional denominations did not necessarily desert their mission stations or their evangelistic work, the nature of their ministry often changed to include a more holistic and ecumenical

¹⁷ John Wolffe, *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal: Evangelicals and Society in Britain, 1780-1980* (London: SPCK, 1995); David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

¹⁸ Christopher H. Evans, "Called to Arouse, Warn, and Save: The American Fascination with Premillennial Dispensationalism," in *Expanding Energy: The Dynamic Story of Christianity in North America*, ed. Christopher H. Evans and Mark A. Lamport, *The Global Story of Christianity* 7 (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2024), 87–102.

¹⁹ Robert Coote, "Good News, Bad News: North American Protestant Overseas Personnel Statistics in Twenty-Five-Year Perspective," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 19, no. 1 (January 1995); William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad*, 10.

vision of God's kingdom on the earth through social change. At the same time, the continued growth of pentecostalism and modern evangelicalism, particularly in the UK, US, and throughout the Anglo-world, meant that younger fundamentalist leaning denominations had become more organized and had formed alliances among themselves, as in the case of the National Association of Evangelicals founded in the United States in 1943. After decades of growth and the social uplift that came to the west after the Second World War, these denominations and associations gained access to financial resources needed to promote their message abroad. The message of "God's good news" to post-war pentecostals and evangelicals was anchored in the inspiration of the Bible, the need for personal, soul conversion, and, the impending second coming Jesus Christ.²⁰

To meet what they saw as the world's need for spiritual salvation through Jesus Christ, a host of new mission groups, like YWAM, were founded and funded by pentecostal and evangelical denominations and their upwardly mobile constituents in the English-speaking world, and especially in the USA, in the second half of the twentieth century. Evangelistic "start-ups" were a part of the founding of independent Christian non-profit ministries, known as parachurch organizations, that operated autonomously from Christian denominations but remained committed to what they saw as the imperatives of the church's mission.²¹

²⁰ Evans, "Called to Arouse, Warn, and Save: The American Fascination with Premillennial Dispensationalism," 98–101.

²¹ Parachurch is a term that refers to Christian non-profit ministries that were founded independently of denominational or formal church administration and involvement.

While evangelical mission organizations were reshaping traditional mission, the world Christian movement outside of the English-speaking western world was gaining momentum and changing the face of world religion. Indigenous forms of Christianity, some related to traditional missionary churches and others independent, were spreading throughout Africa, South America, and Asia. The growth of Christianity in the Majority World was first observed by mission scholars Andrew Walls, Lamin Sanneh, and Dana Robert in the late 1980s and early 1990s.²² The phenomenon that became known as global and/or world Christianity had been underway decades before it was perceived. Interestingly, it exhibited the same characteristics that caused independent evangelical mission groups to thrive. According to Kim and Kim, Christianity became a world religion because it “grew along transnational networks, held to theological universality and local inclusivity and spread by conversion/mission, migration, and globalism.”²³ The same definition could be applied to groups like YWAM and suggests that it too is an expression of world Christianity.

Global in their vision and reach, modern evangelical mission organizations followed the funding, training, and structural precedent set by their traditional predecessors. The majority of them also acted as a continuation of the nineteenth century

²² Andrew Walls, “Christianity in the Non-Western World: A Study in the Serial Nature of Christian Expansion,” *Studies in World Christianity* 1, no. 1 (April 1, 1995): 1–25; Lamin O. Sanneh, *Disciples of All Nations: Pillars of World Christianity*, Oxford Studies in World Christianity (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Dana L. Robert, “Naming ‘World Christianity’: Historical and Personal Perspectives on the Yale-Edinburgh Conference in World Christianity and Mission History,” *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 44, no. 2 (April 1, 2020): 111–28.

²³ Sebastian C. H. Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *Christianity as a World Religion: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 3, 8, 10, 11.

Student Volunteer Movement, retaining their sweeping watchword as their ongoing goal for missions: “the evangelization of the world in this generation.”²⁴ While they continued in the Protestant mission tradition, they coalesced around a distinctly evangelical definition of mission that prioritized spiritual conversion and starting new churches.²⁵ While evangelical mission groups did not ignore the social needs of their host cultures and communities, as some scholars have implied, it took them decades to consciously incorporate and theologically affirm holistic mission and social action.²⁶ To many modern evangelicals, if their mission work was to be truly evangelical it needed to focus on proclaiming the message of Jesus Christ in words and result in the soul conversion of the hearer.

Definitions of “conversion” have changed throughout Christian and mission history, as David Kling’s extensive history on the subject demonstrates.²⁷ In YWAM’s

²⁴ Dana L. Robert, “The Origin of the Student Volunteer Watchword: ‘The Evangelization of the World in This Generation,’” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 10, no. 4 (October 1, 1986): 146–49.

²⁵ The influence of early mission theorist like Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn on mission thought and practice meant that mission in the twentieth century also included notions of self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating. Anglican missionary Roland Allen and his writings on the indigenous church and spontaneous church growth were particularly important in shaping pentecostal mission theology, as addressed later in the dissertation.

²⁶ Geoffrey R. Treloar, *The Disruption of Evangelicalism: The Age of Torrey, Mott, McPherson and Hammond* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2017), 195-197; Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism*. Holistic mission and social action were contentious topics to modern evangelicals that believed them to be competitors with their “pure” methods of gospel proclamation. The inclusion of holistic mission into the broader evangelical mission ethos began at the first International Congress on World Evangelization at Lausanne, Switzerland in 1974. At these meetings, South American evangelicals, Rene Padilla and Orlando Costas were calling for *mission integral*, or holistic mission, whereas US-based evangelicals were focused on evangelism through proclamation and soul conversion and church planting. Robert A Hunt, “The history of the Lausanne movement, 1974-2010,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 35, no. 2 (2011): 83.

²⁷ David W. Kling, *A History of Christian Conversion*, Oxford Scholarship Online (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

case, a traditional evangelical and radical holiness definition of conversion is shared in common across similar movements.²⁸ Conversion, to modern evangelical missionaries, global Christian communities, and to a young YWAM, meant one's awakening to the reality of one's sinfulness, need for forgiveness, and reception of God's grace through Jesus Christ's sacrifice on the cross and bodily resurrection. A convert of evangelical Christianity needed to respond individually, audibly, and, to some extent, profess their faith publicly. For converts in non-Christian contexts, to become a follower of Christ often literally meant leaving everything behind to become a Christian. While conversion did not exclude baptism, discipleship, and church membership, it needed to be accompanied by a revelatory moment of repentance and regeneration, akin to John Wesley's second blessing and Charles Finney's emotional and personal decision.²⁹ To pentecostal groups like YWAM, conversion also included one's baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues as evidence of a spiritual salvation. While YWAM never pushed the point of Holy Spirit baptism and tongues in any of its mission training and

²⁸ Han, Hammond, and Bundy, *Holiness and Pentecostal Movements*, 4-12; Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 1997), 105. Han, Hammond, and Bundy explore the connections and continuities between Methodism, Holiness, and pentecostal movements. Synan's thesis asserts that the pentecostal movement arose as a "split in the holiness movement and can be viewed as the logical outcome of the holiness crusade." Thus, shared understanding of conversion, baptism, holiness, and the sanctifying work of the Spirit are believed to be widely shared between holiness and pentecostal in the early pentecostal movement.

²⁹ Wesley's second blessing inspired the holiness movement's conceptions of one's individual regeneration that carried over into the pentecostal movement. Charles Finney, credited as one of the leaders of the so-called "Second Great Awakening," was known for his dramatic personal conversion experience and his revivalist preaching predicated on such an experience. Charles Finney's teaching was foundational in YWAM's early years.

public teaching, it was still a widely accepted spiritual practice in its early years that harkened back to its pentecostal roots.³⁰

A Pentecostal Heritage: Revival, Classical Pentecostalism, and Global Networks

YWAM can be classified as a modern evangelical missionary organization, but underneath the broadly accepted categorization it is a continuation of revivalist pentecostalism. A child of itinerant pentecostal evangelists and pastors in the Southwestern and Western US, Loren Cunningham, YWAM's founder, was raised in the Assemblies of God (AG) which by the 1950s was the largest Classical Pentecostal denomination in the US. A specific brand of the pentecostal movement that "emerged as a convergence of nineteenth-century socioreligious movements" including radical evangelicalism and holiness movements, Classical Pentecostalism credited the Azusa Street Revival of 1906 Los Angeles as its place of origin and the revival's leader William Seymour and his mentor Charles Parham as the founding figures.³¹ The movement coalesced around the doctrine of speaking in tongues as the "initial evidence" of Holy

³⁰ Because all of the first generation of YWAMers from the US and Canada came from Classical Pentecostal denominations, they had heard speaking in tongues and likely were taught and encouraged to do so by their pastors, youth pastors, parents, and peers. It is documented that during YWAM's Tonga Summer of Service in 1967, the young people on mission taught on the baptism of the Holy Spirit to their mostly Methodist listeners, thereby, sparking both some spiritual revival and controversy. See Chapter 4 for more detail on this example.

³¹ Edith Waldvogel Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 2. Blumhofer said that Classical Pentecostals looked to the 1901 event of Agnes Ozman speaking in tongues at Parham's Bible school in Topeka, Kansas, as their point of origin, which is also true. The Azusa Street Revival under William Seymour became more widely known and was an extension of Charles Parham's ministry. As noted in an earlier footnote, radical evangelicalism and holiness movements were some of the significant precursors that gave way to pentecostalism. See Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*.

Spirit baptism and of true conversion.³² Among other things, early pentecostal meetings attracted spiritual seekers from diverse socio-economic, racial, and denominational backgrounds and was a missionary movement at its core.³³ Women and men preached, led prayers, prophesied, healed the sick, and received callings to be missionaries and evangelists. Within a short time, the Azusa message of Pentecost was travelling across the US, Canada, and the world both in print and missionary presence.³⁴

The first pentecostal denominations in North America united around the doctrine of speaking in tongues as the sign of one's genuine conversion, but the movement was far from unified. From the beginning, Classical Pentecostalism was a grassroots movement that loosely held together leaders and churches of varying theological convictions. While formal organization was underway just years after the 1906 revival, there were leaders who rejected the formation of denominations in "an unwillingness to submit to authority,"... based on "a pervasive sense that organization necessarily 'quenched the Spirit.'"³⁵ These leaders led their own churches and relationally-based networks while

³² Allison Kach-Yawngwe, "North American Pentecostalism," in *Creating Destinies: The Forging Story of Christianity in North America*, ed. Christopher H. Evans and Mark A. Lamport, vol. 7, *The Global Story of Christianity: History, Context, Communities* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2024), 103.

³³ Gary B. McGee, *Miracles, Missions, and American Pentecostalism*, American Society of Missiology Series; No. 45 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2010), xx.

³⁴ A number of early pentecostal missionaries had already been in missionary service with other Christian denominations and made trips to Azusa Street or other pentecostal centers (Chicago or Toronto) while on furlough. Missionaries who received the Spirit baptism and returned to their mission fields as pentecostals dealt with opposition from the mission organizations or denominations. For many missionaries, pentecostal "conversion" resulted in their need to leave their denominations, affiliate with emerging pentecostal mission networks, or continue as independent faith missionaries.

³⁵ Edith Waldvogel Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism: Vol. 1: To 1941* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1989), 199-200. On page 195, Blumhofer notes that Durham called plans to organize "the great crisis."

denominations like the Church of God and the Assemblies of God formalized and offered decentralized organizational structure and regional spiritual accountability to preachers, pastors, and churches. Even into the 1930s, over fifteen years after the AG was founded, Loren Cunningham's maternal grandfather, Rufus Nicholson, was opposed to joining the AG for the same reasons that the early pioneers held. Thus, the impulse to remain autonomous and the spiritual belief that formal organization stifled the Holy Spirit continued to shape early pentecostalism and can be seen in YWAM's own claim to reject formal organization.³⁶

The two main Classical Pentecostal denominations that help frame the context for the emergence and growth of YWAM, the subject of the dissertation, are the Assemblies of God, founded in the US in 1914, and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, founded in Canada in 1919.³⁷ Both denominations were founded with their share of theological defects and social stains. They held varying theologies of the Trinity, restricted women's leadership, and promoted white racism and the exclusion of African Americans from leadership and churches.³⁸ Despite these real defects in the movement, it nevertheless

³⁶ The same trends can be seen in YWAM's organizational commitments. They did not call themselves an organization or a denomination. The dissertation argues that YWAM's resistance to implement and name any formal organizational structure are a direct continuation of the early pentecostal ethos as passed down by Rufus Nicholson to Jewell Nicholson Cunningham to Loren Cunningham. See Chapter 2 for a historical reconstruction of their family and spiritual relationships and practices.

³⁷ Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 205–6. The Assemblies of God was formed in 1914 after white pastors from the interracial Church of God in Christ gathered together to form a separate assembly and association. The Latin American Assemblies of God was a Latino/a division of the AG, thus adding Latina/o pastors and members to the otherwise white denomination. For a history of the AG that informs my research, see Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*. The PAOC suffered from the so-called "Oneness controversy" in its early years. It was founded as a oneness denomination, but internal disagreements led PAOC churches to affiliate with the AG instead.

³⁸ David D. Daniels, "North American Pentecostalism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism*, ed. Cecil Robeck, Jr. and Amos Yong (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 78.

grew to become a significant and growing part of the popular religious experience and expression of the world's Christians. While not typically classified as part of the pentecostal movement, YWAM undoubtedly played an active role in its global growth.

Pentecostal scholars and historians, Gary McGee, Edith Blumhofer, Grant Wacker, Allan Anderson, and Michael Bergunder have written valuable histories of pentecostalism in its domestic and global forms that provide the historical and contextual basis for the dissertation. Anderson's research has detailed how the polycentric origins, transnational character, and missionary nature of the movement have contributed to its rapid growth.³⁹ The transnational and polycentric nature of the pentecostal movement meant that its message was travelling in multiple directions through the work of multiple actors at the same time. Pre-existent missionary networks of radical evangelical and holiness groups like the Christian and Missionary Alliance helped to spread the pentecostal message quickly.⁴⁰ Anderson's framing of the pentecostal movement must be kept in mind while seeking to understand YWAM's early growth and development, for, as the dissertation asserts, as a continuation of the pentecostal movement, YWAM was also transnational and polycentric.

Even with multiple cites of origin and global actors well proved in the historical record, pentecostalism's heartland was and is still largely seen to be the United States in

³⁹ Allan Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and the Transformation of World Christianity*, Oxford Studies in World Christianity (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1. Anderson claims that the growth of pentecostalism can be attributed to the fact that it is missionary, polycentric, and transnational in nature; McGee, *Miracles, Missions, and American Pentecostalism*, xx. The same statements can be directly applied to describing YWAM as a global movement.

⁴⁰ Bergunder, *The South Indian Pentecostal Movement*, 4–9.

general and the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles in particular. Another hallmark of the early movement was the belief that tongue speaking and other spiritual manifestations were God's proof that God was restoring the church to continue the ministry of Jesus and the apostles. The ethos of restorationism motivated early pentecostals to share their unique and necessary message with other Christians. They hoped that the message of "Pentecost" would unite and empower the church to fulfill Jesus' command to preach the gospel to all creation, but instead it acted as a point of division.

Early pentecostal confidence and conviction and what was seen as their disorderly spiritual emotionalism soured relationships with the evangelicals from whom they came and led to decades of animosity and suspicion between the groups.⁴¹ Evangelicals saw pentecostals as dangerous competitors who were leading people at home and on the mission field astray. Evangelicals accused pentecostals of heretical theology and practice. Pentecostals interpreted the rejection they experienced as persecution and proof that their message was true. In their isolation from the rest of the evangelical world, they developed separate pentecostal institutions throughout North America, like Central Bible Institute in Springfield, Missouri, and Southern California College (now Vanguard).⁴² While hostilities between the evangelicals and pentecostals began to slowly subside as other

⁴¹ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. Bebbington's characterization of evangelicalism included four aspects: activism, biblicism, conversionism, and crucicentrism which can all be applied to pentecostalism in its early and later expressions.

⁴² The AG institutional infrastructure, like SCC and CBI, were central nodes of learning, friendship, and recruitment for YWAM in its first decade. Thus, while pentecostals and evangelicals became more friendly into the long 1960s, YWAM's success and tight-knit relational structure was a direct result of the isolationist context from which US and Canadian pentecostalism developed. It was both tight-knit, family like, and global at the same time.

theological disputes challenging evangelical orthodoxy inspired cooperation, the two groups nevertheless remained separate. By the end of World War II, pentecostals began to see themselves as similar to other evangelicals.⁴³ In 1943, the flagship pentecostal denomination, the Assemblies of God, became a member of the National Association of Evangelicals. In the post-war years, US pentecostals were looking more and more like the rest of US evangelicals.

With growing acceptance from mid-century evangelicals in the US, pentecostals also enjoyed an increasing degree of social respectability.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, they were forging significant partnerships abroad led by high-profile pentecostals promoting Christian unity. In 1947, the Pentecostal World Fellowship was founded at a meeting of international pentecostal leaders from various denominations. Founded by Swiss pastor Leonard Steiner and assisted by South African David Du Plessis, the global body went on to influence and be influenced by the Assemblies of God in ways that shaped the ecumenical vision of a young Loren Cunningham. Through the influence of Du Plessis, by the long 1960s the AG had warmed to the notion of ecumenical collaboration, as long as it only included other pentecostals and evangelicals.⁴⁵

⁴³ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 5–6; George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1991).

⁴⁴ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 5–6. Blumhofer notes that pentecostals still saw themselves as “fundamentalists with a difference.”

⁴⁵ People like Du Plessis, a South African pentecostal who helped found and develop the World Pentecostal Fellowship participated at the World Council of Churches meetings in the 1950s and 1960s. He was also known for his role in bridging the charismatic experience with Roman Catholics. John Stott, who participated in the WCC was also active in engaging in dialogue about evangelicalism in the Church of England. Stott became a central collaborator with Billy Graham and the other organizers of first Lausanne Congress in 1974.

Youth Culture: Pentecostal Youth Coming of Age in the Long 1960s

The youth of YWAM were a part of a broader cultural moment that significantly shaped the long 1960s. Quintessentially “American,” the emergence of youth culture was a phenomenon identified around the end of World War II.⁴⁶ In September 1944, the magazine *Seventeen* was released. It targeted a new and emerging category of consumers – young people between the ages of 13 and 18. The baby-boom generation came of age in the post-war period and began exerting social influence beginning with their spending. With a disposable income separate from their parents for the first time in modern history, western youth were able to forge an economic and social independence from the adult culture.⁴⁷ A by-product of their new-found independence, youth during the long 1960s rallied around their common youth identity and creation of a new youth-focused culture.

Youth culture was nothing new to historians and social scientists of earlier generations who had identified the creation of youth since the close of the 19th century. Karl Mannheim postulated its social implications in his 1928 thesis. Mannheim was the first scholar to articulate a separation of youth from adult as he defined their relationship as “generations in conflict.”⁴⁸ Just over a decade later, Talcott Parson’s ground-breaking 1942 article, “Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States,” coined the term

⁴⁶ Jon Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth Culture* (New York: Viking, 2007), xv.

⁴⁷ Oded Heilbronner, “From a Culture for Youth to a Culture of Youth: Recent Trends in the Historiography of Western Youth Cultures,” ed. Richard I. Jobs et al., *Contemporary European History* 17, no. 4 (2008): 578.

⁴⁸ Karl Mannheim and Paul Kecskemeti, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, Collected Works of Karl Mannheim (London: Routledge, 1997), 267–322.

“youth culture” and labelled it an “American phenomenon.”⁴⁹ Early and subsequent theories agreed that the social and political upheaval of the world wars catalyzed the already emerging social process of young people differentiating themselves from their parents and redefining adolescence from the generations that had gone before them.

The literature exploring the history of youth remains vastly incomplete. The field reflects the scholarly bias that gives preference to secular histories and ignores religion and faith as factors or sites of meaningful cultural change. Of course, exceptions exist. McLeod’s *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* documents the exodus of youth from mainline churches.⁵⁰ Eskridge’s *God’s Forever Family* reconstructs the history of the Jesus Movement, a significant influence on emerging evangelical culture, in the mid-1960s through the 1970s.⁵¹ Focer’s “Frontier Internship in Mission, 1961–1974” explores the experiences of the young adults, Frontier Interns, who engaged in intercultural mission partnerships as she reconstructs the history of an international mission project linked to the global ecumenical movement.⁵² These studies are insightful in the processes and productions of unique Christian youth constituencies and hold some commonalities with the dissertation’s goals. McLeod and Focer’s studies share the time period of YWAM’s emergence and explore a similar demographic, but both studies focus on

⁴⁹ Savage, *Teenage*, 452. See also Talcott Parsons, “Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States,” *American Sociological Review* 7, no. 5 (1942): 604–16.

⁵⁰ See Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁵¹ See Larry Eskridge, *God’s Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁵² Ada J. Focer, “Frontier Internship in Mission, 1961-1974: Young Christians Abroad in a Post-Colonial and Cold War World” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2016). Focer’s research is extensive. She interviewed 114 of the 140 American young adults and eight of the original 20 international participants.

mainline Protestant youth.⁵³ Eskridges's research intersects with YWAM's constituency, but only overlaps by a few years at the end of the long 1960s. Thus, while these studies make valuable contributions to the religious aspects of youth culture, much more research is needed especially as it pertains to the experiences of pentecostal youth.

YWAM is one of countless unstudied or understudied examples of evangelical youth and mission movements of the period surrounding and including the long 1960s that can offer generative insight into religious expressions and social dimensions of the history of youth culture. Like secular youth counter-cultural movements, Christian youth culture crystalized around shared values and developed into something distinct from the adult culture of its time. Christian youth culture of the long 1960s challenged the status quo of religious communities and churches across the English-speaking western world, borrowing from and spilling over to movements in broader society. Christian churches in general, and Assemblies of God churches in the United States in particular, were the site of youth cultural creation, development, and expression. The same forces that led to the emergence of secular youth culture were also at work within western Christianity.

Emerging youth culture in the Assemblies of God and other contemporary religious movements led youth to innovate and explore ways to express their faith in ways the adult-led denomination did not necessary support. The creation of new youth programs and initiatives redefined the roles of young people in the life of the church and mission

⁵³ A comparison of Focer's findings with that of this dissertation would yield insightful analysis. Exploring how ecumenical and evangelical young people's international experiences in mission, partnership, and friendship were similar and different will add greater understanding to broader global processes and factors at work in the developing religious internationalism of youth and young adults in the long 1960s regardless of denominational affiliation and theological disposition.

without outright opposition from adult leaders. Pentecostal young people of the long 1960s found ways to express their agency and autonomy while remaining loyal to the “old time religion.”

While histories of Christian youth ministries exist, none have included substantive reflection on pentecostal youth or pentecostal youth missions. Books on evangelical youth ministries that predate YWAM have tended to be stand-alone histories of one organization or denominational group and reflect the long-held exclusion of pentecostals from acceptable evangelicalism that remained to the middle of the century.⁵⁴ The other type of research on youth ministry that abounds on library shelves are handbooks on the theological and practical aspects of running a youth ministry. Historical works like Dean Borgman’s 1987 chapter “A History of American Youth Ministry,” Mark H. Senter III’s 2010 history of Protestant Youth Ministries, *When God Shows Up*, and Ruth Lukabyo’s 2021 article “The History of Protestant Youth Ministry” offer valuable insight into the history and development of youth ministry. Yet, these works trace the historic mainline student and youth ministries and modern youth-focused parachurch organizations of mainline and evangelical streams of the church in the US. While helpful in a broad sense, these histories ignore pentecostal youth and isolate Christian youth ministry from the broader ideas and socio-cultural realities that shaped them.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ The Assemblies of God was a founding member of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1943, but evangelical and pentecostal cooperation remained a challenge for many for decades and even until the present day.

⁵⁵ Ruth Lukabyo, “The History of Protestant Youth Ministry; a Review,” *Journal of Youth and Theology* 20, no. 2 (July 16, 2021): 214–33.

Looking outside of specifically “Christian” histories of youth and youth ministry, historian Arthur Marwick offers a compelling thesis that helps describe and understand some of the forces at work before and during YWAM’s founding. Increasingly independent youth of the 1950s came of age during the 1960s and put their previously intangible ideals for social, political, and moral change into action in the 1970s. The result was the rise of various subcultures and movements whose antecedents reach back to the post-war period.⁵⁶ The creation of new movements also took place within churches and Christian organizations, albeit through the lens of mid-century Christian beliefs and practices.⁵⁷ YWAM’s founder and early joiners were baby boomers coming of age during the long 1960s. Its early years coincide with the cultural revolutions characterized by the 60s. Like the youth of Marwick’s study, YWAM youth were driven by entrepreneurialism and individualism and organized around shared causes to oppose various aspects of established society, or more specifically in their case, to introduce reinterpretations of roles for young people in ministry and missions that they believed were inspired by God.⁵⁸

An increase in mobility and an expanding ability to exert social influence was made possible by advances in media technology (television, radio, publishing), and transportation (jet and train travel) that allowed the leaders and youth of YWAM to

⁵⁶ Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958-c. 1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 7.

⁵⁷ See David A. Hollinger, *Christianity’s American Fate: How Religion Became More Conservative and Society More Secular* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2022). Hollinger’s work is a historical exploration of mainline youth embracing secularism, losing faith, and leaving the church juxtaposed with the increased visibility and influence of evangelical youth.

⁵⁸ Marwick, *The Sixties*, 7.

pursue their vision independently of the clumsy and slow bureaucratic denominational structure.⁵⁹ Loren Cunningham’s vision of seeing young people going to every country as missionaries was greatly aided by the spirit and ethos of the long 1960s that celebrated individualism and each person’s right to self-expression. While the YWAM founders and early joiners did not initially or intentionally oppose aspects of the denominational establishment, their support for youth in mission fueled by unbridled entrepreneurialism characteristic of both early pentecostalism and the rise of western free market capitalism of the era, naturally led to opposition, conflict, and eventual separation from the “adult-led” denomination that still in 1964–65 saw youth as a liability to effective ministry.⁶⁰

YWAM’s existence proves that portions of the Assemblies of God youth underwent their own countercultural revolution that prioritized youth self-determination and acknowledged spiritual authority outside of the denominational institution.⁶¹ Initially, the Assemblies of God attempted to mitigate the youthful innovations of Loren Cunningham, potentially interpreted as the social angst and rebellion of his generation, by encouraging his participation and maintaining adult control of leadership and programming. Loren’s ideas of untrained youth serving in missions and evangelism challenged the status quo of the AG “parent culture’s” vision for youth and mission

⁵⁹ Marwick, *The Sixties*, 17–18.

⁶⁰ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 40.

⁶¹ The AG conflict was downplayed in the popular histories of YWAM to avoid implicating those responsible for the conflict. It is interesting to note that the names of any person opposing YWAM or the founders are not mentioned. The denomination is not mentioned. It is the analysis of this author that YWAM’s popular history avoids conflict to retain a complex matrix of mutual relationships and to elevate the hagiographic account of YWAM’s founding. Removing the real relational conflicts and disagreements allows YWAM’s history to be interpreted as a work of God and out of the early participants obedience to God’s leading rather than as a result of the rebellion of youth counterculture.

programs. With the buy-in he had from other youth, youth-leaders, international missionaries, and even his own Southern California District, Loren's commitment to youth in mission forced a conflict and parting of ways when Loren refused to bend to the demands to submit to AG policy and procedure. It was this break, from YWAM as an Assemblies of God product to YWAM as an independent ministry, that proves Heibelbronner's thesis true, albeit through a religious lens. YWAM is a historical example of a religious youth culture initiated by, or rooted in, the adult-led denomination that changed to a religious youth culture initiated by young people between the ages of 13 to 30.⁶²

Pentecostal Women: Mission, Feminism, and Global Christianity

From its inception, women have been active agents in the pentecostal movement and in Christian mission. Mission historian Dana Robert has named global Christianity a woman's movement.⁶³ The involvement of women in the history of the church and mission set a precedent for the women of YWAM to follow. Women's roles in the pentecostal movement, even if paradoxical and contested, also shaped YWAM's

⁶² Heilbronner, "From a Culture for Youth to a Culture of Youth," 576. Loren Cunningham was a "youth" when he initiated and founded YWAM, but he did so within the confines of the "adult" denominational leadership and structure of the AG. YWAM's exit from the AG leadership made for its transformation to a movement fully led by youth and for youth. Loren and Darlene and the first generation of YWAM ceased to be "youth" according to Heilbronner's categorization in the mid-1970s. As the first generation aged, YWAM's age categories expanded and new ministries were pioneered that reflected families and children. As YWAM became intergenerational it never lost its core commitment to championing youth in mission.

⁶³ Dana L. Robert, "World Christianity as a Women's Movement," *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 30, no. 4 (2006): 180–88.

openness to women in ministry and mission.⁶⁴ On a broader social level, the influence of second wave feminism that emerged during the same time that young pentecostal women were joining YWAM undoubtedly had an effect on the movement, women's self-understandings, and on the Mission as a whole.

Christianity has always been a women's movement and women have been key agents in passing on the faith in their domestic roles as grandmothers, mothers, aunts, sisters, daughters, and caregivers. Likewise, women's informal and formal ministries as preachers, evangelists, healers, and missionaries are central to the history of church and mission, as Dana Robert's *American Women in Mission* demonstrates.⁶⁵ In recent history, and as Elizabeth Brusco's 1995 study argues, women have found social and spiritual power in the evangelical movement and have been relatively successful in ushering their family members into the faith.⁶⁶ Thus, the centrality of women in historic and contemporary Christian movements and in Christian mission is clear. YWAM's history is one of countless examples of women in mission that extends Robert's thesis and chronology into the second half of the twentieth century and joins the growing body of

⁶⁴ Bernice Martin, "The Pentecostal Gender Paradox: A Cautionary Tale for the Sociology of Religion," in *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Religion*, ed. Richard K. Fenn (Newark, UK: John Wiley, 2001), 52–67.

⁶⁵ Dana Lee Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice*, The Modern Mission Era, 1792-1992 (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996).

⁶⁶ For foundational studies on women's roles in spreading evangelicalism and pentecostalism see Elizabeth E. Brusco, *The Reformation of Machismo: Evangelical Conversion and Gender in Colombia* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1995); Judith Casselberry and Elizabeth A. Pritchard, eds., *Spirit on the Move: Black Women and Pentecostalism in Africa and the Diaspora* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).

scholarship that has sought to alleviate the historical ignorance towards women, particularly women in pentecostalism and Christian mission.⁶⁷

The first generations of YWAM women came from pentecostal families and churches.⁶⁸ Resident within pentecostalism's roots were the early pentecostal female pioneers like Aimee Semple McPherson, Alice Luce, and Lillian Trasher. These women were held up as role models for young women growing up in AG churches in the post-war period, whether or not churches and pastors encouraged women into public ministry. At the same time, the AG's own history of restricting women's public ministry and perpetuating an "ambiguity about women's freedom and her submission" was a powerful undercurrent in the movement.⁶⁹ In fact, as historian Linda M. Ambrose has documented, the growing popularity of complementarianism, a teaching that promoted male authority and female submission, was increasingly consumed by pentecostal audiences of C.M. Ward's RevivalTime!.⁷⁰

While these external and denominational influences were at play in shaping the gender perceptions of young pentecostal women who came to YWAM, more powerful

⁶⁷ Gina A. Zurlo, *Women in World Christianity: Building and Sustaining a Global Movement* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, 2023); Leanne M. Dzubinski and Anneke H Stasson, *Women in the Mission of the Church: Their Opportunities and Obstacles throughout Christian History* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2021).

⁶⁸ From the archival sources that have been gathered so far, it seems that the first non-pentecostal young people to join YWAM were from the charismatic movement in New Zealand in 1967.

⁶⁹ Edith Blumhofer, "Women in Pentecostalism," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America, Set*, ed. Rosemary Skinner Keller, Rosemary Radford Ruether, and Marie Cantlon (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003), 397–98.

⁷⁰ Linda M. Ambrose, "In the World and Just Like the World? Pentecostal Advice to Post-War Families," in *Canadian Society of Church History Annual Meeting* (Congress 2024, McGill University, Montreal, QC, 2024).

than these was the models of female and male roles in the family and church.

Undoubtedly, some young people who came to YWAM had mothers who held to a more submissive stereotype, while others, like Loren Cunningham and Ramona (Jensen) Musch, grew up with strong pentecostal preachers and evangelists for mothers or grandmothers. It was the effect of these women – the liberated, called, and dynamic pentecostal evangelists and preachers – that shaped YWAM’s internal inclusion and embrace of women as full partners in world mission.

Another factor complicating the gendered reality of the early YWAM women came through the advances of second wave feminism. At home, western notions of female agency and autonomy were being challenged by the feminist movement whose own history was itself rooted in Christian teaching.⁷¹ Conservative Christian denominations fought back against second wave feminism by creating and bolstering their own theologies of gender.⁷² Pentecostal denominations and pentecostal women, like their evangelically conservative sisters, opposed the radical and so-called “anti-Christian” ideas that gave rise to the sexual revolution, even if they benefited from the outcomes of the movement.⁷³ Pentecostal and evangelical women in the long 1960s weren’t actively

⁷¹ Linda M. Ambrose, “A Messy Mix: Religion, Feminism and Pentecostals,” *Gender & History* 34, no. 2 (2022): 369–70; Christopher Hodge Evans, *Do Everything: The Biography of Frances Willard*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022). Evan’s biography of Frances Willard offers excellent historical context for the Christian roots of first wave feminism through the Christian Temperance Union and campaigns for women’s right to vote. More detailed analyses of the relationship and historical continuations and apparent disconnect between first and second wave feminism are well developed in feminist studies.

⁷² Beth Allison Barr, *The Making of Biblical Womanhood: How the Subjugation of Women Became Gospel Truth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2021).

⁷³ Melody Maxwell, “Faithfully Feminist? Ordained Baptist Women in Atlantic Canada,” in *Canadian Society of Church History Annual Meeting* (Congress 2024, McGill University, Montreal, QC, 2024).

participating in second wave feminism, but as Melody Maxwell's study of ordained Baptist women in Atlantic Canada proves, they did hold to some of the movement's tenants and even claimed them to be their own, in a quiet and religiously appropriate way.⁷⁴

However they made sense of the shifting definitions of gender equality around them and within their own religious heritage, family systems, and experiences, the women of early YWAM affirmed the ideals of egalitarianism at least in their practices. To join YWAM's programs in its first decade meant that one was signing up to proclaim their faith in public and to others. Preaching, evangelizing, praying for the sick, and going out to minister without the presence of men were common practices for the young women of YWAM. Added to the already risqué ministry agenda in the eyes of some, much of YWAM's ministry was done outside of North America and in cultures whose gender roles were far more conservative and restrictive for women in the public sphere than those of their home cultures.

In addition to the complex cultural implications of gender norms that these women experienced, the majority of early women in YWAM were ethnically white of European descent and came from the US, Canada, and New Zealand. There were exceptions. Nina Gonzales, a Latina woman from California, went as a Vocational Volunteer to Liberia in 1964. Tapua Moala, a Tongan woman, pioneered YWAM's first location in Papua New Guinea in partnership with her husband in 1969. Michal McCord, an African American woman from the Chicago area, travelled the globe on YWAM's

⁷⁴ Maxwell, "Faithfully Feminist."

second Around-the-World team in 1970. The racial and ethnic backgrounds of all of the YWAM women, especially those who came from non-white racialized backgrounds, are important to consider. For Nina Gonzales and Michal McCord, their ethnicity and race were central to their intercultural mission experience and that of their hosts.⁷⁵ The women of YWAM experienced complex gendered religious, social, and intercultural realities as they travelled the world, served the global church, and extended the evangelistic mission of YWAM.

Significance of the Study

This dissertation offers a number of significant scholarly contributions to the fields of mission studies, global Christianity, mission history, history of pentecostalism, women's history, and the history of youth. Reconstructing the chronological history of early YWAM, the dissertation documents the names, places, networks, relationships, and types of ministry of the first generations. As a foundational work, the dissertation provides in-depth insight into the social, religious, and cultural realities of local, regional, national, and transnational histories. While the dissertation is composed of what at times

⁷⁵ Nina Gonzales noted that the children in Liberia were happy to welcome her "because of my youth and my 'brown' skin. The girls here at the school had a hard time trying to decide if I was black or white. You see, I'm the first Spanish person they've ever met..." See "The Nina Gonzales Story...How an Urgent Missionary Need was Met by Youth With A Mission," *Advance on Strategic Frontiers*, August 1964, 2, Folder 1964, Publications – 1964-1994 ADVANCE, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive. Michal McCord's presence on an otherwise white team was a point that gained attention during their campus ministry in Ceylon. Young students were impressed that the ATW team members were interracial. See Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report from Ceylon by Floyd and Sally McClung, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

seem like minute and insignificant details of people's names, places, church names, etc., these inclusions are necessary to lay the framework of a critical history that will form the foundation for future research in a diversity of fields.

YWAM's early history provides a specific example of one modern global mission movement that was a part of the larger expansion of evangelical missionary organizations, or the "Second Protestant Missionary Family" that rose to global Christian prominence in the latter part of the twentieth century.⁷⁶ Alongside Ian Randall's recent history of Operation Mobilization, the dissertation provides a concrete history of a transnational youth mission movement. It can help scholars understand how these organizations developed, what made them attractive to young people, how and why they spread, and how they were translated into local expressions across diverse cultures and world regions.⁷⁷ Additionally, the dissertation gives insight into mid-century trends and emerging practices of evangelism, mission, and church planting that profoundly shaped and defined the rise of evangelical mission organizations. The dissertation is an example of transnational North American pentecostal spirituality of the modern period that emphasized supernaturalism and variations of ecstatic spirituality that translated across cultural barriers and shared much with emerging expressions of global Christianity.

By making a historic link between YWAM, revivalist pentecostalism, and the AG/PAOC, the dissertation is a significant contribution to pentecostal history. Not only

⁷⁶ Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad*, 10.

⁷⁷ Ian M. Randall and George Verwer, *Spiritual Revolution: The Story of OM* (Milton Keynes, UK: Authentic, 2008).

does the research add local, intercultural, and global narratives of pentecostal actors and practices of evangelism and mission to the historical record, it also traces the ministry practices and patterns of early itinerant pentecostal ministry families, who practiced what I call a “family ministry model.” The model, which included all family members in the work and ministry of evangelism and church planting, offers a counternarrative to the more typical “hierarchical model of family relationships,” that resulted in pentecostal men following God’s call, “but often left women and children to fend for themselves.”⁷⁸ The “family ministry model” of YWAM’s progenitors and early pentecostals maintained a radical egalitarianism that ensured women, children, youth, and men were seen and included as able workers in the administration of God’s mission. While modern readers may find the notion of children singing on street corners to draw a crowd for their parents’ evangelistic message as unethical or even scandalous, the fact that some early pentecostal men and women shared pulpits and believed their children were qualified ministers challenges some analyses of early pentecostal mission and ministry.

The reconstruction of the vast family networks within Classical Pentecostal denominations and wider, traditional mission networks that undergirded YWAM’s success offer another significant contribution to pentecostal history and mission history.⁷⁹ The dissertation shows how pentecostalism was and is a relationally-based movement that travelled along family, or family-like, relational networks. Tightknit friendships spanned the globe and, as pentecostalism became more friendly to and with the wider

⁷⁸ Blumhofer, “Women in Pentecostalism,” 398.

⁷⁹ Bergunder, *The South Indian Pentecostal Movement*, 4-9.

evangelical movement, began to include denominations and independent mission organizations that may previously have opposed association with pentecostalism. In this sense, the dissertation demonstrates how through groups like YWAM, modern pentecostalism underwent a sort of outward transformation that allowed it to retain its pentecostal spirituality and beliefs inwardly while it emphasized an evangelical ecumenism that made it acceptable to a broad range of evangelicals and Protestants. YWAM became what it later called “interdenominationally pentecostal” and, as this dissertation reveals, this both/and belonging played a central role in the phenomenon that scholars have called the pentecostalization of world Christianity.⁸⁰

Bringing the history of the AG and the history of early YWAM into conversation provides new insight into how both organizations contributed to the other’s global growth and success. While the first generation of YWAMers know that their roots were in the AG, the institutional memories of both groups seem to suffer amnesia to this fact. YWAM’s history rarely mentions its connections to the AG, with the exception of Loren Cunningham and Janice Rogers mentioning the denominational split in *Is That Really You, God?*. Beyond this reference, the denominational affiliation of the churches and missionaries with whom YWAM worked is rarely mentioned. The absence makes the history seem like their global partners were some sort of “general” Christians. The history however, shows these relationships were rather connections and collaborations between

⁸⁰ Janice (Cunningham) Rogers and Jim Rogers, interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, Kailua-Kona, HI, May 18, 2022, recording, Allison Kach-Yawngwe’s Personal Collection; Gastón Espinosa, “The Pentecostalization of Latin American and U.S. Latino Christianity,” *Pneuma* 26, no. 2 (January 1, 2004): 262–92; Andrzej Kobylński, “The Global Pentecostalization of Christianity and Its Ethical Consequences,” *Chicago Studies* 55, no. 2 (Fall 2016): 100–120.

YWAM and the AG, both in its US-based organization and its global arms. Even though Loren and Darlene Cunningham formally left the AG in 1965, their itineration, recruitment, and influence within and on AG youth in the US had and has lasting effects on the denomination. YWAM's innovations challenged AG's Department of Foreign Missions operating model to the point of motivating denominational leaders to push YWAM out of the denomination. Ironically, the AG incorporated YWAM-like youth mission models into its own programming within a few years after they rejected Loren and Darlene Cunningham's ministry. YWAM's role as an innovator and catalyst for AG mission expansion has yet to be formally acknowledged by the Assemblies of God.⁸¹

This dissertation extends the much-needed retrieval of women's history in both mission and pentecostalism.⁸² Through naming the women and reconstructing their experiences within YWAM and their writings and reflections years later, the dissertation adds biographical histories of young pentecostal women to the growing body of women's mission history and biography. While many of the women's archival documents used to guide the research did not include reflections on gender, race, and culture, their experiences, oral histories, and personal collections tell complex stories that do, at times,

⁸¹ Everett A. Wilson, *Strategy of the Spirit: J. Philip Hogan and the Growth of the Assemblies of God Worldwide, 1960-1990* (Oxford: Regnum, 1997). Wilson's biography of Hogan mentions YWAM but gives no underlying credit or acknowledgement that YWAM's international ministry undoubtedly helped AG missions grow and expand. Interestingly, it was Hogan who vehemently opposed YWAM and in his position as the Director of the Department of Foreign Missions wrote letters to all AG missionary personnel instructing them not to work with YWAM. Most of those personnel did not fall in line. (The insight of the connection between YWAM and AG's mutual growth originally came through a conversation with Dr. Steve Cochrane.)

⁸² Wolfgang Vondey, *Pentecostalism: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 128.

shed light on these areas of intersectionality.⁸³ The women's history contained within the dissertation offers a unique look predominantly at young women's religious experiences and ministries as a part of a transnational phenomenon.

The early history of YWAM offers a specific historical account of a modern world Christianity, detailing how it spread as a polycentric movement through conversion, mission, and migration.⁸⁴ Not only does the dissertation detail how YWAM's members practiced evangelism and mission, but it documents vital local and global dimensions of the movement that were held together through transnational networks and relational linkages across region, culture, and generation. Local expressions of YWAM that originated in the global South, like YWAM's expressions in Tonga and Papua New Guinea, came about through indigenous actors connected to western pentecostalism and evangelicalism. The indigenous expressions of YWAM were also global because they were, at least in part, in relationship with US, Canadian, or New Zealand pentecostal and charismatic young people.

The first generation of young YWAMers launched local and global religious youth movement, the study of which is a significant addition to the history of youth. The study of youth ministries and the creation of youth culture during the long 1960s are well studied, but as the previous section on youth culture noted, very few historical works have considered the role of religion in the formation of youth counterculture. The

⁸³ Jewell Nicholson Cunningham's books include detailed reflection about her struggle as a woman preacher in pentecostalism.

⁸⁴ Kim and Kim, *Christianity as a World Religion*, 3, 8, 10, 11.

dissertation shows how young pentecostals were able to challenge the adult-led religious institution while remaining faithful to their religious convictions. The history of early YWAM shows another side to the youth culture of the long 1960s. In an era known for the hippy movement and an exodus of young people from the church, YWAM young people found their purpose in spreading an evangelistic message of salvation in Jesus Christ to their wayward peers and the “lost souls” of the world. YWAM’s history shows that emerging evangelical mission organizations of the long 1960s gave Christian youth an avenue to practice their faith and be challenged in a global Christian landscape. Youth participated in and helped create YWAM’s specific brand of pentecostal-charismatic missional Christianity that continues to shape the church, mission, and world. YWAM not only gave young people incentive to remain faithful to the church and Christianity during a period known for secularization and decline in church attendance, they redefined the role youth played in church and mission and positioned them to become leaders in emerging world Christian movements.

Limitations

This dissertation is intended to be a foundational, chronological history of early YWAM. Its purpose is historical and not theological or missiological. As such it does not analyze the mission theology and practice of early YWAM. The historical reconstruction contained throughout the following chapters does relate to matters of theology, ecclesiology, and missiology and will surely aid scholars who use the research to pursue

those endeavors. The dissertation contributes to a number of aspects of social history, but it is not a sociological analysis of the historical actors, the movement, or broader religious constituencies and trends. No commentary is given on the motivations or social theories that may have been at play in the decisions or the actions of the individuals or groups.

A few practical limitations of this research include YWAM's organizational structure and an aging first generation. First, as a faith mission, YWAM has remained intentionally decentralized and functions without a central office, official headquarters, or formal record of membership. Each operating location may, or may not, hold its own records. Due to high turnover and a transient global staff, archival records that were retained in some places have been thrown out.⁸⁵ The most consistent and accessible source of YWAM's history is therefore retained by the living members of the first generation. Access to oral histories and personal papers potentially kept by YWAM's first participants is significantly limited by the realities of age, memory loss, and death of the first generation. These factors have directly limited the research of the dissertation. During the course of my research, YWAM's founder, Loren Cunningham, died, as did a host of others from the first cohorts of youth missionaries.⁸⁶ Other people from the founding generation that I met had recently gotten rid of all of their files and photos of

⁸⁵ Ramona Musch, interview by Allison Kach-Yawnghe, Atlanta, GA, June 20, 2022, transcript, Allison Kach-Yawnghe's Personal Collection. Ramona (Jensen) Musch recounted how the loss of archival material happened at YWAM Tyler, Texas. A storeroom of archives that Jim and Jan Rogers had collected and planned to transport to their new home in Kailua-Kona, Hawaii, was disposed of by a young staff member who found the boxes and didn't know what they were. Assuming they were garbage, the staff member trashed them all.

⁸⁶ I was able to meet with Loren Cunningham in May 2022 in Kona during my archival research trip. I was also able to communicate with Rod Gerhart, who recently died, by email.

their YWAM years because they needed to downsize and their children were not interested in those effects. Thus, the need to locate, digitize, and save as many of the first generation's personal collections is both a limitation and a pressing need that will only continue with time.

Another limitation of the research lays in the fact that I, the researcher, have been a missionary in YWAM and maintain relationship and association with them. While my "insider" status lends itself to an inherent bias, I am also aware that without my association and history with YWAM, this project would have not likely come to pass. Because YWAM is a relationally-based organization, I was able to be in touch with many of the first generation of YWAMers who were happy to talk to me, learn about my work, and help as they were able. It was through personal relationships and the wider YWAM network that I was able to discover a number of personally held collections and to have access to them. My status as an "insider" gave me an understanding of how the organization runs and what the founding narratives and myths are and are becoming as they continue to evolve. Thus, while I name my involvement with YWAM as both a strength and limitation, I acknowledge that I hold a personal respect for the people with whom I have spoken and from whom I received archival records. My admiration has been tempered with the necessary scholarly distance with the added assistance of my readers, doctoral advisor, and academic colleagues contributing to a historical reconstruction that includes both a hermeneutic of charity and a commitment to historical honesty.

Structure & Organization

This dissertation is organized in two main parts. The first four chapters following the introduction, Chapters 2 to 5, reconstruct YWAM's early history chronologically beginning with its pre-history and global expansion up to the end of 1970. Next, Chapters 6 and 7, while also organized chronologically, offer thematic analyses of the movement.

Beginning with the prehistory of YWAM's founders Loren Cunningham and, after their marriage in 1963, Darlene Scratch Cunningham, Chapter 2 reconstructs the transnational pentecostal family networks from the 1930s to the 1950s that were crucial in preparing for and supporting YWAM in its founding years. This chapter assesses YWAM as a continuation of revivalist pentecostalism. Chapter 2 begins with the family histories of YWAM's founders set in the first decades of the pentecostal movement in the US and Canada. It traces the increasingly global and interdenominational friendships and networks that were responsible for upholding YWAM's expansion to every world region by the early 1970s.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 chart YWAM's chronological development as an expanding global Christian movement up to the close of 1970. Together, these three chapters trace YWAM's global growth through pentecostal and later evangelical and emerging charismatic networks. Chapter 3 begins by reconstructing YWAM's development from 1960 to 1964. Beginning with its founding, first programs, and early growth in the Assemblies of God in the United States, Chapter 3 develops YWAM's early history and growth in and among pentecostal denominational and mission networks in the US and

Caribbean. Special attention is given to detail emerging networks and relationships with independent pentecostal and evangelical networks that were central to YWAM's global growth after 1965. A section on YWAM's first "international" evangelistic and ministry work in the Bahamas and Dominican Republic in 1964 also details YWAM's early history throughout the Caribbean.

Chapter 4 continues in chronological sequence and constructs YWAM's ongoing global spread from 1965 to 1967. The chapter details a period of accelerated global proliferation as YWAM's short-term evangelistic crusades expanded into Mexico, Central America (Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, Panama), Canada, and the South Pacific (Samoa, New Zealand, Fiji, Tonga, Australia, Papua New Guinea). Relying primarily on growth through global pentecostal networks until YWAM's localization in New Zealand in 1967, the period from 1965 to 1967 was marked by local Christians aligning with YWAM's vision for youth in mission and establishing a permanent YWAM presence. YWAM in Canada was founded in 1966 and YWAM in New Zealand was founded in 1967. In both cases, local Canadian and New Zealand young adults took initiative and entered into full-time itinerant evangelism and youth mobilization. The result was both local and global establishment of YWAM as an international mission organization.

Chapter 5 develops YWAM's history from 1968 to 1970. In this chapter, sections reconstruct the founding and formatting of two innovative mission programs – the Around-The-World team (ATW) and the School of Evangelism (SOE). The ATW allowed small teams of YWAMers to partner with pentecostal and evangelical

missionaries and local churches throughout South and Southeast Asia and into Africa. The networks and contacts that allowed for growth also produced long-term relationships and YWAM work in some of the regions and countries the teams visited. Likewise, YWAM's establishment in Europe (Switzerland, Germany, France, Spain) details its reception by traditional denominations and support from emerging evangelical networks. By the close of 1970, and especially with YWAM's acceptance and growth in Europe, the chapter demonstrates YWAM's transformation into a truly global enterprise with an increasing number of full-time faith missionaries multiplying their evangelistic efforts and initiating new ministries.

The second part of the dissertation's thematic chapters begin with an exploration of the history of YWAM as a modern youth movement. Chapter 6 begins with a historic overview of the youth and student missionary movements that predated YWAM and, even if indirectly, inspired the youth ministries and mission movements that followed. Historic reconstruction of the formal youth organization in the Assemblies of God that began and the contemporary youth and student organizations that emerged before or during the same period as YWAM follow. Next, a history of Loren Cunningham as a youth and his vision for youth in mission are explored as the early youth-focused programs of YWAM are described. Chapter 6 gives special attention to naming the youth whose names have been retained in the extant archival documents and argues that part of YWAM's success can be attributed to the fact that it exited the adult-led Assemblies of God and became an independent youth-led mission.

Chapter 7 reconstructs YWAM's early history as women's movement and its success through a family ministry model. Highlighting the women who made YWAM from the 1930s to 1970, this chapter is organized chronologically. Beginning with Jewell Nicholson Cunningham, Loren Cunningham's mother, the chapter contains biographical histories of early YWAM women where sources allowed. Sections list the names of YWAM women and describe the work or activities they were involved in. The chapter adds the histories and contributions of women like Lorraine Theetge – YWAM's first office manager, Nina Gonzales – YWAM's first Latina missionary, Ruth Marshall Wilson – YWAM's first historian, editor, and published author, Darlene (Scratch) Cunningham – Loren Cunningham's wife and YWAM's co-founder, and Joy Dawson – YWAM's first charismatic female Bible teacher – to the history of women in mission. The chapter proves that YWAM, like the broader movements from which it came, was a women's movement.

A short chapter concludes the dissertation. Chapter 8 summarizes what the dissertation has accomplished and reflects on its contributions. The closing section explores scholarly and practical implications and applications of YWAM's early history and suggests a number of opportunities its completion creates.

Conclusion

From his Bahamian vision to a force in global mission, YWAM was becoming the manifestation of Loren Cunningham's spiritual dream by the close of its first decade of

existence.⁸⁷ Within just a couple of years, YWAM had mobilized hundreds of AG youth into short-term, cross-cultural evangelism. Soon, YWAM expanded to Canada and New Zealand where local leaders promoted youth mission and led youth evangelism at home and abroad. By 1969, YWAM was running its own missionary training school in Switzerland, had a team of missionaries travelling around South Asia for a year, and was evangelizing across Europe. By 1970, YWAM was active on every inhabited continent.

Loren and Darlene Cunningham began challenging youth to share their faith at home and abroad in 1963 as they criss-crossed the United States and spoke in AG youth groups, churches, and Bible College chapels. Along with the challenge they issued, they actively created new mission opportunities that worked with the schedules and limitations of young people, utilized popular techniques in evangelism, and embraced cutting-edge technology. What Darlene and Loren could not have known during their early years of preaching, teaching, and taking young people from door-to-door to share their faith in the US, Caribbean, Mexico, and Canada, was that their vision for untrained youth as effective agents in worldwide evangelism was sparking a global movement that changed the face of world mission and altered the character of world Christianity. Long before any of these formative events, however, the vision of YWAM was like a seed germinating in the pentecostal family ministries of both Darlene and Loren Cunningham.

⁸⁷ According to YWAM's own data, by 1980, it had 1,800 full-time staff. By 2000, its 11,000 staff were over 50% non-Western from 130 countries of the world. By 2010, it claimed to have 18,000 staff in over 1200 ministry locations and in 2024 its works in evangelism, mission training, mercy or humanitarian aid, and the "spheres" of society, including Business as Mission, in over 180 countries. "Our Story: His/Story," YWAM.org, accessed December 31, 2024, <https://ywam.org/about-us/history#:~:text=HIS%2FSTORY.of%20the%20Holy%20Spirit's%20leading.>

Chapter 2: A Pentecostal Continuation

YWAM emerged during the long 1960s as both a continuation of Classical Pentecostalism and as a contemporary innovation of modern global evangelicalism. Rooted in the revivalist pentecostalism of the first decades of the 20th century, YWAM's founders and first participants were formed and shaped by the early pentecostal movement. Through family, friendship, and mission networks, YWAM extended, or returned to, the evangelistic and missionary fervour that motivated the first North American pentecostals to proclaim their "full gospel" to the world.⁸⁸ While Spirit-baptism and signs and wonders were important to YWAM's identity and practice, these aspects of its spirituality were less pronounced than they were in the early decades of the pentecostal revival, as enshrined as central doctrine by denominations like the Assemblies of God.⁸⁹ YWAM's outward expression looked more like other post-war evangelical ministries, but at its core it remained pentecostal.

⁸⁸ Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 3; Wacker notes that the role of family and friendship networks was central to the development and spread of early pentecostalism in the US; Gary B. McGee, *Miracles, Missions, and American Pentecostalism*, xx; Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 3.

⁸⁹ Early accounts of YWAM's first Summer of Service (SOS) in 1964 include multiple testimonies of healing, miracles, and converts speaking in tongues. *God's Guerillas*, written by Ruth Marshall Wilson, a faithful AG member, also includes stories of tongue speaking, miracles, dreams and visions. Loren Cunningham and Janice Rogers' *Is That Really You, God?* is also full of miraculous stories of God's interventions, and dreams and visions. The point here is that YWAM did not shun these experiences, but they did not make them their main practices or doctrines. Another point worth noting is that YWAM functionally relied on supernatural encounters – words from God, visions, dreams, prophecy – to guide its decision making and programming. Communal prayer that emphasized hearing God's voice as an entire group or seeking direction through prayer was and remains a central practice of YWAM. Trusting in and following God's guidance as a spiritual and missional practice is central to YWAM's identity and spiritual teaching.

This chapter reconstructs the religious and relational histories responsible for and recognizable in YWAM's pentecostal continuities.⁹⁰ Beginning with YWAM's pentecostal heritage, the chapter reconstructs the pre-history that set the stage for YWAM's founding and development. The chapter focuses on the pentecostal ministries of Loren and Darlene Cunninghams' maternal and paternal families. Beginning with Loren's mother and father – Jewell Nicholson Cunningham and Tom Cecil (T.C.) Cunningham – followed by Darlene (Scratch) Cunningham's father and mother – Ed Scratch and Enid (Morris) Scratch – each section details the family history that formed the YWAM founders and prepared them for their own involvement in pentecostal and global mission ministry. The Nicholson, Cunningham, Scratch, and Morris histories reveal extensive family networks that spanned the US, Canada, and foreign mission fields. At the same time, the micro-histories recover the actors, events, and networks responsible for the spread of pentecostalism in local and global contexts and directly influenced YWAM's success. The chapter includes histories of the itinerant and pastoral ministries of entire family units who pioneered churches in North America's Classical Pentecostal denominations of the AG and PAOC. These family and religious histories reveal the interconnected relational networks that were in place long before YWAM was founded in 1960. The family networks reconstructed in this chapter were steeped in

⁹⁰ George Marsden defined “new evangelicals,” or neo-evangelicals, as evangelicals who broke with separatist fundamentalists in the 1940s and 1950s. Prominent figures, like Carl Henry and Billy Graham, came to be known as two prominent “new evangelicals” in their work to restore relationships with traditional, or mainline, Christian denominations and reengage with popular culture. See Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism*, 62, 73. Marsden noted how Billy Graham broke with “hardline fundamentalists” in 1957 and became one of neo-evangelicalism's leading figures.

revivalist pentecostalism and were directly responsible for YWAM's sustenance and success in its first decade and beyond.

YWAM's Heritage: Steeped in "Early Pentecost"

YWAM's spiritual heritage can be traced back to the early decades of the pentecostal movement in the United States, Canada, and the foreign mission field. In order to understand the ways in which YWAM was a continuation of early pentecostalism, this chapter will begin by reconstructing the family religious histories of YWAM's founder, Loren Cunningham, and co-founder, Darlene Scratch.⁹¹ While Loren founded YWAM with the help of a host of friends and fellow Assemblies of God ministers in 1960, it wasn't until his marriage to Darlene Scratch in June 1963 that YWAM's programming developed into an expansive international endeavor. Recognizing the religious heritage and history of both Darlene Scratch and Loren Cunningham is important for understanding the religious practices, values, ideas, and relationships that formed their own vision of faith in mission and practice that gave rise to early YWAM and positioned it to become a dominant actor in modern world mission.

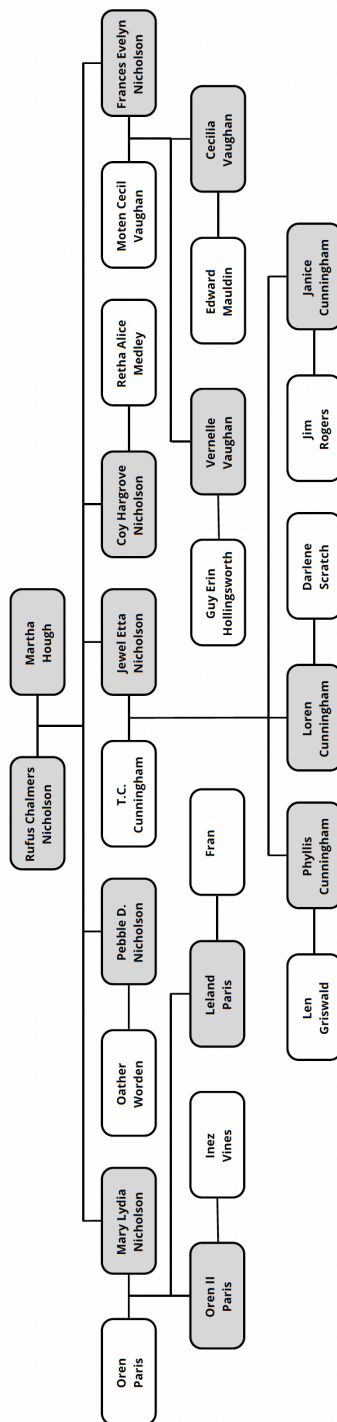
⁹¹ It is important to note that while YWAM officially names Loren and Darlene Cunningham as YWAM's co-founders, Loren founded YWAM as a single young man in December of 1960. He met Darlene Scratch in 1962 and they were engaged on January 5, 1963 and married on June 14, 1963. So, while they became co-founders, the "co-founder" language was not used in the mission until well into the 1980s. Until then, husbands held ministry titles and the women were "wives." Therefore, I am holding to the historical realities that Loren founded YWAM in 1960, but as of 1963 Darlene joined him as a co-founder and co-worker. When I reference YWAM's founder before 1963, I will refer to Loren with the assumption that after 1963 they can both be considered as such.

Beginning with Loren's family history, I will highlight the early life and ministry of his mother, Jewell Nicholson, and her family of origin. Next, I will explore the history of Loren's father, Tom Cecil (T.C.) Cunningham. From there, I will reconstruct the Nicholson-Cunningham ministry as a young married couple and growing family up until the years of YWAM's founding and early development. I will then return to Darlene Scratch's pentecostal foundations by retracing the Canadian religious history of her father, Ed Scratch, and his family and her mother, Enid Morris. A section on Ed and Enid Scratch's ministry as a married couple and family in Western Canada, the Midwestern US, and Pacific Northwestern US up to the early 1960s concludes the series of microhistories.

The family histories offer significant insight into how Loren Cunningham and Darlene Scratch were raised and formed by both early pentecostal ideals, practices, and networks of their parents and the Classical Pentecostal institutions of the Assemblies of God, Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, and pentecostal missions.⁹² Loren and Darlene's family histories extend religious and pentecostal history in North America. They also give a sense of the vast global networks that these young mission leaders had access to in the early years of YWAM.

⁹² Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 3.

Nicholson Family Tree*



*This family tree is intended to help the reader follow the family history reconstructions in Chapter 2. It is not a comprehensive or complete family tree and is incomplete.

Figure 1. Nicholson Family Tree. This rough genealogy is intended to provide a visual representation of the people and their relationships to one another as documented in the life of Jewell Nicholson and Loren Cunningham. See also Appendix A.

Jewell Nicholson: “Petticoat Preacher in the Pulpit”⁹³

The year before the Assemblies of God was formally organized in Hot Springs, Arkansas, a share-cropper in neighboring Oklahoma experienced a dramatic pentecostal conversion. Rufus Chalmers Nicholson, Loren Cunningham’s maternal grandfather, had been known as an angry drunk before his conversion. Sometime around 1910, Martha Nicholson and her children had been attending meetings hosted in the homes of local farmers where they heard about “Pentecost” from travelling preachers. Martha believed and had her own pentecostal conversion and began to pray for the Nicholson family, including her husband Rufus. Soon, the entire family began attending outdoor revival meetings, known as “brush arbor meetings,” along with their neighbors. At the “brush arbor meetings,” itinerant pentecostal preachers like A.H. Humbard and C.A. Lasater shared the message of “Pentecost.” Seekers waited for the baptism of the Holy Spirit and often spoke in tongues.⁹⁴ The Nicholson family regularly attended these pentecostal revivals that were sweeping through the Southwest.

One morning in 1913 at the family breakfast table, Martha Nicholson asked her husband to pray for the food and after some time of silence and with tears streaming

⁹³ Jewell Nicholson Cunningham and Florence Kilgore Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph: In the Ministry with the Man Called “Mr. Missions”* (Tyler, TX: Son-Rise Publications, 1988), 23.

⁹⁴ Jewell Nicholson Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand* (Miami, FL: J.N. Cunningham, 1984), 10. Jewell lists Humbard incorrectly, as E.H., but identifies him as Rex Humbard’s father. The correct name for Humbard is Alpha E. Humbard and is identified in early denominational records as A.E. Humbard. See “Ordained Elders, Pastors, Ministers, Evangelists and Missionaries of the Church of God in Christ with Their Stations for 1914,” *Word and Witness* 9, no. 12 (December 20, 1913): 7. Here A.E. Humbard and C.A. Lasater are both listed, Humbard serving in Pangburn, AK and Lasater at Shoal Creek, AK which makes sense that their itinerant preaching ministries took them to nearby Oklahoma.

down his face he exclaimed “Glory! Hallelujah!”⁹⁵ Rufus had his conversion experience and began preaching to others the same day. Rufus continued his labor as a share-cropper and preached in his spare time. Not long after his conversion he received a call from God to preach the gospel full time. In 1915, the family left their share cropping work to travel and preach as an itinerant family in ministry throughout the Southwestern US. For the next 15 years, the Nicholson family lived as full time travelling evangelistic. Their income came from offerings and their home was their covered wagon with a few winters settled in rural towns where Rufus took short-term pastoral work.⁹⁶ The Nicholson family preached at revival meetings and existing churches and started new churches in many places. Recalling her childhood in a 1992 interview, Jewell noted that her father:

led their family evangelism team in two or three services daily in the oilfields of Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas. The entire family participated in the services and played a total of eight instruments. ‘Dad always said, anything to make a racket to get people to come.’⁹⁷

As full participants in the evangelistic enterprise of pentecostalism, the Nicholson children – Marylydia, Pebble, Jewell, Coy, and Frances – began preaching at young ages. Jewell started preaching at the age of 12 and entered into full time ministry when she was 17. Rufus Nicholson, like many early pentecostal preachers, exemplified the belief that if a person was filled with the Spirit, no matter their gender or age, they were equipped with everything they needed to preach. Rufus, like many of his contemporaries and influential

⁹⁵ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 12. Jewell noted that her father, Rufus, grew up in a Presbyterian family in Arkansas.

⁹⁶ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 50.

⁹⁷ Shirley Walston and Scott Tompkins, “Aunt Jewell and Uncle Tom — YWAM’s Grandparents,” (published on ywam.org in 1992), Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

voices in the early pentecostal movement, opposed the formal organizing of the early movement into a denomination. Only converted for less than a year when the AG was formed, Rufus evaded ordination and formal affiliation with the AG until 1920, because he believed that “joining an organization would cause a preacher to become spiritually dead.”⁹⁸

For unknown reasons, Rufus’ views on denominational affiliation changed and he eventually brought the churches he and his family started into the AG. Following their father in 1928, Marylydia and Jewell became licensed ministers in the denomination and Francis and Coy were soon to follow in 1930.⁹⁹ After their mother Martha passed away in August 1928, Rufus remarried and continued his ministry with his new wife. The remaining unmarried siblings, Coy and Jewell, continued in itinerant preaching, until they also met their spouses and ventured into new ministries as wife-husband teams.¹⁰⁰

The growing network of Nicholson children in pentecostal ministry provided the next generation, namely Loren Cunningham, with a vast expanse of networks that spanned the United States. Marylydia married Oren Paris. Frances married Cecil Vaughan. Pebble married Oather Worden. Coy married Reatha Meadley. All of Jewell’s siblings, with the exception of Pebble, were ordained in the Assemblies of God and all of them married spouses who were in pentecostal ministry with the AG. Thus, the family

⁹⁸ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 100. Other early pentecostal leaders like William Durham of Chicago and Ellen Hebden of the East End Mission in Toronto, Canada shared this conviction.

⁹⁹ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 175. Jewell describes Pebble as an “intercessor” or one whom God had called to pray for the conversion of souls to Christianity.

¹⁰⁰ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 185–86. Jewell notes that Marylydia married Oren Paris (father of Leeland and Oren Jr.), Frances married Cecil Vaughan and Pebble married Oather Worden. The latter two met their spouses in Quitaque, Texas. Cecil was a convert of the Nicholson revival.

network was also an extended pentecostal network. After the early 1930s, when the family gathered, their reunion doubled as tent revivals where each family member took turns to preach. Preaching, singing, and organizing evangelistic services was what the Nicholson children and their families did for work and pleasure. Their commitment to preaching the gospel at every occasion was a lifestyle. Their itinerant evangelistic ministry and church planting remained the foundation for the relationships between the Nicholson children and was repeated in the lives of the grandchildren.

One example of the Nicholson grandchildren replicating the family ministry pattern and supportive network that gave rise to YWAM is found in the relationship Loren Cunningham had with his two cousins, Oren Jr. and Leland Paris. Sons of Oren and Marylydia, the Paris boys were raised like the other Nicholson grandchildren – in full time pentecostal itinerant and pastoral ministry. Both of the Paris brothers became ordained AG pastors and were important personal and ministerial supports for Loren and YWAM.

As Loren launched his new youth mission ministry, YWAM, his cousins supported the new work in every way they could. Leland Paris pastored First Assembly of God Church in Hammonton, New Jersey, and was an early promoter of YWAM's work. In a letter to Leland on January 30, 1968, Loren wrote that he wondered if Leland would still be talking to him on account that so many of Leland's young people had become a part of YWAM's programming.¹⁰¹ The First Assembly of God Church hosted

¹⁰¹ Loren D. Cunningham to Rev. Leland Paris, January 30, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

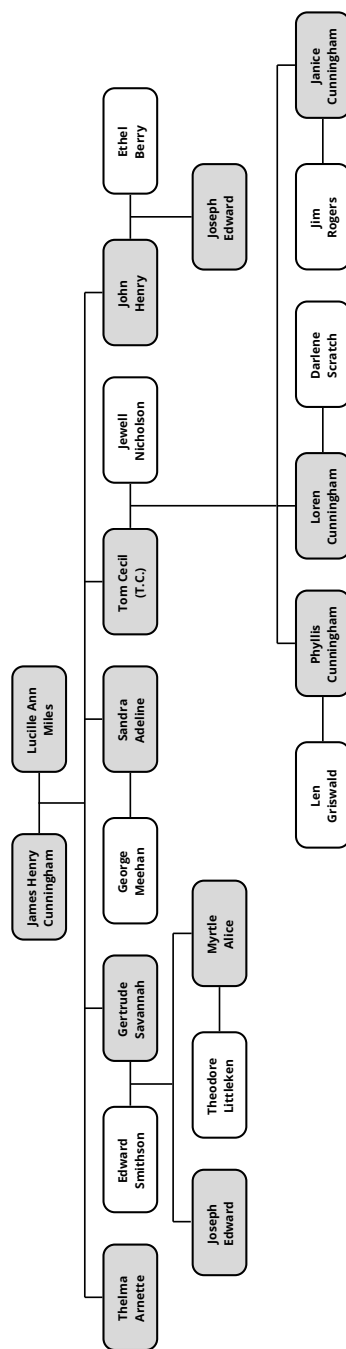
YWAM's first itinerant ministers – Loren and Darlene Cunningham and Floyd and Sally McClung¹⁰² – as they travelled the country to promote their mission program for young people. In fact, Leland's church was the cite of YWAM's first Summer of Service (SOS) in the US – the Trans-USA SOS in 1968. During this time, the church donated land to YWAM on the condition that they would build on it and use it for the work of the Mission.¹⁰³ By the late 1970s, Leland and Oren with their wives and families, joined YWAM and became prominent leaders in Texas and Arkansas. Leland still acts as a leader today at YWAM's location in Tyler, Texas.¹⁰⁴ These close relationships, both familial and denominational, were central to YWAM's growth in the United States.

¹⁰² Floyd and Sally McClung were part of the first “full-time” volunteers to join YWAM in 1967 when they became the Caribbean Regional Directors. They remained in YWAM for decades and Floyd was YWAM's international director from 1985 to the early 1990s. The couple left YWAM and founded their own global mission organization All Nations International in 1993. Both Floyd and Sally participated in YWAM's first Summers of Service. Sally and Floyd attended the Las Vegas Domestic Crusade during Easter break in 1965. Sally was on the Samoa SOS in 1965 and Jamaica SOS in 1966. Floyd led one of the Jamaica SOS groups in 1966. Sally volunteered as the YWAM secretary from the fall of 1966 to the spring of 1967. Floyd graduated from Southern California College June 1, 1967 and they were married on June 3, 1967. By June 5th, the newlyweds began their itinerant ministry with YWAM to recruit and plan the 1968 SOSes in the Caribbean. In 1970, the McClungs led the second Around the World team and in 1971 they were students in YWAM's Swiss SOE. After their SOE they relocated to Kabul, Afghanistan to continue YWAM's ministry to hippies. Near the end of 1973, the McClungs moved to Amsterdam and founded a ministry called “The Ark.” They worked in Holland for 18 years. Sally McClung, email to Allison Kach, September 30, 2020. Sally and Floyd McClung influenced YWAM and generations of YWAMers through their leadership, pioneering mission work, and evangelism and biblical teaching. Floyd published over 14 books, some of which are foundational works on pentecostal evangelism and missiology. *Just Off Chicken Street* (1975) details their ministry in Kabul, Afghanistan. *Living On the Devil's Doorstep: The McClung Family Story* (1988) recounts their family and ministry history. For a list of other books and biographical information, see “Founder's Library,” All Nations International, accessed March 11, 2025, <https://allnations.international/founders-library>.

¹⁰³ “1969 Youth With A Mission Report,” *Youth With A Mission Advance*, 7, no. 1 (January 1970): 5, Folder 1970, Publications – 1964-1994 ADVANCE, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive.

¹⁰⁴ Oren Coy Paris II passed away on June 21, 2012 and was married to Ines Vines Paris. They had four children, Oren Paris III, Twila Paris, the contemporary Christian music artist popular in the early 1990s, Starla Paris, and Angie Paris. Oren and Ines founded Ecclesia College in 1975 in Springdale, Arkansas, which they developed in tandem with YWAM.

Cunningham Family Tree*



*This family tree is intended to help the reader follow the family history reconstructions in Chapter 2. It is not a comprehensive or complete family tree and is incomplete.

Figure 2. Cunningham Family Tree. This rough genealogy is intended to provide a visual representation of the people and their relationships to one another as documented in the life of T.C. Cunningham and Loren Cunningham. See also Appendix B.

T.C. Cunningham: Pentecostal Pioneer and Church Builder in the Southwestern US

Tom Cecil (T.C.) Cunningham was just starting out as an itinerant evangelist when he met Jewell Nicholson on the revival circuit in Oklahoma and Arkansas in the spring of 1932. After years assisting his father's ministry and working in construction, Tom had resolved to follow in his father's footsteps to leave everything to preach salvation in Jesus Christ. T.C. was one of five siblings raised near San Antonio, Texas. His family suffered greatly when their mother, Lucy Miles Cunningham, died from smallpox in 1916.¹⁰⁵ This tragedy led Tom's father, James Henry Cunningham to declare the loss as God's answer to his prayer about whether or not to become a full-time preacher. Before the death of Lucy, James was in medical school and had ministered in a local church. Although he had some early pentecostal experiences, he was still a part of the Baptist church.¹⁰⁶ Convinced of his need to follow what he saw as God's leading, James Henry Cunningham packed up his five children and sent them on the train to be cared for by their grandmother. From there, the Cunningham children were placed in separate foster homes with friends and family for the duration of their childhood.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 18. Tom's siblings were Arnette, Gertrude, Sandra, and John Henry.

¹⁰⁶ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 21. Jewell recounted Tom's story explaining how in 1907 his father had "been praying about whether or not he should preach, he began speaking in tongues. He was certain he was going crazy. His Baptist pastor told him, 'If you get to praying too much like that you'll lose your mind!' Shortly after that a woman came from Houston where they'd had a much-publicized camp meeting in 1906."... "About eight years after Mom died, he found and joined the Assemblies of God." "Rev. James Henry 'The Walking Bible' Cunningham," FindaGrave.com, accessed November 25, 2024, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/162494786/james_henry_cunningham.

¹⁰⁷ The model of male itinerant evangelists leaving family and children behind to follow God in itinerant evangelism was prevalent in early pentecostalism. While scandalous in today's imaginations of family roles and responsibilities, it was not abnormal for men to leave their families for extended times to seek employment or labor opportunities in order to provide for their families. Men worked long hours away

James Henry Cunningham was known as the “Walking Bible,” and Tom was the only one of the five children to follow him into ministry.¹⁰⁸ The older children – Thelma Arnett, Gertrude Savannah, Sandra Adeline – who spent less time with foster families than Tom and the youngest child, John Henry, blamed their father for abandoning them and breaking up the family for his ministry pursuits.¹⁰⁹ Tom’s older sisters made their way in the world and did not maintain a relationship their father or their brothers. Sometime during James Henry’s early years as an itinerant evangelist in Texas and the Southwest he had an encounter with pentecostalism and became a pentecostal, affiliating with the then young Assemblies of God.¹¹⁰ As a pentecostal evangelist, James Henry Cunningham and his son Tom became acquainted with other pioneering evangelists of the Southwestern US. Travelling the interconnected and expanding pentecostal revival circuit, the Cunninghams visited new pentecostal mission churches to hold revivals for the pastors or they started revivals in towns without a pentecostal church with the intent of pioneering one. The pentecostal message spread by word of mouth and the itinerant

from their homes and families. Still, the model of early pentecostal preachers leaving their wives and children to fend for themselves for months on end was less than exemplary if social context made it not completely scandalous. In James Henry Cunningham’s case, he left his children with family members. See Blumhofer, “Women in Pentecostalism,” 398.

¹⁰⁸ After dispersing his five children in the homes of relatives, Jim Cunningham married Annie Laura Stephens in October 1916. Annie was also a preacher and the couple had four children together and were divorced by 1928. On May 16, 1928, Jim married a third time, this time to a widow with three children, Mary Lee Hendrixson (Cherokee/Shawnee). The couple had four children together. “Rev. James Henry ‘The Walking Bible’ Cunningham.”

¹⁰⁹ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is that Really You, God?*, 13. Loren and Janice note that their Aunt Arnette and Aunt Sandra Meehan did not practice the Christian faith after feeling hurt and abandoned by their father. Both Arnette and Sandra became significant supports for Loren – Arnette paid for his university and Sandra and her husband George treated him like a son.

¹¹⁰ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 21.

preachers travelled to where another pentecostal told them there was no church or where there were hospitable pentecostal families who might host a revival. Their ministry was upheld by tight-knit relationships between pentecostal ministers and families.

T.C. & Jewell's Early Ministry: Dust Bowl Itinerancy to Established Ministry in "Canaan-land"

In early spring of 1932, T.C. Cunningham met Coy and Jewell Nicholson at a revival they were holding in Duncan, Oklahoma.¹¹¹ Tom accompanied their singing with his guitar and Jewell preached the message. Two months later in early June, Tom and Jewell met again when Jewell and her brother Coy went to Arkansas to help their father, Rufus, with his revival somewhere near Fayetteville. Tom and his father were holding meetings near the Nicholson revival and the two became acquainted by attending each other's meetings and having conversation afterward.¹¹² After a three-week courtship that included ministering in nightly meetings together, Tom married Jewell Nicholson in a double ceremony with Coy Nicholson and Retha Medley.¹¹³ Reverend Rousey presided over the marriage and the couple, who had to borrow money for the marriage license with

¹¹¹ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 188. Jewell notes how she remembered meeting Tom years earlier on the revival circuit when he was younger and assisting his father.

¹¹² Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 12. According to the James Henry's history, Tom's father was in his third marriage to Mary Lee Hendrixson by this time. T.C. and Jewel's writing does not mention anything about the extensive Cunningham family through James Henry's second and third wives and their children. T.C. did have eight other half siblings, and three more adopted half-siblings.

¹¹³ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 188.

a promise to send their first dollar back to the preacher to repay him, took a week off before returning to help James Henry Cunningham finish his revival.¹¹⁴

From the second week of their marriage and for the next seven years, Tom and Jewell Cunningham were travelling evangelists throughout the Southwest and California. During this time, they had two of their three children. Phyllis was born on July 25, 1933, and Loren was born on June 30, 1935. As a couple and then young family, Jewell and Tom weathered the worst of the Great Depression. Without any finances other than what they made in collections from street and revival preaching or in church gatherings, the family lived “by faith” which during this period equated to poverty.¹¹⁵ The family remained mobile and ready to travel in order to start revivals and new churches wherever they felt God was leading them. As a result, the young couple did not try to establish a home and stable career outside of preaching. As they travelled the Southwest and later California, they stayed in homes of local people who extended hospitality, rented vacant homes for short periods, slept in tents or trailers, and even slept in their car when neither of the former options were available. Often, the offerings they received came in the form of food from those in attendance at their meetings. Parishioners would lend them a cow to keep so that they could have milk.¹¹⁶ Even when offerings were taken up on the open

¹¹⁴ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 15.

¹¹⁵ The term, “living by faith,” meant that one trusted God to provide for one’s food, shelter, and livelihood. Christians who ascribed to “living by faith” believed that if they obeyed what God had asked them to do, usually preaching or missionary work, that God caused people to give them food, clothes, money, and shelter. “Living by faith” meant trusting God for the sustenance of life.

¹¹⁶ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 61. When Tom and Jewell were ministering in Dora, NM, a cow was loaned to them to provide milk and people from the revival meetings brought them food.

Bible at the church or meeting hall, the reality of the lack of money and poverty experienced by many during the Depression meant that the couple barely made it by. At various stages in their early years, they both undertook paid work to supplement their meager to nonexistent income from preaching.¹¹⁷ Still, their autobiography reveals that they lived in extreme poverty, often choosing to fast and pray when there was nothing to eat. Their time in Arp, Texas, reveals some of their challenges. After not finding a place to stay or even a place suitable to put up a tent because of the strong winds, a local school teacher and fellow pentecostal, “Sister Massey,” offered to house them. With a roof over their heads during the night hours, the family “preached on the streets to get money enough to buy bread and milk” during the day.¹¹⁸

Tom and Jewell were formally part of the Assemblies of God, but as traveling preachers they operated independently of the still young bureaucratic structure. In many ways their opportunities came through pre-existent relationships from their earlier evangelistic days and spontaneous connections that came through following God’s direction. Their first revival as a couple was held at Dubuque, Arkansas, in the summer of 1932 and from there they travelled to the Panhandle of Texas to hold meetings with Jewell’s sister Frances and her husband Cecil Vaughan.¹¹⁹ They soon returned to

¹¹⁷ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 30. Jewell notes that Tom took work picking cotton; he also rented a piece of land to grow corn to sell for profit to pay the church bills. Both Jewell and Tom worked with African American laborers, and Jewell reminisced that “As a girl I’d worked in the cotton fields with the Blacks in the South. Then too we’d shared a common bond and thought nothing of eating our lunches together. Wherever there’s common ground for all colors and races, there will be no more ‘tiffs’ between them.” Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 85.

¹¹⁸ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 45.

¹¹⁹ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 31.

Arkansas and led revivals at West Fork and Springdale. Their pattern of ministry was simple: if someone asked them to come to lead a revival, they would pray and wait to hear God's leading.¹²⁰ If they went, they would stay as needed and then wait for another invitation or direction from God in prayer. When they went somewhere where there was not yet a pentecostal church, they stayed and held ongoing revivals until there were enough converts to form a church. They built the physical church building or found places to rent and fix up. The Cunninghams then led the congregation in a vote to join the Assemblies of God and found someone to take over as pastor before they moved on to a new place to start over. Tom and Jewell were asked to fill in as interim pastors at a few places in the early years. None of those pastoral posts were permanent and even when they were, the couple felt the urge to return to their ministry of pioneering church planting.

The Cunninghams' first lasting revival that resulted in a new church was in West Fork, Arkansas. They followed a similar pattern of revival leading to church planting in Arp, Texas, Dora, New Mexico, Somerton, Arizona, and Tucson, Arizona. In Dora, NM, and Somerton, AZ, Tom Cunningham also built the physical church building by making adobe bricks and constructing a small meeting house that they dedicated before finding a pastoral replacement and moving onto the next place.¹²¹ During these years of itinerant ministry, the family ventured West to California in the winter of 1934. Jewell's brother

¹²⁰ The pattern of praying and waiting on God's leading is before making a decision is foundational in YWAM's early formation and practice and became a hallmark of their mission and spiritual practice.

¹²¹ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 108.

Coy and his wife Retha invited them to join them in their revival at Exeter, California.¹²² After some delays and revivals along the way, they finally arrived to what Jewell described in her writings as “Canaan,” or God’s promised land. Coming from the dust bowl of Arkansas and East Texas during the Great Depression, the lush orange groves and readily available fruit free for the picking was dream-like. While the young family did not stay long in California during their first visit, it would be a place that they would frequently return to hold revivals, fill in pastoral vacancies, and eventually settle by the end of the Second World War.¹²³ While the majority of the Cunninghams’ ministry was within the AG, their early years also included collaboration with other Protestant denominations where possible. In Firebaugh, California, they joined the Sunday School Union meetings in 1936 and preached to a broadly Protestant crowd after they said that they were “evangelists for lost souls” rather than claiming a denomination.¹²⁴

During these years of travelling evangelism, the Cunninghams worked with an array of first and second generation pentecostals in the Assemblies of God in the Southwest and California including Reverend John B. Rousey,¹²⁵ Pastor and Edith Murrell, Brother Billy Bates, Superintendent AC Bates, Superintendent Ben Hardin,¹²⁶

¹²² Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 47.

¹²³ The family took a pastorate at El Centro, CA, from 1939-1944. This period was the longest they had stayed in one place in their married lives. From there, they went to a pastorate in Covina, CA.

¹²⁴ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 85.

¹²⁵ “In The Whitened Harvest Field,” *Pentecostal Evangel* (March 17, 1934):12, Digital Publications, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center. A subsection on the “General Council Fellowship” lists John B. Rousey at Swifton, AK.

¹²⁶ Glenn W. Gohr, “Ben Hardin. A Man With a Heart for Evangelism,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* (December 1995): 7–11. According to Jewell, Ben Hardin was the one who helped her get ordained in the AG. See Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 89.

District Superintendent Thoman, Sister Jones,¹²⁷ Pastor Elton Hill, J.K. Gressett,¹²⁸ Dean Duncan, Brother Klink,¹²⁹ Brother Scull,¹³⁰ Sister Grace,¹³¹ and Ernie Friend.¹³²

Prominent pentecostal leaders and churches influenced the young couple, especially during their first visit to California. Jewell and Tom, with baby Phyllis, visited the AG's flagship congregation, Bethel Temple in Los Angeles, for a Christ's Ambassadors Conference in 1934 when Rev. Louis and Josephine Turnbull were pastors.¹³³ Likewise, they made a visit to Angelus Temple, the church founded by Aimee Semple McPherson in 1923 and the first church of the pentecostal denomination the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. Jewell recounted how she was sad to see that the church didn't welcome children in the service when an usher asked her to take fussing Phyllis out

¹²⁷ Cunningham and Biro, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 109. Sister Jones was "building a church in Winterhaven, AZ."

¹²⁸ Wayne Webster, "A 9-Week Revival in Central Texas," *Assemblies of God Heritage* (Spring 2005), Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center Archives. In other AG archival records, James K. Gressett is listed as a minister with the AG in 1932 and by 1957 he is listed as the Superintendent of the Arizona District.

¹²⁹ Ruthie Edgerly Oberg, "Otto Klink: From Atheism and Socialism to Assemblies of God Evangelist," *Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center* (blog), July 18, 2019, <https://ifphc.wordpress.com/2019/07/18/otto-klink-from-atheism-and-socialism-to-assemblies-of-god-evangelist/>.

¹³⁰ Jewell spells Brother Scull's name "Skull," but records in Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center indicate that it was Scull. I use the correct spelling.

¹³¹ Darrin J. Rogers, "From Azusa Street to Phoenix: Samuel Scull, the Methodist Pastor Who Pioneered Pentecost in Arizona," *Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center* (blog), September 9, 2024, <https://ifphc.wordpress.com/2024/09/09/from-azusa-street-to-phoenix-samuel-scull-the-methodist-pastor-who-pioneered-pentecost-in-arizona/>.

¹³² "With Christ," *Pentecostal Evangel* (September 17, 1961): 24, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center Archives, Digital Serials. This post lists Ernest L. Friend as the pastor of Niles Assembly of God in Bakersfield, CA. Ernie Friend served as District Christ's Ambassadors President from 1939-42 and District Secretary Treasurer from 1944-45, Ruth Marshall Wilson, *Southern California Assemblies of God: Celebrating 75 Years of Ministry, 1919-1994* (Irvine, CA: Southern California District, 1994), 9, 46.

¹³³ Wilson, *Southern California Assemblies of God*, 6. Wilson lists Turnbull as District Superintendent from 1923-1926 when he resigned his post because his duties pastoring Bethel Temple consumed all of his time and energy.

because she was a distraction.¹³⁴ In the same way that the older generation of pentecostal evangelists, pastors, and denominational leaders were influential to Tom and Jewell, so they were also instrumental in adding many young people to the church, some who would go on to have long and well-known ministries within the AG. One such young person, Leonard Hicks, became a professing Christian at the Dora, NM, church plant as a 12-year-old boy. He, as Jewell proudly recounted in her autobiography, became a pastor and part of the Executive Presbytery in the Southern Californian District.¹³⁵

Together, all of these people and the countless unnamed others, made up a tightknit family-like network that, while housed within the AG denomination, was loyal to the broader pentecostal mission of preaching salvation in Jesus Christ and the full pentecostal message of personal salvation which included receiving the baptism of the Spirit.¹³⁶ For many first and second generation pentecostal pioneers, like Jewell and Tom Cunningham, the denomination functioned more as a fellowship and means of organizing that aided their ministry than a hard and fast institution that defined them.¹³⁷ The couple

¹³⁴ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 53–54.

¹³⁵ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 64; General Council of the Assemblies of God, “Directory: Assemblies of God,” June 15, 1967, 257, Consortium of Pentecostal Archives, <https://pentecostalarchives.org/?a=d&d=GCCD19670615-01.1.257&e=-----en-20--1--img-txIN----->. The directory lists Hicks as pastor of Home Gardens Assembly of God in Corona, CA.

¹³⁶ Again, interdenominationally evangelical revival preachers were more apt to work together in the early days of the AG. Collaboration among Baptists, pentecostals, and others was a part of the Cunninghams’ ministry and hard lines between denominations were less pronounced.

¹³⁷ The Assemblies of God functioned and still functions as a decentralized organization that gives more authority to District administration than to its centralized leaders, or Executive Presbytery, located in Springfield, Missouri. It is the AG’s organizational structure that could allow the affiliation of a variety of pastors and ministers that might not have met the expectations of the centralized leadership. Still, the Districts must be members of the Centralized body to remain a part of the denomination, but the regional leadership has more knowledge and relationship with the pastors and ministers in their regions and thus are more responsible for holding the loose structure together at a local level.

benefited from their relationship in and to the AG and remained loyal to it, even though they struggled at times with aspects of the bureaucracy. This struggle surfaces in Jewell's description of her and Tom's early years pastoring churches far from District offices and insignificant in the eyes of those in administrative leadership.¹³⁸ The Cunninghams prided themselves on being more dedicated to the work of God than to the convenience or conventions of the denomination, although their loyalty remained strong to the AG. Their commitment to preaching the gospel and to their friends and family who did the same outweighed denominational pleasantries or bureaucracies. It is no wonder that by the time Loren Cunningham came of age, his parents' networks were glad to receive his ministry and continued to receive him after he left their shared denomination.

The Cunninghams' Mission Network: "The Dynamo" & "Mr. Missions"¹³⁹

Alongside the expansive state-side pentecostal networks to which Jewell and Tom's families and early itinerant ministry afforded the Cunningham family, none of these were as central to their son, Loren, and YWAM's emergence in global missions as Tom Cunningham's extensive missionary network developed from 21 years as the

¹³⁸ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 111. According to her recollection, the District Superintendent regretted that he wasn't able to come to Somerton, AZ, to dedicate their church in 1939 because it "fell on the border between Arizona and New Mexico." As she later reflected, "So what? Both states were in the same district." She implied that the Superintendent didn't come because it was an insignificant, small church out of the way that didn't offer him any immediate benefit.

¹³⁹ Linda Cowie, interviewed by Allison Kach-Yawnghe, August 6, 2022, telephone, notes and recording, Allison Kach-Yawnghe's Personal Collection. Cowie called Jewell the "Dynamo" and others recalled her preaching as dynamic, energetic, and powerful.

Assistant Superintendent for the Southern California District of the Assemblies of God.¹⁴⁰ Prior to his position at the District level, Tom Cunningham's passion for world mission blossomed while pastoring in Southern California.¹⁴¹ Already an avid mission supporting District whose contributions in the late 1940s and early 1950s well surpassed every other District, the Assemblies of God in California continued to uphold its pioneering role in foreign missionary sending and support into the middle of the twentieth century.¹⁴² As a local pastor, T.C. Cunningham played an active part in promoting and supporting AG missions. After a spiritual experience on a pastoral trip to the Middle East in 1950, he was compelled to be more involved in the missionary enterprise. He led the congregation of Faith Tabernacle in West Los Angeles to quadruple its missionary support in the next year.¹⁴³ The Cunninghams joined other Southern California pastors, like the renowned RevivalTime! host C.M. Ward who was then pastoring in Bakersfield, California, in

¹⁴⁰ "Obituary for T.C. Cunningham," Funeral Home Online Obituary, *Caudle-Rutledge-Daugherty Funeral Home & Cremation Services* (blog), July 2003, <https://www.caudle-rutledge.com/obituaries/T-C-Cunningham/#!/Obituary>.

¹⁴¹ "California Pastors Enthusiastic Over Missionary Meetings," *Pentecostal Evangel* 1977 (March 30, 1952): 8–9, Digital Publications, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center. Southern California District of the AG was a strong mission supporting district, especially in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Reports on mission giving and notices of upcoming meetings in the *Pentecostal Evangel* in this period show that California giving surpassed every other district by at least \$20,000.

¹⁴² "Missionary Contributions," *Pentecostal Evangel* 1556 (March 4, 1944): 13; "Monthly Report: Foreign Missions Department January, 1952," *Pentecostal Evangel* 1973 (March 2, 1952): 9; "Missionary Contributions," *Pentecostal Evangel* 2078 (March 7, 1954): 7, Digital Publications, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center. After a short survey of missionary giving reports listed in the *Pentecostal Evangel*, it is clear that California was the strongest mission supporting State and District in the AG during these years. The 1954 report reflects the separation of California into Northern and Southern Districts, but combined together they total the greatest giving amount comparable only to the Northwest District in that year. These financial records are clear indicators of established churches that strongly supported foreign missions and thus were connected to global pentecostal mission networks through relationship of giving, sending, and prayer.

¹⁴³ T.C. Cunningham, "Letters from Our Readers," *Assemblies of God Heritage*, Spring 1986, 15, Digital Publications, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center.

hosting missionary conferences that raised both the profiles of AG foreign missionaries and significant funds for their work.¹⁴⁴ After Jewell and Tom moved on to pastor at First Assembly of God in Long Beach, California, they continued to lead their church with a “strong emphasis on missions.”¹⁴⁵

In March of 1958, T.C. Cunningham was elected as the Assistant Superintendent for the Southern California District and the family moved from Long Beach to Inglewood to be near the District offices.¹⁴⁶ Upon accepting his new post, Tom asked the then District Superintendent, L.E. Halvorson, if he could be assigned the home and foreign mission portfolio.¹⁴⁷ Serving in the role for 21 years, “Uncle Tom,” as he was fondly referred to by missionary families and friends, is reported to have raised over 60 million dollars for missions.¹⁴⁸ According to Jewell’s recollection,

During those years I saw our District consistently lead all other Districts of the Assemblies of God throughout the nation in missionary giving. In fact, no other district ever came near us in total giving to foreign missions.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ “California Pastors Enthusiastic Over Missionary Meetings.” The article highlights the churches and missionaries who participated in the January 1952 Missionary Conferences. T.C. Cunningham is featured in a photo during a service at his church where he is quoted praising his congregation for their generous mission giving. Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 140. Jewell noted that their first missionary convention lasted for days and hosted “outstanding missionaries like Charles Greenway, Andrew Hargrave, and Paul Bruton, Sr.” who, “came from their fields in Africa and Alaska wearing silken robes or fur hats and moccasins and sharing awesome stories of their adventures on the mission field.” I have yet to confirm if it was the same convention as recorded in the 1952 *Evangel*. Paul Bruton, Sr. was a speaker at both events, but the first two missionaries Jewell listed are not listed in the *Evangel* events. To date, I have not been able to confirm the date of the first missionary convention hosted by Cunningham.

¹⁴⁵ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 157.

¹⁴⁶ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 163–65. The District Superintendent at that time was L.E. Halvorson.

¹⁴⁷ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 163.

¹⁴⁸ “Obituary for T.C. Cunningham.”

¹⁴⁹ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 163.

Not only did this notable fundraising influence the denomination at home, it also had an effect in the mission field. T.C. recruited and sent 148 new missionaries during his tenure and made a point of taking trips to visit and encourage their missionaries.¹⁵⁰ T.C. was known for his avid letter writing and correspondence with his missionary personnel abroad. He wrote around 100 letters each week to the missionaries he oversaw.¹⁵¹ Able to maintain close relationships with those at home and in the foreign mission field, T.C. was beloved by missionary families, like Harry and Martha Bartel who were pioneering AG missionaries in Colombia in the mid-1950s and 60s.¹⁵² According to Linda Cowie, one of the three Bartel children, all who continue in full-time Christian mission work to the present day, “‘Uncle Tom’ was a grandpa to us AG missionary kids. He came down to Colombia to visit us. He helped Judy get into missions.”¹⁵³

Not only did T.C.’s formal mission recruitment, fundraising, and visitation cause him to be beloved by those he helped into and stay in missions, but the Cunningham home was also an important site of hospitality for missionaries and ministers and a place

¹⁵⁰ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 163–64.; Leland Paris, “The Legacy of My Uncle Tom,” *Focus: A Bimonthly Publication from Youth With A Mission*, Tyler, September 2003, Ramona Musch Personal Papers, Atlanta, GA.

¹⁵¹ Rogers and Rogers, interview. Janice noted that her father wrote over 100 letters every week to the missionaries he had sent out.

¹⁵² Cowie, interview. The Bartels went to Colombia with the Mennonite Brethren in the late 1940s. After they experienced the baptism in the Holy Spirit in 1950, they left their former denomination and joined the Assemblies of God in 1954. T.C. Cunningham was in charge of missions during the period the Bartels joined the AG and became official missionaries sent by the Southern California District.

¹⁵³ Linda Cowie. “Judy” is Judy (Bartel) Graner, Linda’s sister, who still serves as an Assemblies of God missionary in Bogota, Colombia. Linda (Bartel) Cowie joined YWAM in East Africa in 1969 through her friendship with Ramona (Jensen) Musch at Southern California College (later renamed Vanguard University). Linda was one of the many young people to join YWAM at an early age and remain with the mission for the rest of her life until the present.

where lasting relationships were made. Sometime around 1961, Jewell and T.C. hosted a young Korean pastor in their home. It seems that the purpose of David Yonggi Cho's visit was primarily fundraising, as the "Seoul Evangelistic Center" was in the process of being built and would be dedicated in December of 1961.¹⁵⁴ The AG missionary with whom Cho pastored, John Hurston, was from San Francisco, which meant that the Californian Executive Presbytery, and, specifically Tom Cunningham, would have been involved in the building project and mission at-large. During Cho's California visit, the Cunninghams hosted him and introduced him to various churches where he preached and fundraised. It was the informal time at the family home, however, where Cho joined Jewell in Bible study at her kitchen table that cemented a bond between the Cunninghams and Cho.¹⁵⁵ This relationship opened the way for the Cunninghams', senior and junior, future ministry in Korea. Jewell Cunningham preached to her "largest crowd" at Cho's Yoido Full Gospel Church when she and T.C. visited Korea in 1970.¹⁵⁶

The Cunninghams' expansive relationships with a diversity of US and international AG missionaries and ministers proves instructive. Not only did the couple and family foster tight-knit friendships with the missionaries they directly led, but they

¹⁵⁴ David Yonggi Cho was a South Korean pastor who became the pastor of the world's largest church, the Yoido Full Gospel Church in Seoul. John Hurston, "Seoul Revival Center Dedicated," *Pentecostal Evangel* (December 24, 1961): 8–9. Digital Publications, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center. In the November 26, 1961 article in the *Pentecostal Evangel*, page 6, the church is called "Seoul Evangelistic Center." The name changed from the November to December reporting.

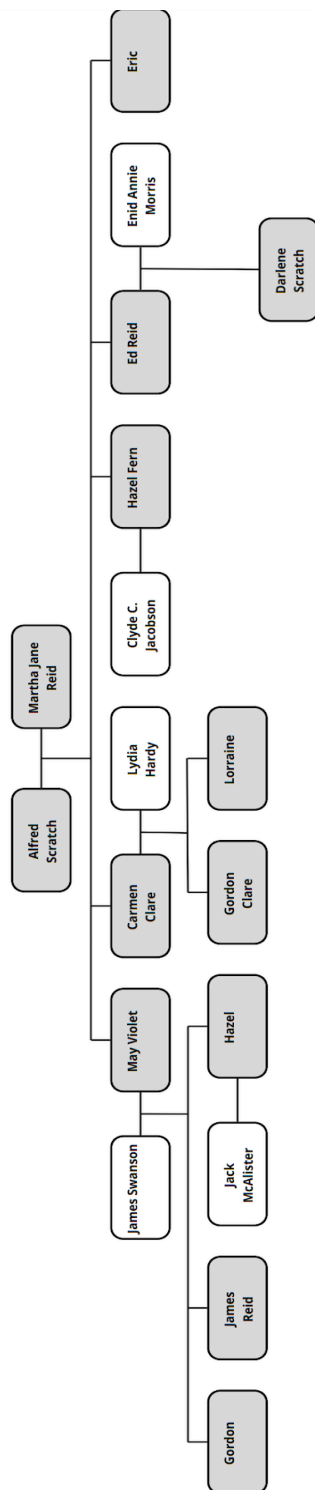
¹⁵⁵ Rogers and Rogers, interview; Loren Cunningham, interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, May 13, 2022, Kailua-Kona, HI, recording, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection. To date no corroboration of the timeline has been made in archival sources apart from multiple members of the Cunningham family telling the same story.

¹⁵⁶ Cunningham and Biro, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 173, 215.

also supported the work of countless unnamed women and men evangelists, pastors, missionaries, and laypeople involved in missions at home and around the world. The high-profile nature of one of their guests, Cho, and the opportunity for future ministry in Korea, offers insight into the numerous global pentecostals, high or low profile, loyal to the Cunningham family and their network for their investment, kindness, and ministry. The 148 missionaries under T.C. Cunninghams' care, their associates, family members, and home churches expressed their loyalty and gratitude to the Cunningham by welcoming a young Loren Cunningham and his ministry of youth in missions.¹⁵⁷ The example of hospitality, dedication to the evangelistic task of world mission, years of pastoral ministry developing youth and Sunday School programs, large scale missionary mobilization and fundraising efforts, and the faith, prayer, and boldness to obey God's directions set the stage for Jewell and T.C.'s children, particularly their son, Loren, who would leverage the vast familial, personal, and professional networks passed down to him to launch a global youth mission movement. In this sense, YWAM was made possible through the ongoing Cunningham and Nicholson pentecostal pedigree, and the expansive family, friend, and mission networks it engendered.

¹⁵⁷ T.C. Cunningham to Rev. Paul F. Klahr, June 20, 1960, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. This letter explicitly asks Paul Klahr to host Loren when he comes through Japan in 1960.

Scratch Family Tree*



*This family tree is intended to help the reader follow the family history reconstructions in Chapter 2. It is not a comprehensive or complete family tree and is incomplete.

Figure 3. Scratch Family Tree. This rough genealogy is intended to provide a visual representation of the people and their relationships to one another as documented in the lives of Ed Scratch and family. See also Appendix C.

Ed R. Scratch: Generational Minister & Pentecostal Pioneer in Western Canada

The family religious history of Darlene Scratch boasts its own pentecostal heritage and expansive networks, mostly rooted in Canada. Darlene's father, "Eddie" Reid Scratch, was the fourth child of Alfred Solonis Scratch and Martha Jane Reid, originally from Essex Country, Ontario.¹⁵⁸ By the time Ed joined the family on September 3, 1912, his parents had moved his older siblings May, Clare, and Hazel to a farm near Lethbridge, Alberta. Alongside farming, Ed's parents were preachers descended from generations of ministers and preachers before them.¹⁵⁹ Ed, along with his elder sister May and brother Clare, followed the family heritage and became a sixth-generation preacher, church planter, and pastor in Western Canada in the early 1930s.¹⁶⁰ Before Ed's coming of age as a minister, two of his elder siblings became prominent members of the fledgling Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.¹⁶¹ Sometime around 1921,

¹⁵⁸ Alfred Scratch's obituary lists a fifth child, Eric Scratch living in Mirror Landing, Alberta, in 1945, but no other records or obituaries mention this sibling. It is not known if Eric was the youngest child or predeceased the other siblings. There must be some reason that he is not included in any of the other siblings' accounts of their lives, but this reason is unknown.

¹⁵⁹ "Clare Scratch, 1902-1974," *Pentecostal Testimony* (January 1975), Clare Scratch Files, PAOC Archives. Extant records do not indicate the Christian tradition to which the Scratches belonged before becoming pentecostals.

¹⁶⁰ To date I have not been able to determine what Christian denomination the Scratches and James and May Swanson belonged to before they became a part of early pentecostalism. It can be assumed that it was one of Canada's dominant Protestant churches at the time – Presbyterian, Wesleyan, or Anglican.

¹⁶¹ There are few records in the PAOC Archives of A.S. Scratch or Ed Scratch. Part of this gap can be explained by Ed transferring his credentials to the AG in the United States. My inquiries and research into these family members revealed the celebrity-like status of Clare Scratch. In a sense, the other Scratch family members' contributions to early pentecostalism are overshadowed by Clare's work. Clare's records, do, however, provide significant insight into the early life of the Scratch family and offer insight into some of Ed's own work. Thus, between the sources about and from Clare Scratch and the autobiography of Ed's widow, Enid Morris Scratch, details of his life and ministry can be reconstructed to offer a general timeline and history of events.

when Ed was not even ten years old, Clare Scratch became a pentecostal. Clare's "Pentecostal tongues delusion" was opposed by the Scratch family. His elder sister, May, who was already married to minister James Swanson, agreed with her parents' objections forming a unified rejection of Clare's choice to align with the pentecostals.¹⁶² According to Clare Scratch's unpublished biography, the rest of the Scratch family became partakers "of the glorious experience of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit" a few years after his own experience. By the middle of the 1920s, Alfred and Martha Scratch, and a teenaged Ed, followed Clare into the pentecostal experience and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.¹⁶³

Alfred and Martha Scratch received their credentials from the PAOC, Alfred as an ordained minister in 1924 and Martha as a deaconess in 1929.¹⁶⁴ By 1924, the couple, with their teenage son Ed, moved from Lethbridge to Cut Knife, Saskatchewan, to pioneer a pentecostal church there. After five years in Cut Knife, they moved on to pioneer another church in Killam, Alberta, before moving further West to the expanding pentecostal mission in British Columbia.¹⁶⁵ Ed continued to accompany his parents and was a support to them in their pastoral work, even as he sought independent opportunities to evangelize, preach, and start new churches.¹⁶⁶ His plan to attend Glad Tidings Bible

¹⁶² "Biography of Clare Scratch," 1969, Clare Scratch Files, PAOC Archives.

¹⁶³ Alfred Scratch, "Application Blank for Ordination Certificate," 1927, Clergy Records, PAOC Archives.

¹⁶⁴ Alfred Scratch; "Clergy Record: Mrs. A. Scratch," 1955 1931, Clergy Records, PAOC Archives.

¹⁶⁵ "Clergy Record: Mrs. A. Scratch."

¹⁶⁶ Enid Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings of a YWAM Widow* (World Trade Printing Company, 2010), 110–11.

College in San Francisco was upended in the early 1930s, but he continued to work as an itinerant evangelist in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan and returned to hold revival meetings at the churches his parents had pastored when he was still a teen.¹⁶⁷ This part of the Scratch family continued in PAOC home mission and evangelistic work predominantly in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan and was largely unknown to the rest of the denomination.¹⁶⁸

Older Siblings & Higher Profiles: May (Scratch) Swanson & Clare Scratch

During the same period that Alfred and Martha were pastoring PAOC churches and Ed was venturing out as an evangelist and church planter, two of the elder Scratch children, May (Scratch) Swanson and Clare Scratch, were expanding their ministries and influence, and, by default, the family's religious network, across the country and denomination. May Scratch married James Swanson in 1920. For the next twenty years following their entrance into pentecostalism, they pastored pentecostal churches in Ontario at Mille Roches, Parry Sound, Arnprior, Windsor, and Toronto.¹⁶⁹ In 1935–36,

¹⁶⁷ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 111–24. Ed Scratch's story of entering into full time ministry was that of reluctance. He apparently wanted to work as a barber, but he felt that God wouldn't leave him alone until he returned to work in the church.

¹⁶⁸ Like the Assemblies of God in the US, the PAOC was highly decentralized in its early years. Regional leadership at the "district" level was given authority to ordain and commission evangelistic and church planting efforts. Given Canada's vast geography and slow westward expansion, the PAOC's growth in the Canadian west was even more decentralized because of lack of contact and proximity to District leadership. Thus, the pioneering "frontier" of pentecostalism in rural Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia remained normative well into the mid-twentieth century.

¹⁶⁹ Douglas Rudd, *When the Spirit Came upon Them: Highlights from the Early Years of the Pentecostal Movement in Canada* (Burlington, Ont.: Antioch Books, 2002), 187. According to her "Clergy Record: Mrs. James Swanson (May Violet)," Clergy Records, PAOC Archives, May was ordained Deacon in 1929 and "Lady Worker" in 1931.

the couple returned to Alberta to pastor in Edmonton before they moved back east to pastor at Bethel Temple in Toronto.¹⁷⁰ May's husband, James, was the PAOC's second General Superintendent from 1934 to 1937.¹⁷¹ In 1939, the couple founded the Ontario Bible College in Toronto.¹⁷² James Swanson died suddenly in May 1940, but May continued to minister as the Dean of Women at the College until 1953 when she transferred to the same role at Bethany Bible College in Santa Cruz, California.¹⁷³ May's ministry, both during her husband's life and after his death, was expansive and influenced generations of young pentecostals in central and Eastern Canada and the Western US.

May's influence extended through her children – Gordon, James Reid, and Hazel – who followed their parents into pentecostal ministry and further expanded the family's religious networks and connections south of the border.¹⁷⁴ James Swanson, Jr. pastored with the Assemblies of God in Washington State and in Hayward, California.¹⁷⁵ James Jr. was instrumental in supporting YWAM in its early years. Hazel Swanson married Jack

¹⁷⁰ “Clergy Record: Mrs. James Swanson (May Violet).”

¹⁷¹ Rudd, *When the Spirit Came upon Them*, 187–88.

¹⁷² The Ontario Bible College was relocated to Peterborough, Ontario in 1948 and renamed Eastern Pentecostal Bible College. Eastern was closed in 2024.

¹⁷³ Rudd, *When the Spirit Came upon Them*, 190. May's brother, Ed Scratch was pastoring in Redwood City, CA, by this time. Her son, James Jr., was pastoring on the other side of the Bay in Hayward, CA. May was the Dean of Women during the years that the first cohorts of YWAM participants attended Bethany. Joe and Judy Portale, interview by Allison Kach-Yawnghe, May 17, 2022, Kailua-Kona, HI, recording, Allison Kach-Yawnghe's Personal Collection. Judy talked about May Swanson's “no-nonsense” presence at the Bible College.

¹⁷⁴ It seems that Gordon Swanson passed away at a young age, but I cannot confirm this detail with archival documentation.

¹⁷⁵ James R. Swanson to Loren D. Cunningham, June 22, 1964, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. James R. Swanson was instrumental in helping Loren and Darlene with their first Summer of Service. James was pastoring in Hayward, California, in the same period that Ed and Enid Scratch pastored at Redwood City, just across the San Francisco Bay.

McAlister, a young man from the PAOC's pioneering McAlister family, around 1944 or 1945.¹⁷⁶ The McAlisters ministered throughout Canada, eventually pastoring in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, where they founded the Tract Club of the Air, a radio ministry that fundraised for missions.¹⁷⁷ The McAlisters eventually relocated to Southern California in 1951 and continued to expand their global ministry.¹⁷⁸

Ed Scratch's older brother, Clare, was also an influential figure in early pentecostalism in Canada. After pioneering a pentecostal church in Weldon, Saskatchewan, around 1922, he met and married a Salvation Army member who had come into the pentecostal experience, Lydia Hardy.¹⁷⁹ Together, Clare and Lydia began an evangelistic ministry as a couple before pastoring a PAOC church in Lethbridge from 1925 to the end of 1928. The couple moved east, conducting evangelistic meetings and staying on to pastor a church in Woodstock, Ontario, for the year of 1929. At the end of 1929, they moved onto a pastorate in Halifax for 1930 and Clare was elected as the Maritime Superintendent for a temporary term in 1931. By May of 1932, the couple were back in Western Canada, pastoring Calgary Pentecostal Tabernacle. The following year,

¹⁷⁶ Jack McAlister File, PAOC Archives.

¹⁷⁷ In 1952 they changed the name to World Literature Crusade and eventually to Every Home for Christ.

¹⁷⁸ Jack McAlister, "Transcript from Every Home for Christ Department Leaders Gathering, 1979," November 3, 1979, 29, Jack McAlister File, PAOC Archives. Jack noted that they "came down here," meaning Southern California, in 1951. Jack McAlister, interview by James Craig, April 6, 1987, transcripts, PAOC Archives. McAlister's personal connection to Oswald J. Smith gave him access to evangelical leaders like Billy Graham, Charles E. Fuller, Clyde Tayler. Jack McAlister shared his contacts and networks with Loren and Darlene Cunningham and early YWAM. Hazel and Jack's daughter Lori was a part of the 1970 "US West" Summer of Service team. Typescript of 1970 Summer Crusade List, YWAM Digital Heritage Project Archives.

¹⁷⁹ "Biography of Clare Scratch," 3. Clare started the church in Weldon in 1922.

Clare was elected as the District Superintendent for the Alberta District and by 1934 he and Lydia and their two children, Lorraine and Gordon, volunteered to go to China as missionaries to continue the work of the recently deceased Ivan Kauffman.¹⁸⁰

Clare and Lydia Scratches' missionary service made them well known to western pentecostals. During World War II, Lydia and their daughter Lorraine returned to Canada for safety while Clare remained in China to continue the work. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, however, Clare was interred by the Japanese occupiers of China for nearly two years in a prison camp at Welhsien in Shantung Province.¹⁸¹ In a prisoner exchange made at the close of 1945, Clare Scratch was released and returned to Canada with other former prisoners of war. Following a short recovery back in Canada that included itinerant preaching in churches, Scratches' missionary dedication in the minds of Canadian pentecostals was affirmed again by his decision to return to the mission field after the war. Upon his return to China, he worked with the United Nations Relief Agency and ultimately led to his 18-month stay in a Communist detention camp.¹⁸² After his release, Clare continued his mission work in India for nearly a decade before returning to Canada. In 1954, he was elected to be the PAOC's Promotional Secretary for the Overseas Missions Department and travelled the country preaching and recruiting new missionaries for PAOC's global mission work. Not only was Clare Scratch known in

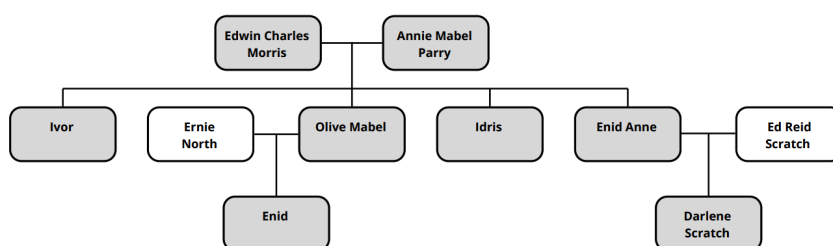
¹⁸⁰ It is important to note that Ivan and Frances Kauffman's children remained in China with Frances Kauffman continuing to do missionary work. Their son, Paul Kauffman, later began a ministry in Hong Kong and became a valuable friend and contact to Loren and Darlene and YWAM. Paul Kauffman's World Outreach Publishing published YWAM's first photobook *A Journal of a Summer* and Kauffman hosted Jim and Janice Rogers and their first Around the World team in 1969.

¹⁸¹ "Biography of Clare Scratch," 7.

¹⁸² "Biography of Clare Scratch," 9.

every region of the Canadian Pentecostal Assemblies for his pastoral positions and denominational administration, but he and his family became renowned and exemplary PAOC missionary personnel and spokespeople.

Morris Family Tree*



*This family tree is intended to help the reader follow the Morris family history reconstructed in Chapter 2. It is not a comprehensive or complete family tree and is incomplete.

Figure 4. Morris Family Tree. This rough genealogy is intended to provide a visual representation of the people and their relationships of Enid Morris and family. See also Appendix D.

Enid Morris: Willing Helper & Unassuming Pentecostal Pioneer

Enid, with her mother and siblings, emigrated to Canada from Wales in May 1926, six years after her father died in 1920.¹⁸³ The Morris family followed the eldest son, Ivor, to Grand Forks, British Columbia, to start a new life with the help of some relations, Uncle Alf and Auntie Bessie Price. Their traditionally Anglican family was soon touched by the “storefront” mission church in Grand Forks pastored by Rev. John E. Barnes, an early pentecostal pioneer in British Columbia who became the PAOC’s first

¹⁸³ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 48–52.

superintendent of the BC District.¹⁸⁴ Enid and her siblings were regular attendees at “The Mission” and became part of the wave of early pentecostalism then spreading across Western Canada by the work of itinerant preachers like Barnes. Just a couple years after their arrival in Canada, Enid’s elder sister, Olive, left the family to attend the PAOC’s first Bible training center for new ministers, Canadian Pentecostal Bible College, in Winnipeg, Manitoba, to train for ministry.¹⁸⁵

Olive’s ministry led to the Morris family becoming acquainted with the Scratches. While the Morris family hosted visiting evangelists Ed Scratch and Reverend Le Brock while they held meetings at “The Mission” in Grand Forks in the late 1920s, it wasn’t until Olive’s internship under Ed’s parents in Kimberly in 1930 that future friendship and collaboration in ministry was established.¹⁸⁶ While Olive and Ed Scratch became friends during her tenure with the Scratches, Olive married Reverend Ernie (EJ) North after her internship and the couple moved nearly 700 kilometers west to pioneer a church in

¹⁸⁴ Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, “Picture This! Reflecting on 100 Years of the PAOC,” Facebook - The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, August 24, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1785982498104286&set=a.206271059408779>. In this post, a photo of Barnes is accompanied by a note: “Rev. John E. Barnes served as the first district superintendent of British Columbia in 1929. He led thousands of people to faith in Jesus in the '20s, '30s, and '40s. He and his wife held services in storefronts, an undertaker's parlour [sic], a Chinese laundry, basements, and upstairs flats. He opened churches in Fernie, Kimberly, Kelowna, Merritt, Kamloops, Cranbrook, Port Alberni, Salmon Arm, and Terrace.”

¹⁸⁵ The first name of the school was Central Canadian Bible Institute, but by 1927 its name changed to Canadian Pentecostal Bible College. From its founding, the College was intended to be a temporary ministerial training facility for new pentecostal ministers in Canada. Until the early to mid-1930s, however, it was the only vocational training school of its kind before similar Bible Colleges were founded in Toronto and Edmonton. For a detailed history of the Anglican clergy turned pentecostal, J.E. Purdie, who founded the school and the College, see Brian Ross, “James Eustace Purdie: The Story of Pentecostal Theological Education,” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 17, no. 4 (December 31, 1975): 94–103.

¹⁸⁶ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 110.

Merritt, British Columbia. By the fall of 1931, the effects of the Depression were being felt in the British Columbian interior and Olive's younger sister Enid, who had finished Normal School and could not find a teaching post on account of the economic downturn, was sent by their mother to help Olive and Ernie with their soon expected baby.¹⁸⁷

Not only did Enid help her sister prepare for and take care of her baby born in November of 1931, she also helped the couple pioneer their new church. Living above the storefront church, the three young pentecostal pioneers were busy in the work of growing the church in the small community. As she recalled in her autobiography:

Merritt was smaller than Grand Forks and pioneering was hard work. Many, many people were out of work and money was very scarce. Most afternoons we called on the church folk or anyone who was sick or who may be interested in coming to church, a renovated storefront building... Beside Sunday services, we had a Friday afternoon children's church and a Saturday night street meeting. Olive or I played the piano or led the song service. I took charge of the children's church and sometimes spoke at the Friday night youth service.¹⁸⁸

Like their contemporary pentecostal pioneers, they did not receive a salary apart from the support offered them by the fledgling congregation. Any donations they received went to first pay the bills and they lived off the rest. Donations mostly came in the form of food – fresh produce, butter, eggs, and home-canned fruit.¹⁸⁹ By Christmas of 1931, Enid's mother wanted her to return home.

¹⁸⁷ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 101–2. Enid describes her longing to move to Vancouver to attend Teacher's College, but the lack of funds and opportunities to work as a teacher to earn funds made this an impossibility. She describes this as a great disappointment; thus, her time church planting was less a "calling" and more out of necessity and family duty.

¹⁸⁸ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 103.

¹⁸⁹ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 104.

Back in Grand Forks, Enid helped on the farm and with their own growing church during the winter and spring. By the end of summer 1932, Olive, Ernie, and baby Enid had moved to start a new church in Cranbrook, British Columbia. They invited Enid to help them care for their baby and get the church going. The Norths rented the basement of the Post Office in Cranbrook for church meetings. There was just a small group of people who attended, although, as Enid notes in her autobiography, they were “a fine class and gave generously.”¹⁹⁰ In the new year, 1933, Ernie and Olive hosted an evangelistic campaign and Olive invited her friend Ed Scratch to be the evangelist.¹⁹¹ Enid and Olive sang together each night and took turns taking care of the baby during the services. During these extended meetings, Enid and Ed became more acquainted under the supervision of Ernie North.¹⁹²

After the evangelistic campaign in Cranbrook, Ed Scratch was appointed to pastor in churches close to Cranbrook which allowed him to visit Enid on a regular basis. He was first posted to Kimberly where his parents had previously pastored and then to Fernie.¹⁹³ The couple got engaged in February of 1933 and planned to be married after a summer of Ed’s itinerant preaching in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Enid returned to family farm work in Grand Forks and the couple stayed in touch and prepared for their wedding

¹⁹⁰ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 107.

¹⁹¹ An “evangelistic campaign” in pioneering pentecostal church planting meant that a guest evangelist would come for a series of revival meetings. In some cases, the evangelist would draw interested crowds that had yet to visit the church. The majority of the “evangelistic” work was done through church preaching and music and resided within the church service.

¹⁹² Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 112–13.

¹⁹³ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 113.

through correspondence. Leading up to their marriage, Ed informed Enid that he was elected to pastor the PAOC church in Drumheller, Alberta. The couple planned their wedding to be held at Clare and Lydia Scratch's church in Calgary, ensuring Ed's brother and sister-in-law would be present.¹⁹⁴ After months apart, Enid boarded a train to Nelson, British Columbia, to meet her sister Olive who accompanied her to Calgary for the wedding. Olive and Enid arrived in Calgary on Monday, November 13., the day before the wedding. As the *Pentecostal Testimony* announced:

Wedding Bells: On November the 14th Mr. E.R. Scratch of Drumheller was united in marriage with Miss Enid Morris of Grand Forks' [sic], B.C. They were married in the Tabernacle in Calgary, the brother of the Bridegroom officiating. Brother E.R. Scratch is Pastor of the work in Drumheller, Alberta.¹⁹⁵

E.R. and Enid Scratch: Lifetime Pentecostal Pastors

The new couple spent a few nights in Calgary on their honeymoon before returning to Drumheller, by Friday of the same week so that Ed could preach on Sunday and introduce his new bride to the congregation.¹⁹⁶ A few months later, Enid and Ed Scratch attended the District Council Meeting for the PAOC of Alberta held in Lethbridge where Ed received his ordination and Enid was ordained a deaconess.¹⁹⁷ Still

¹⁹⁴ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 119.

¹⁹⁵ "Wedding Bells," *Pentecostal Testimony*, December 1933, *Pentecostal Testimony* Serial, PAOC Archives.

¹⁹⁶ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 124.

¹⁹⁷ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 138. The role of the deaconess in the PAOC functioned as the highest credentials for female ministers. Women were not formally granted ordination in the AG until 1935 and in the PAOC until 1984. Thus, for a woman to be serving formally in ministry under denominational authority, she would need to be recognized by the denomination as a deacon, evangelist, or missionary.

in close contact with Alfred and Martha Scratch, Ed and Enid were invited to pastor a church in Abbotsford, British Columbia, in October of 1934.¹⁹⁸ This move for the young couple meant that they could be close to the senior Scratches who pastored their final years of ministry nearby in New Westminster.¹⁹⁹ Enid and Ed were back and forth helping Ed's parents and remained close to Enid's mother and siblings still in the region.

On January 5, 1939, Darlene Scratch was born just months before the family took a new pastorate in Olympia, Washington. Ed and Enid Scratch did what many other Canadian pentecostal ministers of their generation did – they transferred their credentials to the Assemblies of God in the US and never returned to Canada. In fact, they, like other pioneering pentecostal Canadians – the Argue family, the Ward family, and parts of the McAlister family – followed the hot trail of pentecostal migrants to the West coast of the US to pastor established churches in a well-organized district associated with the origins of pentecostalism. With moves south of the border, Canadian pentecostal pioneers were free to expand their ministries among eager and generous recipients without the restrictive internal denominational politics in the PAOC.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 139.

¹⁹⁹ "Clergy Record: Mrs. A. Scratch." Ed was 22 and Enid was 20 when they moved to Abbotsford to become the pastors. Enid recounted that the congregation was a little shocked to have such young people as their spiritual leaders. Alfred Scratch died July 9, 1945 and Marth Scratch died April 8th, 1955.

²⁰⁰ Jack McAlister relayed some of the restrictions he faced by the PAOC executive leadership that forced him and his family to move to the US. McAlister inferred that the provincial arrogance of men he had grown up with and been friends with was shocking and the result of them being given organizational authority and power. For the McAlisters, Argues, and Ward, California was the land of pentecostal opportunity and comfort. See Jack McAlister, "Transcript from Every Home for Christ Department Leaders Gathering, 1979," November 3, 1979, Jack McAlister File, PAOC Archives.

Just before Ed and Enid accepted the invitation to Olympia, Enid's sister Olive and Ernie North and family had accepted a pastorate in a church in Chewelah, Washington.²⁰¹ Enid recounted years later that being in ministry in southern British Columbia meant that they already knew many of the pastors and churches in Northwestern US. Their move south of the border was natural because of their well-established friendships with other pentecostal pastors and ministers in the region. Ed, Enid, and Darlene pastored in Olympia for 14 years before another invitation to pastor in Akron, Ohio, presented itself in 1953.²⁰² Their time in Akron was brief and the family returned west, this time to Redwood City, California, in 1956. Around the same time, Ed's older sister May Swanson transferred her ministry credentials to the AG to minister as the Dean of Women at Bethany Bible College in Santa Cruz, California. May's relocation brought her near to both her brother Ed and her son James Reid Swanson who pastored in Hayward, California.²⁰³

During Ed, Enid, and Darlene's tenure at Redwood City, they became well known as dedicated pastors. Their youth pastor, Noel Wilson, recalled that Ed was a "great pastor" dedicated to the congregants and Enid was a "great musician" with a warm and welcoming demeanour.²⁰⁴ Serving as the youth pastors of a 16-year-old Darlene Scratch, Noel and Ruth Wilson were active in ministry alongside Ed and Enid in the life of the

²⁰¹ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 167.

²⁰² Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 190.

²⁰³ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*. Ed and Enid pastored in Redwood City, CA, until they moved on to another church in Bellevue, WA in 1970 where they stayed until retirement.

²⁰⁴ Noel Wilson, interview by Allison Kach-Yawnghe, May 1, 2023, telephone.

church and were close to the Scratch family as friends, especially Enid and Ruth.²⁰⁵ The Scratches, Wilsons, and a host of young people in Redwood City were instrumental participants in the early years of YWAM. This future partnership developed after Ed and Enid hosted a young evangelist enthusiastic for missions as a guest preacher at their church in 1962. Loren Cunningham challenged the Redwood City young people to do something significant for God by volunteering their service in overseas missions. Darlene Scratch, recently graduated from nursing school, was one of the young people who applied for YWAM's Vocational Volunteer program. More than that, however, Darlene and Loren formed a close friendship that materialized into marriage in June of 1963.

Ed and Enid were already avid supporters of missions through their family networks. Ed's older brother Clare and his wife Lydia were well-known PAOC missionaries in China and South Asia. Ed and Enid's involvement in pentecostal missions took on a new level of support and investment through Darlene's marriage to Loren and, by extension, her new role as YWAM's co-founder. Enid and Ed hosted YWAM events at their church, encouraged their young people to participate in the ministry, and Ed even joined the first Summer of Service to the Caribbean for one month in 1965.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ Wilson, interview. Noel recounted that Enid helped Ruth get her wardrobe ready for the 1965 Summer of Service to Samoa. Ruth and Noel joined YWAM's second SOS to document and write about the youth mission work for YWAM's promotional materials, *Journal of a Summer* (1966) and other magazine articles.

²⁰⁶ Darlene Scratch's marriage to Loren Cunningham was a convergence of Scratch family values and missionary networks with those of the Cunningham family.

The Wilsons, too, played a significant part in YWAM's early history.²⁰⁷ As youth pastors, Noel and Ruth encouraged the youth of the church to get involved in YWAM's "Domestic Crusades" and the first SOSes. Ruth's writing skills and interest in missions came together in her desire to write about YWAM for popular Christian magazines.²⁰⁸ This interest eventually led Ruth and Noel to travel with YWAM on their early Summers of Service to document and photograph the short-term mission trips and publish their accounts in *Christian Life Magazine*, YWAM's first promotional photobook, *Journal of a Summer* (1966), and a range of promotional materials routinely sent to supporting ministries. Ruth served as editor of YWAM's newsletter, *Advance*, and she authored the first published book about YWAM's history, *God's Guerillas*, in 1970.²⁰⁹ Between the Scratches' familial support and the Wilsons' early partnership, Redwood City Assemblies of God church became a significant site in YWAM's growth and establishment. Not only did the young congregants get involved with YWAM and the older congregants offer financial support to the young people, but it was the place where Loren's expansive pentecostal networks from his own family and associations as a young evangelist were

²⁰⁷ Ruth and Noel helped Enid decorated the church for Darlene and Loren's wedding. Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 29.

²⁰⁸ Ruth's contribution to YWAM is covered in more detail in Chapter 6. Her published works on YWAM's early years, especially *Journal of a Summer*, *Journey with the Followers*, and *God's Guerillas* are the earliest examples of YWAM history full of the testimonies of young participants. Ruth's literary contribution to YWAM's historical record is significant, and while archival records remain scant, her documentation of the names and faces of the first cohorts of young people involved in YWAM and the locations they served have helped guide the dissertation research.

²⁰⁹ Noel and Ruth moved to Southern California in 1967. Noel worked as a professor at Southern California College (later renamed Vanguard) from 1967- 1975 and Ruth continued to volunteer with YWAM. The Wilsons' involvement in YWAM lessened in the early 1970s because of theological differences, but they remained friends with the Scratches and Cunninghams and contributed a great deal to the early history of the mission.

multiplied by those of Darlene Scratch's family in the Northwestern US, Canada, and global mission fields.²¹⁰

Family Relations & Institutional Influence

Clearly the Nicholson, Cunningham, Morris, and Scratch families provided Loren and Darlene Cunningham and a young YWAM with access to expansive and growing pentecostal networks.²¹¹ Well rooted in the Classical Pentecostal denominations of the AG and PAOC, Darlene and Loren's departure from the Assemblies of God presented them with a serious crisis.²¹² They had to grapple with the fact that they would be turning their backs on the denomination their own parents and grandparents had helped establish and grow. They were, in essence, choosing their own vision of ministry over fidelity to their families. What they likely did not know at the time, however, was that their parents – Ed and Enid Scratch and Jewell and T.C. Cunningham – were well-versed at harnessing the early pentecostal spirit of pioneering even if it meant going against the advice of others. Loren and Darlene continued on in that same spirit of early pentecostalism that

²¹⁰ Loren Cunningham recounted to the author in May 2022 that Redwood City AG had many congregants who worked for United Airlines, implying that the congregants helped the YWAM young people with flights. Again, Loren and Darlene's marriage was a convergence of global religious and familial networks central in the success of YWAM.

²¹¹ Other early YWAM volunteers brought their own family histories and denominational networks that significantly multiplied YWAM's reach. For the purpose of this chapter and dissertation, however, only those of Loren and Darlene Cunningham have been explored.

²¹² R. Marshall Wilson, *God's Guerrillas: The True Story of Youth With a Mission* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1971), 145. Wilson's retelling of the denominational split relates far more anguish and suffering by Darlene and Loren than other accounts. While leaving the AG was clearly painful for them, the outcome was less drastic to their circle of friends and ministry contacts who proved their loyalty to relationships grounded in family and friendship ties.

they had been born and raised in and that they saw in action every time their parents preached a revival or church service.

As a result, YWAM in its early years was a continuation of the bold, entrepreneurial faith model of early pentecostalism that their parents had known in their youth and modeled for their children. The difference between the 1930s and the 1960s, however, was that the family religious networks had expanded and their members had become well-established pastors, district executives, and respected missionaries in the AG and PAOC. By the time Loren Cunningham handed back his ministry credentials to the AG in 1965, their broader family and ministry networks meant that rather than being shut out of church, district, national, and missionary networks of their denomination, they were loyally supported by family members and generational friendships that spanned the globe.²¹³

²¹³ Two of Darlene and Loren's cousins would go on to be pivotal in YWAM's future. Hazel (Swanson) McAlister had married Jack McAlister, the founder of World Literature Crusade in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, later renamed Every Home for Christ. The McAlisters moved from Canada to California in 1951 because of denominational conflict. According to Jack's retelling, they left because the PAOC Executive was angry at all the money Canadian pentecostals were donating to his ministry. There is obviously more to the story and deserves more research. The relationship with a successful mission and prayer organization was central to Loren and Darlene being put into contact with people like Bill Bright, Oswald J. Smith, and others. Loren's cousins, Leland and Oren Paris Jr. were also central figures in early YWAM, a topic more fully covered in the previous section on Jewell Nicholson Cunningham's family history.

Chapter 3: Constructing World Christianity, Part I: 1960 to 1964

A diffuse and diverse set of global mission networks predated YWAM's founding and early development and directly contributed to its success and spread. YWAM, as an offshoot of revivalist pentecostalism, was well-connected to Classical Pentecostal denominations in North America – the AG and PAOC – and their global missionaries. Pentecostal missionary expansion spread through radical evangelical mission networks that were themselves a genesis of nineteenth century missionary networks.²¹⁴ Through these historic relationships, YWAM received a welcome reception in most pentecostal mission networks that, by 1960, were well-established and expanding. YWAM was also well-received in indigenous-led pentecostal churches affiliated with pentecostal missionaries. YWAM's global growth through pentecostal and later evangelical and emerging charismatic networks was a part of the broader globalization of Christianity in the modern period.²¹⁵ Made possible because of the emergence of world Christianity, YWAM constructed its own, unique pentecostal-charismatic missional version of the movement that “grew along transnational networks, held to theological universality and local inclusivity and spread by conversion/mission, migration, and globalism.”²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Bergunder, *The South Indian Pentecostal Movement*, 4–9.

²¹⁵ For some studies on the globalization of Christianity and its relation to Christian mission, see David W. Scott, *Mission as Globalization: Methodists in Southeast Asia at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016); Dana L. Robert, “The First Globalization: The Internationalization of the Protestant Missionary Movement between the World Wars,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 26, no. 2 (April 2002): 50–66; Jehu Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration, and the Transformation of the West* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2008).

²¹⁶ Kim and Kim, *Christianity as a World Religion*, 3, 8, 10, 11.

This chapter is the first part in a series of chapters that together construct YWAM's comprehensive, chronological global history as an active participant in constructing modern world Christianity in the long 1960s. This chapter explores YWAM's development from 1960 to 1964. Chapter 4 looks at 1965 to 1967 and Chapter 5 develops YWAM's history from 1968 to 1970. Each chapter details the people, networks, and events of the period that were directly, and at times indirectly, active in YWAM's local, regional, and transnational growth. The chapters document the evolving programming YWAM pioneered and revised in its attempts to fulfill its vision for young people in mission as it stretched to new countries and cultures. The history of each of YWAM's early programs – Vocational Volunteers (1961), Domestic Crusades (1963), International Crusades, also known as Summers of Service (1964), School of Evangelism (1969), and Around-the-World Teams (1969) – is reconstructed in this and the following chapters.²¹⁷ Tracing the shifts and changes in YWAM's programming as it expanded and contracted in various world regions through historic and emerging networks provides insight into the means and methods by which YWAM invented and reinvented itself as a global mission movement. Underneath it all and more vital to its success, lay the itinerant ministry of Loren and Darlene Cunningham, their faithful family networks, and their first cohort of full-time volunteers – the foundation for YWAM's local and global extensions.²¹⁸

²¹⁷ “Domestic Crusade,” was the title YWAM gave to its local evangelism training and ministry.

²¹⁸ Loren Cunningham's itinerant ministry began in 1960. Darlene Scratch became his wife in June of 1963 and they continued in itinerant evangelistic ministry together in the US, Canada, and around the world. In 1967, more YWAMers became full-time volunteers and joined Loren and Darlene the

This chapter reconstructs YWAM's history as a result of and contributor to the world Christian movement from 1960 to 1964. The chapter is organized chronologically and traces YWAM's growth along pentecostal mission, denominational, and emerging independent evangelical networks in the United States and its nearby mission district, the Bahamas and the Caribbean islands. True to the study of world Christianity, the chapter constructs local histories of YWAM in definable national and regional expressions – the USA and the Caribbean – while maintaining its interconnectedness to and in transnational and global networks. The chapter begins with a history of YWAM's early years in the US followed by the history of YWAM in the Caribbean (1964).

From Pentecostal Heartland to the World: YWAM in the United States

YWAM's early growth was a regional, denominational, and familial phenomenon first local to the state of California. In the context of California as a center of global cultural, economic, religious, and technological exchange, local also meant global. From Hollywood to Azusa Street, California had been exporting cultural and religious ideas around the world for decades before YWAM was founded in 1960.²¹⁹ Pentecostal

itinerant ministry. Floyd and Sally McClung, Wedge and Shirley Alman, Arnie and Heidi Breikreuz and Jim and Janice Rogers joined Loren and Darlene. Each couple travelled the US, Canada, and Mexico as teams sharing YWAM's message and recruiting young people to join their programs. YWAM's diffusion, particularly in the US, was a direct result of the expanding itinerant ministry of these YWAM couples. Chapter 5 offers a more detailed account of how the couples and their associates expanded YWAM's networks into Mexico and Latin America, Canada, and New Zealand.

²¹⁹ Cecil M. Robeck, "Launching a Global Movement: The Role of Azusa Street in Pentecostalism's Growth and Expansion," in *Spirit and Power: The Growth and Global Impact of Pentecostalism*, ed. Donald E. Miller, Kimon H. Sargeant, and Richard Flory (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 45-47, 55-58. Robeck asserts that the Azusa Street Mission was central to the spread of the pentecostal movement in the US and around the world.

missionaries from California were scattered around the globe years before the Assemblies of God (AG) was founded in 1914. While the AG offered denominational belonging to many of the pastors and missionaries of the early pentecostal revival, the pentecostal movement remained decentralized, trans-denominational and global in character.²²⁰ The AG's mission arm, the Department of Foreign Missions, was disproportionately populated by missionaries sent and supported by the California District of the Assemblies of God (AG). Not only were AG churches in California known to be generous in giving finances to support foreign missions, but they also promoted and recruited for foreign missions through regular missionary conventions hosted at the district and regional church level.²²¹

The Assemblies of God in California was globally connected and mission supportive. These contextual realities enabled a young assistant pastor in southern California to develop his dream for youth in missions. After graduating from Central Bible College in Springfield, Missouri, Loren Cunningham returned to California to take a position under his father, T.C. Cunningham. Loren began as assistant pastor at First Assembly of God Church in Long Beach, California, in 1958. Within a short time, however, T.C. Cunningham was elected to the position of Assistant Superintendent for the Southern California District. This promotion prompted Loren to take a new position as assistant pastor to Rev. Marcus Gaston at Calvary Assembly in Inglewood, California.

²²⁰ Robeck, "Launching a Global Movement," 55-58.

²²¹ T.C. Cunningham's mission fundraising is an example of the District's commitment to mission. Paris, "The Legacy of My Uncle Tom," 4; Rogers and Rogers, interview.

Between 1957 and 1960, Loren was involved in the local, district, and national level denominational ministries. In addition to his role of assistant pastor at Calvary Assembly, he worked as a leader for the AG's youth program – Christ's Ambassadors (C.A.) – for Los Angeles under District leader, Roy Sapp. Loren held the position of Secretary-Treasurer for the District Sunday School Department in 1959. Loren Cunningham was embedded in the relationships, networks, and families that made up the Southern Californian District of the Assemblies of God in this period.

In addition to his formal ministry positions, Loren Cunningham developed a ministry as an itinerant evangelist within the Assemblies of God. Loren's own ministry began as a child and youth evangelist alongside his parents, sisters, and extended family.²²² While a student at Central Bible College in Springfield, Missouri, between 1955 and 1957, Loren served as an outstation pastor and gospel singer. A member of the gospel quartets the King's Liberators and the King's Magnifiers, Loren ministered in AG churches throughout the US and into the Caribbean and Canada. After Bible college and as an assistant pastor in Inglewood, Loren received invitations to speak at Christ's Ambassador (C.A.) youth rallies in the Southern California District between 1958–60.

Then in the spring of 1960, Loren left his official pastoral position to explore options for missionary service. Aided by his parents' relationships with missionaries around the world, his itinerancy as a "missionary evangelist" within the AG allowed him to travel the AG missionary circuits throughout the US and abroad. He met missionaries

²²² The relationships and roles of Loren's family networks in YWAM's growth are explored in Chapter 2.

and served in AG mission stations. He taught in AG Bible Colleges and evangelized to the local people. Through his own mission experiences outside the United States, Loren's vision for challenging young people into missionary service deepened. After preaching at a C.A. event in Santa Barbara, Loren expressed his ideas with close friends, Bob and Lorraine Theetge, and with their encouragement and help he founded YWAM in December of 1960.²²³ With the support of the Southern California District Superintendent L.E. Halvorson, District C.A. leader Roy Sapp, Pastor Watson Argue Jr., Inglewood church elder & businessman Bob Theetge, businessman Frank Daniels, and Hollis Lawson YWAM became an official entity. These men served on YWAM's first Board of Directors and affirmed Southern Californian commitment to pentecostal missionary expansion. These regional denominational leaders provided vital relational and financial support for YWAM well into its first decade.²²⁴

Beyond the pentecostal heartland of California, Loren ministered as an itinerant evangelist in AG circles in the US and around the world. It was these pentecostal networks that welcomed Loren's ministry and spread YWAM's challenge to young

²²³ Loren Cunningham founded YWAM with the help of Bob and Lorraine Theetge and with the support of the Southern California District Executive Presbytery.

²²⁴ Photograph of YWAM's First Board of Directors, 1961, Jewell Cunningham Photobook, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. YWAM's office remained located in southern California well into the 1970s. Even though the mission claims that they had no headquarters and was always grassroots, the California office was the only consistent "home operation" for over its first decade of existence. The office was staffed by loyal volunteers like Lorraine Theetge, Mrs. Myrtle Overton, Thad Coleman, Shirley Alman, Marti De Febbo, and a long list of other short-term volunteers and helpers. Bob and Lorraine Theetge's home was also an anchor, housing YWAM volunteers as they passed through LA or were waiting to board flights to various international destinations. Richard Theetge, interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, May 4, 2023, telephone. After marrying Darlene Scratch, Ed and Enid Scratch's home in Redwood City, CA, also became an anchor, but didn't ever function in the same way as Jewel and T.C.'s home.

people after 1960.²²⁵ Connecting local AG youth volunteers with service opportunities at AG mission stations, Loren developed YWAM's first program, Vocational Volunteers (VVs). The point of the VVs was to give young people opportunities to serve in secondary roles alongside experienced missionaries at stable mission stations for one-to-two-year placements. The first VVs were sent to Liberia in the summer of 1961. By the spring of 1963, YWAM had 20 VVs serving at AG affiliated mission stations around the world.²²⁶

One VV applicant, a nurse from Redwood City, California, named Darlene Scratch, became Loren's wife and ministry partner after their wedding in June of 1963. By this time, Loren had been the director of YWAM for a year and a half and its programs were sending and supporting young people in Asia, Africa, and Central America. Loren and Darlene embarked on their first "Around the World" mission trip as a married couple in the summer of 1963. The trip doubled as their honeymoon and catapulted Darlene into full time YWAM service.²²⁷ After Darlene and Loren itinerated with AG missionaries in South Asia, they returned to the US to continue YWAM's work. Once home, they took any invitation they were offered and "kept the road hot

²²⁵ The model of the holiness-pentecostal itinerant evangelist, still very much alive in Loren Cunningham's day, is foundational for understanding how YWAM grew across the US and was replicated and localized in other parts of the world.

²²⁶ The history and development of VVs is included in Chapter 5. Another section on female VVs is included in Chapter 6.

²²⁷ Darlene is credited as YWAM's co-founder because of her full partnership with Loren in ministry. She developed YWAM's programming and pastoral care in significant ways.

recruiting.”²²⁸ Travelling the well-trodden circuits of AG churches, Bible Colleges, youth groups, and mission/youth conferences, the Cunninghams’ message remained unchanged – God wanted to use youth in evangelism and mission to change the world. The young people who heard Loren’s message were eager to do something significant, even if the details of that “something” were still materializing.

Loren and Darlene sought ways to increase the number of young people participating in evangelism and mission. In partnership with denominational friends and fellow ministers, they created new, local, and short-term opportunities that were more evangelistically focused than the Vocational Volunteers. Following the trend to train local congregations in personal witnessing, YWAM applied the concept of local evangelistic campaigns to youth groups from Assemblies of God churches.²²⁹ Evangelistic training during a condensed time frame reflecting something like a one-week summer camp, was designed for young people from church youth groups. The agenda for these camp-like campaigns was spiritual and evangelistic. Youth would be trained in personal witnessing techniques, engage in door-to-door evangelism, and

²²⁸ Darlene Cunningham, Dawn Gauslin, and Sean Lambert, *Values Matter* (YWAM Publishing, 2020), 55. YWAM’s physical permanence can be interpreted through its maintenance of office space and Loren and Darlene’s connection to their parents’ homes in the greater Los Angeles area (Cunnighams) and San Francisco area (Scratches).

²²⁹ The concept of personal witnessing and door-to-door evangelism was popularized in pentecostal and evangelical churches throughout the mid to late 1950s and extended into the 1960s. The phrase “personal witnessing” or “personal evangelism” in the Consortium of Pentecostal Archives generates 255 entries between 1950-1959, 730 entries between 1960-1969, and 684 entries between 1970-1979. Books on personal witnessing, like *Personal Evangelism* by C.J. Sharp, were promoted for sale in the *Pentecostal Evangel* No. 2228 (January 20, 1957): 30. The *C.A. Herald* 32, no. 11 (November 1959): 16 advertised the C.A. focus on personal witnessing and declared “1960 Year of Witness.” The trend to train local parishioners in sharing their faith through personal evangelism in the early 1960s extended throughout church programming and was not unique to pentecostals.

become active in ministry. Loren Cunningham, as the “director of Youth With A Mission,” organized the first of these events hosted by local AG churches and attended by C.A. chapters and members.²³⁰ YWAM’s vision to empower young people with the tools to evangelize and “win souls” for Christ remained central to these early programs that focused on evangelism in neighboring cities or states. YWAM’s full-time members – Loren and Darlene Cunningham – criss-crossed the country preaching, teaching, and challenging young people to make a difference for Christ in their local communities. Such a vision for their neighbors’ salvation was simultaneously connected to their dream of youth ministering in far-flung mission fields.

The “Domestic Crusade”: A Building Block for Youth Evangelism, 1963

Originally run as a partnership between YWAM and the Christ’s Ambassadors (C.A.) of the Assemblies of God, the Domestic Crusade was intended to mobilize young people in evangelism. With bombastic titles borrowed from military lingo – “Action” and “Operation” – the first campaigns focused on converting people in regions and places that contemporary pentecostal and evangelical minds could easily identify as spiritually needy or morally degenerate.²³¹ Utah, with the country’s highest concentration of Mormons,

²³⁰ Sapp, “Operation New Orleans,” 12.

²³¹ YWAM’s use of military language was a reflection of the evangelical enterprise of its day. The use of the militaristic language like “Operation” or “Action” diminished by the time the Domestic Crusades subsided, around 1965. It seems that after YWAM stopped partnering with Christ’s Ambassadors their use of these terms ended. Still, other militaristic language, like “base” and “bootcamp” continued to be common in the mission and persist into the present, even if not used in official communications. The term “crusade” continued to be used throughout the 1960s, although it was eventually replaced with the term “outreach.”

was an evangelical mission field.²³² A new AG church plant in Tooele, Utah, pastored by Rev. Milton Newman hosted the 12 Christ's Ambassadors who travelled from Colorado for YWAM's first Domestic Crusade – the "Tooele Action" – in August 1963. The week-long event that began on Saturday, August 12, "under the banner of 'Youth with a Mission.'"²³³ On Monday, August 14th, the 12 youth from Colorado were joined by seven youth from Tooele's own C.A. chapter. Together, the 19 young people began their days of ministry with a time for guided devotions followed by evangelistic teaching and application. They went out in twos to knock on doors and share the message of Jesus Christ with each of the 2,500 households in town. By the end of the week of evangelism and special evening meetings the group reported, "over 100 visitors attended and several found Christ as Saviour."²³⁴

YWAM's next Domestic Crusade, held in Richardson, Texas, in June of 1964 was a continuation of the model crafted for the "Tooele Action" of August 1963. One significant difference, however, was that the crusade was not conducted as an official C.A. event. While C.A. members were welcome, the Richardson, Texas, crusade was part of the mandatory training required for the young people who had applied to join YWAM

²³² The similarities between YWAM evangelistic practices of two-by-two door-to-door evangelism and Mormon missionary practice is striking. The author has done preliminary research to determine if and how Mormon mission practice influenced the pentecostal and evangelical methods emerging during post-war period, but no substantive links were found. More research is needed to determine the relationships between these movements that must have influenced each other.

²³³ Darrel Marsden, "Things Happen When C.A.'s Join Forces: Impact Tooele," *C.A. Herald*, January 1964, 10, Digital Publications, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center.

²³⁴ Marsden, "Things Happen," 11.

on their first International Crusade to the Bahamas and the Dominican Republic.²³⁵ If the majority of the young people who went on the summer outreach attended the Domestic Crusade north of Dallas, there would have been upwards of 146 attendees evangelizing the streets of Richardson for a week in June.²³⁶ According to Jim and Janice Rogers, Sam Jordan and Charlie Capps taught the young people how to do personal evangelism and door-to-door witnessing. The young people learned popular methods in personal witnessing that revolved around one-on-one conversations with people, sharing of one's own faith testimony, and offering prayer to interested parties.

Using techniques like the “Roman’s Road” – a witnessing formula that guides the listener through Bible passages from the Epistle of Romans about of God’s holiness, human sinfulness, Christ’s atoning sacrifice for sin, God’s forgiveness through confession of sin and faith in Jesus Christ, God’s promise of eternal salvation, and an invitation to receive God’s salvation through prayer – young people were trained to share faith in Jesus Christ.²³⁷ If a listener expressed a desire to accept God’s free gift of

²³⁵ Rogers and Rogers, interview. The Richardson, Texas, crusade was a both training for the Summer of Service and a Domestic Crusade. Local young people attended and were trained in evangelism even if they did not go to the Summer of Service. It was also a training for the Summer of Service and most of the SOS recruits were required to attend the Richardson crusade. One exception was made for Janice Cunningham, Loren’s younger sister, who was not able to attend the training because of previous commitments. Instead, she was able to join the outreach directly.

²³⁶ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 69. See Appendix E for a list of names of Summer of Service participants from 1964, 1965, and 1970. To date, existing documentation on the participant lists from the 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969 Summers of Service have not be located.

²³⁷ Baptist pastor, Dr. Jack Hyles has claimed that he put together what became known as the Roman’s Road to Salvation. He did publish a book, *Step-by-Step Lessons in How to Win a Soul to Christ*, published April 1962, see <https://www.jackhyles.com/soulwin.htm>. This manuscript contains many of the points that early YWAM practiced: be clean and neat, go two by two, etc. It is unknown if Hyles was an influence in YWAM’s evangelistic strategy directly or indirectly through the other evangelism instructors, but it is possible.

salvation after the young people shared their message, the pair of youth would lead the listener in a prayer that expressed their repentance of sin and reception of salvation through Jesus Christ. The young evangelists would offer their listeners an invitation to the evening service at their host AG church, collect the contact information of willing respondents, and move on to the next house.

The pairs of youth recorded the names and contact information of the people who accepted their message. The number and names of “converts” was reported to YWAM organizers and host church leaders for further follow up by the local pastor. This procedure, with slight variations depending on how their listeners responded, was repeated house by house throughout Richardson day after day.²³⁸ After the week of “cutting their teeth” in evangelism at home in the US, the large group made their way by bus to Miami to board airplanes to the Bahamas and the Dominican Republic for a summer of evangelism. The second Domestic Crusade in YWAM’s history, run solely by YWAM for YWAM’s own youth mission training purposes, acted as a pioneering event and template for the evolving pattern of YWAM’s domestic and international expansion.

During the summer of 1964, the majority of YWAM’s energy was focused on Caribbean evangelism. At the tail end of the summer, however, Loren Cunningham and Charlie Capps flew to Utah to facilitate a week of evangelism in partnership with the AG

²³⁸ The procedure of door-to-door evangelism was loosely followed in YWAM’s early Domestic Crusades and Summers of Service. It is important to note that the young people took record and reported to the local pastors and/or local missionaries they were working with. While their methods varied, the techniques of personal evangelism and witnessing, like the “Romans Road” as detailed in the paragraph, were commonly used.

Christ's Ambassadors.²³⁹ Loren likely travelled directly from Nassau to Salt Lake City for the last week of August 1964 to run "Operation Utah" under the auspices of YWAM. The C.A.'s evangelistic campaign in Utah, now in its second year, had expanded significantly. Records indicate that 89 Christ's Ambassadors from Colorado, Arizona, Oklahoma, Texas, Idaho, and California joined in the week-long evangelistic event.²⁴⁰ With significant growth from the previous year, the Rocky Mountain District C.A.s, led by Darrel Madsen, sponsored the campaign hosted by First Assembly in Salt Lake City.²⁴¹ The 89 young people were separated into "squads" that partnered with an Assemblies of God church in or near one of the 11 cities and suburbs included in the ministry plan.

With two domestic crusade events behind him and one summer-long large-scale evangelistic campaign in the Caribbean, Loren and his AG associates honed "Operation Utah's" agenda to include "devotions and training in the morning" followed by door-to-door witnessing, lunch, afternoon devotions, and "two and a half to three hours on the

²³⁹ "Charlie Capps taught personal evangelism at YWAM's first Domestic Crusades. He was known in the AG for his ministry in the Men's Fellowship. According to an email reply I received from his daughter Annette Capps, he had developed a system of evangelism that he used to teach AG men's groups. It is unknown how Loren and Charles Capps became acquainted, but he used his system of evangelism to train the C.A. and YWAM youth through these early events.

²⁴⁰ D.V. Hurst, "Operation Utah: The Chain Reaction Is Still Going," *C.A. Herald*, January 1965, Digital Publications, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center. C.A.s came from Redwood City, California, and Grand Junction, Colorado. Norman Arnesen is listed as one of the C.A.s from Redwood City. It is important to note that Darlene Scratch's father, Ed Scratch, was the pastor of the Redwood City AG church at this time. Other names mentioned include D.V. Hurst, the author of the article and coordinator of the Spiritual Life – Evangelism Commission, Russell Cox, college youth representation of the National C.A. Department.

²⁴¹ Hurst, "Operation Utah." First Assembly was pastored by Peter Pilot.

streets.”²⁴² Each evening, the young people participated in a “gospel service” at the host churches.²⁴³ Loren Cunningham led the daily devotions and training sessions that emphasized each person’s own personal relationship with Christ through prayer and Bible reading.

“Operation Utah” seemed to spur a movement. Hurst, reporting the following January, drew attention to what he called a “contagion” organized by the C.A.s upon their return home. “Twenty-three Northeast Section C.A.’s [sic] invaded Wray, Colorado;” “Denver Glad Tidings Assembly and Englewood First Assembly started theirs;” “Fort Morgan and Brush were ready to begin.”²⁴⁴ Salt Lake City First Assembly decided to help Cedar City and devoted their vacation time during the state teachers [sic] convention to it.” The C.A.s from Pueblo, Colorado, invited young people from other C.A. groups to evangelize nearby Fowler as practice “away from home” followed by a campaign to witness to every household in Pueblo.²⁴⁵

²⁴² Hurst, “Operation Utah,” 20. The Tooele Action the year before only lists the first Monday morning as featuring some training and devotions. Thus, this second year in Utah reflects more training and devotions for the youth participants.

²⁴³ Hurst, “Operation Utah,” 20. It is important to note that the author of this article identifies the young people as C.A.s. Even though Loren Cunningham planned and ran the campaign as the director of YWAM, the young people were participating as a part of their C.A. chapters not as a part of YWAM.

²⁴⁴ It is important to note Hurst’s use of militaristic language in his description of youth in evangelism. This evidence points to the fact that pentecostal and evangelical Christians during this period of the long 1960s did not see any contradiction with using militaristic terms to describe church and spiritual matters and ministries. Thus, YWAM’s use of these terms was an extension of a common practice within the denomination. In fact, it seems that the names of the C.A. evangelistic campaigns already used militaristic language before YWAM became involved as organizers. See “Operation Saturation” by Dick Champion in the *C.A. Herald* December 1962, 2. YWAM’s usage of militaristic language starts to lessen after 1965, although some writing for YWAM by AG volunteers like Ruth Marshall Wilson still used it as in her “Strange Invasion of Canada” and her 1970 book about YWAM: *God’s Guerillas*.

²⁴⁵ Hurst, “Operation Utah,” 21–22.

Clearly, Christ's Ambassadors were eager to share their faith with those close to home. Denominational leaders were happy with the results of the Domestic Crusades. Loren Cunningham had the ability to organize successful youth evangelistic campaigns, even if his relationship with the Assemblies of God was on the brink. The Executive Presbytery at the AG headquarters in Springfield had expressed their displeasure with YWAM in the fall of 1964 and they offered Loren an opportunity to incorporate youth missions into their approved structures. The tension was building as Loren refused to bend to the denomination's demands and continued operating YWAM as he saw fit. Under these strained circumstances, the YWAM – C.A. partnership continued for one more iteration in "Operation New Orleans."²⁴⁶ During the Christmas break of 1964-65, 80 Christ's Ambassadors, some repeat participants from "Operation Utah," gathered in New Orleans for a week of teaching and witnessing.²⁴⁷ Coordinated by the Louisiana District C.A. President Marvin Gorman and attended by C.A. groups from 11 states including Louisiana, Nebraska, and Michigan, Loren Cunningham gave spiritual guidance through daily devotions. He, along with "businessman Sam Jordan of Ottumwa, Iowa, and Charlie Capps of England, Arkansas," taught the young people personal evangelism and "drilled them in proven methods of soul winning."²⁴⁸ The young people

²⁴⁶ Sapp, "Operation New Orleans," 10.

²⁴⁷ Sapp, "Operation New Orleans." Young people listed in Sapp's article include: Hank Born from First Assembly of God in Shreveport, Louisiana; sisters Shirley and Barbara Chamberlain of Shreveport; Marigold Allen from Bastrop, Louisiana; Jim Wilkins, Nebraska District C.A. President; Lloyd Gill from Milford, Nebraska; Gary Lantzenhiser of Minatare, Nebraska.

²⁴⁸ Sapp, "Operation New Orleans," 11. An emphasis on prayer and God's word were key elements to the large group gatherings.

practiced personal witnessing and handed out tracts and gospel literature.²⁴⁹ Testimonies in Sapp's *C.A. Herald* article underscored how young people were freed from the fear of sharing their faith and were awed by what they described as God touching people's hearts and "breaking chains."²⁵⁰ All told, the group reported 81 confessions of faith through door-to-door ministry and 30 conversions in the evening services hosted by local participating churches.²⁵¹ With or without C.A. partnership, YWAM's Domestic Crusades unquestionably succeeded in training and equipping youth for door-to-door evangelistic ministry.

Las Vegas, New Mexico, and into all the World, 1965–1966: Evolving Pattern and Partners for World Evangelism

The following year, 1965, marked Loren Cunningham's official withdrawal from the AG. While the continuation of formal YWAM – C.A. partnerships in domestic evangelism tapered off, informal relationships were maintained and central to YWAM's

²⁴⁹ Sapp notes that the group handed out "Chicken" tracts. It seems that these tracts were a popular resource for the C.A. young people of the mid 1960s. "Operation Saturation" by Dick Champion in the *C.A. Herald* December 1962, 2, describes "a tiny booklet entitled *Chicken*. This 16-page booklet, measuring approximately 2 ¼ by 3 ½ inches is written in teen language. It is hard-hitting, direct, right to the point. Author of the booklet is David Wilkerson, director of Teen-Age Evangelism, New York City, who has already distributed several hundred thousand of the booklets through his ministry." "In Mobile Mardi Gras Witness" in the *Pentecostal Evangel*, May 5, 1963, 16, details "Operation Saturation" in Mobile, Alabama, during Mardi Gras. The C.A.s in partnership with Teen Challenge Mobile distributed 100,000 Chicken tracts. Four years later, the *Youth With A Mission Advance* 3, no.5 (May 1967): 22, notes that the Truth for Youth Crusade "began in the fall of 1963 with mass distribution of the tract 'Chicken.' C.A.s have given out more than 14 million gospel tracts."

²⁵⁰ Sapp, "Operation New Orleans," 12.

²⁵¹ Sapp, "Operation New Orleans," 13.

success throughout the United States.²⁵² YWAM had developed the model of gathering young people for a week-long campaign of evangelistic training under the banner of Christ's Ambassadors. Loren Cunningham's departure from the AG did not end his ongoing use of the Domestic Crusade as a means of mission or the local AG support that enabled it. From 1965 to 1970, AG pastors independently hosted YWAM crusade events and promoted YWAM's offerings to their youth.²⁵³ AG young people, individually or as C.A. groups, received YWAM's evangelism training, put it into practice, and brought it home to share with their friends and youth groups. Thus, YWAM's influence on AG youth continued long after formal partnerships ended.

YWAM's Domestic Crusade in Las Vegas, Nevada, in the spring of 1965 demonstrates the new unofficial working relationship with the AG. Some things remained unchanged. YWAM, hosted by a local AG pastor and church, organized and delivered practical training in evangelistic techniques and recruited AG young people for evangelism at home and abroad. The Las Vegas Crusade, however, was markedly different. Without the formal denominational partnership and approval as existed in the first two years of the budding program, the Las Vegas Crusade received no mention in

²⁵² YWAM was founded in the state of California in December of 1960 and from its founding it operated under that name with Loren Cunningham as the director. Thus, while Loren had been an ordained minister and itinerant evangelist with the Assemblies of God he still operated YWAM as a stand-alone, although unofficially affiliated, ministry.

²⁵³ Rev. Wilbur Wacker, AG pastor in Las Vegas, Nevada, was a regular host, organizer, and promoter of YWAM Domestic Crusades for C.A. groups. Wacker hosted YWAM's 1965 crusade and archival documents show that he helped coordinate YWAM's Easter 1970 San Francisco crusade. Wedge Alman to Rev. Wilbur Wacker, January 24, 1969, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Other promoters and hosts included Watson Argue, Jr., and Cam Wilson. Loren's cousin, Rev. Leland Paris in Hammonton, New Jersey, also hosted YWAM speakers and events.

the *C.A. Herald*.²⁵⁴ The lack of denominational promotion did not hinder YWAM's efforts, for local AG partnerships remained the source of recruitment. YWAM was now at liberty to recruit AG young people for their International Crusades, or Summers of Service. The Las Vegas Crusade and those that followed remained a starting point for AG youth to participate in YWAM's programming.

During the Easter vacation of 1965, Loren and Darlene Cunningham ran "Operation Vegas Outreach" at Trinity Temple, an AG church pastored by Wilbur Wacker.²⁵⁵ Pastor Wacker's church members hosted the young people in their homes. Loren and Darlene planned the event. The schedule was rigid and demanding. Saturday was dedicated to evangelistic training and group prayer. On Sunday, the crusade participants attended the morning prayer meeting, Sunday School, Church Worship, a second prayer meeting, and the evening church service at Rev. Wacker's church. Monday through Saturday, the day began at 8am with chapel, followed by witnessing from 9 am - 12 pm, lunch, more witnessing from 1:30 pm until dinner, a break for dinner, and an evening service at 7:30pm.²⁵⁶ Adding to the already full program, David Wilkerson was

²⁵⁴ It is interesting to note that the AG C.A. chapters continued running their versions of the "Domestic Crusades" and seemed to combine them with their version of YWAM's SOS only domestically, as noted in *C.A. Herald*, May 1965, 3-4 in what they call the "Summer Crusade for Souls." This borrowing of method was common across different evangelical groups, but is worth noting that the AG rejected YWAM's plans to implement such ministry because it was international and interdenominational, but ultimately ended up replicating YWAM's ministry vision as well.

²⁵⁵ Welcome to the Las Vegas Crusade! by Loren Cunningham, April 10, 1965, Portale Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Wilbur Wacker remained a loyal supporter of Loren and Darlene and of YWAM into the early 1970s.

²⁵⁶ Welcome to the Las Vegas Crusade!

the special guest speaker for evening services at the Las Vegas Convention Center on April 16, 17, and 18.²⁵⁷

For the Las Vegas Crusade, like the crusades that preceded it, young people were required to arrange their own transportation to and from the venue. In his welcome letter to the young people, Loren Cunningham urged the participants to recognize the significance of the task of soul-winning that lay before them and the spiritual sacrifices their host church had made by praying and fasting for the events.²⁵⁸ Along with the crusade welcome letter, attendees received focused maps of Las Vegas for their direct door-to-door visits, fillable charts to track the results of their conversations, and information and application forms for the upcoming 1965 Summers of Service (SOS) with crusades in Mexico, the South Pacific (Samoa), and the Caribbean (Jamaica) after the week-long training crusade hosted in the Dallas-Fort Worth area.²⁵⁹ For AG young people, like Joe Portale of San Jose, California, and Sally Claiborne of Galveston, Texas,

²⁵⁷ Promotional Material for David Wilkerson Meetings. It is important to note that David Wilkerson, like Loren Cunningham, was from a multi-generational Assemblies of God family. Although his ministry, Teen Challenge, was claimed to be non-denominational, his networks and relationships drew upon similar strengths as that of Cunningham. Wilkerson's efforts, however, held broader appeal as his message of Christ included solving the increasing problem of youth addiction to drugs and the moral decay of the US as a Christian nation.

²⁵⁸ Welcome to the Las Vegas Crusade!

²⁵⁹ Typescript of Instruction Sheet - S.O.S. '65, April 1965, Portale Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Jim Seregow recounted that his first training with YWAM in the summer of 1965 was the Dallas Fort Worth crusade in June before flying to Puerto Rico to lead a boys' team to Tortolla and British Virgin Islands. Kathy Draskowich, later Seregow, led a girls' team to St. John's. James Seregow, interview by Allison Kach-Yawnghe, May 1, 2023, telephone.

the Las Vegas Crusade was a starting point to life-long ministries as missionaries in and around YWAM.²⁶⁰

Following the 1965 Las Vegas Crusade and a full summer of teams scattering as far as Samoa, the Cunninghams prepared for their next domestic event over the Christmas holidays of 1965-66 hosted by Wedge and Shirley Alman, in Alamogordo, New Mexico. The Alamogordo Crusade was YWAM's first known Domestic Crusade at a Spanish-speaking church, or church in the Latin American District of the Assemblies of God. YWAM's ministry and evangelistic vision had included Spanish-speaking young people and churches in southern California from its inception. Some of YWAM's first international evangelism was to the Spanish-speaking Dominican Republic during the first SOS in 1964.²⁶¹

YWAM's partnership with the Almans cemented their commitment to work with and in the Spanish-speaking church. While the Almans were white, English-speaking Americans, their ministry in Spanish-speaking New Mexico was both domestic – in the United States – and international – connected to the vast networks of Spanish-speaking pentecostals in the region and throughout Central America. A reported 50 young people attended the Alamogordo Crusade hosted by the Almans' church in partnership with a

²⁶⁰ Another attendee, Millie Gerhart, returned home to her husband, Rod Gerhart (son of district AG executive) and compelled him to become involved with YWAM. The couple participated with YWAM for many years, serving on the board (Rod), in the office (Millie), leading Summer Crusades (Rod), and maintaining a strong connection with Loren and Darlene and others over the years.

²⁶¹ It is important to note that Loren Cunningham worked closely with his contemporaries in the Latin Assemblies of God in the US. Alex Bazan's participation in the 1964 SOS is evidence to this fact. Bazan and other young people from Spanish-speaking families and pentecostal churches, like Ruben Vargas and Nina Gonzales, compose part of the diverse Latin participants of early YWAM.

number of other local churches.²⁶² Lower profile YWAM leaders, like the Almans and the Latino/a young people who had already been trained in evangelism by YWAM programs, were central to the development of YWAM's domestic ministry in the Spanish-speaking US. Wedge and Shirley Alman, Ruben Vargas, Alex Bazan, and others were embedded in local Spanish church communities and had the cultural capital to facilitate the expansion of intercultural mission partnerships throughout the southern US and extending into Mexico and Central America.²⁶³

After the Alamogordo Crusade, YWAM continued to expand its evangelistic training efforts nationally and internationally in 1966. During the school recess over Easter, the first YWAM Crusade was held in Edmonton, Alberta. Hosted by Arnie and Heidi Breitkreuz and Rev. Eugene Opheim at Northwest Bible College in Edmonton, Loren Cunningham and Sam Jordan were the main teachers.²⁶⁴ Youth from both the German and English-speaking pentecostal churches, like Dennis and Lee Kiffiak and Kenneth Korol, went door-to-door throughout the city.²⁶⁵ With the Breitkreuzes' local leadership and the availability of air travel, Loren was able to teach in Edmonton and

²⁶² Shirley Alman, *He's Your God, Too! Igniting a Global Youth Movement* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2018), 62.

²⁶³ The work by historians like Gaston Espinosa to restore and uncover the history of the Latin American pentecostals is directly related to the needed recovery of YWAM history in Spanish-speaking pentecostal and evangelical evangelization in, to, and from Mexico and Central America. Alex Bazan and Ruben Vargas, for example, became well known evangelists and leaders in the US and in Central America. Both received evangelism and ministry training from YWAM, but the lack of historical attention to these and other figures has meant that those interconnected relationships remain hidden in pentecostal and Latino/a history.

²⁶⁴ Northwest Bible College was a Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada regional Bible College.

²⁶⁵ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 13. This Edmonton event was an important beginning for young people, like Kenneth Korol, and Dennis and Lee Kiffiak, who with Arnie Breitkreuz joined the 1966 SOS to the Caribbean.

travel south to speak at the other Easter Crusade YWAM was running in Galveston, Texas.²⁶⁶ According to *Journal of a Summer*, YWAM ran four other evangelistic campaigns during 1966 – in Oklahoma, Washington, Texas, and California.²⁶⁷ Details, dates, and data are currently missing or unknown for the Oklahoma and Washington crusades, but the El Paso Crusade, detailed in photographs in *Journal of a Summer*, happened in June of 1966 with Harry Conn as the evening speaker.²⁶⁸ El Paso served as another opportunity to train young people for personal evangelism before the 1966 Summer of Service and was one of the departure points for the SOS Central American teams who travelled south in five vehicles while the Caribbean teams boarded buses to Miami.²⁶⁹ Over the Christmas break Ed Scratch's church hosted the Redwood City, California, Crusade.²⁷⁰

Becoming an Independent Evangelical Mission: New Partnerships and the Growth of Entrepreneurial Evangelicalism

The 1965 and 1966 crusades proved YWAM's ability to maintain partnership with individual AG leaders and churches in the US and its foreign missionaries without

²⁶⁶ McClung, email, January 20, 2021.

²⁶⁷ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 12.

²⁶⁸ The fact there this is mention of these two crusades without any corroborating archival material is a reminder of the fact that while much of YWAM's early activities are recorded and known, there remains many events and interactions that are lost to history because of the diffuse and relational nature of the movement. Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 13.

²⁶⁹ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 23, 34.

²⁷⁰ Typescript of Redwood City Crusade Housing Letter by Pastor E. R. Scratch, November 4, 1966, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Heidi Breitreuz noted that she and her husband Arnie took a car load of young people from Edmonton, Alberta to join this crusade.

denominational endorsement. YWAM's reception in the Spanish-speaking pentecostal denominations both within and outside the US demonstrate that its place in the pentecostal world was secure. At the same time, YWAM actively reoriented itself within independent evangelical networks during the period between 1965 to 1967. YWAM's relationship to new, emerging independent US-based evangelical ministries, like Teen Challenge at the 1965 Las Vegas Crusade, point to its eagerness and ability to collaborate with like-minded evangelistic and mission groups.

YWAM's growing friendships with independent and emerging mission networks coincided with what historian Mark Noll named the rise of US-based evangelical "rapid start-ups."²⁷¹ Independent parachurch ministries, Christian non-profits that focused on humanitarian relief, child sponsorship, and other aspects of the church's mission, began popping up in the post-war period and had a profound effect on US evangelicalism.²⁷² Many of these independent ministries were solely dedicated to evangelization and global missions and retained their pentecostal practice and theology, like those led by David Wilkerson, T.L. Osborn, Oral Roberts, and Gordon Lindsay. These independent ministries provided YWAM with a new ministry model outside of established denominations and funded by finances from independent donors. Not only did these and other emerging ministries provide low-cost evangelistic materials and resources for

²⁷¹ Noll, *The New Shape of World Christianity*, 116, 85.

²⁷² Christopher P. Scheitle, "From Religious Societies to Public Charities: A Parachurch History," in *Beyond the Congregation: The World of Christian Nonprofits*, ed. Christopher P. Scheitle (Oxford University Press, 2010). Scheitle notes that Jerry White's 1983 book *The Church & Parachurch: An Uneasy Marriage*. Portland, OR: Multnomah Press was the first to cover the subject.

YWAM's first missionary endeavors, but they welcomed them into their expanding global networks.²⁷³

The "Teen Challenge Turn," 1965

Returning to YWAM's 1965 Las Vegas Crusade, David Wilkerson's presence acted as a powerful endorsement for the young mission organization. Wilkerson, like Loren Cunningham, came from a family of pentecostal ministers. After his graduation from Central Bible Institute in Springfield, Missouri, he was ordained in the AG and began pastoring. His desire to evangelize street gangs in urban centers, like New York City, took him out of pastoral ministry and the AG. He founded Teen Challenge, an evangelistic ministry geared to alleviate youth delinquency, in 1959.²⁷⁴ In 1962, *The Cross and the Switchblade*, was published. The story highlighted Wilkerson's ministry and the conversion of gang member Nicky Cruz and was a rapid success across the US and in evangelical circles around the globe.²⁷⁵

²⁷³ Such evangelistic ministries have been known to saturate global mission fields with their free literature and in part are responsible for influencing the global Christian landscape with the faith movement teachings and the prosperity gospel.

²⁷⁴ According to Poulsen's YWAM timeline, Loren Cunningham preached at Wilkerson's church in 1955, three years before Wilkerson went on to start Teen Challenge. Poulsen, "YWAM & UofN's Timeline." Records or oral histories cannot confirm this date. It is known that Wilkerson's uncle John was the AG missionary who hosted Loren and his singing group in the Bahamas in 1956. John Wilkerson later pastored in Rockford, Illinois, and became a strong supporter of Loren and Darlene and of YWAM. David Wilkerson, like Loren, was from a multi-generational AG family. His ministry, Teen Challenge, was closely tied to the AG in the US and the PAOC in Canada, while elsewhere it took on more interdenominational characteristics.

²⁷⁵ John and Elizabeth Sherill helped David Wilkerson write his story. The Sherills authored numerous biographical books of contemporary evangelical and pentecostal people. Their ministry played a formative role in the development of post-1960's evangelical culture as seen through *The God Smuggler* by Brother Andrew and *The Hiding Place* by Corrie Ten Boom. It is interesting to note that Wilkerson, Brother Andrew, and Ten Boom were all central to evangelical and charismatic movements of the long 1960s and also personally involved in YWAM's ministry.

Wilkerson's involvement in YWAM's Las Vegas Crusade was a public show of support and friendship for Loren and Darlene Cunningham and an endorsement for the budding mission organization. It also indicated YWAM's reorientation away from the AG and toward becoming its own independent ministry.²⁷⁶ The Las Vegas Crusade was also the start of more formal partnerships in international evangelization and stadium events shared between YWAM and Teen Challenge and other independent evangelical ministries. In 1967, YWAM organized a Domestic Crusade for the Southern California Christ's Ambassadors Convention in Los Angeles over Christmas break. David Wilkerson was the headlining evangelist.²⁷⁷ At the close of 1967, Loren Cunningham was waiting for Wilkerson's response to an invitation he'd brokered with Neville Winger, the then Teen Challenge Executive Director in New Zealand.²⁷⁸ Reflecting their close relationship and mutual admiration in youth ministry, David Wilkerson was one of a few endorsements included on YWAM's first School of Evangelism flyer in 1969:

Youth With A Mission is one of the most vital ministries today. Its concept is scriptural and its challenge to youth is tremendous. I would like to send everyone [sic] of our converts out into the world through the guidance of Youth With A Mission. It is one of the very few ministries I have ever felt led by God to endorse, and that I do with all my heart.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ Promotional Material for David Wilkerson Meetings at the Las Vegas Crusade April 16-18, 1965, Portale Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

²⁷⁷ Dorothy H. Martin, "News Release: Christ Ambassadors Convention / Youth With A Mission Crusade," December 21, 1967, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

²⁷⁸ Loren D. Cunningham to Neville Winger, November 30, 1967, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Cunningham notes that he talked to David Wilkerson on a regular basis and was promoting his ministry to his associates in New Zealand. He also mentioned that Billy Graham was about to run a campaign in New Zealand (in 1968) and thought that it might be best for Wilkerson to wait until after Graham's ministry is done.

²⁷⁹ Promotional Brochure for Youth With A Mission: School of Evangelism, 1969, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Other endorsements were from Oswald J. Smith, William J.

Wilkerson's ambition that all of their "converts" would be a part of YWAM was in motion, at least in part, by 1969.²⁸⁰ YWAM's introduction into Canada and New Zealand were directly connected to Teen Challenge's ministry. In Canada, the early PAOC pastors and ministers who invited and hosted Loren and Darlene Cunningham in 1965, Rev. Eugene Opheim, were keen supporters of and leaders in Teen Challenge in Canada.²⁸¹ As YWAM developed across Canada, part of their mission strategy included serving in existent Teen Challenge centers. During the 1967 SOS, youth teams volunteered with Teen Challenge centers as they went from province to province and they worked to open new "teen centers" in cities that did not already have a Teen Challenge.²⁸² In New Zealand, Teen Challenge Auckland, founded by early charismatic leaders Jim and Joy Dawson sometime in 1965, acted as YWAM's "home base" for the

Roberts of Far East Broadcasting Co., Paul Finkenbinder of Latin American Radio Evangelism, and Loren D. Cunningham.

²⁸⁰ David Wilkerson's vision for youth conversion was opposed to what he perceived as the loose-living model of the Jesus People Movement coming out of the Haight Asbury "The Living Room" around 1967. Wilkerson was interviewed on local television, KTVU News, debating with some of the early Jesus People leaders. See "Reverend Wilkerson Debates Preachers About Drugs," Bay Area Television Archive, accessed December 18, 2024, <https://diva.sfsu.edu/collections/sfbatv/bundles/220932>. Like Wilkerson, YWAM's vision of youth conversion and youth in ministry aligned with the traditional pentecostal belief that a true convert to Christianity lived life set apart from the "corruptions" of the world. YWAM's stance on behavior after conversion and Christian engagement with culture began to change through their relationship with European Christianity and L'Abri. After their experience ministering to hippies in Afghanistan and their evangelistic work at the 1972 Munich Olympics, early YWAMers like Al Akimoff have observed that YWAM's standards in dress began to mirror those to whom they were ministering.

²⁸¹ "First National Teen Challenge Seminar," *Pentecostal Testimony*, August 1974, *Pentecostal Testimony* Serial, PAOC Archives. Opheim is listed as the director of Teen Challenge's Edmonton Center.

²⁸² Ruth E. Wilson, "Strange Invasion of Canada," 1967, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives; Minutes of the Staff Conference - Kenosha, Wisconsin, September 1969, Reports, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive.

pioneering of its evangelistic work and youth recruitment in 1967.²⁸³ As Barry Austin, a Teen Challenge Auckland volunteer in 1966–67 and later YWAM recruit, said, “YWAM acted like the overseas arm of Teen Challenge and Teen Challenge the home mission for YWAM. Many of the Teen Challenge workers went on an overseas outreach with YWAM.”²⁸⁴

Given that both David Wilkerson and Loren Cunningham came from AG families and were trained at the same Bible Institute, much of their understanding and disposition toward evangelism and Christian conversion was shared. In YWAM’s early years, its theology and practice were aligned with pentecostal mission and evangelism and did not broaden to incorporate more charismatic and interdenominational models until well into the 1970s. To both Teen Challenge and YWAM, the only answer for the ills plaguing the world’s young people was freedom in Christ through evangelical conversion and a life of joyful Christian service. Teen Challenge focused on reaching out to youth delinquents to reform them through Christ, a problem that western society of the long 1960s recognized as a growing issue. YWAM attracted clean-cut, pentecostal kids looking to do something for God in the world.²⁸⁵ For some YWAMers, serving the lost youth that Teen Challenge

²⁸³ Joy Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus: Taken from My Journals* (Lake View Terrace, CA: Joy Dawson, 2021), Kindle Edition, 49. The Dawsons, along with Neville and Dorothy (Dot) Winger, had been involved in the early Charismatic Renewal in New Zealand. They were all a part of the leadership team that prepared for and hosted the monumental Massey Conference in 1964. See Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 48 and Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*, 53-54. Neville Winger became the Executive Director of Teen Challenge NZ until November 1967. Loren D. Cunningham to Neville Winger, November 30, 1967, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

²⁸⁴ Barry Austin, email to Allison Kach-Yawnghe, March 21, 2024.

²⁸⁵ An interesting paradox to consider between Teen Challenge and YWAM is that the same adult suspicions towards youth and youth culture that made YWAM’s vision of youth and young adult missionaries unappealing to AG and other denominational leaders was what motivated denominational

was seeking was a perfect fit. Some reformed Teen Challenge young people found purpose in YWAM's global mission. Thus, the shared vision for youth united YWAM and Teen Challenge and created synergy between their ministries, but it was their pentecostal and relational history that cemented their mutual support and friendship that advanced both of their ministries to spread around the world.

Enabled by Independent Evangelical Entrepreneurs, 1966–1967

To other emerging evangelical US-based ministries, partnering with YWAM was a means of multiplying their own reach. A shared vision for world evangelization and commitment to preach the message of Jesus to all the world enabled YWAM's growing friendships and the generous support of well-established evangelistic ministries in the United States. Something that YWAM offered its new and emerging partners was the strength and willingness of young people to take the gospel message as missionaries. YWAM's new partners shared their contacts and expansive networks and supplied them with the physical resources – gospel literature, finances, audio-visual technology – to communicate the message they were all committed to preach.

One of YWAM's significant and lasting partnerships was with Life Messengers, an independent gospel publishing house founded in 1944 by Moody trained pastor Ray

leaders to support Teen Challenge. Essentially, youth drug addiction and delinquency proved the adult perspective that young people were irresponsible and could not be trusted to behave as adults. Wilkerson's ministry, thus, succeeded largely because he had the support of the adult-led denominational and social institutions that identified with his mission. YWAM, on the other hand, was seen by AG adult-led administration as part of religious youth's slide towards delinquent behavior, especially as it related to boys and girls mixing together in ministry settings. Teen Challenge was praised for the way it worked to reform youth. YWAM was criticized for offering too much freedom and agency to youth who needed adult guidance.

W. Johnson in Seattle, Washington. According to the biographic information listed on the ministry website, Johnson “felt called to develop a worldwide Christian evangelistic publishing ministry.”²⁸⁶ Over twenty years after its founding, Life Messengers was printing evangelistic tracts written by Ray Johnson including “Here’s How,” “The Captain,” and “Now I’m Free.”²⁸⁷ How Loren Cunningham came into contact with Ray Johnson remains unknown, but their relationship developed sometime before 1967 when archival sources indicate that YWAM began using Ray’s evangelistic tracts in its mission work. Extant correspondence between YWAM and Life Messengers implies that the publishing ministry generously donated materials to YWAM’s ambitious global evangelization work from at least 1967 and perhaps earlier.²⁸⁸ YWAM distributed Life Messengers tracts and gospel literature in multiple languages for door-to-door campaigns throughout the Caribbean, Central America, Canada, the South Pacific, West Africa, and East Africa. In return, YWAM sent regular reports and testimonials back to Life Messengers that they used in their own reports and fundraising.

²⁸⁶ “The End Times, Antichrists, Bible Prophecies - Last Days Bible Introduction,” *The Last Days Bible* (blog), accessed October 17, 2024, <https://lastdaysbible.org/Introduction.html>.

²⁸⁷ Loren D. Cunningham to Ray Johnson, May 14, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Loren notes on page two of the letter that he met an Arab man in the Holy Land that had an Arabic copy of “Here’s How” and he told the man that he knew the author (inferred to be Ray). It was implied in an oral history interview with Janice Rogers that Ray Johnson was very generous with supplying YWAM with literature. In the records of communication and orders for tracts there is never a mention of cost and there are no invoices. It seems that the agreement was that Life Messengers would supply YWAM with their needed tracts and YWAM would send in reports for Life Messengers to publish in their newsletters.

²⁸⁸ Rogers and Rogers, interview. Janice Rogers implied that Ray Johnson was very generous in supplying YWAM with literature. The archival records of communication and orders for tracts between YWAM and Life Messengers never mention cost and there is no record of invoices. It seems that the agreement between the two ministries was that Life Messengers would supply YWAM with their needed tracts and YWAM would send in reports for Life Messengers to publish in their newsletters.

Quoting from one of these reports sent to Life Messengers by Ruth E. Wilson's for publication in 1967, the relationship between YWAM and the publishing ministry is clear:

One of the most important factors in soul winning work of these young people is the literature they use in their work. The "Here's How" booklet and other literature supplied by Life Messengers was chosen by Director of this interdenominational group, Rev. Loren Cunningham, because they presented the plan of salvation in such a clear, yet interesting way, that even if the reader had never had a personal witness, he could still find Jesus Christ as His [sic] personal Savior. Every home visited received a booklet last year; on the streets, in the market-places, on board ships, wherever Youth With A Mission teams went, these booklets were left with people as a lasting witness."²⁸⁹

Wilson closed the letter asking readers if they "really believe in the Great Commission," after she shared YWAM's plans for 1968 and the anticipated need for tracts and Gospels of John in French.²⁹⁰ It was the supporters of Life Messengers who donated funds that enabled Ray Johnson and his staff to publish the evangelistic materials YWAM used in their growing global ministry. As the reports from YWAM's office implied, their success in the work of world evangelization hinged on the availability and use of quality literature provided by Life Messengers.

In addition to YWAM's significant relationship with Life Messengers, it maintained other friendships and partnerships with well-known healing evangelists from pentecostal backgrounds willing to donate literature and audio-visual aids to amplify

²⁸⁹ Ruth E. Wilson, "Youth With A Mission: Life Messengers Literature Report, 1967. Report 5," Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

²⁹⁰ Wilson, "Youth With A Mission: Life Messengers."

YWAM's efforts.²⁹¹ One of the earliest recorded uses of audio-visual material in YWAM's ministry took place during the first Summer of Service in the Caribbean in 1964. According to Janice (Cunningham) Rogers, who led a girls' team to Spanish Wells, in conjunction with their daily door-to-door ministry her team showed gospel films supplied by Oral Roberts during the evening.²⁹² In 1969, T.L. Osborn Ministries donated movie and sound equipment to Ron and Joy Killingbeck, PAOC missionaries and YWAM friends in New Caledonia. The ministry gave "29 lingua tape units and tens of thousands of pieces of literature," and funds to help YWAM purchase a Volkswagen Microbus for the SOE in Switzerland.²⁹³ Tape, amplification, and projector units were used to aid street preaching, show gospel related films in various countries, and give listeners access to hearing the Bible and sermons on tape in various languages.

Gordon & Freda Lindsay, founders of Christ for the Nations, became avid supporters of YWAM. Like Oral Roberts and T.L. Osborn, their ministry began with healing evangelism and revivals in the US. The Lindsays, like their healing evangelist

²⁹¹ The majority of the evangelists that supported YWAM in its early years came from well-known healing evangelists: Oral Roberts, T.L. Osborn, and Gordon Lindsay. Healing evangelism claimed that God would provide divine healing to draw people into a personal relationship with Christ. Mass healing evangelistic campaigns were an outgrowth of post-war pentecostalism influenced by some Latter Rain teachings and the early faith movement. It is interesting to note, that while YWAM reported divine miracles taking place in their evangelism, they never claimed a doctrine of divine healing as a foundational teaching, like these supporters did. The convergence of worldwide evangelism and YWAM's pentecostal sympathies likely provided enough common ground to inspire support.

²⁹² Rogers and Rogers, interview. There is no record of communication between Loren or anyone at YWAM and Oral Roberts Ministry before 1966. The one reference in 1966 is from the YWAM Board Meeting Minutes in which Loren Cunningham notes that he held services at Oral Roberts University sometime between January 1 and May 14, 1966.

²⁹³ Loren D. Cunningham to T.L. Osborn, January 9, 1969, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Loren's letter to T.L. Osborn was written just days after he and Darlene visited with Mrs. T.L. Osborn.

contemporaries, broadened their sights to evangelize around the world and teach and train indigenous pastors. They found kindred workers in YWAM.²⁹⁴ Beginning in 1967, Floyd McClung reported that Gordon Lindsay had given over 20,000 booklets that YWAM worked hard to distribute throughout the Caribbean.²⁹⁵ The 1967 Central American SOS team reported that their evangelistic efforts at the University of Mexico were aided by Christ for the Nations. Ruth Wilson wrote:

Here the Y-wammers [sic] (as those who go on Youth With A Mission are called) found that the Christ for the Nations literature was very effective, especially those booklets written for the more intellectual Latin. And these were the ones that the young people used on the campus. These tracts were accepted and read eagerly by the students that the Y-wammers met.²⁹⁶

YWAM's relationship with Christ for the Nations and the Lindsays deepened in the summer of 1968. Gordon and Freda's son, Dennis, joined the YWAM SOS to the Caribbean. In Lindsay's August 1968 magazine, Christ for the Nations reported on Dennis' participation in world evangelization, explained their past commitment to YWAM's ministry through literature donations, and asked readers to consider sponsoring some material for YWAM through Christ for the Nations for future evangelistic

²⁹⁴ The Lindsays' ministry changed its name from "Voice of Healing" to "Christ for the Nations" in 1967, right around the time it was beginning to support YWAM's work. See "A Great Legacy," Christ For The Nations, 2024, <https://cfni.org/ourhistory/agreatlegacy/#:~:text=April%201967%3A,with%20the%20message%20of%20Crist.>

²⁹⁵ Floyd McClung, "Caribbean SOS Report, Christ for the Nations, 1967," (Anaheim, CA, 1967), Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

²⁹⁶ Ruth E. Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Central America Report, Christ for the Nations Literature Report, 1967," (Santa Cruz, CA, 1967), 3, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

campaigns.²⁹⁷ Christ for the Nations' support for YWAM continued well into the 1970s and assisted their expansion throughout South Asia, the South Pacific, Western Europe, and North Africa.²⁹⁸

Like most independent pentecostal evangelists of the period, the Lindsays, Roberts, and Osborn were focused on getting their resources into the hands of willing and able local, or in YWAM's case, foreign evangelists to spread the message of Jesus.²⁹⁹ The shared goal between YWAM and these likeminded supporting ministries was "saving souls" for the completion of worldwide evangelization to hasten the return of Christ – a radical evangelical and pentecostal distinctive.³⁰⁰ The use of resources was intended for evangelistic purposes, although it also had the unintended consequence of promoting individual ministry brands and a very specific doctrine of divine healing,

²⁹⁷ Gordon Lindsay, "Youth with Inspiration and Purpose," *Christ for the Nations Magazine*, August 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

²⁹⁸ Some of the archival documents and letters in the Cunningham Personal Papers detail Christ for the Nations donation of materials for the Spain 1969 SOS, the 1970 Around the World Team ministry in India (See Floyd & Sally McClung, "1970 Around the World Team Report : India," 1970, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. This letter lists "The Way to Eternal Life" tract translated into Tamil.), and a failed attempt for a 1971 Philippines campaign led by New Zealanders Ross and Margaret Tooley. Should my period of study be extended, I suspect that I would continue finding evidence of Christ for the Nations involvement in YWAM's work, especially as Dennis and Ginger Lindsay took over the ministry in the early 1970s after Gordon passed away. Dennis and Ginger were working full time with YWAM before Gordon Lindsay died.

²⁹⁹ The disposition to offer one's material and teaching for free or at a very reduced cost also served the purpose, intended or otherwise, of expanding one's ministry brand and making one's name known globally. While YWAM wasn't necessarily endorsing T.L. Osborn, Oral Roberts, Life Messengers, or Christ for the Nations, they were glad to receive their materials to aid in their work and were not offended by the thought of promoting their ministries and names around the world. It is very likely that Loren Cunningham and other YWAM participants did not give a thought to the implications of spreading teachings by independent ministries, especially because those teachings did not contradict YWAM's message in any apparent way. It was a win-win and a significant factor in spreading a pentecostal and neo-evangelical message around the world.

³⁰⁰ One aspect of the pentecostal and neo-evangelical message that YWAM and its partner ministries was spreading was directly related to the premillennial dispensationalism that had informed pentecostal eschatology in previous decades.

pentecostal eschatology, and premillennial interpretation of the Bible and faith in Christ. While YWAM was grateful for the generous donations of all kinds of media and media equipment to use in their widespread evangelistic efforts, they also produced their own promotional materials including photo books, films, and audio tapes.³⁰¹ Their use of cutting-edge technology mirrored contemporary trends, but YWAM's media resources focused more on advertising to interested young people through photo books and films and expanding access to foundational YWAM teachings to participants increasingly scattered around the world than it did on evangelistic material.³⁰² After all, with the support of their friends' independent and successful ministries, they had access to all the evangelistic tracts they needed.

Domestic Internationalism, 1967–1970: Domestic Growth & Global Expansion

YWAM's US-based youth evangelism was a part of an emerging transnational mission and ministry network and became a pipeline to their rapidly expanding international presence. In its US expression, early Staff or Leadership Conferences reveal how YWAM's internationalism and its self-understanding as an international mission movement was developing. The first "Leadership Conference," also known as "Staff

³⁰¹ Individuals like Ruth Wilson, Jim and Janice Rogers, and David Ravenhill were instrumental in YWAM's growth through various forms of media. YWAM's tape ministry, "Truth Tapes," was founded in the fall of 1970. See *Youth With A Mission Advance*, 7, no. 9 (July 1970), Folder 1970, Publications - 1964-1994 ADVANCE, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive.

³⁰² Kate Bowler, *Blessed: A History of the American Prosperity Gospel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Paul S. Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture*, Studies in Cultural History (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

Conference,” was held in Pasadena, California, on May 27–30, 1967.³⁰³ Unique to the already regular board meetings YWAM held since its founding in 1960, the gathering of YWAM’s first leaders was considered “international” because of the presence of two Canadians – Arnie and Heidi Breitreuz.³⁰⁴ Wedge and Shirley Alman, Mexico and Latin America Area Directors, and Floyd and Sally McClung, Caribbean Area Directors, were also in attendance with Loren and Darlene Cunningham.³⁰⁵ While records of the 1967 conference have not been found, the minutes from subsequent conferences: Redwood City and Santa Cruz, California, September 5–12, 1968³⁰⁶; Kenosha, Wisconsin, September 1969³⁰⁷; and Carlsbad, California, October 5–7, 1970³⁰⁸ offer insight into the

³⁰³ Typescript of Instruction Sheet - S.O.S. '65.

³⁰⁴ The Breitreuzes were considered “international” because they were Canadians. The other couples oversaw YWAM’s SOS in their regions, but they lived in the United States. Arnie and Heidi attended the conference with their two young kids, Mark and Jan. The Almans also had children, making both couples unique in YWAM’s first cohort of leaders.

³⁰⁵ Heidi Breitreuz has a photo of herself and Arnie and their oldest two children Mark and Jan in front of the Cunninghams’ home (T.C. and Jewell), Heidi Breitreuz Personal Papers. It is likely that the senior Cunninghams were present for these meetings. It is also likely that other early volunteers like Ruth and Noel Wilson, the Theetges, other office volunteers, and board members were also in attendance, although in the absence of formal documentation these assumptions can’t be fully confirmed.

³⁰⁶ Typescript of Staff Conference Minutes, September 5, 1968, YWAM Kona Archives. No roll call was recorded in these minutes, but David Ravenhill, Shirley Alman, Sally & Floyd McClung, and Marv Paschke all gave reports. It is assumed that Loren and Darlene and Wedge Alman were also in attendance, but this is not supported by any extant documentation.

³⁰⁷ Typescript of the Minutes of the Staff Conference - Kenosha, Wisconsin. “Those reporting were Bob Rogers, West coast; Jim Carmichael, East Coast; Alvan Lewis and Arni Breitreutz [sic], Canada; Floyd McClung, Caribbean; Jim and Jan Rogers, Around the World; Wedge Alman, Central America; Marty Villa, Mexico. Most of the Y-wammers came in for these two days and eagerly shared their summer’s experiences. Sunday was a day of rest, and the staff conference proper began early Monday morning. Loren Cunningham presided. Those in attendance were Loren and Darlene Cunningham, David Ravenhill, Jim and Jan Rogers, Floyd and Sally McClung, Alvan and Muriel Lewis, Arnie and Heidi Breitreuz, Mike and Phoebe Maturino, Keith and Doreen Hague, Wes Kitchens, Bob Rogers, Wedge and Shirley Alman. Mr. and Mrs. Alvie Rogers were also guests and helped with the food preparation and planning.”

³⁰⁸ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Calsbad, CA, October 5, 1970, Reports, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive. The attendees are listed as follows, “Al Akimoff,

growing presence of full-time YWAM workers multiplying domestic recruiting while gradually scattering and pioneering mission work across the world.

By the time the 1970 Staff Conference took place, YWAM's international presence translated to interlinguistic and intercultural offerings presented to the wider group in attendance. Leaders gave their introductions, reported on their work in various world regions, and presented "Special Numbers" in Spanish (the Almans), German (the Stephens), and French (the Portales).³⁰⁹ Even though the majority of attendees from the 1967 to the 1970 Staff Conferences were white, English-first language US citizens, their full-time evangelistic work in different world locations included language and cultural learning that YWAM consciously cultivated and celebrated in group settings. These early gatherings, while geographically located in the United States, took on an international flavor through the formal teaching times, prayer, reporting, planning, and projections for the year ahead.

Loren and Darlene Cunningham spent two months in 1968 scouting Europe and Asia for opportunities to expand the ministry that directly led to their 1969 relocation to

Shirley Alman, Wedge Alman, Judy Borneman, Bruce Borneman, Lloyd Baxley, Gloria Baxley, Marjorie Carpenter, Loren Cunningham, Darlene Cunningham, Hazel Daniels, Frank Daniels, Tom Ferguson, Rhonda Ferguson, Rod Gerhart, Millie Gerhart, Phil Holderbein, David Johnston, Ray Mossholder, Ray Nicholson, Gail Nicholson, Myrtle Overton, Joe Portale, Judy Portale, David Ravenhill, Ron Shires, Dee Shires, Bert Sports, Don Stephens, Deyon Stephens, Dick Tennesen, Lorraine Theetge, Bob Theetge." Guests included "Rev. and Mrs. T.C. Cunningham, Lon Smith, Mandy Tennesen, Nancy Ravenhill." Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Felt were the hosts, Dick Tennesen and Shirley Alman the planners and coordinators, Hazel Daniels, Lorraine Theetge, and Myrtle Overton planned and prepared meals, and Rev. Dalton E. Webber was the "cooperating" pastor at Gospel Tabernacle.

³⁰⁹ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970, 2.

Switzerland.³¹⁰ Still, these moves abroad did not diminish YWAM's domestic presence throughout the US that were sustained by faithful YWAM volunteers and friends, many of whom were AG pastors and leaders. To be certain, Loren remained in close communication with what YWAM was doing in the US. He included return trips to the US in his international itinerary in order to participate in some Domestic Crusades, speak at churches, and recruit young people.³¹¹ In his absence from the US, Loren appointed trusted YWAM volunteers, like Jim Rogers, or AG friends, like former YWAM board member Watson Argue, Jr., to oversee projects and maintain relationships that ensured the ministry's flourishing.

Even if Loren appointed domestic friends to continue YWAM's local work, the California-based office was truly the cornerstone that anchored YWAM's operations, communications, and finance. Run by a long list of volunteer staff like Lorraine Theetge, Myrtle Overton, Martha (DeFebbo) Green, and others, the YWAM office kept information flowing to the Cunninghams and all interested parties wherever they were in the world. With the help of Ruth Wilson, the author and editor of much of YWAM's regular newsletters and promotional materials, YWAM kept up a robust mailing list to mostly US-based young people and AG churches. Managing communications of all kinds, fielding young people's inquiries into YWAM, screening Vocational Volunteer

³¹⁰ The Cunninghams left for Europe at the end of January 1968 and were back in North America for the Quebec Easter Crusade. Loren and Darlene's choice to relocate to Switzerland is not completely clear in the archival and oral history record apart from some mention of Loren sensing God speak to him about Switzerland in prayer. More treatment on the subject of the choice of Switzerland, including the relationships, conversations, and connections that are on record is covered in Chapter 4 in the section on YWAM's history in Europe.

³¹¹ Loren D. Cunningham to Leland Paris, January 30, 1968.

and SOS applications, securing insurance, ordering gospel tracts, soliciting canned food donations for international campaigns, and keeping records were only some of their duties. Without the central function of YWAM's office staff, the diffuse and relationally dependent work would have been crippled.

After 1968, the founders' energy and time was increasingly spent outside of the US, but YWAM's ongoing Domestic Crusades continued to focus on local evangelism. The Domestic Crusade sustained YWAM's work in the US but it was also dependant on host pastor and local organizers to maintain momentum. As YWAM's offerings continued to diversify, the domestic ministry became more of a gateway for interested youth to engage in world evangelization than to share the gospel in a neighboring state. The Seattle Crusade, June 12–21, 1967, served as the training point for young people applying for the Trans/Canada SOS and the Tonga SOS.³¹² The Dallas Crusade, June 17–25, 1967, was for young people heading to Central America. The New Jersey Crusade, June 17–25, 1967, trained those going to the Caribbean.³¹³ YWAM's 1967–68 Christmas Crusade, organized by Las Vegas AG pastor and loyal YWAM supporter Wilbur Wacker was hosted in Long Beach, California. Participating churches included Long Beach First Assembly, Wilmington First Assembly, and Glad Tidings Assembly. Loren Cunningham and Winkey Pratney were the main speakers and teachers of evangelism for the crusade

³¹² Ruth E. Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Canadian Report" (Santa Cruz, CA, 1967), 1, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

³¹³ Typescript of Instruction Sheet - S.O.S. '65.

that doubled as the District C.A. Convention.³¹⁴ While the last known official YWAM and C.A. partnership took place for the New Orleans Domestic Crusade during Christmas 1964–65 before Loren’s departure from the AG, the Long Beach Christmas Crusade proves that pastors and leaders faithful to Loren and YWAM continued to receive the ministry of YWAM and expose AG youth to YWAM’s teaching and ministry opportunities regardless of the denomination’s official position and formal distancing.

These “unofficial” partnerships continued well into the close of the 1960s and early 1970s.³¹⁵ The Easter Crusade of 1968 ran from April 6–13 and was hosted by Rev. Cam Wilson, pastor of First Assembly of God Church in Canoga Park, California. It was organized again by Rev. Wacker.³¹⁶ 1968 pre-SOS crusades were held in Rockford, Illinois; Akron, Ohio, and Galveston, Texas, the latter being the training ground for young people heading to Latin American SOS destinations. Rockford and Akron were “times of real learning. There had been fellowship with other Y-wammers [sic] on the Quebec Outreach, Central American and Caribbean teams.”³¹⁷ These crusades were also the starting point for youth joining the Trans/USA Summer of Service 1968.³¹⁸ Modelling

³¹⁴ Roy Sapp to Rev. Wilbur Wacker, February 7, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

³¹⁵ By the early 1970s reconciliation between Loren Cunningham and Thomas Zimmerman and the AG Executive Presbytery was underway. On a broader scale, many AG leaders who had blacklisted YWAM volunteers and teachers and accused them of heresy softened towards their former friends, co-workers, and students. Eventually, AG leaders praised the work and dedication of these now adults. Al Akimoff, for example, noted how he was invited back to Bethany Bible College years after they closed ranks against him and YWAM members and lauded for the great mission work he had done.

³¹⁶ Jim Rogers to Wilbur Wacker, March 27, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

³¹⁷ Wilson, *Journey with the Followers*, 47.

³¹⁸ Wilson, *Journey with the Followers*, 47–52.

the 1967 Trans/Canada SOS that took place the year before, the Trans/USA SOS recruited US young people to be sent across their own country in evangelistic teams. One team began in Syracuse, New York, and travelled west, evangelizing all the way to San Francisco. It ended with a week of street evangelism and ministry hosted by Pastor David Lim at the Assemblies of God Chinese Christian Center.³¹⁹ Another team came from Missoula, Montana. Yet another team went to Virginia, New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Maine. Some of the East coast teams joined the Quebec group for their last two weeks of evangelism while others went to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, Canada.³²⁰

Under the leadership of Jim and Carole Carmichael, young people like Ken Fraser, Keith Hague, Sharon Shackleford, Judy Kutney, Kathy Soutard, Gayle Wilson, Marilee Arnett, Davis Taylor, and Susi Curci took the message of Jesus Christ door to door in their own country. The Trans/USA SOS marked a new expansion of YWAM's domestic evangelism presence.³²¹ For the first time, young people from the US were applying the same evangelistic fervour they had learned for international export to their own communities and states. The Trans/USA SOS, as Loren Cunningham reported in the *Advance* 1970, resulted in the Carmichaels, originally from California, being "challenged

³¹⁹ David Lim to Loren Cunningham, May 16, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. David Lim was a part of the first SOS to the Bahamas in 1964 and went on to become pastor of the Chinese AG church in San Francisco. His brother, Steve Lim, joined YWAM as a Vocational Volunteer to Manila with Pat Guerra, both young men went on to have lifelong pastoral and professorial roles in the AG and their affiliate institutions.

³²⁰ Wilson, *Journey with the Followers*, 52.

³²¹ Wilson, *Journey with the Followers*, 49–53. The list of names is not comprehensive, but includes those Ruth Wilson named in her section on the Trans/USA team reporting.

by the need for a witnessing outreach in the East.” They “felt they should return here and begin some kind of permanent outreach.”³²² Consequently, First Assembly of God Church, YWAM’s host for the Trans/USA team in Hammonton, New Jersey, pastored by Loren’s cousin Leland Paris, gave YWAM ten acres of land on the condition that they would build on it for YWAM.³²³ To Cunningham, the land “would be a perfect location for a supply depot for teams working in areas on both sides of the Atlantic.”³²⁴

YWAM’s development on both the east and west coasts facilitated its global presence and connected its work across the continent. It kept strong ties in many states through past participants now in ministry, like Jim and Kathy Seregow who founded “Campus Action” in Ann Arbor, David Lim who pastored the Chinese Christian Center in San Francisco, or old friends, like John Wilkerson, who lead established churches and ran thriving ministries.³²⁵ Closing out 1968 with two Christmas crusades in San Francisco and the Seattle area, both on the west coast, a coastal pattern continued into 1969.³²⁶ Both US-based SOSes of 1969 focused on the coastal populations. The Eastern Seaboard SOS,

³²² “1969 Youth With A Mission Report,” 4-5.

³²³ Leland and Loren’s mothers were sisters. Their relationship is described in Chapter 2 and detailed in Appendix A.

³²⁴ “1969 Youth With A Mission Report,” 4-5. The “host pastor” was Loren’s cousin, Leland Paris. It is important to remember that YWAM’s evangelistic methods included gospel literature distribution. They also received donations of canned food to cut teams’ costs and needed locations to store these canned goods for outgoing teams.

³²⁵ The Seregow’s had been considered YWAM staff for a short time, acting as YWAM rep for Michigan and Ohio sometime around 1967-69. Loren asked them to start YWAM’s campus ministries, but they ultimately remained in the AG and developed “Campus Action” at the University of Michigan, applying YWAM’s style evangelism and outreach to US campus ministry. The Seregow’s balanced their AG and YWAM relationships and continued to have an influence in YWAM while remaining in the AG. See Wilson, *God’s Guerrillas*, 109–24; Seregow, interview.

³²⁶ Martha DeFebbo to Watson Argue, Jr., November 1, 1968., Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

began with at a “kick-off crusade” in Montreal, Canada, and crossed an international boundary as the team travelled south from Newfoundland, Canada, to Miami, Florida.³²⁷ Simultaneously, the West Coast SOS began with the Fresno Crusade and targeted YWAM’s heartland for its first summer-long evangelistic campaign there.³²⁸

Another significant addition to YWAM’s West Coast ministry was its first US School of Evangelism (SOE) in January 1970.³²⁹ The original SOE was founded in Switzerland in 1969, but YWAM attempted to replicate it in San Francisco under the leadership of volunteers, Ron and Dee Shires. Hosted by the pastor of Glad Tidings Church, YWAM was given the use of “former facilities of a Bible college which was a building next to the church.”³³⁰ With five students living onsite with Ron and Dee, other students commuted from Ed Scratch’s church in Redwood City for classes and local ministry and evangelism. While a fraction in size and promotional prominence to YWAM’s growing SOEs in Lausanne, Switzerland, the San Francisco SOE offered US young adults a similar long-term mission training opportunity as they ran in Europe without the need to relocate. The San Francisco SOE, like the evolving Swiss version, mixed teaching and local evangelism. Ron Shires, Joy Dawson, Winkey Pratney, Gordon Olson, Tony Solerno, Nicky Cruz and others instructed the students in the Christian life,

³²⁷ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970, 6.

³²⁸ *Youth With A Mission Advance*, 6, no.5 (June 1969): 1, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

³²⁹ The history of the School of Evangelism (SOE) in Switzerland is covered in Chapter 4, in the section that documents YWAM’s history in Europe.

³³⁰ *Youth With A Mission Advance*, 7, no. 3 (March 1970): 5-6, Folder 1970, Publications – 1964-1994 ADVANCE, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive.

prayer and intercession, God's character and nature, missions, witnessing, and more. SOE students and volunteers spent most of their local ministry time witnessing to students on college campuses like Berkeley and being a presence at ongoing anti-war and peace protests.³³¹ The following year, Ron and Dee Shires went to Lausanne and the SOE in San Francisco was not repeated.

YWAM's options for domestic youth and young adults were expanding in the United States, as they were around the globe. In many ways, the growth of YWAM's US-based ministries in the latter part of the 1960s was on account of YWAM's extensive mailing list and "hub" churches whose youth pastors or senior pastors supported YWAM's vision and encouraged youth participation.³³² A reliance on these long-standing friendships and an intricate network of mostly pentecostal-based families, churches, and emergent parachurch ministries was the basis for YWAM's domestic infrastructure, funding, and human resources. Much of the mission's maintenance and growth stateside during the period can be credited to local individuals who were loyal to Loren and Darlene Cunningham, the first full-time staff members, and the distinct teaching and vision YWAM was coming to be known for. Many of these informal, but

³³¹ Dee Shires, interview with Allison Kach-Yawngwe, February 22, 2024, telephone. Dee and Ron had one child during the SOE and Dee prepared all the meals for the students. She also noted that main focus of the ministry of the SOE was witnessing on college campuses in the San Francisco area, especially during anti-war demonstrations.

³³² Some of the main "hub" churches outside of California included Grand Junction, Colorado, whose C.A.s had been involved in YWAM's earliest Domestic Crusades since 1963 (Don & Gary Stevens, Deyon & Lynn Green, Doug Sparks home church); Galveston, Texas, who hosted a number of YWAM's Domestic Crusades (Sally McClung's home church); Akron, Ohio, the former pastorate of Rev. Ed Scratch (Candy (Cortesi) Sparks home church); and Rockford, Illinois, Pastor John Wilkerson's church. Strong ties to Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, mostly through individual AG and neo-charismatic independent ministers like Charles Capps, Oral Roberts, Dennis Lindsay, John and Doddie Osteen, T.L. Osborn, the Rogers family, and more, developed further in the 1970s.

denominational, collaborations were located in California or adjacent districts.³³³ Without their financial, organizational, and relational help, YWAM's growth in its own heartland would have most certainly disappeared during the years of its early global diffusion.

Still at Home: YWAM's Permanence in Southern California

By the late 1960s, YWAM had expanded across the US and owned land in New Jersey. All the while, its California home remained constant. The YWAM office, often overshadowed or unmentioned in YWAM's popular history, remained located in Southern California despite a growing pull to relocate to New Jersey and be free of high rent and limited space.³³⁴ From its start in Loren Cunningham's bedroom in 1960, to its first office in Pasadena from 1961 to 1967, to Anaheim in 1967 to 1969, and on to Burbank in 1970, the importance of YWAM's history anchored by its California office is important to understand: its physical permanence facilitated the mission's domestic and global communication network. With an increase in global YWAM locations popping up in places like New Zealand, Fiji, Canada, Switzerland, and beyond, the centrality of the YWAM office in Southern California has been overlooked. The following excerpt from Wilbur Wacker's inquiry to a Mr. Don Atherton, a Presbyterian Real Estate agent, points

³³³ Rev. Wilbur Wacker, Rev. Cam Wilson, and Rev. Watson Argue, Jr. are three individuals that consistently emerge as regional anchors. Moving to the Eastern seaboard, Loren's cousin, Leland Paris, pastored First Assembly of God Church in Hammonton, NJ, and was a strong support of YWAM's US-based projects. A number of young people from Paris' church attended YWAM's early SOSes, first SOEs, and some went on to be long-time YWAM missionaries, like Marti (DeFebbo) Green. These pastors and church leaders are only a few of the relevant and expansive names of Christian leaders that believed in YWAM's aims and offered comprehensive support.

³³⁴ Mention by Dick Tenneson of his hopes for the YWAM office to relocate to New Jersey surface after the period of this history. Tenneson's time working in the YWAM office took place from February 1971 and he mentioned the cost of renting the office in letters to Loren Cunningham.

to the centrality of the “international office” and alludes to its complex and administrative function:

Maintaining coordination for all of this is becoming an ever increasing [sic] responsibility and the world has been divided into four areas, the East Coast and the Caribbean headquartering in New Jersey; Europe and the Near East headquartering in Switzerland; the Far East and the South East Asian Islands headquartering in Fiji; and now, the West Coast and international office are waiting to make a move into the Bay area (previously they were located in Pasadena and Anaheim).³³⁵

To the office staff in Burbank at the close of 1970, they remained the central location that channeled all communication to and from the other locations, permanent or temporary, that the Cunninghams or other volunteers were serving. Keeping tabs on as many YWAM volunteers and matters that they could, the Southern California office made YWAM’s global work their business in a way that the other locations were ill equipped to do. Thanks to the permanent office staff that included Lorraine Theetge (1960–1965), Shirley Alman (1967–1972), Marti DeFebbo Green (1967–1969), and David Ravenhill (1968–1971) and the host of volunteers who worked alongside them, Loren and Darlene were kept updated about what was coming in and out of the office by letter, mailing, telegraph, and telephone.³³⁶ While Wacker’s understanding of YWAM’s global ministry being divided into four administrative regions by 1968 does explain the reality of the lack of unified records and sparse archival materials held in one location, it

³³⁵ Wilbur Wacker to Mr. Don Atherton, October 30, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

³³⁶ Dates of office staff are estimates, especially in the case of Lorraine Theetge, who began working at the YWAM office in 1960 and allegedly continued for at least 5 years. While her involvement decreased, she remained a volunteer for many years after 1965.

doesn't acknowledge the fact that YWAM's California office and the volunteers who ran it were indeed "mission control" throughout its first decade and well into the 1970s.³³⁷

Never far from Loren and Darlene Cunningham's vision, YWAM's ministry in the United States at the close of 1970 was a mix of original programs maintained by the few YWAM volunteers who remained in the US and a host of YWAM-friendly networks. These programs did grow in new locations, like the various SOS projects, but depended on the initiative, organization, and financial support of local pastors, YWAM volunteers, and interested young people. Thanks to a steady stream of young people returning home after participating in some form of global evangelistic programming (SOS, SOE, ATW), YWAM was able to replicate the new works they had begun in other parts of the world back in the US. Starting into its second decade, YWAM was indeed an international entity, but it had not stopped growing in its home soil. While much of its US original cohort of full-time volunteer personnel had relocated to Mexico, the South Pacific, and Europe by the close of the 1960s, it remained a youth mission and evangelism phenomenon created in California, made in the United States, and proven in the Caribbean.

³³⁷ In addition to the centrality of YWAM's office, T.C. and Jewell Cunninghams' home in Southern California home acted as a "home base" for Loren and Darlene Cunningham. Not only did Loren and Darlene and Janice and Jim Rogers stay with T.C. and Jewell when they returned to Southern California, but the Cunningham home functioned as a permanent storage location for YWAM's early records and documents.

A Caribbean Home: YWAM's 1956 Birth Place and First "International" Mission Field, 1964

Loren Cunningham first visited Nassau, Bahamas, on a singing tour with the gospel quartet, The King's Magnifiers, during the summer of 1956. Visiting ministry of young pentecostals from the US was becoming a common feature in the Assemblies of God in the Bahamas. Just the year before, John Wilkerson, the same missionary who hosted Loren and his friends in 1956, had facilitated the musical ministry of the Mission-Aires with great success. As "Nassau got a glimpse of salvation at work in the hearts of American youth," a pattern of US youth ministering to and alongside their Nassau counterparts was underway by the time Loren Cunningham visited.³³⁸ Through the Christ's Ambassadors youth program, AG missionaries in the region had established the model of leading local youth in mission and evangelism to prisoners and local communities.³³⁹

Yet, it was Loren's personal spiritual encounter experienced alone in his room in the home of AG missionary John Wilkerson in Nassau in 1956 that was the beginning to YWAM's history to the region. Loren's spiritual vision of young people travelling as waves across the globe and touching every shore and land with the message of Jesus was a watershed moment for Loren and precursor to what developed into YWAM by the end of 1960. Apart from his time ministering in churches through song, Loren and the rest of

³³⁸ Kenneth Short, "The Mission-Aires in the Bahamas," *C.A. Herald*, May 1955, Digital Publications, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center & the Consortium of Pentecostal Archives.

³³⁹ "C.A.s in the Bahamas," *Christ's Ambassadors Herald*, May 1940, 9. Digital Publications, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center & the Consortium of Pentecostal Archives

the quartet witnessed the faith of contemporary youth in Nassau and spent time talking with and listening to his AG missionary hosts. Loren's spiritual vision in the Bahamas became YWAM's founding narrative and linked it to the Christian church and evangelistic ministry outside of the US, outside of California, and outside of Springfield, Missouri, Loren's temporary home during Bible school. The vision challenged Loren to personally evaluate his call to missionary service and expanded his understanding of who could be a missionary.³⁴⁰

Loren, with a group of dedicated friends and supporters, founded YWAM in December of 1960. By the spring of 1963, he was back in the Caribbean to explore evangelistic opportunities for YWAM in the region.³⁴¹ Hosted by AG missionaries in the Bahamas, Loren and the local pastors and missionaries assessed whether a large group of YWAM young people could feasibly and usefully travel to the region the following summer for a mass evangelistic campaign that would include centralized ministry in Nassau and small teams travelling to out islands for extended periods. Loren's visit led the Bahama District Superintendent Gary Curry to send an official invitation to YWAM for a summer-long crusade on April 16, 1964.³⁴² Curry forwarded a carbon copy of the

³⁴⁰ It is highly possible that the hard work of AG missionaries, like Earle Weech, and the devotion and dedication of AG youth (C.A.s) in the Bahamas influenced Loren and made some sort of impression on him. While I am speculating that this relationship existed, there is a case to be made that some correlation between what Loren saw, heard, and experienced in the Bahamas influenced his vision and interpretation of it.

³⁴¹ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 52.

³⁴² Gary Curry "Regarding Upcoming Summer Crusade," April 13, 1964, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

invitation to the Department of Foreign Missions at the AG headquarters in Springfield.³⁴³

The 1964 summer-long crusade based in Nassau, Bahamas, was a first for YWAM on multiple levels. While Loren Cunningham and the first Vocational Volunteers had ministered internationally and served as missionaries in Liberia, West Africa, the Philippines, Japan, and Hong Kong prior to the first SOS, the summer of 1964 was YWAM's first large-scale, multiple-month missionary effort outside of the United States. Made possible by the partnership with the Assemblies of God District of the Bahamas, attended by 146 US youth and 64 Bahamian youth, what came to be known as the Summer of Service (SOS) was both a testing ground for untrained youth as missionaries and a launching pad for YWAM's unfolding ministry around the world.³⁴⁴ What happened in the Bahamas and the Dominican Republic in 1964 became a template for YWAM's summer programming and the expanding ministries that followed. The template of short-term missionary evangelism spanning two to three months, what YWAM called an "outreach," can still be discerned in YWAM programs today.³⁴⁵

³⁴³ R.T. McGlasson to M.L. Hodges, W. Turnbull, S. Vandermerwe, G. Curry with Copies Sent to T.C.C., Roy Sapp, Jim Swanson, YWAM Home Office, May 13, 1964, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

³⁴⁴ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 69. David Lim, email to Allison Kach-Yawnghe, November 2, 2023; Al Akimoff and Carolyn Akimoff, interview #1, by Allison Kach, April 10, 2020, video recording & transcript, Allison Kach-Yawnghe's Personal Collection; Rogers and Rogers, interview. See Appendix D for a list of the 1964 Summer of Service participants.

³⁴⁵ The term "outreach" was used early on in YWAM's language to denote a defined period of time dedicated to evangelistic work in a given area or region. The YWAM volunteers went to reach out to the local people with the message of Jesus Christ. Reaching out was translated to "outreach" and is used in YWAM language throughout this period to refer to a one week or three month focused evangelistic campaign or ministry.

In 1965, the SOS Caribbean teams went to Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, St. Thomas, Tortola, the British Virgin Islands, and St. Johns.³⁴⁶ In 1966, 84 North American youth were divided into 17 teams and evangelized in Kingston, Jamaica, before half of the teams dispersed throughout the island of Jamaica and the other half of the young people sailed for the Cayman and Leeward Islands.³⁴⁷ In a similar pattern, ten teams of 60–80 North American youth returned to Jamaica and were joined by local young people in 1967. After the entire group went witnessing door-to-door in Kingston for two weeks, five teams travelled the island’s parishes inland, evangelizing villages and towns for a week or two before moving on and eventually reuniting in Montego Bay at the end of the summer. The other five teams travelled by ship to Nevis, Dominica, Grenada, and Trinidad, with dockings at St. Kitts, St. Vincent, Montserrat, St. Lucia, and Barbados.³⁴⁸ In 1968, four teams of nearly 80 North American youth returned to Jamaica, the Leewards, the Windwards, and Trinidad and Tobago.³⁴⁹ The Caribbean SOS of 1969

³⁴⁶ “Youth With a Mission Operating in Tortola; 40 Came from U.S.A.,” *The Island Sun: British Virgin Islands Newspaper*, July 24, 1965, No. 155 edition, James Seregow Personal Papers. Rogers and Rogers, interview. Jim Rogers noted that there were 60-100 youth involved on his Caribbean Summer of Service. James Seregow, interview; Akimoff and Akimoff, interview #1.

³⁴⁷ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 68–75. Wilson lists the names of all of the young people who participated in the 1966 SOS. The lists reveal that this was the first SOS that Arnie Breikreuz attended. Floyd McClung and Sally Claiborne, Dorothy (Dodi) Kelly, Al Akimoff were on the Caribbean teams.

³⁴⁸ Wilson, “Youth With A Mission Caribbean Report 1967.”

³⁴⁹ Typescript of Staff Conference Minutes, Redwood City, CA, September 1968, 8, 1965-1970 Staff Conferences, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive.

planned to send a team to Trinidad & Tobago, Barbados, Jamaica, Dominica & Grenada, British Guiana & Surinam, Antigua, Haiti, Turks, and Cayman Islands.³⁵⁰

Floyd and Sally McClung, YWAM's Caribbean Area Directors from 1967 to 1969, projected that the 1970 "outreaches" would include work in Jamaica, St. Lucia, Dominican, Barbados, Trinidad, Guiana, Bahamas, Aruba, and Curacao.³⁵¹ Ray Nicolson reported that his 1970 SOS worked in its third year in Nassau, Bahamas, and St. Lucia and included radio ministry.³⁵² David Ravenhill, reporting from the Jamaica SOS team, noted that the participation of youth had declined to only 13 YWAM volunteers which meant that they struggled to operate on a manageable budget.³⁵³ Other issues from the 1970 Jamaica SOS included poor transportation around the island. While they attracted

³⁵⁰ Typescript of Staff Conference Minutes, Redwood City, CA, September 1968, 6. The information for the 1969 SOS was in the form of future projections. My research does not currently include any other sources to confirm that these teams went to the planned islands or who participated. Sally McClung has confirmed that she did not attend this SOS because she was recovering from a car accident. If the plans did go ahead, this would mean that YWAM conducted its first evangelistic work in South America in 1969, four years before Wedge and Shirley Alman took their first "Around South America" ministry trip that effectively launched YWAM ministries in South America. According to the "1969 Youth With A Mission Report," *Youth With A Mission Advance*, 7, no. 1 (January 1970), YWAM did run a crusade in northern South America in 1969, but details about this event are yet to be discovered.

³⁵¹ Typescript of Minutes of the Staff Conference - Kenosha, Wisconsin, September, 1969, 2, 1965-1970 Staff Conferences, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive. It is important to note that archival records only list the men, in this case, Floyd McClung, as holding the ministry title of leadership. Before the 1980s, YWAM used the going practice of most denominations and mission agencies that welcomed women's leadership, but didn't give institutional acknowledgement for it. In YWAM, as elsewhere in mission and ministry work, the couples worked as teams. In YWAM's case, married couples especially without children travelled together, ministered in the same meetings, attended and contributed to staff meetings, and made decisions. Thus, in this case and throughout the dissertation, I list both names, the wife and the husband, as holding the official titles although the archival records do not often acknowledge the wife, unless she wrote the letter in the archive.

³⁵² Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA, 5.

³⁵³ David Ravenhill is the son of Leonard and Martha Ravenhill. Leonard Ravenhill, a British evangelist and revival preacher who had relocated his family to the US, was well known in the pentecostal tent meeting circuits of the 1960s. David Ravenhill and his wife Nancy Ravenhill would go on to become dedicated YWAM volunteers after a period of ministry in New Zealand. They returned to the US after 1967 and began working in the YWAM office during Shirley Alman's tenure.

400 people to their street meetings, Ravenhill reported only “2 real disciples” resulted from their summer of ministry.³⁵⁴ With what reads like waning excitement for YWAM’s summer ministry in the Caribbean, local Christians and pastors who had worked with YWAM in these early years, like Pastor Carlton Brown of Calvary Temple of Crane, St. Philip, Barbados, were still interested to continue working with YWAM by the close of the decade.³⁵⁵ YWAM’s evangelistic work in the Caribbean did continue, mostly through a diffuse cohort of emerging local Christian leaders and young people who had participated with and hosted YWAM groups since 1964. These local pastors and young people gained cultural and evangelistic experience and fostered relationships in a growing global network that had previously been inaccessible to them.³⁵⁶

Exponential Growth Among Local Youth

Although YWAM’s growth in the Caribbean during the period of its early history came and went with the short-term presence of the North American youth each summer, it undoubtedly influenced local expressions of Christianity. Local people throughout the Caribbean were converted through YWAM’s evangelism, physically healed through the

³⁵⁴ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA, 5.

³⁵⁵ Dick Tennesen to Pastor Carlton Brown, March 8, 1971, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

³⁵⁶ Jannelle McDonald, interview with Allison Kach-Yawngghwe, February 26, 2024, telephone. Ms. McDonald was a founding member of YWAM Jamaica. Much of the oral history of YWAM in the Caribbean begins in the 1980s when YWAM Jamaica’s permanent location was founded. Still, knowledge exists of some early collaborators with YWAM, such as Pastor Cedric Lue, Jamaican-Chinese pastor of Glad Tidings Open Bible Church in Kingston, Pastor Joseph Prendergast of Ocho Rios, Merlene Price from Kingston, and Pastor David Ho of Fullafield Chapel in Kingston. While the dates of their participation with YWAM have yet to be verified, it is known that they hosted YWAM teams in the “early days” and were already well-acquainted with the ministry when it was officially established as a ministry with its own building and ministry leaders in the mid-1980s.

prayers of the YWAM youth, added to partner churches or to YWAM's new church plants, and trained and mobilized into Christian service. While extant records show only one formal Assemblies of God church resulted from YWAM's 1964 summer evangelism, pastored by Bill Morley in Hope Town, qualitative and quantitative research reveals an expanding network of local youth participating with YWAM through these early endeavours.³⁵⁷ With the exception of some names and photos of local Caribbean youth featured in the 1966 *Journal of a Summer* and the 1969 *Journey with the Followers*, most of the names and faces of these local youth are lost to history.³⁵⁸ Their growing participation with YWAM, however, indicates that the repeated summer events provided consistent opportunities for local youth to interact with their foreign counterparts, receive evangelistic and mission training and teaching from YWAM, and engage in a distinct type of door-to-door ministry to their neighbors.

Archival documents include participant lists for some of the YWAM SOSes between 1964 and 1968.³⁵⁹ The records provide a glimpse into the short-term, but consistent presence of local youth evangelists and missionaries in the Caribbean. It also reveals the exponential growth of local youth participation in YWAM's ministry summer after summer. Quantitative data is lacking in the archival sources, but what does exist tells a story that far exceeds the influence and ministry of foreign North American youth

³⁵⁷ Loren Cunningham to Reverend Thomas F. Zimmerman, General Superintendent of the AG, April 13, 1965, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

³⁵⁸ The YWAM publications were intended to promote and recruit North American youth, hence the focus on telling the testimonials and narratives of North American youth on the SOSs featured.

³⁵⁹ See Appendix D for a list of SOS participants from 1964, 1965, and 1970.

travelling to the Caribbean for eight weeks. In 1964, 64 local youth participated with the YWAM teams. Then in 1966, Ruth Wilson's narrative style documentation introduced her readers to Hopie, a local Jamaican youth who became a Christian through the evangelistic message of a YWAM team and joined the YWAMers in their work.³⁶⁰ Like Hopie, Wilson noted that new converts were "some of the most enthusiastic workers," alluding to the presence of more eager young local people amongst YWAM's number. Known as "missionaries at home," the YWAMers going door-to-door in Kingston included Jamaican youth, some of whom committed to travel with the teams for the rest of the summer.³⁶¹

YWAM's record keeping began to increase by 1967, as evidenced in Ruth Wilson's Caribbean Report written for publication and promotion of the SOS. Wilson provided details of the SOS, with numerous testimonials of North American young people throughout. Alongside the names of the young people on the SOS teams, Wilson's report mentioned that the 1967 mobile teams who travelled on to Nevis, Dominica, Grenada, and Trinidad had high participation from local Christians. In Trinidad, YWAM was joined by 14 Trinidadians. In St. Kitts, six young men who had worked with the YWAM SOS the year before (1966) returned to join the 1967 teams.³⁶² Then in 1968, YWAM Staff Conference Minutes provided a detailed summary of youth participation that reflected significant local growth. In Jamaica, 28 North Americans were joined by

³⁶⁰ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 65.

³⁶¹ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 65.

³⁶² Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Caribbean Report 1967," 9–12.

200 Jamaicans. In the Leewards, 10 North Americans worked with 25 locals. In the Windwards the teams consisted of 15 North Americans and 20 locals and in Trinidad and Tobago, 25 North Americans partnered with 125 locals.³⁶³ 370 Caribbean youth and 78 North American youth engaged in a summer-long evangelistic campaign in 1968. While no data exists for local youth participation in the 1969 or 1970 “outreaches,” one can safely assume that local participation kept pace with the previous year.

Unity and Friendship Across Difference

Recurring themes of Christian unity and interracial friendship between local and North American youth emerged in YWAM’s promotional material from the Caribbean SOSes. YWAM participants were in the Caribbean to share the message of Jesus Christ, but their presence also offered local Caribbean youth a view of a US youth-counterculture grounded in radical faith and egalitarian values. Where the North American youth acted as a witness to the local youth, Caribbean youth instructed the foreign youth on their culture, life, and ministry in their context. Intercultural sharing in the context of pentecostal-evangelical mission service was both an intended and unintended by-product of YWAM SOSes in the Caribbean.

In YWAM’s effort to place all the young people on the same footing, the North Americans gave up any personal money for the summer and turned it in for the directors and team leaders to keep until the SOS was over. By choosing to have all things in

³⁶³ Typescript of Staff Conference Minutes, Redwood City, CA, September 1968, 8.

common, the YWAM leaders felt that the material affluence of the North Americans would not get in the way of local youth participating or cause them to feel that they were not equal partners on the team. For the duration of the SOS, all of the young people, local or foreign, lived off of the same budget. They ate the same food. They shared the same sleeping quarters. They kept to the same schedule and shared all of the duties of daily life – cooking, shopping, cleaning, and doing laundry. They prayed to God to provide or intervene when what they had didn't seem to be enough. It was, as Ruth Wilson put it, “a two-way street for the ‘Ywammers’. They learn of new faith in God for the small, daily necessities, and the nationals begin to see that there really are some Americans who are not like the usual free spending tourist.”³⁶⁴

As experts in local culture and customs, the Caribbean youth taught the North Americans about contextual ministry. In Jamaica, new converts and the Christian young people proved to be “enthusiastic workers” who joined in door-to-door evangelism. For some Kingston youth, what began as a two-week mission turned into an entire summer of itinerant evangelism as they became “missionaries at home” on teams with their North American counterparts.³⁶⁵ Without a doubt, the local young people helped the North Americans navigate their weeks of life and ministry in Jamaica and the various islands they blanketed with evangelism from 1964 to 1970. By 1968, as the previous section

³⁶⁴ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 6.

³⁶⁵ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 65.

noted, it was the local youth who far outnumbered their foreign friends in YWAM's evangelistic charge in the region.³⁶⁶

The inclusion and mobilization of local Christians was important for YWAM's hopes to multiply their reach, but it also gave rise to unity and friendship. One by-product of their practice of indigenous agency and team partnership was "the wonderful friendships the young people make with Christians their own age and belief, and the bond of unity they then feel with their brothers and sisters in Christ."³⁶⁷ Noting the power of unity in the shared vision of fulfilling Mark 16:15, Ruth Wilson reported that the Caribbean SOS of 1967 reflected a "delightful collection from different denominational and racial backgrounds, yet they were blended together in Christian love as they worked to achieve their common goal."³⁶⁸ Bonded together in their missional purpose, Wilson described tear-filled goodbyes at the end of the 1967 SOS, as, the North American YWAM participants waved:

good-bye to Jamaican friends that they would never see again. Some of them were national Christians who had graciously opened their home for these 'foreign' young people to live in; others had become personal friends of team members as they went out with them every day in door-to-door work; and there were those on the dock who had given their heart to the Lord through the efforts of these young people.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁶ It is interesting to note, however, that even with such eager local participation, David Ravenhill was bemoaned the fact that there was so little interest from US and Canadian youth in the Jamaica SOS in 1970. The fact remained that the US and Canadian young people brought with them the only budget that YWAM had for their ministry during the summer. Even if lots of Jamaican youth participated, few foreigners meant stretched resources. The lack of funds likely played a significant role in the transportation issues and logistical challenges that seemed to be arising as North American young people began traveling to other YWAM mission locations.

³⁶⁷ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 65.

³⁶⁸ Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Caribbean Report 1967," 1.

³⁶⁹ Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Caribbean Report 1967," 8.

While Wilson's flowery, idyllic, and "color blind" language lacks the awareness and acknowledgement of any racial bias and prejudice innate in at least some of the North American youth's experience, YWAM's efforts in the Caribbean produced plenty of results of which the leaders and participants could be proud. Partnership between YWAM and local churches of various denominations facilitated meaningful exchanges between North American and local young people. Mobilization of Christian youth through training in personal evangelism and missionary faith was followed by months of itinerant evangelism and relationship building by teams consisting of local and foreign youth. Together, young people shared the message of Jesus summer after summer with some repeat foreign and local participants. Reportedly, people all over the Caribbean converted to Christianity.³⁷⁰ People witnessed supernatural healings and miracles.³⁷¹ At least one new church was started.³⁷² Christian friendships between young people from different socio-economic, racial, and denominational backgrounds were formed.³⁷³ A pentecostal-inspired form of global evangelicalism that promoted Christian unity through shared mission, embraced local culture and customs, and spread through the short-term migration of youth evangelists and the participation of local youth was alive and well throughout the Caribbean region in the period.

³⁷⁰ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 65.

³⁷¹ Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 29; Akimoff and Akimoff, interview #1.

³⁷² Loren Cunningham to Reverend Thomas F. Zimmerman, General Superintendent of the AG, April 13, 1965.

³⁷³ Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Caribbean Report 1967," 8.

Conclusion

After its first four years, YWAM included local and international programs across English and Spanish-speaking United States and the Caribbean. YWAM mobilized AG youth to travel to nearby states to preach to strangers in the Domestic Crusades of the early 1960s. By 1964, YWAM had led over one hundred American young people to evangelize the Bahamas and Dominican Republic in the first Summer of Service. YWAM's youth focus gained interest, involvement, and momentum from the Assemblies of God youth ministry, Christ's Ambassadors, and an array of AG foreign missionaries eager to harness the zealotry of youth in evangelism. Loren and Darlene Cunninghams' relationship with the AG leadership fractured in the later part of 1964 and into 1965. While their family networks and faithful AG friends remained loyal to YWAM, it was Loren and Darlene's friendship with global pentecostal networks and emerging evangelical ministries that buoyed YWAM's early momentum and led to collaboration and world-wide expansion.

YWAM's ongoing global growth was foundationally and continually connected to its early expression in the United States and in the Caribbean. This chapter reconstructs YWAM's involvement in well-established pentecostal denominational and mission networks in its historic heartlands, but it also demonstrates how the local and regional realities were a part of transnational and global movements. YWAM recruited, trained and sent AG youth from the US into mission evangelism. They partnered first with AG

missionaries, Caribbean pastors, local churches, and hundreds of Caribbean young people. These participants were equally responsible for spreading YWAM's message in the region and enabling it to expand beyond AG and regional networks. YWAM's early influence on local and transnational Christian youth, already established by the close of 1964, was about to migrate through other pentecostal, evangelical, and charismatic networks around the globe.

Chapter 4: Constructing World Christianity, Part II: 1965 to 1967

From 1965 to 1967, YWAM's growth and development as a world Christian movement accelerated. The relational and religious networks responsible for its transnational growth in the period remained rooted in AG and other pentecostal networks particularly in North America. After Loren and Darlene Cunningham officially departed from the AG in 1965, YWAM relied more heavily on its non-US, and non-AG pentecostal and evangelical friendships. As a result, YWAM's international and interdenominational character expanded as it established local expressions outside of the US.

This chapter traces YWAM's ongoing creation and development of its unique brand of pentecostal-charismatic missional world Christianity as it expanded in and through Mexico, Latin America, Canada, and the South Pacific. Primarily through its International Crusades, or Summers of Service (SOS), YWAM moved into Mexico, Central America, Samoa, Canada, New Zealand, and Tonga in the period. Working with the strong global pentecostal mission it inherited, YWAM also developed new partnerships with local and global Christian denominations, churches, and mission organizations. These new relationships and networks aided YWAM's local reception and added new dimensions to its global character. The Latin American Assemblies of God, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, AG missionaries, Teen Challenge, independent evangelical and pentecostal ministries, the Methodist Church, and early charismatic leaders in New Zealand received YWAM, adapted it to their context, and aided its further global proliferation between 1965 and 1967. This chapter, like the previous chapter, is

organized chronologically and traces YWAM's early growth in the Spanish-speaking US, Mexico, Central America, Canada, and the South Pacific.

Latino/a Pentecostals & the Growth of YWAM in the Spanish-speaking US, Mexico, & Central America, 1965

YWAM's ministry expanded in Spanish-speaking churches in Southern California from its earliest days. Latina/o young people participated in meetings and evangelistic events that featured Loren Cunningham as a guest speaker. The cross-over between Spanish and English ministries in Southern California and the Southwest, especially amongst the C.A. chapters, is important to understand YWAM's presence among Spanish-speaking young pentecostals who themselves lived in two linguistic and cultural worlds. These socio-cultural and geographic factors are significant in acknowledging that YWAM was founded and developed in an intercultural, primarily Spanish and English, framework that influenced the founders and early participants.

Loren Cunningham's formative years of family ministry with his parents and sisters often consisted of evangelistic ministry and work among Mexican people on both sides of the US-Mexico border.³⁷⁴ Loren's first short-term ministry trip to Mexico in 1953 became a signpost of God's calling to him to go to Bible College.³⁷⁵ While the

³⁷⁴ It is important to note that the Spanish-speaking population in the US was a part of the growth. The US-Mexico border cannot be seen as a barrier to YWAM's "official" expansion into Mexico. YWAM, both through Loren Cunningham's personal history and YWAM's AG relationships, was integrated into both Spanish and English pentecostal worlds in California and throughout the Southwest. Loren's first short-term ministry trip to Mexico in 1953 became a signpost of God's calling to him to go to Bible College. Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 107.

³⁷⁵ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 26.

section traces YWAM's growth in Mexico and Latin American countries, it is vital to acknowledge that YWAM's growth in the Spanish-speaking pentecostal world was a borderless and entangled history that hinged upon the ministry and relationships of young Latino/a pentecostals in the US.³⁷⁶ Mexican migration to and from the US and North American travel to Mexico, especially by Christians seeking a near-by "foreign" mission opportunity, was commonplace and added to the interconnectedness of the people responsible for YWAM's reception in Mexico and Latin America.

Of primary importance to YWAM's early history in the Spanish-speaking world was a young man by the name of Alex Bazan, son of the Second Superintendent (1939–1958) in the Latin American District of the Assemblies of God – Asambleas de Dios – Demetrio and Nellie Bazan.³⁷⁷ A first generation Mexican-American, Alex was a part of the bilingual Latino pentecostals who developed the ministry of the Spanish-speaking Assemblies of God through translation of denominational materials and pioneering of new ministries. Bazan led the Pacific chapter of El Embajadores del Cristo, or the Christ's Ambassadors. The Pacific chapter of El Embajadores was for young pentecostals from Spanish-speaking churches. As the president of the Pacific chapter, he was one of the speakers at the 1961 Sixth Biannual Conference of the Pacific Christ's Ambassadors

³⁷⁶ Bauck, Sönke and Maier, Thomas, "Entangled History," InterAmerican Wiki: Terms - Concepts - Critical Perspectives., 2015, <https://www.uni-bielefeld.de/einrichtungen/cias/publikationen/wiki/e/>; Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (1999): 814–41.

³⁷⁷ Gastón Espinosa, "'Silent No More': Latino Assemblies of God Leadership Under Demetrio Bazan and José Girón," *Assemblies of God Heritage* 34 (2014): 47–55.

hosted in Fresno, California, on November 23–24.³⁷⁸ As organizer, Bazan steered the conference theme toward “Youth Missions.” In his pastoral post at El Aposento Alto de Montere, in Monterey, California, his commitment to missions was evidenced by the missionary conferences he organized. Through these gatherings he inspired his 21-member church to pledge to give \$1,150 to missions.³⁷⁹

In many ways, Bazan was a Latino counterpart to Loren Cunningham in the early years of the 1960s. They knew each other from their shared ties to the C.A. infrastructure and AG mission circles. While specifics of their relationship prior to 1964 are unclear, Alex met Loren and Darlene Cunningham sometime before the summer of 1964. That meeting led to Alex applying to join YWAM’s first SOS to the Bahamas and Dominican Republic. Alex served on, and very probably offered leadership to, the Spanish-speaking Dominican team. Only two years after Alex’s first YWAM mission experience, he was installed as the first Missionary Secretary for the Latin American District of the AG in 1966. He continued relationship, collaboration, and participation with YWAM through the years, although his official denominational role took precedence.³⁸⁰ Alex Bazan carried his family’s commitment to evangelism and church planting into the future of the

³⁷⁸ Alex Bazan, “Gran Convencion Juvenil Misionera,” *La Luz Apostolica: La Entradad De Tus Palabras Alumbra* 50, no. 6 (February 1962): 13, Digital Periodicals, The Consortium of Pentecostal Archives.

³⁷⁹ Alex Bazan, “Segunda Concencion Misionera En Monterey, California,” *La Luz Apostolica: La Entradad De Tus Palabras Alumbra* 47, no. 1 (September 1962): 3, Digital Periodicals, The Consortium of Pentecostal Archives.

³⁸⁰ Bazan continued to be a collaborator and friend of the Cunninghams and Wedge and Shirley Alman. He also undoubtedly mobilized Latino/a young people to join YWAM’s efforts through the 1960s, as evidenced by Nina Gonzales becoming a Vocational Volunteer in 1964.

Latin American District, now directly infused with YWAM's training, ministry friendships, and a global missionary vision.³⁸¹

It was, in fact, Alex Bazan and his positive experience with YWAM in 1964, that led to Wedge and Shirley Alman and family joining the Mission. After being rejected by the AG Department of Foreign Mission for service in Latin America because they had too many children, the Almans continued to pastor the Spanish-speaking church they had pioneered alongside Edna DuLavey in Alamogordo, New Mexico, beginning in 1956.³⁸² Nearly a decade later, Wedge and Shirley hosted the son of their former Superintendent, Alex Bazan, to hold their church's first mission conference in 1964.³⁸³ Freshly returned from his first SOS in the Caribbean and "full of passion for the Lord and evangelistic zeal," Bazan captivated the Almans with his stories of YWAM. The Almans had checked all of the boxes to be accepted for formal mission service with their denomination. They graduated from an AG Bible college, held credentials with the AG, pastored a church, and were fully bilingual. To their great disappointment, they were rejected because they had four children. Hearing Bazan's stories of young people active in mission service without formal training and denominational approval gave them hope that their dream to be missionaries in Latin America may yet be possible.³⁸⁴

³⁸¹ Espinosa, "'Silent No More': Latino Assemblies of God Leadership Under Demetrio Bazan and José Girón," 53.

³⁸² Alman, *He's Your God, Too!*, 29–30.

³⁸³ Alman, *He's Your God, Too!*, 60.

³⁸⁴ Alman, *He's Your God, Too!*, 60. Shirley Alman recounted a story to the author of when she and Wedge delivered their application to become missionaries with the Field Secretary of the Latin American Missions for the AG, Melvin Hodges. The event took place before the couple left Springfield, MO, which would have been later in 1956. Alman recounted how, with great excitement and a sense of

Alex Bazan left Alamogordo with a promise to the Almans. He would telephone YWAM founder Loren Cunningham and tell him about their interest. Within a few weeks, the Almans received a telephone call from Loren Cunningham. It turned out that Loren and Darlene and Janice Cunningham and her fiancé Jim Rogers were planning to travel through Alamogordo in a few days.³⁸⁵ The Almans hosted Loren, Darlene, Janice, and Jim for a day at their home, believing it to have been a “divine appointment.”³⁸⁶ The Cunninghams shared about YWAM and how it worked as a faith mission. The Almans shared their stories and sense of God’s calling to the Spanish-speaking world. The result was a plan for the Almans to join YWAM’s first SOS to Mexico the following summer, 1965.

Wedge & Shirley Alman: Missionaries to the Spanish-speaking World

Wedge and Shirley Alman, and their four children had been serving in full-time ministry as pastors of the church they had helped plant in Alamogordo since 1956. Their personal conviction was that God had called them to be missionaries in the Spanish-speaking world, but their plans were derailed by the AG’s denial of their applications on the grounds of their family being too numerous and, thus too complicated, to fulfill mission service. As Shirley Alman described in her self-published book, *He’s Your God*,

God’s calling, they delivered their application only to be met with Hodges’ discouragement at the fact of the filing cabinets filled with missionary applications in his office. He instructed the couple to get experience in pastoring and reapply. The Almans took Hodges advice only to be rejected years later because their family was too large, their children getting too old, and one child had diabetes making her an extra liability.

³⁸⁵ Alman, *He’s Your God, Too!*, 61.

³⁸⁶ Alman, *He’s Your God, Too!*, 61.

Too!, the couple continued to pastor and trust that God would lead them, which they believed to be happening through Alex Bazan's introduction to YWAM and the Cunninghams. To the Almans, God's divine providence was making a way for their family to serve in world missions through YWAM. It was because of their hard work and dedication and the relationships they fostered with Spanish-speaking Christians and youth in the US and local pastors and people throughout Latin America that YWAM expanded and flourished in Central America and spread into South America.

For Wedge and Shirley and family, their first experience with YWAM after Alex Bazan's personal testimony came in the form of relationship with Loren and Darlene Cunningham and Janice Cunningham and Jim Rogers. With the Almans' participation, plans for YWAM's first SOS in Mexico took shape leading up to the summer of 1965. Wedge and Shirley took a two month leave of absence from their pastorate in Alamogordo, and with their four children – Barbara, Brent, Crystal, and Robbie – aged 7-14, joined Loren and 35 young people for the first SOS in Mexico.³⁸⁷ After 1965, YWAM's work in Mexico and Central America expanded under Wedge and Shirley Almans' leadership, who led the 1966 SOS by taking another two-month leave of absence from their church. Then, in 1967 the Almans resigned their pastorate and moved to California to join YWAM full-time. Wedge became the Latin American Area Director, while Shirley worked full-time in the YWAM office.³⁸⁸ They inhabited these positions

³⁸⁷ Alman, *He's Your God, Too!*, 61.

³⁸⁸ While YWAM gave Wedge Alman the title, Shirley worked alongside him in partnership. The model for YWAM's ministry followed other pentecostal/evangelical mission and church ministry at the time, only giving the men titles even though the minister and missionary wives worked alongside their

until 1972, when they moved to Mexico and began expanding YWAM work into South America.³⁸⁹

Early Growth in Mexico and Central America, 1965–1971

As noted previously, Wedge and Shirley Alman and their four children joined Loren Cunningham on the first Mexico SOS in 1965. The Mexico SOS followed the pattern of the Caribbean SOS the year before – door-to-door witnessing in the day and evangelistic services in the evening. Together with the 35 young people who participated in the SOS, the Almans and Loren Cunningham visited “10,000 homes with literature and a personal witness for Christ,” and reported “2000 professions of faith.”³⁹⁰ While extant materials do not specify where the SOS took place or list the names of the local pastors, churches, and youth they partnered with, it is clear that the reception was warm. The majority of the local relationships YWAM had were fostered through the Assemblies of God contacts that Wedge Alman held as a AG pastor of a Spanish-speaking church in New Mexico.³⁹¹ Wedge Alman and other Spanish-speaking evangelists, like Ruben Vargas and Alex Bazan, used their denominational credentials to make contacts and

husbands, often in full partnership. Thus, I have chosen to stick with YWAM’s naming of only the husbands in ministry positions because it remains true to history. I do so, however, acknowledging that wherever a husband was named a ministry leader, if he were married, the wife was in full partnership with the husband and the title can be extended to her as well.

³⁸⁹ Alman, *He’s Your God, Too!*, 68–69.

³⁹⁰ Alman, *He’s Your God, Too!*, 61.

³⁹¹ Shirley Alman, interview by Allison Kach-Yawnghe, August 24, 2022, video recording & transcript, Allison Kach-Yawnghe's Personal Collection.

itinerate in Mexico and Central America as a way to prepare for and maintain ongoing YWAM ministry.

YWAM's second SOS in the region extended beyond Mexico and into Central America. In 1966, YWAM partnered with local pastors, churches, youth, and missionary contacts who worked for weeks before the group of foreign young people arrived.³⁹² Following the Domestic Crusade in El Paso, Texas, 21 North American young people drove down in five vehicles. After a stop-over at the Spanish Bible School in Mexico City, they held a one-week "crusade" in Guatemala.³⁹³ They received a "warm greeting by the Christians of Guatemala City" before they unpacked and began their orientation and traveled to "four different parts of the city" for service at 7:30pm that evening.³⁹⁴ After the door-to-door evangelism crusade in Guatemala City, the four teams travelled on to Honduras, where they evangelized in Santa Rosa de Copan and San Pedro Sula, before spending a week in the capital city.³⁹⁵

Three teams travelled on to Nicaragua to minister for the final two and a half weeks of the SOS, while one team remained in Tegucigalpa with government

³⁹² Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 77. Ruth Wilson gives credit to the nationals and missionaries who "worked behind the scenes for weeks before the arrival of YWAM teams. The effectiveness of the program rested entirely on what these individuals were able to do in working with government officials and opening their churches to the Ywam teams." She implied that it was local Christians/missionaries that opened this up in Honduras.

³⁹³ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 43, 75. Page 75 lists the names of the Central American Teams: "Mirian Aliaga, John Brown(Captain), James Castillo, Joe Chavez(evangelist), Ida Dickinson, Ada Edmondson, Steve Farmer, Linda Haughtelin, Evangeline Heitke, Sandy Huber, Donna Ragains, David Richter, Eloise Rocha (Captain), George Romer, Carolyn Shook, Ruben Vargas (Evangelist), Marty Villa (Captain), Jeannette Westlander, Margareet Wilbrink (Captain), Myrna Sue Wilkins, Counselor, Tommy Zamara."

³⁹⁴ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 32.

³⁹⁵ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 58.

endorsement and support.³⁹⁶ The YWAM team that stayed in Honduras preached daily to the 2,000 inmates in the penitentiary, received a free opportunity to share their message on television, and preached daily on the four local radio stations.³⁹⁷ According to Ruth Wilson's *Journal of a Summer*, government officials in Tegucigalpa embraced YWAM's message to the local people because they saw it as "an answer for the growing threat of Communism in their land."³⁹⁸ Eager to promote their message, the government printed "handbills for the team that announced the evening services and radio broadcasts."³⁹⁹

The next year, YWAM SOS teams returned to the same countries, with an unplanned ministry stop at the University of Mexico. Officially the Latin America Area Director by 1967, Wedge and Shirley Alman did not accompany the teams in the summer of 1967 because Wedge had contracted hepatitis and was unable to travel. In his place, Alex Bazan served as "Director of the Central American YWAM Crusade" with a group of 22 young people.⁴⁰⁰ Just before they reached Monterrey, two of the YWAM team members driving one of the YWAM vehicles were in a car accident. Neither had critical injuries, but one of them, Doug Brown, needed to return to the US. These events meant that the entire team was rerouted to Mexico City for a number of days while the team

³⁹⁶ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 58.

³⁹⁷ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 61.

³⁹⁸ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 61.

³⁹⁹ Wilson and Wilson, *The Journal of a Summer*, 61.

⁴⁰⁰ Ruth E. Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Central America Report," Christ for the Nations Literature Report (Santa Cruz, CA: Youth With a Mission, 1967), 10, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Ruth's report does not include a comprehensive list of the teams, but it is full of testimonies from the team members. I have tallied all mentioned, and, with Alex Bazan included there are 23 members.

leaders, parents, and YWAM staff back in the US sorted out the details of care for the two young men.⁴⁰¹ Without wasting any time, the SOS group took the opportunity to evangelize students on the University of Mexico campus in the mornings which was a new venue for YWAM's evangelism to date. In the afternoons they evangelized the outlying barrios and neighborhoods.⁴⁰²

From Mexico City the team, now 22 in total, travelled on to Guatemala City for a number of days of church services and evangelism before the group was divided into four teams.⁴⁰³ Two teams, one boys' and one girls', moved onto Honduras – Nuevo Octopecque, Siquatepeque, San Pedro Sula, Santa Cruz – for the rest of the summer. Accompanied by Alex Bazan and Roberto Borquez, the team evangelist, the Honduran teams worked with local pastors, the Central American Mission (CAM), and Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF). The young people were flown into remote villages with MAF to witness for the day. They enjoyed a picnic lunch with the CAM missionaries in an airplane hangar in Siquatepeque and partnered with the missionaries in door-to-door

⁴⁰¹ Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Central America Report," 2–3.

⁴⁰² Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Central America Report," 4.

⁴⁰³ Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Central America Report," lists the following team members are named: Boys team #3: Harry Duran, Doug James, Marty Villa (Captain), Doug Metzger, Frank Quick, Hugo ?, two Guatemalan boys from San Jose Pinala. Girls team #2: Bertha Ortiz, Julie Hurlburt, Cora Lee Poole, Leslie Ramsay, Ruben Vargas (team evangelist), Israel Vega (team evangelist). Honduran teams: Girls team #1: Gloria Hall, Carmen Molina, Beth Embree, Jo Ann Morales, Ada Edmoundson, Roberto Borquez (team evangelist), Connie Ortega (Nicaraguan worker). Boys team #4: Stan Lindvall (Captian), Lynn Wilbur, Dan McCaughlin. Candy Cameron is named in the report, but it is unclear which team she was on.

evangelism.⁴⁰⁴ The boys' team reported that they had witnessed 60 conversions during their door-to-door ministry.⁴⁰⁵

The other two teams stayed in villages near Guatemala City – the boys' team worked in San Jose Pinali and the girls' team in Sanarate. The girls' team was led by Ruben Vargas and Israel Vega and moved on to Managua, Nicaragua, via San Pedro Sula.⁴⁰⁶ En route, the teams stopped in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, to visit the head of the Federal Penitentiary where the 1966 SOS teams had ministered with reported success. Two weeks later, the Nicaragua teams travelled 80 miles outside of the capital to work with pastor Henry Jaenstake in Juigalpa for three days. Next, they worked with Central American Mission (CAM) missionary Ward Johnson and pastor Migel Rubina in Santo Tomas for two days.⁴⁰⁷ All four teams travelled on to Leon, Nicaragua, where they were reunited and travelled back to the US together.

The following summer, 1968, 33 young people from Canada and the US joined the Latin American SOS after their Domestic Crusade in Galveston, Texas.⁴⁰⁸ The group travelled to the University of Mexico for campus evangelism and then moved on to Guatemala and Nicaragua to continue their work from the previous summers. This year, the YWAM SOSes benefited from Wedge Alman and Ruben Vargas' preparation and

⁴⁰⁴ Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Central America Report," 11–16.

⁴⁰⁵ Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Central America Report," 15.

⁴⁰⁶ Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Central America Report," 7.

⁴⁰⁷ Wilson, "Youth With A Mission Central America Report," 20.

⁴⁰⁸ Typescript of Staff Conference Minutes, Redwood City, CA, September 1968, 8.

itinerant ministries in the regions throughout the year.⁴⁰⁹ During the summer, however, the focus of all of the teams was concentrated evangelism throughout Nicaragua – Loma Linda, San Pedro, Posoltega, Managua, Chinandega, Masaya, Leon – “in an effort to open up the country to the Gospel.”⁴¹⁰ Teams preached and gave their testimonies door-to-door, in evening services at local churches, and through radio and television programs, as in previous years.⁴¹¹ Campus evangelism at the University of Mexico and university campus in Leon was one of the team’s foci. For the first time in YWAM SOS Central America, teams spoke at high schools throughout the country after the head of schools granted YWAM official authorization to hold school assemblies.⁴¹² Alongside the North American youth testimonies of salvation, healing, and revival featured in *Journey With the Followers*, the 1968 “Staff Conference Minutes” listed 241 local youth who partnered with the North American YWAM youth throughout the summer – 45 from Mexico, 20 from Guatemala, and 176 from Nicaragua.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁹ Wilson, *God’s Guerrillas*, 49.

⁴¹⁰ Wilson, *Journey with the Followers*, 38. The growth of evangelical mission personnel and evangelical conversion in Latin America was directly related to the anti-communist movement and the anti-liberation theology movement. During the turmoil of the 1960s, Catholic priests, bishops, and base community leaders throughout Latin America were sympathetic to Communism as they sought justice for the poor which resulted in the promotion of liberation theology at the Second Episcopal Conference of Latin America at Medellin, Colombia in 1968.

⁴¹¹ Wilson, *Journey with the Followers*, 39. The photos show Ruben Vargas preaching on a radio program and Bertha Ortiz singing on television.

⁴¹² Wilson, *God’s Guerrillas*, 51–56. Wilson, *Journey with the Followers*, 37–43. Names of participants include: Joy Dewey, Bertha Ortiz, Eldon Officer, Ruben Vargas, Carles Beckett, Martha DeFebbo, Anna Marie Flores, Marty Villa (team leader), Linda McCullough, Pam Sims, Sarah Escalor, Barbara Alman, Joanne Thomasson, Gary Nedelsky, Jim Woodhall, Wedge Alman. Wilson, 39.

⁴¹³ Typescript of Staff Conference Minutes, Redwood City, CA, September 1968, 8.

In 1969, Wedge and Shirley Alman planned to have one entire team focus on the University of Mexico that included a “crusade” on campus and gospel literature “saturation.”⁴¹⁴ A second team, named “Vanguard” in the meeting minutes, was planned to serve two weeks in Nicaragua before moving on to Costa Rica for two weeks, and Panama for four weeks.⁴¹⁵ The final two destinations were the farthest south into Central America that YWAM SOS teams had gone to date. While the participants and specific activities of their summer ministries remains unknown, Marty Villa, who led the Mexico team, and Wedge Alman, who led the Central American team, gave reports from these SOS groups at the 1969 Staff Conference in Kenosha, Wisconsin, in September of 1969.⁴¹⁶ Ruben Vargas, who was working steadily with Wedge Alman in Central America by 1969 recruiting, evangelising, and setting up the SOS, functioned as an SOS team leader and evangelist.⁴¹⁷

At Staff Conferences, regional or area leaders gave “projections” for the following year. For Mexico and Central America, these ministry aspirations offer some idea as to what the Almans and others working with YWAM in Mexico and Central America were planning for the future, but they do not offer accurate summaries or official ministry reports. In the case of the outcomes of the 1970 SOS, the 1969 projections that included Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and a two-week outreach in

⁴¹⁴ Typescript of Staff Conference Minutes, Redwood City, CA, September 1968, 5.

⁴¹⁵ Typescript of Staff Conference Minutes, Redwood City, CA, September 1968, 5. It is unclear what or who “Vanguard” means.

⁴¹⁶ Typescript of Minutes of the Staff Conference - Kenosha, Wisconsin, September, 1969, 1. The contents of Alman and Vargas’ reports has yet to be discovered in the archives.

⁴¹⁷ Wilson, *God’s Guerrillas the True Story of Youth With a Mission*, 95.

January and February in Peru were not fulfilled.⁴¹⁸ Wedge and Shirley Alman's report to the YWAM Staff Conference of 1970 only mentions one Mexico outreach from the summer of 1970.⁴¹⁹ The number of foreign YWAM participants was not included in the report, although the Almans said that they trained and mobilized over 400 local Christians in four states/districts of the country – Estado de Mexico, Hidalgo, Puebla, Veracruz. In addition to their work with local churches and pastors, primarily in Pachuca Churches, they ministered “in a Bible School, churches, ministers convention, youth rallies, spoke in a Kiwanis [sic] club meeting.”⁴²⁰

1970 marked another innovation for YWAM's work in Mexico and Central America – the publication and distribution of the first issue of *AVANCE!*, YWAM's newsletter *Advance!* in the Spanish language.⁴²¹ For 1971, the Almans were planning a grand tour of Latin America that included YWAM's first contacts and ministry in South America. The “Latin American OLE” was for Spanish speakers with previous SOS experience. The evangelistic trip was planned to include Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay.⁴²² Even with the expansion into South America, YWAM's ministry, through the Almans, in Mexico was ongoing, as evidenced

⁴¹⁸ Typescript of Minutes of the Staff Conference - Kenosha, Wisconsin, September, 1969, 2.

⁴¹⁹ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA.

⁴²⁰ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA. The Minutes note that Pachuca Churches mean “Independent Christian Churches.” At each Staff Conference, reports from the previous summers were given. In addition to this, each regional leader gave projections for their ministry plans for the next summer. For some years, the projections is the only record that remains, but from comparing future projections and ministry reports after the summer, it is clear that projections were aspirational and not always fulfilled.

⁴²¹ It is not known if YWAM Mexico and Central America had a robust mailing list, or if they sent *AVANCE!* To partner pastors and churches in Latin America and the Spanish-speaking USA.

⁴²² Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA.

in the Domestic Crusade in Mexico over Christmas break, December 26–31, 1970 and a 1971 SOS.⁴²³ Continuing to expand YWAM's relationships to partner in evangelism in the region, the Almans eventually made a permanent move to Mexico in 1972 to develop the ministry in Central and South America and, like the directors of YWAM Canada, live in the country of their missionary work and youth mobilization.

German Pentecostals in Alberta Introduce YWAM to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1965

YWAM's formal expansion into Canada followed a similar pattern of development to YWAM's growth across the US. It began with itineration in willing churches and youth groups, Easter and Christmas Domestic Crusades, and international Summers of Service. Something unique to YWAM's history in Canada, however, is that their work across the large geography and dispersed population was held, carried, and promoted largely by Canadian Christian young people and officially, at least for a time, by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) and its ministries. Loren and Darlene Cunningham both had previous connections to the AG and PAOC in Canada. During his days as a member of the gospel quartets the King's Magnifiers and the King's Liberators while a student at Central Bible College in Springfield, Missouri, Loren had sung at a church in Montreal in 1956.⁴²⁴ Darlene's parents were church planting pioneers in the

⁴²³ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA.

⁴²⁴ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 68. It is also believed that Loren and his group the King's Liberators sang at the People's Church, Toronto, in 1954 or 1955, given Loren's possession of some leaflets from the People's Church in the Cunningham's Personal Papers.

early pentecostal movement in Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia before accepting pastorates in the Midwest and North Western US Districts of the Assemblies of God.⁴²⁵ Darlene's paternal uncle, Clare Scratch, had been Alberta District Superintendent of the PAOC during the Great Depression before he and his wife Lydia were posted as missionaries to China in 1935.⁴²⁶ Darlene's paternal aunt, May, was married to Jim Swanson. Jim was the PAOC General Superintendent in 1935–36 and along with pastoring churches in Ontario and Alberta, Mary and Jim founded the Ontario Pentecostal Bible College in Toronto, later renamed Eastern Pentecostal Bible College and relocated to Peterborough, Ontario in 1939-40.⁴²⁷

While these historic connections to Canadian pentecostalism remained alive in Loren and Darlene's relationships and networks, it was a visit to Canada in 1965 and Loren's first itinerant invitation to Glad Tidings Pentecostal church in Barrhead, Alberta, that led the way to YWAM's first official expansion into the country. Sometime in October 1965, Loren and Darlene arrived in Edmonton, Alberta, likely by way of Calgary, for a speaking engagement in Barrhead, some 120 kilometers northwest of Edmonton. In some way hosted by Rev. Eugene Opheim, Loren and Darlene needed to get to Barrhead. Rev. Opheim called Arnie and Heidi Breitzkreuz, a young couple both of

⁴²⁵ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*.

⁴²⁶ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 137–52. See also “Clare Scratch Obituary.” More details on Darlene's family history in Canadian pentecostalism, including more information on Clare and Lydia Scratch, is included in Chapter 2.

⁴²⁷ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 157. Mary Swanson was Ed Scratch's sister. After Jim Swanson died, Mary moved to the US where their son, also Jim, was pastoring an AG church in Hayward, California in the San Francisco Bay area. More information and history of Mary and Jim Swanson's ministry is explored in Chapter 2.

German heritage from Barrhead, then living in Edmonton, and asked if they would drive the couple to make their speaking engagement.⁴²⁸ How and why the Cunninghams received an invitation to Barrhead or even to Canada remains unclear from records and oral histories. Still, the Cunninghams arrived in Edmonton and Rev. Opheim, a PAOC minister and the evangelism instructor at Northwest Bible College, was their contact and possibly their host. Arnie was a student of Rev. Eugene Opheim at Northwest Bible College, the PAOC's bible training centre in Edmonton.

According to Heidi Breitzkreuz, she and Arnie had been waiting for a ministry that they felt was from God.⁴²⁹ Arnie believed he had a calling to full-time ministry, but he did not have a desire to pastor a local church. He continued to train for ministry by attending Bible College while he and Heidi led the youth group of their German-speaking congregation in Edmonton, the German Pentecostal Church (later renamed Southside Assembly). It was meeting Loren and Darlene, and hearing Loren's stirring message about changing the world with God at the service in Barrhead that opened up the vision and idea of youth as evangelists that, according to Heidi's recollection, felt like God's answer for the Breitzkreuzes' ministry hopes.⁴³⁰ Heidi recounted that before Loren

⁴²⁸ Arnie Breitzkreuz's full name was Arnold. He first went by Arnie, but, as Heidi Breitzkreuz explained when I asked her how I should spell his name, Arnie later decided to go by "Arni" because his name was often misspelled. I have chosen to spell his name "Arnie" because his decision to shorten his name to "Arni" preceded the period of my study. It is important to note, however, that some documents do misspell his name as "Arni."

⁴²⁹ Heidi Breitzkreuz, interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, May 27, 2024, Edmonton, Alberta. Arnie Breitzkreuz passed away in 2022.

⁴³⁰ Breitzkreuz, interview.

and Darlene left Edmonton, the four of them had planned for YWAM to host an Easter Crusade in Edmonton the following year (1966).

Arnie & Heidi Breitzkreuz: YWAM Canada's Founders, 1966

YWAM's first Domestic Crusade was hosted at Northwest Bible College at Central Pentecostal Church in downtown Edmonton during the Easter break in March 1966.⁴³¹ In YWAM's format, young people recruited by Arnie and Heidi attended morning teaching sessions given by Loren and went out in twos for door-to-door evangelism every afternoon. As was the working procedure already at this point, Loren and Darlene invited these young people to consider joining them on the upcoming Summer of Service to Jamaica (1966), then three months away. Arnie and Heidi took up their invitation. The couple planned for Heidi to remain home with their 2 ½ year old and two-month-old baby.⁴³² Arnie and two other Edmontonians, Wally Riehl and Ed Rebman, drove down to YWAM's Domestic Crusade in Galveston, Texas. From there, they were en route to Jamaica for the eight-week outreach.⁴³³ Two other Edmonton Easter Crusade attendees, Dennis and Lee Kiffiak, accepted Loren's invitation for the Jamaica SOS and drove their Chevy down to Miami, with a stop at John Wilkerson's church in Rockford,

⁴³¹ Dennis Kiffiak, interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, March 28, 2024, video recording. Dennis Kiffiak was a student at Northwest Bible College in 1966 and also a member of Central Pentecostal Church. He pointed out that the college was run at the church building.

⁴³² Breitzkreuz, interview.

⁴³³ Typescript of YWAM Canada 1966-1970: History Series, 25th Anniversary, 1986, 1, Heidi Breitzkreuz Personal Papers.

Illinois.⁴³⁴ Having missed the YWAM team's departure by one day, the Kiffiaks boarded a flight and joined the group already landed in Kingston.⁴³⁵ The Canadian young people, along with their US and Jamaican counterparts, engaged in a summer full of evangelistic faith ministry.

Once returned from Jamaica, Arnie and Heidi continued with the ministry of YWAM, running the office out of their home and alongside their lives as young parents and youth leaders in the German-pentecostal community. Arnie continued in his full-time job until his ministry of recruiting took too much of his time and he decided to quit and live by faith. In the fall of 1966, they drove a car full of young people to Redwood City, California, to join in YWAM's Domestic Crusade, giving more local young people exposure to YWAM's teachings and ministry. The couple and family spent their time recruiting for the next year's Easter Crusade (1967).⁴³⁶

Officially incorporated as the YWAM Alberta Society on December 18, 1967, the Breikreuzes became YWAM's first "international" staff members and attended the YWAM 1967 Staff Conference in Pasadena alongside Loren and Darlene Cunningham,

⁴³⁴ John Wilkson was the AG missionary who hosted Loren and his quartet in the Bahamas, the uncle of David Wilkerson, and constant supporter of YWAM through his church in Rockford, Illinois. I am not sure how the Kiffiaks were connected with John, but potentially that connection was made through Loren or through the Teen Challenge ministry in Edmonton.

⁴³⁵ Kiffiak, interview.

⁴³⁶ Part of YWAM Canada's early ministry included what they called a "Resurrection March." Arnie and Heidi Breikreuz and YWAM volunteers organized an interdenominational Easter march from Southside Church to City Hall. Local Christians gathered to proclaim Christ's resurrection and preach God's message as they walked and in their event at City Hall. In many ways, this event may be interpreted as a precursor to the later "Jesus March" movement that spread across North America.

Floyd and Sally McClung, and Wedge and Shirley Alman.⁴³⁷ YWAM, under the Breitskreuzs' early leadership remained steady, hosting annual Easter crusades, serving churches by speaking at youth groups, building a mailing list, and mobilizing young people to participate in YWAM week-long evangelism events and SOS.⁴³⁸ Many of the young people who participated in YWAM events began their own evangelistic initiatives in their local communities and stayed in touch with Arnie and Heidi by regular correspondence.⁴³⁹ With its own local leaders, YWAM in Canada was able to grow independently of YWAM's other expressions, albeit still relationally connected, allowing it to find support in local churches and form new networks ensuring its success and ability to localize.

Trans-Canada Summer of Service (SOS), 1967

The Trans-Canada SOS of 1967 was Canada's first broad exposure to YWAM, both within churches and within communities and cities targeted for evangelism. Because the majority of YWAM participants were recruited from the US, the Domestic Crusade for the Trans-Canada SOS was held in Seattle, Washington. Heidi and Arnie Breitskreuz,

⁴³⁷ Breitskreuz, interview. No extant records remain from the 1967 Staff Conference to confirm this, but minutes from 1966 Board Meeting and 1968, 1969, 1970 Staff Conferences suggest a clear pattern of annual meetings during the autumn. One can conclude that YWAM's 1967 Staff Conference would have followed this pattern and taken place sometime in the fall in Pasadena. YWAM moved offices from Pasadena to Anaheim in the fall of 1967, as per the Typescript Special Memo to All Staff by Darlene Cunningham.

⁴³⁸ Heidi Breitskreuz noted that their Easter crusades included "Good Friday Marches" in Edmonton.

⁴³⁹ Heidi mentioned Bernie and Shirley Jeske as some of the young people that started their own evangelistic outreaches after their participation with YWAM.

the TransCanada outreach leaders, left their children in Edmonton with family for the summer and went to Seattle for the week-long training to kick off the SOS.⁴⁴⁰ From there, 85 young people and Breitreuzes were bused across the border to Vancouver, BC, where they began their summer of “international ministry” working with the Union Gospel Mission.⁴⁴¹ Using churches and individual contacts in various Canadian centers as their “home bases,” the YWAM teams travelled the country, stopping in Vancouver, Abbotsford, Kamloops, Prince George, Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Wa Wa, Toronto, Oakville, Dundas, and Montreal during Expo ‘67 for door-to-door evangelistic efforts and evening services.⁴⁴² In Vancouver, BC, the team worked with Broadway Tabernacle, in Winnipeg they worked with Calvary Temple, and in Toronto they worked with the pentecostal flagship congregation, Queensway Cathedral.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴⁰ Breitreuz, interview. Heidi noted that their family members thought they had lost all sense for leaving their kids and for participating in such an odd ministry. Ruth E. Wilson, “Strange Invasion to Canada” names Jim Douglas (South Burnaby, B), Darrell Root (Seattle), Marilee Arnett (Bellevue), Candi Cortesi (Akron, OH), Dennis Kiffiak (Edmonton), Doreen Young (Redwood City), Allen Burke (Washington), Linda Larsen (Oregon), and Donald Swanson (Toronto) as some of the participants. As for the Breitreuzes leaving their kids all summer, this is not accurate. Heidi reported that after the SOS arrived in Medicine Hat, she went back to Edmonton to be with her kids and then rejoined the group in Toronto until the end of the summer.

⁴⁴¹ Life Messengers Bulletin by Ray W. Johnson, June 14, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. The Life Messengers newsletter states that 85 young people were witnessing in Canada in 1967. YWAM’s official documents list 85 young people, but Heidi Breitreuz says that there were 67 young people in 67. There is, therefore some discrepancy in these numbers, but I have chosen to go with the number given in reports.

⁴⁴² Wilson, “Strange Invasion of Canada.”

⁴⁴³ Typescript of 1967 S.O.S. Final Information Sheet, Spring 1967, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. The information sheet lists the following plans for the SOS: “Trans-Canada Crusade (June 22 – August 22), Crusade Director Mr. Arnie Breitreutz. Busses from Seattle to Vancouver and across cities. \$100.00 cost for entire summer. The mailing addresses in Canada: June 22-29. YWAM, Broadway Tabernacle, 1363, W. Broadway, Vancouver 9, BC, Tel. 736-7341, July 1-7, YWAM Box 5654 Edmonton, July 8-15: YWAM Calvary Temple, Winnipeg, July 16-Aug 4 YWAM Queensway Cathedral, Toronto, Aug. 5-21 YWAM, c/o Keith Parks, Box 66 Verdun [sic] Quebec”

The SOS ministry model remained unchanged from its budding US, Caribbean, and Mexican iterations: young people went out in teams of two to knock on “every single door in their area and talk to as many people as possible about Jesus Christ. When people are not home, they leave an interesting Gospel tract which clearly presents the way of Salvation.”⁴⁴⁴ During the 1967 Trans-Canada SOS, the YWAM teams also “held streetmeetings [sic], witnessed to people on the street or in the parks, held services in the sponsoring PAOC churches at night, worked in rescue missions and Teen Challenge, and any other place they could.”⁴⁴⁵ The young people, who ranged in age from 16 to their early 20s, gave testimonies of salvation and healing in every place they ministered. A revival among the youth in Winnipeg, and particularly the conversion of youth from a gang in Transcona, was much celebrated in YWAM’s reports of the summer.⁴⁴⁶ The Trans-Canada team shared about Jesus to any who answered their doors, passed out Christian literature and tracts, gave personal testimonies and preached in local churches, screened “Youth On A Fix” at some churches, and organized a “Love-In” in Verdun (Montreal) that attracted newspaper attention and gathered a large group of young people to a local park where the YWAM youth shared about their personal relationship with Jesus.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁴ Wilson, “Strange Invasion of Canada.” 2.

⁴⁴⁵ Wilson, “Strange Invasion of Canada.” 2

⁴⁴⁶ Wilson, “Strange Invasion of Canada.” 2

⁴⁴⁷ Wilson, “Strange Invasion of Canada.” 2–3.

A Focus on Quebec Gains Pentecostal Support, 1968–70

Following the first 1967 SOS across Canada, YWAM planned their next three Canadian SOSes to focus solely on the French-speaking, and traditionally Roman Catholic, province of Quebec. With the endorsement of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada for their 1968 SOS, the “Quebec Outreach” received special advertising through an April 1968 Special Edition of *Dominion Outreach*, “the quarterly news bulletin of the Home Missions and Bible Colleges Department of the PAOC.”⁴⁴⁸ Robert M. Argue, the Director of the PAOC Home Missions, helped YWAM coordinate aspects of their work, especially regarding making contacts among French-speaking pastors and Christians.⁴⁴⁹ Preparing for the summer, they held evangelistic campaigns, also known as crusades, in Chilliwack and Abbotsford, British Columbia; Halifax, Nova Scotia; and Montreal, Quebec.⁴⁵⁰ Under the leadership of Arnie and Heidi Breikreuz and with the support of PAOC pastors Rev. F.H. Parlee and Rev. Keith Parks, the group recruited 225 Canadian

⁴⁴⁸ R.M. Argue, ed., “‘Quebec Outreach’ Special Edition,” *Dominion Outreach* (Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, April 1968), Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. It is interesting to note that R.M. Argue is listed as the Executive Director of Dominion Outreach. R.M. Argue is assumed to be related to Watson Argue, Jr., a personal friend of Loren Cunningham who served on YWAM’s first board of directors. Watson Argue, Jr., was grandson of A.H. Argue, one of Canada’s early pentecostal leaders from Winnipeg. R.M. Argue was therefore related to the pioneering Argue family that held influence in PAOC circles.

⁴⁴⁹ Loren Cunningham to Mr. Ray Johnson, February 1, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Loren interestingly notes that Rev. Argue is “really open, even though he is denominational, to an interdenominational approach which is quite unusual for his position. But he has a deep concern for evangelization in Quebec.”

⁴⁵⁰ Typescript of Staff Conference Minutes, Redwood City, CA, September 1968, 8. Loren and Darlene spoke at the Montreal Quebec Easter crusade, having just returned from international travel to prepare for the 1968-69 Around the World team and to scout out European locations.

youth who were joined by 54 youth from the US.⁴⁵¹ The ministry plan was described as taking place in “two waves.” The first group of English-speaking young people focused on distributing evangelistic literature as a means to mitigate the language barrier. The second “wave” of French-speaking youth that followed offered personal witness to those they met.

The 1968 SOS began in Montreal and groups moved to other parts of the province from there. Teams went to Sherbrooke, Drummondville, Abitibi, La Verendrye, the Lac St. Jean region, Black Lake, Laval, Hull, Amos, and to as many villages and rural places as they could manage.⁴⁵² Some teams joined the PAOC evangelist André Gagnon and the “Quebec for Christ” tent crusades in Trois Rivieres, St. Jerome, Joliette, Sorel, and Ville Jacques Cartier.⁴⁵³ Both groups, English and French speaking teams, “saturated 7/8th of the population of Quebec outside of Montreal” with one million pieces of literature including “Here’s How” for adults and “The Captain” for children.⁴⁵⁴ All of the

⁴⁵¹ Typescript of Staff Conference Minutes, Redwood City, CA, September 1968, 7. Parks and Parlee wrote pieces for the Special Edition “Quebec Outreach.” Wilson, *Journey with the Followers*, 24–31, lists Pierre Girourard, Claud ?, Celine Boissennault, Kathy Robey (TL), Andrea Whiteman, Ann Cayce, Barbara Young, Fred Bradly (TL), Ken Korol, Al Moen (TL), Ruth Bott (TL), Darrell Holford (TL), Jay Cariou, Peggy Fishback, Agathe Fortin, Anne Clement, Sharon Cabeen as some of the participants. (TL) stands for Team Leader. Uli Korsch was also on the 1968 Quebec team. Uli Korsch, interview with Allison Kach-Yawngwe, November 9, 2022, video call.

⁴⁵² Wilson, *Journey with the Followers*, 24–31.

⁴⁵³ Keith Parks, “Why a ‘Quebec Outreach?’” *Dominion Outreach “Quebec Outreach” Special Edition*, April 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁴⁵⁴ YWAM, along with other evangelistic ministries of the day, desired to share the message of Jesus Christ with every person in a given place. Their strategy was to distribute gospel literature and tracts and to “saturate” a town, city, or in this case, a province. The intended result was that if everyone had access to the message of Jesus that it would influence the spiritual lives of some. The more people to whom they could communicate God’s message of salvation, the more successful their outcomes would be. Typescript of Staff Conference Minutes, Redwood City, CA, September 1968, 13. Loren D. Cunningham to Mr. Donald H. Gill, World Vision Magazine, June 4, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

witnessing by the French-speakers was reported to adhere to a “non-denominational Christ-centered approach” while they distributed ¼ million copies of the Gospel of John.⁴⁵⁵ All literature was supplied to YWAM by a gospel literature ministry, Life Messengers of Seattle, and strategically included an imprint with a Montreal address for a Bible correspondence course, “supplied by World Outreach under the direction of Paul E. Kauffman in Hong Kong.”⁴⁵⁶ To complete the summer’s outreach, a group of YWAM teams who had been evangelizing on the “Trans-USA” SOS joined the Quebec Outreach for the final two weeks of literature distribution in Black Lake, QC. One young woman, Sharon Cabeen, expressed her hope that the next year the French youth would “come in here and reap God’s harvest.”⁴⁵⁷

YWAM’s plan for the 1969 SOS was just as Sharon Cabeen expressed. With the Canadian SOS “kickoff” crusades concentrated in Montreal and Sherbrooke, YWAM and the PAOC’s goal was to recruit more local French-Canadian youth as evangelists for the summer of 1969. Arnie and Heidi Breitzkreuz arranged the local crusades with someone, assumedly local, named Bergeron.⁴⁵⁸ YWAM’s recruiting of young people for a summer of evangelism in Quebec increased in the province’s pentecostal and evangelical churches, although YWAM Canada’s mailing list included young people from all over the country. Another significant development for the summer of 1969 was further support from the PAOC. Christ’s Ambassadors (C.A.) Director for the Ontario District, Reverend

⁴⁵⁵ Cunningham to Gill.

⁴⁵⁶ Cunningham to Gill.

⁴⁵⁷ Wilson, *Journey with the Followers*, 31.

⁴⁵⁸ Typescript of Staff Conference Minutes, Redwood City, CA, September 1968, 6.

Feltmate, agreed that more pentecostal youth should work with YWAM and Rev. Fulford, National Field Rep, expressed a desire for PAOC youth to cooperate with YWAM's work.⁴⁵⁹ While Arnie Breikreuz and PAOC Home Missions Director R.M. Argue can be credited with forging a more committed partnership between YWAM and the PAOC for these Summers of Service; the trickle down took at least another year before these sentiments were expressed in the *Pentecostal Testimony*.⁴⁶⁰ French and English Canadian youth, mostly of the pentecostal persuasion, were increasingly present in YWAM Canada's evangelistic outreaches to the French-speaking province and across the country. All of the religious energy expressed in the public sphere and led by young people offers a counternarrative to the religious history of the long 1960s that elevates the religious secularization that swept the country, largely concentrated in the province of Quebec due to the Quiet Revolution underway during the same period.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁹ Arnie and Heidi Breikreuz to Loren and Dar, April 24, 1969, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁴⁶⁰ R.M. Argue, "Quebec Outreach 1970," *Pentecostal Testimony*, May 1970; S.D. Feltmate, "Summer Opportunities Unlimited," *Pentecostal Testimony*, April 1970, PAOC Archives.

⁴⁶¹ Quebec's political, social, and cultural emergence from the control of the Roman Catholic Church during the historical period known as the Quiet Revolution (1960-1970) led to widespread secularism and coincided with the development of federalist thought and the creation of a secular, ethnically French national identity. The process of secularization in the rest of Canada did not follow the same trajectory as it did in Quebec under the Liberal government of Jean Lesage. Nevertheless, the effects of Quebec's rejection of the Church's authority and place in society was echoed throughout Canada in the same period, albeit in more subdued tones. See Stuart Macdonald and Brian P. Clarke, *Leaving Christianity: Changing Allegiances in Canada Since 1945* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017).

Leadership Change, Denominational Expansion, and Financial Difficulty, 1970–1971

With official PAOC endorsement, the 1970 SOS expanded beyond its initial Quebec sights to include a more comprehensive evangelistic campaign. The 1969 Staff projections outlined ambitious plans for YWAM teams to minister in British Columbia; the Maritimes; Ontario; Churchill, Manitoba; Newfoundland, and to found a teen center in every major city – Calgary, Winnipeg, Halifax, and Edmonton – where there was no Teen Challenge.⁴⁶² The ministry strategy to establish Teen Challenge centers across Canada reflects the PAOC and YWAM’s ties and partnership with and to David Wilkerson’s Teen Challenge ministry that were well established by the middle of the 1960s.⁴⁶³

Recruiting and organizing for the 1970 SOS came from with the PAOC under the leadership of interim YWAM Canada Director and PAOC pastor Rev. Alvan Lewis from Winnipeg.⁴⁶⁴ Lewis, who had been in touch with Loren Cunningham by mail in March of 1968, had expressed interest in having a relationship with YWAM following the 1967 Trans-Canada outreach that had an effect on the young people at Transcona Pentecostal Church where he pastored.⁴⁶⁵ Alvan’s first letter was forwarded to Arnie and Heidi Breikreuz, YWAM Canada’s first leaders, in Edmonton. Arnie and Alvan developed a working relationship as YWAM Canada expanded into Manitoba through their

⁴⁶² Typescript of Minutes of the Staff Conference - Kenosha, Wisconsin, September, 1969, 2-3.

⁴⁶³ More detail on YWAM’s relationship to Teen Challenge is explored in Chapter 2.

⁴⁶⁴ Feltmate, “Summer Opportunities Unlimited.”

⁴⁶⁵ Alvan Lewis to Loren Cunningham, March 28, 1968, Loren Cunningham’s Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

relationship. Alvan's participation with the PAOC was a welcome partnership for the 1968 YWAM SOS and subsequent Domestic Crusades and ministries.

The Breitskreuzes went to Switzerland for the 1970 School of Evangelism in Lausanne. Alvan Lewis was chosen to take over the national leadership even though earlier correspondence between Arnie Breitskreuz and Loren Cunningham hint at some theological divergences in Lewis' understanding from those held and taught by YWAM.⁴⁶⁶ Still, Lewis seemed a worthy leader after a couple of years of faithful work with YWAM under Arnie and Heidi's leadership. His credibility as a PAOC pastor was in his favor at a time when YWAM's relationship with the PAOC was strong. Under Alvan's leadership the structure and facilitation of YWAM's youth mission work merged with PAOC denominational programming in a way that seems to not have existed before or after 1970. The apparent synergy between YWAM and the PAOC was reflected in the language used to advertise YWAM's 1970 SOS in the *Pentecostal Testimony* that is void of any common YWAM language like "SOS":

Training courses will be conducted in Bethel Assembly, Ottawa and First Assembly, Calgary, early in July. From these two centres, teams will be sent out under the leadership of capable married couples, invading town after town with a door-to-door Gospel witness. The outreach program in each centre will be under the direct supervision of the local pastor.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁶ Breitskreuzes to Loren and Dar, April 24, 1969. Arnie offers a hint that Alvan Lewis was a Calvinist, a theological position that was seen as problematic to YWAM's strong commitment to Arminianism. Loren Cunningham and YWAM's influence toward Arminianism received criticism from the Assemblies of God, particularly at AG Bible Colleges that leaned Calvinist. Bible teacher Gordon Olson was especially influential in YWAM's embrace of Arminianism. Olson's teaching on the Moral Government of God was foundational to YWAM's spiritual teachings from 1968 and on. Returning to Arnie's letter, he asked Loren if he had been in touch with Alvan. He noted that when Alvan takes out the young people for evangelism they pray "Lord, lead us to the elect, and elect them tonight," before they go out. Arnie said that he had a conversation with Alvan about this and left him with some reading material, presumably related to YWAM's Moral Government of God teaching.

⁴⁶⁷ S.D. Feltmate, "Summer Opportunities Unlimited."

The language underlining the “leadership” of married couples and the “direct supervision” of (PAOC) pastors is distinct and signals to the denomination’s skepticism of the youth-led, loosely organized aspect of YWAM’s programming that the PAOC leadership likely frowned upon. Under Lewis’s PAOC leadership that conformed to PAOC decorum, YWAM’s previous liabilities had been overcome. It is no wonder then, that YWAM appears to have grown exponentially and without any US participation in 1970. It grew through PAOC cooption. Dave Johnstone gave a report on YWAM Canada’s progress at the YWAM Staff Conference in the fall of 1970 that reflects an organized, sophisticated, and autonomous ministry that held its own staff conference in Canada from August 29 to September 2. YWAM in Canada now boasted four regional full-time directors: Gordon and Nancy Robson (Western Canada), Keith and Doreen Hague (Yukon and Northern Saskatchewan), Bernard and Shirley Jeske (Ontario and Quebec), and Alvan and Muriel Lewis (Newfoundland and Main Office).⁴⁶⁸

Not only was YWAM Canada increasingly organized and expanding in leadership as per the 1970 report, but its summer outreach boasted 380 active Canadians who formed 15 teams and worked in 83 churches in nine provinces from Vancouver, British Columbia, to Western Shores, Nova Scotia.⁴⁶⁹ Upcoming crusades for Christmas 1970 were planned at the two major Pentecostal Bible Colleges – Eastern Pentecostal College

⁴⁶⁸ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA.

⁴⁶⁹ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA; *Youth Advance on Strategic Frontiers* (June 1968), Publications - 1964-1994 ADVANCE, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive. The churches that YWAM worked with in 1970 can be assumed to be PAOC given Alvan Lewis’ credentials and the express PAOC “sponsorship” of YWAM in Canada.

in Peterborough, Ontario, and Northwest in Edmonton, Alberta.⁴⁷⁰ Projections for the 1971 SOS included a sweeping plan that offered young people the choice of 4, 6, or 8 week options starting in Edmonton with mission “outreach” to Interior BC, Yukon, and Vancouver; New Brunswick with ministry “outreach” to Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island; Toronto with ministry “outreach” to Western, Eastern, and Northwest Ontario; and Winnipeg.⁴⁷¹ Lewis and his team were hoping to recruit 1000 young people and reach out to nine Canadian provinces. The ambitious expansion plan included a vision to replicate YWAM’s School of Evangelism which was on its second run in Switzerland in Winnipeg as the “Canadian School of Evangelism.”⁴⁷² Under Lewis’ directorship, the Winnipeg SOE was slated to begin in the fall of 1971 and to be adapted for the “Canadian setting.”⁴⁷³

After writing to Loren Cunningham in Switzerland to inquire about advice and direction in February 1971, Lewis received Loren’s reply on March 2, 1971, offering suggestions and resources for starting the school. Loren also invited him and Muriel to join the SOE in Switzerland as a learning opportunity for starting their own school.⁴⁷⁴ Then, in what seems like a dramatic turn of events, Alvan wrote to Loren again only ten

⁴⁷⁰ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA. It is interesting to note that Eastern Pentecostal College in Peterborough, Ontario, was founded by Darlene Cunningham’s aunt May (Scratch) Swanson and her husband James Swanson.

⁴⁷¹ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA.

⁴⁷² Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA.

⁴⁷³ Alvan Lewis to Loren Cunningham, regarding the Canadian School of Evangelism, January 1971; Alvan Lewis to Loren Cunningham, February 12, 1971, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁴⁷⁴ Loren D. Cunningham to Alvan Lewis, March 2, 1971, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

days later offering his and Muriel's resignation from YWAM. Claiming the fact that they had incurred significant debts, both personally and for YWAM, Alvan expressed that he could not continue in his role with the Mission. The mismanagement claimed by Lewis was oddly not mentioned anywhere else in YWAM Canada's records.⁴⁷⁵ Almost as quickly as it began, Alvan and Muriel Lewis' interim leadership came to an abrupt halt with little rational explanation, suggesting that there were other factors at play. Whatever those factors were, with the exit of Alvan Lewis the talk of a Canadian School of Evangelism and the ambitious plans of national expansion through the PAOC partnership were instantly abandoned. YWAM Canada was left in the hands of the Board of Directors until Arnie and Heidi Breitreuz returned from Switzerland to pick up the pieces.

With the Breitreuzes back as YWAM's leaders, it seems the PAOC partnership that flourished for the year under Alvan Lewis dwindled overnight.⁴⁷⁶ YWAM was no longer mentioned or promoted in the *Pentecostal Testimony* or in C.A. Bulletins.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁵ Alvan Lewis to Loren Cunningham, regarding Lewis' resignation, March 12, 1971, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. It has been politely suggested in oral history interviews that there were other failures present to prompt Lewis's resignation that were also directly related to the cooling off of YWAM's formerly friendly relationship with the PAOC.

⁴⁷⁶ In fact, the relationship with PAOC District Superintendent Yates more than dwindled. Heidi Breitreuz noted that after Lewis' resignation and the Breitreuzes' return to Canada from Switzerland, Yates called Arnie into his Calgary office and accused YWAM to be the cause of Lewis' failures while also accusing Arnie and YWAM of promoting heretical teachings.

⁴⁷⁷ Breitreuz, interview. Heidi noted that YWAM's relationship with the PAOC soured because of theological controversies. Some leaders in the PAOC disagreed with YWAM's teachings, likely on the Moral Government of God and other Arminian leanings, and refused to ordain Arnie in the denomination because of his YWAM affiliation. Thus, the "denominational support" that YWAM had with the PAOC up until 1970 was short lived within Canada, although YWAM continued to have good relationships and partnerships with numerous PAOC missionaries in places like East Africa. It also seems that the PAOC formed their own youth mission group around 1970 (AIM) – see *Pentecostal Testimony* 1970.

Previous plans for expansion expressed in staff projections were not mentioned again. YWAM's work of youth evangelism in Canada continued, despite financial pressures and tenuous relationships. The now annual Easter Crusade in Edmonton was adjusted after Alvan Lewis' resignation and Floyd McClung was scheduled to speak in Lewis' place.⁴⁷⁸ It was at the Easter crusade that Uli Korch, a young man who had been mentored by Arnie Breitreuz in the youth group at German Pentecostal Church and who attended the 1968 Quebec Outreach SOS, was moved to joined YWAM. Uli eventually replaced Arnie and Heidi as Director of YWAM Canada in the mid-1970s.⁴⁷⁹ Back under the Breitreuzes' leadership, YWAM Canada returned to a relational model that offered Canadian youth, PAOC or otherwise, an opportunity to share their faith and engage in missions at home and abroad, whether they had completed Bible College or not. Arnie and Heidi kept in touch by letter with many of the young people, French and English, from the 1967–69 SOS.

By the close of 1971, just six years after Loren and Darlene Cunningham had preached at Glad Tidings in Barrhead, AB, and four years after YWAM became a legal entity in Alberta, tens of thousands of Canadians across the country had been touched by the work and message of the Canadian Youth With A Mission. Churches experienced revival. Individuals confessed faith in Jesus Christ for the first time. Interdenominational

⁴⁷⁸ Loren D. Cunningham to Alvan Lewis, March 25, 1971.

⁴⁷⁹ Kortsch, interview. Uli's involvement in YWAM in Edmonton through 1971 was as a student at the University of Alberta. After returning from the European SOS in 1971, he became a leader in the Student Council and organized Student Council sponsored events with Floyd McClung, Don Stevens, and Brother Andrew as speakers. Uli would go on to become YWAM Canada's leader from 1974. He started permanent YWAM works in Vancouver and Quebec.

partnerships were forged. The province of Quebec received repeated iterations of a widespread evangelistic witness. YWAM Canada was unlike YWAM's earlier expansion in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Latin America because it boasted national leaders – Arnie and Heidi Breitkreuz – who were actually Canadian. After 1967, it was French and English-speaking Canadian young people, not foreign short-term visitors, who led the charge and carried the mission forward in innovative ways and engaged in YWAM's global work. YWAM's first years in Canada were another unique expression of its character and identity as an emerging global youth mission movement, now also made Canadian.

A Pacific Turn: YWAM's Reception and Replication in the South Pacific, 1965

YWAM's missionary vision for the world was first conceived through the framework of expansive AG mission networks. In 1965, YWAM's plans for the Summer of Service (SOS) included Samoa, but it wasn't going to be the first time the Cunningham's had ministered there. Loren Cunningham's formative world tours as a young missionary evangelist in 1960 to 1962, the early years of YWAM, included ministry in the South Pacific. Beginning in 1960, the first short-term youth mission experiment Loren organized for the Southern California Christ's Ambassadors was to Hawaii. In 1961, Jewell Cunningham, Loren's mother, ministered in Hawaii with fellow preacher Wanda Jau. Jewell accepted an invitation to start a revival in Eva Bloom's new church near Pearl Harbor and in 30 days of ministry she preached 25 services in 5

different churches on the island of Oahu.⁴⁸⁰ Before flying back to California and at the request of T.C. Cunningham, Jewell travelled to American Samoa to encourage newly appointed AG missionaries, Claude and Wilma Rideger. Together they preached to the local tribes and travelled to Western Samoa to preach and hold revival meetings.⁴⁸¹ Through the AG denominational and mission apparatuses, the Cunninghams became well acquainted with the South Pacific in the early 1960s.

Pentecostal missionaries, while important for YWAM's welcome to the South Pacific, were relatively recent additions in the region long dominated by European colonialism and the presence of evangelical Protestant missionaries from Western Europe and North America.⁴⁸² Colonial churches and established foreign missionaries and mission stations were important to YWAM's growth in the Pacific. The role of these pre-existing mission structures must not be underestimated in reconstructing YWAM's history in these regions. While YWAM collaborated with traditional churches in the South Pacific, they also worked with local, indigenous pastors and Christians influenced by emerging forms of evangelicalism. Local Christians, foreign missionaries, and established churches of various Protestant traditions acted as YWAM's contacts, hosts,

⁴⁸⁰ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 171-73.

⁴⁸¹ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 174-82.

⁴⁸² Even though Roman Catholic missionary work in the region began in the middle of the seventeenth century, expanding from their base in the Philippines, it was the London Missionary Society, followed by countless others, who began lasting missionary work in the region at the end of the eighteenth century. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions began sending missionaries after 1820. See Robert, *American Women in Mission*, 22 for the details on the first ABCFM women missionaries to Hawaii – Lucy Thurston and Sybil Moseley.

and partners in their new addition of evangelistic work in the mission-saturated South Pacific.

New Methods, Old Networks, and Re-evangelizing Traditional Protestants: YWAM in Samoa, 1965

YWAM's work in the South Pacific officially began with the 1965 Summer of Service. After the success of the first SOS to the Bahamas in 1964, YWAM leaders were eager to find more places for the increasingly interested youth to demonstrate their competence in evangelism and mission. Looking back to family and denominational networks, Loren Cunningham called upon his mother, Jewell Nicholson Cunningham, who had visited Samoa and Hawaii on a preaching tour in 1961.⁴⁸³ Assemblies of God missionaries from the Southern California District and family friends, Claude and Wilma Rediger, hosted Jewell's ministry in 1961, Loren on his 1962 missionary scouting trip around the world, and the YWAM team during the summer of 1965.⁴⁸⁴

While no data exists that indicates the size of the group that went to Samoa, some records and oral histories do offer a rough outline of YWAM's work there. The few identified participants included Janice (Cunningham) Rogers, Ruth and Noel Wilson, a

⁴⁸³ Cunningham and Biro, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 177. Jewell Cunningham notes that Loren went to Samoa in 1962. This visit would have happened on Loren's "Around the World" mission trip.

⁴⁸⁴ Rogers and Rogers, interview. Janice Rogers mentioned that Claude Rediger was Jewell's "man of peace" and was a friend from Southern California AG. Claude and Wilma Rediger, and their children, would go on to become longtime friends and supporters of YWAM. As the Redigers moved to new mission placements – Indonesia – the invitations for YWAM teams to join them followed. The Redigers' son, Martin, was the youngest student in a YWAM SOE at 15 years of age in 1971.

Reverend Ashpole, and a Reverend L.B. Lewis from Modesto, California.⁴⁸⁵ The group, according to Janice (Cunningham) Rogers' recollection, first worked on the island of American Samoa going door-to-door to every home in partnership with Claude Rediger, the AG missionary.⁴⁸⁶ Ruth Wilson reported that YWAM's work in the village of Alao on the island of Tutuila with Reverend Ashpole resulted in a group of young people becoming Christians.⁴⁸⁷ According to the same report of July 18, 1965, the YWAM team recorded over 400 decisions for Christ and were preparing to send a team to "the Manua islands with two Samoan ministers for a week."⁴⁸⁸

In partnership with the local Samoan AG churches and missionaries, the YWAM SOS evangelism and ministry helped start two new AG churches in American Samoa during the summer of 1965.⁴⁸⁹ In Western Samoa, the YWAM groups ran into some problems with the State Church historically tied to the London Missionary Society (LMS).⁴⁹⁰ The LMS disapproved of an outside group evangelizing door-to-door in Western Samoa and they pressured the government to ask them to leave the island. The

⁴⁸⁵ Loren Cunningham to Rev. L.B. Lewis, September 15, 1965, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. The letter to Rev. Lewis is addressed care of Bethel First Church in Modesto, California.

⁴⁸⁶ Rogers and Rogers, interview. AG missionaries first arrived to American Samoa in 1928, 98 years after Christianity arrived by way of Tahitian teachers and British missionaries of the London Missionary Society. See Gina Zurlo, *Global Christianity: A Guide to the World's Largest Religion from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Academic, 2022), 38.

⁴⁸⁷ Ruth Wilson, "Youth With A Mission: Summer of Service Crusade Reports," 1965, Documents: Reports: 1964-1970 Summer of Service, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive.

⁴⁸⁸ Wilson, "Youth With A Mission: Summer of Service Crusade Reports."

⁴⁸⁹ Rogers and Rogers, interview.

⁴⁹⁰ The London Missionary Society had been in Western Samoa since 1830. See Zurlo, *Global Christianity*, 252. Alongside the Congregationalists derived from the LMS, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was already populous in Samoa by this time. Much of the YWAM evangelism then was to islanders who would have been Congregationalists or Mormons.

government did ask YWAM to leave, which resulted in the team relocating to Honolulu, Hawaii, for the last three weeks of the SOS.⁴⁹¹ Despite the upheaval in Western Samoa, the SOS reported that approximately 1200 to 1500 people “made decisions for Christ” and many supernatural healings were reported during YWAM’s two-month ministry.⁴⁹²

The account of YWAM’s first missionary endeavor in American and Western Samoa reads like a great success. With positive reception, apart from the conflict with the LMS, the team reported 1900 “decisions for Christ.” These results and the whole of YWAM’s evangelistic efforts must be interpreted in the context of already Christianized and missionary saturated islands.⁴⁹³ While the reports of the YWAM teams document the numbers of people that made faith confessions or received their message, more than non-Christians becoming Christians, it meant that Samoan Congregationalists became pentecostal and inactive church members renewed their faith commitment. In Western Samoa, YWAM’s ministry may have touched the islands’ numerous Mormons, but their message gained traction among the islands’ Congregationalists, a reality that prompted the LMS to protect their members from being drawn away. While YWAM teams may have met some non-believers in Samoa and shared the message of Jesus with them for the

⁴⁹¹ Rogers and Rogers, interview.

⁴⁹² Cunningham to Lewis, September 15, 1965; Wilson, “Youth With A Mission: Summer of Service Crusade Reports.” Samoan traditional and Christian cosmologies integrated holistic and supernatural understandings of the spirit and natural world. The practice of supernatural healing and spiritual encounters was prevalent before and after Christianity came to the islands. For the YWAM teams to observe healings and supernatural events in their ministry demonstrates the supernatural message of pentecostal spirituality meeting a well-established pattern in Samoan and generally Polynesian, culture and Christian practice. See Otele Sili Perelini, “Comparison of Jesus’ Healing with Healing in Traditional and Christian Samoa,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1993), <https://era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/27184>.

⁴⁹³ Zurlo, *Global Christianity*, 38, 252.

first time, the likelihood is extremely low. It is more probable that the YWAM team shared a pentecostal-inspired message of conversion to Samoan Protestants belonging to traditional mission churches or the islands' LDS church.

Convergence of Youth Evangelism and the Charismatic Movement: YWAM Thrives in New Zealand, 1967

After the 1965 Samoa SOS, YWAM's did not return to the South Pacific until December 10, 1966, when Janice (Cunningham) Rogers and Jim Rogers, married only a few months earlier on August 29, 1966, visited Samoa on the first stop of their "Around the World" recruiting trip that doubled as a honeymoon.⁴⁹⁴ From Samoa, where the couple was hosted by the Redigers who remained AG missionaries there, the couple flew to Fiji, and then on to New Zealand. Jim and Janice's mission was to connect with missionaries and local churches and share the vision of YWAM while recruiting local youth for participation in its extension in the Southern hemisphere. Before the Rogers arrived in New Zealand, a vibrant network of interdenominational young people was being influenced by the emerging charismatic movement and the ministry of Teen Challenge. They would prove eager to welcome and apply YWAM's vision.

Sometime in 1966, Loren met Geoff and Gayle Stephens, a young couple from New Zealand who were attending Bethany Bible College in Minneapolis, at a conference

⁴⁹⁴ Rogers and Rogers, interview.

hosted by Bethany Fellowship that featured Loren as a speaker.⁴⁹⁵ Gayle, daughter of Neville and Dorothy Winger, invited Loren to New Zealand to speak at a youth camp hosted by her parents over the upcoming Christmas holidays. Plans were made and Loren and Darlene and Jim and Janice envisioned YWAM's first SOS from and to the South Pacific.⁴⁹⁶ Janice and Jim arrived in New Zealand ahead of Loren to begin recruiting for their first New Zealand crusade.⁴⁹⁷ Their first stop was to a two-week youth camp on Great Barrier Island hosted by New Zealand early charismatic leaders Neville and Dorothy Winger. The Wingers used their 800-acre farm purchased in 1963 to host conferences, camps, and ministry events. The youth camp, and the hospitality of the Wingers, at Karaka Bay Fellowship, later renamed Orama Fellowship, was YWAM's first entrance into New Zealand. The camp ran during summer holidays for two weeks at the end of December and beginning of January.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁵ Cunningham, interview part 1. In a letter Jim Rogers sent to New Zealand pastors in the spring of 1967, Rogers describes "two young men attending Bible school in the United States invited Youth With A Mission to come to New Zealand and share how God has used youth in world evangelism." Jim Rogers, "Dear Pastor or Christian Leader," April 27, 1967, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Margaret Tooley noted that Geoff and Gayle were attending Bible college at Bethany. Gayle Stephens (nee Winger) was Neville and Dot Winger's daughter, hence the invitation to speak at her parents' camp meetings.

⁴⁹⁶ Kalafi Moala, email to Allison Kach-Yawngwe, June 25, 2024. Kalafi noted that Loren and Jim already had the plan to recruit New Zealanders to do a summer (or winter in the South Pacific) outreach to Tonga because of the upcoming King's Coronation.

⁴⁹⁷ Cunningham, interview part 1. In a letter Jim Rogers sent to New Zealand pastors in the spring of 1967, Rogers describes "two young men attending Bible school in the United States invited Youth With A Mission to come to New Zealand and share how God has used youth in world evangelism." Jim Rogers to New Zealand Pastors and Leaders, April 27, 1967, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁴⁹⁸ The Wingers began Orama in 1963. "Our History," Orama, accessed November 27, 2024, www.orama.nz. Summer in the southern hemisphere takes place during December and January. Neville and Dorothy Winger and Jim and Joy Dawson also pioneered Teen Challenge in Auckland, which became a central meeting location for the first YWAM young people and first host location for Jim and Janice Rogers. Noting YWAM's previous connections to David Wilkerson and Teen Challenge, documented in

Jim and Janice got to know the Wingers and Joy and Jim Dawson, the other camp leaders, and many of the young people in attendance. The Rogers shared about YWAM's vision for youth in world evangelism and promoted their upcoming door-to-door evangelistic campaign to be held in Auckland. Loren Cunningham arrived on Great Barrier Island in early January 1967 to assist Janice and Jim's recruiting efforts and to be one of the speakers at the camp.⁴⁹⁹ YWAM's two weeks at the camp yielded significant and lasting relationship with the Wingers and the Dawsons. These friendships gave YWAM open access to New Zealand charismatic networks and introduced YWAM to some of the 150 young people from evangelical, pentecostal, and Protestant backgrounds who had gathered to seek God and have fun.⁵⁰⁰

After the camp on Great Barrier concluded, the participants returned to Auckland by boat. Janice and Jim Rogers continued their itineration and preparation for the upcoming Auckland evangelistic campaign. They spoke at any church on the North Island that would have them and contacted the youth from camp at Orama who had

the previous chapter in YWAM's growth in the US and Canada, this extension of YWAM's partnership with Teen Challenge is significant. This topic and the history of YWAM's intricate, global connection to Teen Challenge's ministry and global growth is dealt with more extensively in Chapter 2.

⁴⁹⁹ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 69.

⁵⁰⁰ All of the young people YWAM recruited in New Zealand, like in Canada, the US, Mexico, and Latin America, were from Christian backgrounds. While the majority of them came from pentecostal churches in North America and Central America, in New Zealand, the young people were more interdenominational on account of the charismatic movement already at play. Thus, when a young person joined a YWAM domestic or international crusade, it was presumed that they were a Christian and were accepting an invitation to practice their faith in a more active way. It is true that some young people, like in the accounts of the early SOSes in Jamaica, became Christians for the first time through YWAM's ministry and immediately joined the teams in evangelism, but this phenomenon became more common in the middle of the 1970s when YWAM was ministering in more diverse, non-Christian contexts. Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 69. Loren estimated that there were about 150 youth at the Orama camp.

expressed interest in joining YWAM's upcoming week-long door-to-door campaign.⁵⁰¹ During these first weeks of introducing New Zealand youth to YWAM, Jim and Janice rented a house that became YWAM's first permanent location and office in the South Pacific at 69 Ponsonby Road, Auckland. Building relationships with local youth, pastors, and ministers, the Rogers also built YWAM's first mailing list outside of North America. With the help of the Wingers and Dawsons, the Rogers had access to interdenominational and emerging charismatic networks in the region and beyond.⁵⁰² They also had permission to use the Teen Challenge center as their headquarters for the Auckland "outreach." The partnership worked well for YWAM and for Teen Challenge, as the Teen Challenge café was already staffed by local volunteers ready to talk to interested young people about Jesus Christ and create a space for ministry and discipleship. Christian youth serious about ministry and evangelism, like Barry Austin, Ross Tooley, and Ekalafi Moala, spent their leisure time hanging out at the Teen Challenge café. It was there that each of them developed a relationship with Jim and Jan Rogers and learned about YWAM.⁵⁰³

After the Rogers led YWAM's first local crusade in the Ponsonby neighborhood of Auckland using the same format that had developed in North America – youth from churches gathered for a week of evangelism training and door-to-door ministry – they

⁵⁰¹ Reona Peterson, Jeff Fountain, Barry Austin, and Ross Tooley were some of the young people the Rogers had met at Orama. These four joined YWAM's first local evangelistic campaign in Ponsonby, Auckland in 1967 or 1968. Dean Sherman, interview by Allison Kach-Yawnghe, February 29, 2024, telephone.

⁵⁰² Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*, 53–54. Many of the New Zealand networks were derived from UK connected Brethren relationships.

⁵⁰³ Moala, email.

continued relationship building, itineration, and evangelism training and practice with local young people. The Rogers' mobilization work developed into YWAM New Zealand's first "overseas witnessing crusade."⁵⁰⁴ The first group of young adults from New Zealand travelled to Fiji, New Hebrides, and New Caledonia for two months of door-to-door evangelism and witnessing during March and April 1967.⁵⁰⁵ While the young people were evangelizing Fiji as a part of YWAM, the Rogers kept a hectic schedule recruiting in New Zealand and planning the upcoming Tonga SOS in partnership with Ekolafi Moala (Kalafi). A Tongan on scholarship at the Methodist Seminary in Auckland, Kalafi was preparing for university studies when his life was "interrupted" first by his "baptism of the Holy Spirit" at a Methodist Church in an Auckland suburb and then by meeting Loren Cunningham and Jim Rogers at the Teen Challenge Coffee House.⁵⁰⁶ Moala noted that he was waiting for something that he did not know, and when he heard Loren's vision to "mobilize young people to go out and witness for Christ," something Kalafi was passionate for since his Spirit-baptism, he "felt so strongly the Holy Spirit saying, 'these are the people you will be [sic] work with to take the Gospel to the world.'"⁵⁰⁷ Upon hearing YWAM's plan for an evangelistic campaign on his home island of Tonga, Moala withdrew from his studies at the

⁵⁰⁴ Rogers to New Zealand Pastors, April 27, 1967. The team to Fiji included Ross Tooley and Barbara Davy.

⁵⁰⁵ Rogers to New Zealand Pastors. The team to Fiji included Ross Tooley and Barbara Davy.

⁵⁰⁶ Moala, email.

⁵⁰⁷ Moala, email.

Methodist Seminary and returned to Tonga to plan and host the upcoming YWAM campaign to the disapproval of his family.

Back in New Zealand, the first local full-time YWAM staff was added to Jim and Janice's two-person team. Barbara Davy, daughter of Hamilton pastor, returned from the 1967 Fiji outreach and moved into the YWAM house to serve full-time in the role of secretary as the team of three prepared for Tonga.⁵⁰⁸ The New Zealand ministry modeled the pattern set by YWAM's US and Canadian Domestic Crusades which entailed YWAM staff speaking at youth meetings, churches, and high school and college groups inviting young people to get serious about living their faith through evangelism. A week-long evangelistic campaign, again to the Ponsonby neighborhood, between May 13-20, 1967, was training ground for New Zealand youth. The Domestic Crusade trained and recruited youth for the foreign missionary evangelism planned for the upcoming Summer of Service in Tonga, or in local seasons Winter of Service, that was scheduled to begin on June 20, 1967.⁵⁰⁹

New Zealand's Charismatic Connections: Poised and Positioned for Renewal

Around the same time that young people were spreading YWAM's message onto every continent, the Charismatic Renewal was actively reshaping Christian culture and

⁵⁰⁸ The church pastored by Barbara Davy's father may have been Fairfield Baptist Church in Hamilton, New Zealand. The YWAM Domestic Crusade was hosted at Pastor Davy's church, potentially signaling a connection there. Dean Sherman, interview; Rogers to New Zealand Pastors.

⁵⁰⁹ Rogers to New Zealand Pastors.

networks of the English-speaking world.⁵¹⁰ With an emphasis on the experience of the Holy Spirit's gifts, the renewal was branded a "new pentecost" and swept through mainline and traditional Christian denominations and emerged at "a confluence of flows – mainline healing, Catholic apostates, empowered evangelicals, and pentecostal revivalism."⁵¹¹ Groups of new "tongue speakers" scattered throughout various congregations were connected to an emerging religious and cultural movement that emphasized a shared sense of Christian unity, hope in God's power to counteract the world's ills, and the belief that God was fulfilling biblical prophecy of the days before Jesus Christ's return by pouring out God's Spirit on all flesh.⁵¹²

With its pentecostal roots and interdenominational vision, YWAM embodied these same values that characterized and animated the Charismatic Renewal, albeit with an emphasis on mission and preaching the message of Jesus as an outflow the Spirit's internal work.⁵¹³ Even with its evangelistic focus, YWAM's founders and first cohort of early leaders were emmeshed in the same, or in the very least, parts of the same

⁵¹⁰ Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*, 52-56. Maiden details Charismatic events at Yale in 1962, Massey University (New Zealand) in 1964, Herne Bay, England in 1964, London in 1965, Picton, Australia in 1965 and Notre Dame in 1967. It is important to note that the Jesus People Movement was gaining momentum during the later years of the 1960s, and while YWAM engaged with these networks, it would only be later that individuals from the Jesus People Movement interfaced with YWAM. Keith and Melody Green's relationship with YWAM is a perfect example, although their friendship developed well into the 1970s and early 1980s.

⁵¹¹ Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*, 52, 56. Maiden notes that counting the number of new baptisms in the Spirit, also known as speaking in tongues or glossolalia, was used to measure how many people were a part of the charismatic movement.

⁵¹² Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*, 52.

⁵¹³ It is important to note that YWAM was never against any pentecostal or charismatic spiritual manifestations, but they did not use these to define their movement as was the case in the charismatic renewal. Loren and Darlene Cunningham's writings do not ignore the workings of the Spirit, speaking in tongues, God working miracles through prayer, testimonies of healing, etc.

evangelical and pentecostal networks that gave rise to the Renewal. Apart from the indirect influence David Du Plessis had on emerging pentecostal leaders like Loren Cunningham, leaders of the charismatic movement in New Zealand, the US, and England were instrumental in YWAM's own growth, development, and proliferation.⁵¹⁴ The Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI), healing evangelists like Oral Roberts, evangelist David Wilkerson and famous gang member turned convert Nicky Cruz played central roles in promoting the Spirit-filled message around the world, especially in the US and England during the long 1960s.⁵¹⁵ As already explored in this and the previous chapter, YWAM was intricately connected to these people and their local and global ministries and was therefore wrapped up in the expanding influence of the charismatic message.

In New Zealand, a conference hosted at Massey University in Palmerston North acted as what scholars view as the inaugural event for that country's Charismatic Renewal in 1964. Led by prominent British Brethren Bible teachers Arthur Wallis and Campbell McAlpine and New Zealander G. Milton Smith, the Massey Conference was attended by Baptists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Brethren, and Pentecostals.⁵¹⁶ Hailed as a historic moment of Christian unity in New Zealand, four leaders from the Massey

⁵¹⁴ Some of the Cunningham Personal Papers shed light onto Loren's interest in the World Fellowship of Pentecostals, founded in part by Du Plessis. The message of pentecostal unity and cooperation with other Christians was central to Loren's desire to establish a youth missionary ministry that was open to Christians of all denominations. It is plausible to suggest that Du Plessis and his ministry of Christian unity influenced Loren's ecumenical and interdenominational vision, but further research is needed to understand that relationship and history.

⁵¹⁵ Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*, 54.

⁵¹⁶ Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*, 53. Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 49.

Conference were also directly responsible for YWAM's reception in New Zealand, diffusion in the South Pacific, and global influence.⁵¹⁷ Along with Milton Smith, Arthur Wallis, and Campbell McAlpine, Neville and Dot Winger and Joy and Jim Dawson, comprised the leadership team of the Massey Conference.⁵¹⁸ According to Joy Dawson, their team of friends gathered together for two years prior to the conference to prepare:

We had vital times of intense intercession and fasting, with great unity of heart and sense of Diving purpose. We sought God for His directions in all matters. Our decisions were based upon our unitedly having “thus saith the Lord.” Others were raised up to handle the logistical side.⁵¹⁹

For the five-day conference, McAlpine, Smith, and Wallis were the main speakers. Testimonies were given by Rob Wheeler, an independent pentecostal from Tauranga, Frank Houston, an AG pastor with some Latter Rain influences from Lower Hutt, and Joy Dawson, a housewife from a Brethren background.⁵²⁰ Following each service, individuals were invited to receive prayer and counselling, led by Joy Dawson for the women and Neville Winger for the men.⁵²¹ Dawson described the conference as life changing and noted how “the speakers were powerfully anointed, in a way consistent

⁵¹⁷ Joy Dawson notes that McAlpine and Wallis shared their vision for the renewal with the Dawsons in 1961. She uses 1961 as the date for the “early days of the Charismatic Renewal in New Zealand.” *My Journey with Jesus*, 48. It is important to note that Maiden does not mention Joy and Jim Dawson and Neville and Dot Winger for their leadership or involvement in planning the Massey Conference. While an easy oversight on Maiden's part, the Dawsons and Wingers, like other lesser-known early New Zealand charismatics, were important figures in the grassroots spread of the movement and other parallel ministries, like Teen Challenge and YWAM.

⁵¹⁸ The majority of these friends were from Brethren backgrounds.

⁵¹⁹ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 48.

⁵²⁰ Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*, 53. Maiden does not list Joy Dawson, but she does. See Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 49. Joy notes that she gave a testimony about waiting on God and obeying what God's word said.

⁵²¹ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 49.

with their global vision to reach lost souls.”⁵²² Wallis emphasized house churches and McAlpine focused on “interceding for the nations and being ready to be sent to anyone of them at any time at any cost.”⁵²³ The combination of the experience and manifestations of the presence of the Holy Spirit, a focus on prayer for the soul salvation of the people and countries of the world, and sacrificial obedience resulting in world evangelization and the return of Christ was a mingling of restorationism, radical evangelicalism, and revivalist pentecostalism akin to the founding beliefs and practices of early YWAM.

While YWAM was not operating in New Zealand or directly involved in the Massey Conference in 1964, the conference leaders, attendees, and others influenced by the resulting momentum went on to play key roles in the Mission. Neville and Dorothy Winger’s daughter and son and law, Gayle and Geoff Stevens, met Loren at a conference in the US and formally invited him and YWAM to New Zealand.⁵²⁴ The Wingers hosted Jim and Jan Rogers and Loren Cunningham during their Christmas camp meetings at Orama in January 1967. Loren and Darlene maintained a friendship with the Wingers, as evidenced in their letters and plans for subsequent visits and ministry in New Zealand.

Once at Orama, a Christian Camp and Conference Center on Great Barrier Island, in January of 1967, the Rogers and Loren became friends with Neville and Dot’s close

⁵²² Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 49.

⁵²³ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 49.

⁵²⁴ Gayle and Geoff were studying at a Bethel Bible Institute in Minnesota where they met Loren who was a visiting speaker. Margaret Tooely gave me the names of Gayle and Geoff in her email on May 20, 2024, and video interview on May 2, 2024.

friends and camp directors, Joy and Jim Dawson.⁵²⁵ Loren was invited to join the Wingers and Dawsons as a camp speaker, which meant that he gathered with the couples for daily prayer. He was impressed by the way that they waited on God to speak to them as an entire group. After the camp concluded, Loren was invited to stay with Joy and Jim at their Auckland home which led to a week of solitary prayer and fasting.⁵²⁶ During Loren's stay with the Dawsons, he was greatly impressed by Joy's faith in practice and her teaching on prayer, intercession, and hearing God's voice. By 1970, Loren had invited Joy to be one of YWAM's main speakers and teachers in the School of Evangelism in San Francisco that also doubled as Joy's first international preaching and teaching tour.⁵²⁷ YWAM became an eager recipient for Joy Dawson's charismatic teaching ministry that brought hearing God's voice, a pentecostal staple, to life for a new and growing young audience. She and Jim became revered and respected YWAM leaders for the rest of their lives.

Another New Zealander active in the Charismatic Renewal, Winkey Pratney, partnered with YWAM in the US.⁵²⁸ While never officially a member of YWAM, Pratney became one of YWAM's key speakers and promoters throughout the United States. During 1967, Pratney lived in YWAM's office. He slept during the day when the

⁵²⁵ Orama was founded by Neville and Dot Winger in 1963. At the time of the 1967 Camp, their son, Gary Winger was directing the Camp. It is important to note that Jim and Joy founded Teen Challenge in New Zealand and Neville Winger became the Executive Director. The two couples seemed to work together in a variety of charismatic ministry endeavors.

⁵²⁶ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 72.

⁵²⁷ Joy preached at Ed Scratch's church, Watson Argue, Jr.'s church and others in Southern California. She was the guest speaker at churches in the US that supported YWAM.

⁵²⁸ Joy Dawson noted that Winkey Pratney attended the Massey Conference in 1964 and was profoundly impacted. See Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 49.

office staff came in to work and stayed up all night to use the Mission's typewriter to put his "Youth Aflame" manual to print. Pratney not only spoke at YWAM's supporting churches, but he was a guest at AG Bible College chapels, and was the main speaker at some of YWAM's Domestic Crusades, like in Edmonton in 1968.⁵²⁹ Pratney's *Youth Aflame Manual*, which gave basic teachings on the spiritual life, youth ministry, personal evangelism, relationships and more, became a formative teaching tool within the expanding YWAM teams, although it was never officially adopted by YWAM.⁵³⁰

The charismatic movement in New Zealand proved beneficial for and influential to YWAM on a local and global scale. Through prominent teachers and charismatic networks, the Renewal's New Zealand expressions, experience, and teachings were deeply woven into the fabric of YWAM's culture and practice around the world, and to a larger extent within the South Pacific. At the same time that the Charismatic Renewal and YWAM mutually influenced each other, YWAM acted as a ready-made vehicle poised to transport young New Zealanders willing to do God's work in evangelism around the world. For many young New Zealanders leaving churches during the long 1960s, the

⁵²⁹ Heidi Breitreuz, interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, January 19, 2024, telephone. Typescript of Youth with a Mission beginnings, Edmonton, Heidi Breitreuz Personal Papers. Winkey Pratney was banned from speaking at Bethany Bible College during a period of faculty accusation over YWAM's teaching. Some faculty accused YWAM and Winkey of teaching heresy, specifically as it related to Arminianism and the Moral Government of God. Cecil M. Robeck, email to Allison Kach, April 22, 2020. Akimoff and Akimoff, interview, #1.

⁵³⁰ Portale, interview. Joe mentioned how they used *Youth Aflame* for trainings and discipleship in the early years. Pratney's teaching reflected his theological roots and diverged from YWAM's own philosophies in some significant ways. Pratney taught, for example, that married women's role in ministry was in the home, with children, and to support their husbands. Single women could serve in public ministry roles. YWAM's practice in its early years mirrored the dominant trends of the day, but women served alongside their husbands in full ministry capacity, even if they did not receive any titles or public recognition for their role as full partners.

Charismatic Renewal, and the home prayer meetings that drew them, acted as a gateway into mission or ministry work as they sought meaningful ways to live out their renewed, or new-found, faith.⁵³¹

Charismatic home prayer meetings were a significant recruitment site for a budding YWAM in New Zealand. In 1967, Margaret Tooley, one of the young people from the Anglican church who made her way into the Charismatic Renewal by way of home prayer meetings, heard about YWAM from a young man recently returned from the Tonga Summer of Service. The zealous mission recruiter, Ross Tooley, was YWAM New Zealand's first local director and became Margaret's husband in 1969. Before and after Ross and Margaret became the team leading YWAM New Zealand, Ross and other young leaders like Barry Austin knew that charismatic prayer meetings were excellent places to meet eager young Christians seeking greater experience with God. YWAM's invitation to join God's work in global mission evangelism found traction among the young New Zealand charismatics who went on to populate YWAM's global expansion, both in the short and long-term.⁵³²

Tonga Summer/Winter of Service, 1967

YWAM's Tonga SOS was a transnational event planned largely by Tongan Kalafi Moala who organized, hosted, and recruited local Tongan church partnership, youth

⁵³¹ Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*, 70.

⁵³² By 1969, the Tooleys had recruited 37 young people to go to Indonesia for two months of missionary evangelism. The presence of New Zealand young people in YWAM continued to increase, and with them a distinctly charismatic flair to YWAM's expressions that they spread around the South Pacific.

participation, and interpreters from February to June 1967. In New Zealand, Jim and Jan Rogers and other YWAM friends recruited local young people for the two-month crusade event; back in the US, Loren and Darlene Cunningham and the YWAM office staff communicated the new opportunity to North American young people interested in participating. YWAM's vision for the foreign witnessing crusade developed as an idea that, as Kalafi Moala recalled, came to Loren in prayer.⁵³³ The June-August Tonga outreach coincided with the King's Coronation, scheduled for July 4, 1967.⁵³⁴ Capitalizing on the gathering of "130 out islands pouring into Nuku'alofa for a month of coronation festivities" the teams of youth were able to share faith and gospel literature with thousands.⁵³⁵ Moala's membership in the Methodist church allowed him to secure a welcome to YWAM from the island's dominant denomination. An enemy of the recently arrived Assemblies of God missionaries, the Methodist church leaders in Tonga embraced YWAM because they claimed to not belong to a denomination, believing their preaching would reanimate and renew their own church vitality. Jan and Jim Rogers also planned ministry through their pentecostal missionary contacts in the region – Bernice Proctor, AG missionary to Tonga – and Larry Larson – AG Field Director.⁵³⁶

⁵³³ Moala, email.

⁵³⁴ Moala, email.

⁵³⁵ Rogers to New Zealand Pastors.

⁵³⁶ Rogers and Rogers, interview. YWAM's relationship with pentecostals in Tonga led to conflict and persecution for a number of their young converts. Typescript of Wrap-Up Report from Tonga by Jim and Janice Rogers, September 11, 1967, 6, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. "The daughter of our host, Juluholo, the Methodist Youth Director in Tonga, was beaten and forced to bow 20 times to Princess Pilolevu in the Royal Palace, saying each time she bowed, 'I promise to never go to the Pentecostals again.'" "Missionary Radio Reaches World's Smallest Nation," *Pentecostal Evangel*, January 1, 1967, Digital Periodicals – Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center.

With a variety of agendas, personal and denominational, and conceptions of who was in the lead, YWAM participants from New Zealand and North America met in Fiji before travelling to Tonga together to meet Kalafi and the local team he had gathered. The Rogers and Barbara Davy recruited and trained 23 New Zealand young people who comprised the majority of the team.⁵³⁷ Approximately eight North Americans boarded flights to Suva, Fiji, from Seattle and Pasadena on June 21 after receiving training at a Domestic Crusade at Faith Temple in Seattle from June 12–21.⁵³⁸ One of the listed “crusade leaders,” Rev. Ron Killenbeck, a Canadian, PAOC pastor on his way to being a missionary in New Caledonia, was among the eight North Americans.⁵³⁹ Thus, informal partnerships among the Tongan Methodists, US Assemblies of God, Canadian PAOC, and interdenominational but mostly pentecostal and charismatic YWAM youth from North America and New Zealand merged, and at times clashed, for the YWAM Tonga SOS.⁵⁴⁰ To the Royal Family, Methodists, and government officials who allowed YWAM

⁵³⁷ Sherman, interview. Dean Sherman recalled that there were 23 New Zealanders on the Tonga SOS and eight from the US. There is no documentation to verify these numbers, but this author chose to include them to give an idea of the size of the group even if the exact number varies slightly.

⁵³⁸ Typescript of 1967 S.O.S. Final Information Sheet.

⁵³⁹ Sherman, interview. Dean named the participants he recalled. From the US: Skip Moen, Brian Dobson, Davis Taylor (from Colorado), Ron Killenbeck, Carol Hayes, and Dean Sherman. “1967 S.O.S. Final Information Sheet.” Lists a “Rev. Jim Hance” as a crusade leader, but no records or oral histories mention his name.

⁵⁴⁰ This informal partnership would not have existed if the Methodists knew that the YWAM teams were also working with the pentecostals and were preaching a gospel message with pentecostal and charismatic undertones. Typescript of Wrap-Up Report from Tonga by Jim and Janice Rogers, Janice noted “if they’d (the Methodists) find out we were interdenominational-who-happened-to-be-filled-with-the-Holy-Spirit, and we’d be fed to the sharks in Nukualofa harbour.”

to enter Tonga, the group was seen, as they self-described, as interdenominational and non-sectarian.⁵⁴¹

Characteristic to YWAM's previous ministry style, the Tonga SOS followed the pattern of door-to-door evangelism, literature distribution, and evening meetings. For the first couple of weeks during King Tupo's coronation, the entire group of 30 foreign young people stayed in the hall of Fosi Methodist Church in Nuku'alofa. Together with their Tongan translators, they went out to the bustling streets daily to sing songs to gather a crowd and preach the message of Jesus. Dean Sherman recalled that hundreds of people gathered and many came forward to respond to the salvation message on the streets. Some people were physically healed when the young people prayed for them.⁵⁴²

After these weeks, the larger team was split into gendered small groups for the remainder of the summer. Each group focused on specific neighborhoods or groups of islands. Dean Sherman's group remained on the main island but went to the town of Mu'a, where they lived in the Methodist school and went to every house in the 23 villages of the island.⁵⁴³ The other three boys' teams went to the Ha'apai chain, were housed "on the campus of Pilolevu Girls' School – a Methodist boarding high school, and

⁵⁴¹ Typescript of Wrap-Up Report from Tonga by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1967. The controversies as to whether YWAM was pentecostal are numerous even in this short report. Events like converts being filled with the Spirit and speaking in tongues, people experiencing divine healing, preaching on the end times, and Kalafi Moala being seen by the Anglican Vicar meeting with pentecostal Larry Larson all drew criticism from the local Methodist and government authorities.

⁵⁴² Sherman, interview. Again, the majority of these listeners would have already been baptized Christians, so "responding to the salvation message" does not necessarily mean that they became Christians for the first time. It is more likely that for many of the respondents, they prayed a prayer of rededication or experienced spiritual renewal through the YWAM teams' ministry.

⁵⁴³ Sherman, interview.

remained there for the rest of the winter as sea conditions prevented further sailing.⁵⁴⁴ Jan Rogers called their ministry at the Pilolevu Girls' School a "divine appointment, and God really moved there so that every teacher and every student had made a decision for Christ before the boys left."⁵⁴⁵ The Rogers' report is filled with testimonies of supernatural healings, confessions of faith, and in-filling of the Holy Spirit, mostly by the girls at Pilolevu School. These high school girls, mainly from Methodist pastors' families in the region, joined the YWAM boys and helped with translation every Saturday because the foreigners were limited by language and lack of translators. Still, "every home in the Ha'apai chain was reached with literature" and many village elders, school teachers, doctors, and government officials who could speak English heard the YWAMers message and many confessed faith.⁵⁴⁶

Janice Rogers and Janice Ataya's team remained in Nuku'alofa and were hosted by the Tonga Methodist Youth Director.⁵⁴⁷ Carol Hayes, Dean Sherman, and Davis Taylor remained in Tonga for six days after the team left to hold a "Tongan Domestic

⁵⁴⁴ Typescript of Wrap-Up Report from Tonga by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1967, lists three boys' teams as including Geoff Stevens, Barry Austin, David Ravenhill, Kalafi Moala, Jim Ross, Ross Tooley, Garry Drake, Brian Dobson and Davis Taylor.

⁵⁴⁵ Typescript of Wrap-Up Report from Tonga by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1967. Again, "decision for Christ" meant praying and/or agreeing with the message the YWAM teams were preaching. The school was Methodist and the boarders were likely all baptized Methodists and observant Christians. Their encounter with YWAM's message likely led to recommitments and pentecostal revival experiences.

⁵⁴⁶ Typescript of Wrap-Up Report from Tonga by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1967. Understanding that the majority of their hearers were already baptized and confirmed Christians, any "confessions of faith" signified a variety of outcomes. Local people could have simply reaffirmed their faith in Jesus, experienced spiritual renewal, or had moments of profound spiritual encounter that caused them to have "true faith." While not true in every sense, these could have been conversions, even if the people were already Christians by affiliations. See Kling, *A History of Christian Conversion*, 5.

⁵⁴⁷ Other girls mentioned in the Wrap-Up Report include Barbara Davy, Carol Hayes, Marjorie Spencer, Heleane (Maryann) Moala, and Jean Morley.

Crusade” during school vacations. Around 20 Tongan young people gathered together for teaching, prayer, and door-to-door evangelism on Tongatapu.⁵⁴⁸ Carol Hayes decided to remain in Tonga as an independent missionary sponsored by Huluholo working with Kalafi Moala, who had been appointed by the Methodist church to do YWAM follow-up ministry. Carol was hosted by the Vukis, a local “spirit-filled” family for her three-month visa extension.⁵⁴⁹ The rest of the New Zealand and North American members regrouped in Fiji before flying home. The exception, however, was Dean Sherman, whom Jim and Jan Rogers invited to return to work with them full-time in New Zealand to continue the work of recruiting and mobilizing young people for world missions. Dean accepted and joined Barbara, Jim, and Jan at YWAM Auckland’s fledgling headquarters to start preparing for the next “overseas crusade” to Fiji for YWAM’s first Southern Hemisphere Summer of Service in December 1967 and January 1968.⁵⁵⁰

Self-Sustaining and Self-Replicating: YWAM New Zealand Grows Roots and Branches Out, 1968

After YWAM’s local evangelism, foreign crusades in Fiji, and an SOS in Tonga, the full-time team grew to four. Jim, Jan, Barbara, and Dean continued the work of itineration and promotion of YWAM to the churches and youth groups throughout New

⁵⁴⁸ Typescript of Wrap-Up Report from Tonga by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1967.

⁵⁴⁹ Typescript of Wrap-Up Report from Tonga by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1967.

⁵⁵⁰ The YWAM participants who were in New Zealand pushed to begin having Summers of Service align with the local calendar. Hence, the second SOS in the South Pacific was held in the winter in the northern hemisphere, but had adjusted to the cultural and social context of its new locale.

Zealand. In November 1967, Jim and Janice Rogers left New Zealand to return to the United States. Dean and Barbara worked towards the New Zealand Domestic Crusade that led up to the Winter 1968 SOS in Fiji. During their week-long local evangelistic crusade, hosted at Fairfield Baptist Church in Hamilton, New Zealand, Ross Tooley and Barry Austin, two YWAM alumni, joined Dean as speakers who ran the evangelism seminars. After the Hamilton Domestic Crusade, Dean Sherman and Ross Tooley, along with former Tonga outreach participant Carol Hayes, led a group of 23 New Zealand young people for an eight-week evangelistic campaign in Fiji. The YWAM teams worked with local Fijian churches in Labasa, Fiji – one Fijian church and one Indian church.⁵⁵¹

Once home, Ross Tooley and Dean Sherman travelled New Zealand to share the stories and testimonies of the 1968 Fiji SOS as a means of mobilizing and inspiring young people to engage in personal evangelism and witnessing. Barry Austin, who was still working with Teen Challenge, remained connected to YWAM and helped Dean and Ross with domestic outreaches from time to time.⁵⁵² Ross and Dean, both working full-time with YWAM, offered evangelism training to churches and held shortened versions of YWAM's Domestic Crusades over weekends or for one or two weeks at interested churches. The New Zealand YWAMers continued the pattern of evangelism training in

⁵⁵¹ Sherman, interview. It was also in 1968, and likely on this outreach, that YWAM bought their first parcel of land anywhere in the world. Granted a 99-year lease, YWAM bought land in Nadi, Fiji, according to Loren Cunningham and Dawn Gauslin, "YWAM Founders' History Time Line," November 2011, YWAM Kona Archives. More details on who and how this land sale transpired are needed.

⁵⁵² Austin, email.

churches for the better part of 1968. Their domestic ministry led up to the Summer of Service (SOS) in Fiji from December 1968 and into January 1969.⁵⁵³

The Rogers returned to Auckland in the spring of 1968 by way of Samoa and Fiji. Rather than rejoin the Auckland team directly upon their departure from the US, they travelled to former YWAM locations in the South Pacific to recruit young people who had already worked with YWAM. They were recruiting for a new venture – what they were calling an Around-the-World (ATW) team.⁵⁵⁴ Working with the full-time YWAM staff in North America and the South Pacific and advertising to the growing global network of churches and youth on YWAM’s mailing list, the Rogers recruited a team of nine. A mix of 1968 Fiji SOS alumni and young people from the US, including Dean Sherman, Jim and Jan and the ATW team left for Australia in July of 1968 to begin the same work they had done in New Zealand a year and a half earlier – itineration, relationship building, promoting YWAM, and inviting young people to join them in evangelism and mission.

Moving into Australia, 1968

Welcomed and housed by Noel and Barbara Bell in Randwick, a suburb of Sydney, the YWAM team found a friendly reception through the Bells and their

⁵⁵³ Sherman, interview. Dean notes that he joined Ross Tooley and the NZ SOS in Fiji from Australia. Dean returned to Australia after the outreach and continued travelling, preaching, and leading domestic outreaches for the following three years.

⁵⁵⁴ According to Jim and Janice Rogers, they were back in the US for three months, serving as missions pastors and itinerating. They did not give a specific date of their return to the South Pacific, but it can be surmised that it was sometime around March or April 1968. Rogers and Rogers, interview. The Around the World team is covered in a subsequent subsection of this chapter

associates.⁵⁵⁵ Keith Brown, a camp speaker the Rogers had met at Karaka Bay Fellowship in New Zealand in early 1967, and Rev. Dean Glenan, a charismatic Anglican pastor at Sydney's cathedral, also proved helpful to the Rogers who sought churches and youth groups to invite to the upcoming crusade.⁵⁵⁶ Hosted by the Greenacre Foursquare Church and Pastor Baker in August of 1968, young Australian, New Zealander, British, and American Christians attended sessions on evangelistic teaching and practice and blanketed nearby neighborhoods with a "personal witness for Christ."⁵⁵⁷ Australia's first Domestic Crusade was led by Jim and Jan Rogers, Kalafi and Tapu Moala, then studying at the Evangelist Institute in Sydney, Dean Sherman, the ATW team of Berniece Coff, Lorraine Deirck, Bruce Thompson, Peter Stenhouse, and Carol Hayes. Extant sources identify only one local participant, Peter Haase, although Australians Tom Hallas, Roger Waters, and Ian McRobert are credited as the first Australian "YWAMers" by Dean Sherman.⁵⁵⁸

The Rogers and the Around-the-World team had been working in Sydney for month before Dean Sherman joined the group on August 1, 1968 from New Zealand. The

⁵⁵⁵ The Rogers noted that Noel Bell was an architect and started offices for YWAM in Australia under Dean's leadership in the early 1970s. Janice (Cunningham) Rogers and Jim Rogers. Other Australian contacts that the Rogers had prior to taking this group there was Dean Glenan, a charismatic Anglican pastor at Sydney's Cathedral and Keith Brown, who had been one of the speakers at the Great Barrier Island youth camp Jim and Jan attended upon their first arrival to the region in late December 1966, early January 1967.

⁵⁵⁶ Rogers and Rogers, interview. The charismatic networks centered around the Wingers and their camp meeting ministry at Orama reemerge for YWAM's warm reception in Australia.

⁵⁵⁷ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team. 1968-69, 1; Rogers and Rogers, interview.

⁵⁵⁸ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team. 1968-69," 1; Sherman, interview. Sherman noted that Tom Hallas went to work with Kalafi Moala in PNG and that Roger and Ian helped Dean start the first Australian YWAM operating location.

original plan had been for Sherman to lead the team to Jakarta, Indonesia, after the Domestic Crusade finished up in Sydney. Jan and Jim went ahead of the team to Jakarta to find accommodations and prepare ministry with the partnership of AG missionaries Claude and Wilma Rediger, now based in Indonesia. The YWAM group in Australia conducted their ministry and when it came time to move to Jakarta, Dean informed everyone, including Loren through a telephone call to Switzerland, that he felt God was calling him to stay in Australia to expand YWAM there.⁵⁵⁹ Thus, Dean remained in Australia and began travelling, preaching, and holding domestic outreaches on behalf of YWAM for the next three years. He maintained regular communication by letter and telephone with Loren Cunningham in Switzerland, Kalafi Moala, who was also in Australia in 1969, and Ross Tooley in New Zealand. Roger Waters and Ian McRobert were two Australians that joined Dean to start YWAM's first location in Randwick, outside of Sydney.

Dean's efforts led to the first Australians joining YWAM teams to Papua New Guinea (PNG), hosted by Kalafi Moala who was trying to recruit a long-term team to work with him there.⁵⁶⁰ Kalafi and Tapu had started working in PNG with a Dutch missionary in Rabaul at the close of 1968 and moved permanently in early 1969 near Goroka to work with a missionary from the Foursquare Church.⁵⁶¹ Tom Hallas, an Australian recruited by Dean Sherman and Kalafi Moala, went to work with Kalafi, Tapu,

⁵⁵⁹ Sherman, interview.

⁵⁶⁰ Sherman, interview.

⁵⁶¹ Dean Sherman, email to Allison-Kach Yawngwe, April 2, 2024.

and their two young daughters in PNG in 1970, eventually acquiring a house in Port Moresby that acted as a YWAM center.⁵⁶² Kalafi and Tapu returned to Australia to travel and preach with Dean and continue recruiting for a long-term team to join them in PNG, making YWAM's efforts there permanent in a way that did not happen in Fiji or Tonga.

Back in New Zealand, Ross and Margaret Tooley, married in April 1969, were running the YWAM house and office, along with the secretarial help of Miriam Ataya. The Tooleys lived and worked out of 63 Ponsonby Rd., Auckland. Before and after marrying Margaret, Ross continued the work of local itineration and evangelism as a means to mobilize young people for "overseas" ministry. Between planning evangelistic campaigns, Ross, with the help of Barry Austin and Margaret after their marriage, visited churches, youth groups, prayer meetings, and Teen Challenge centers to share about YWAM and invite young people to join.⁵⁶³ Ross led a repeat SOS to Fiji in December 1968 to January 1969 with New Zealander YWAM youth and Dean Sherman, then based in Australia.

⁵⁶² Sherman, interview. Kalafi Moala was considered YWAM staff from early in 1967, although he was at liberty to do the ministry work he felt God was leading him to do. He remained in Tonga doing follow-up work after the 1967 outreach and then went to Papua New Guinea to work with Dutch missionaries. Following his time in PNG, he and his wife, Tapu, relocated to Australia in 1968 to pursue his studies, all the while maintaining communicating with Dean Sherman, Ross and Margaret Tooley, and Loren and Darlene Cunningham. While in Australia in 1968-9, Kalafi did some itinerant work and evangelism training with Dean and the growing group of interested Australian young people participating with YWAM. Kalafi Moala was extending YWAM's work throughout the South Pacific in a more informal fashion. He built relationships with permanent missionaries in places like PNG and opened up new places for YWAM young people to work both short and long term.

⁵⁶³ Tooley, interview. Margaret Tooley noted that prayer meetings were regular sites of recruitment for YWAM. A unique in-between place during the early days of the charismatic movement in New Zealand, prayer meetings were places that seekers of the baptism of the Holy Spirit met to pursue a deeper spiritual life. From the Anglican Church, Margaret met Ross at a charismatic prayer meeting in Wellington, NZ, after he had returned from the 1967 Tonga SOS.

*Indonesia Summer of Service (SOS), 1969*⁵⁶⁴

At the end of 1969, the Tooleys led a SOS to Indonesia for two months that partnered with the second Around-the-World (ATW) team led by Floyd and Sally McClung.⁵⁶⁵ Clearly their recruiting efforts were working, as the Indonesia team boasted 37 young New Zealanders on a team led by New Zealanders.⁵⁶⁶ Hosted once more by Claude and Wilma Rediger, the YWAM SOS ministry looked very much like its previous iterations. Teams of 4-5 young people set out on their own course, meeting back together before leaving the island. The New Zealand teams were spread throughout Java, working in and around Tjepu, Solo, Magetan, Jogja, Wonosobo, and Temungung.⁵⁶⁷ The five

⁵⁶⁴ Indonesia, during the early years of YWAM's work there, was still reeling from the widespread massacre of 500,000 – 1 million communists and alleged communist sympathizers who were systematically detained by the government and many were killed. The complexities of the event were in direct relation to the Cold War and to US and UK involvement in supporting the government in power at the time. The mass killings were reported in western media as a great victory for Indonesia and the world, using the common motif of the communists being synonymous with the devil. See Geoffrey B. Robinson, *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66*, ed. Eric D. Weitz, vol. 29 (Princeton University Press, 2018); Grace Leksana, "Collaboration in Mass Violence: The Case of the Indonesian Anti-Leftist Mass Killings in 1965–66 in East Java," *Journal of Genocide Research* 23, no. 1 (January 2, 2021): 58–80. Another factor that came about from these political atrocities relevant to YWAM's work was the conversion to Christianity by many of the accused and detained communist and leftist young people. Partly to conform to the governments' requirement that every citizen be identified by one of the country's official religions and also as a defiant response to the Muslim led violence in the genocide, many young communists and Chinese Confucianists converted to Christianity in 1965 and the years that followed. See Jerson Benia Narciso, "Christianization in New Order Indonesia (1965-1998): Discourses, Debates and Negotiations," *Melintas: An International Journal of Philosophy and Religion* 24, no. 3 (March 24, 2008): 407–28.; Vanessa Hearman "The 1965–1966 Violence, Religious Conversions and the Changing Relationship Between the Left and Indonesia's Churches," in *The Indonesian Genocide of 1965* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

⁵⁶⁵ Barry and Kay Austin remained in Auckland and kept the YWAM office running during while the Tooleys engaged in international work.

⁵⁶⁶ Margaret Tooley, *The Call to the Harvest: The Story of Youth with A Mission in South East Asia* (Auckland, NZ: Youth with a Mission (NZ), 1970), 4. While no formal participant list exists, names of some of the young people as recorded in *The Call to the Harvest* include: Tom Hadfield, Max Tooley, John Elliot, Michael, Graeme, Peggy, John Watson, Brian Caughley, David Cowie, Jenny, Shona, Grant Gary, Eric, John Ross, Julie Gasson, Marion, Sue, David Wallis, Paul, Carolyn, Tom, Rosemary Ron, Warren.

⁵⁶⁷ Tooley, *The Call to the Harvest*.

New Zealanders that worked with the 1970 ATW went to Medan, North Sumatra, for their crusade and evangelistic work. Working with missionaries and local churches, the teams witnessed to the majority Muslim population and were generally well-received. This New Zealand SOS was a first for YWAM. Although the Rogers' ATW 1969 team had ministered in Indonesia the year before, the New Zealand SOS was more numerous and was able to spread out across the islands. Their level of direct evangelism in a Muslim majority context set a precedent in YWAM's vision for world evangelization. Added to this, and not mentioned in any of the official reports submitted by the New Zealand or ATW team, was the country's recent genocide of communists that directly influenced a widespread conversion to Christianity.⁵⁶⁸

Throughout the islands of Indonesia, the YWAM ministry concentrated on speaking in local churches and offering evangelism training to and going witnessing with local youth. One team preached on a local Mennonite radio station. Another team held open air meetings that drew 400 attendees the first night. They witnessed local listeners "come forward to receive Christ and others for healing."⁵⁶⁹ This open-air ministry was done at the invitation of the local Muslim Governor who was "pleased at the results of the

⁵⁶⁸ Many of the accused and detained communist and leftist young people. Partly to conform to the governments' requirement that every citizen be identified by one of the country's official religions and also as a defiant response to the Muslim led violence in the genocide, many young communists and Chinese Confucianists converted to Christianity in 1965 and the years that followed. See Narciso, "Christianization in New Order Indonesia (1965-1998): Discourses, Debates and Negotiations." It is also important to note the role that the global atrocity played in changing the trajectory of the Cold War and how the US and UK were supporters of the regime that acted against the communists. See Samantha Michaels, "It's Been 50 Years Since the Biggest US-Backed Genocide You've Never Heard Of," *Mother Jones* (blog), accessed November 27, 2024, <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2015/10/its-been-50-years-biggest-us-backed-genocide-youve-never-heard/>.

⁵⁶⁹ Tooley, *The Call to the Harvest*, 13.

first service.”⁵⁷⁰ One team in Jogja went to the university to converse with students and visit dormitories to share about Jesus.⁵⁷¹ All of the teams distributed gospel literature as a means of witnessing. Margaret Tooley reported that the YWAM teams on Java and Sumatra

distributed nearly ¼ million tracts, each of which had a reply coupon which could be sent in for a free Bible Correspondence Course. By the end of the Crusade these coupons were being received at the World Outreach literature office, at a rate of 100 per day. By mid-February, well over 2000 coupons had been returned. The team also sold about 600 new Testaments during the visitation programme.⁵⁷²

By the middle of February, the New Zealand SOS departed Indonesia, leaving behind Dave Wallis and Albert Van Yzendoorn, who remained out of their own desire and conviction to visit “the churches with which the teams worked, doing follow-up and generally inspiring the locals to continue their important new ministry of witnessing.”⁵⁷³ Ross and Margaret remained in Indonesia, but for a short five days of ministry in Bali. Hosted by two Christian and Missionary Alliance churches, the Tooleys kept an intense schedule. They preached ten times, gave witnessing seminars, and led the youth of the churches on five different door-to-door evangelistic outings.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷⁰ Tooley, *The Call to the Harvest*, 13.

⁵⁷¹ Tooley, *The Call to the Harvest*, 23.

⁵⁷² Tooley, *The Call to the Harvest*, 19. The World Outreach connection was being used by YWAM’s evangelistic work in Canada during the same period. The interconnections between YWAM and World Outreach were numerous, especially considering YWAM New Zealand’s reach. World Outreach was a New Zealand based mission organization. Some of their missionary personnel included Paul and Janet Kauffman – Canadian/American missionaries affiliated with the PAOC and with close family connections to Darlene Cunningham’s father’s family. The relationship and the interconnectedness of YWAM to World Outreach is covered in more detail in Chapter 5.

⁵⁷³ Tooley, *The Call to the Harvest*, 24.

⁵⁷⁴ Tooley, *The Call to the Harvest*, 24.

Papua New Guinea, 1970

Continuing in the growing momentum and interest after the 1969 Indonesian SOS, Kalafi and Tapu Moala who moved to Papua New Guinea early in 1969. Seven others joined them at the beginning of June and formed YWAM's first team in Port Moresby.⁵⁷⁵ Joined by Dean Sherman, Tom Hallas, Rod, Keith, Mem, Greg, and Sue, the group made their home in Gabutu and ran what they called an SOE, or School of Evangelism. While not the same as the SOE YWAM was running in Switzerland, the borrowed term meant that the group was replicating what they understood YWAM was doing in Switzerland. They too were inviting teachers to come to instruct them on the Christian life and ministry in the morning while they engaged in local evangelism and mobilization of local youth in the same ministry in the afternoons. Their greatest teacher was "the Holy Spirit" who "moves upon us melting, molding, and perfecting and showing us the new ways of God and particularly the mind of God for New Guinea and Port Moresby." Other guest teachers included Howard Carter, who spoke on the "role of praise to release the spirit," Jack Kooy, who taught on "faith and ministry gifts," and Shirley Jones, who instructed the students on a "ministry of love."⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁵ Typescript of YWAM in PNG Team Newsletter, July 24, 1970, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁵⁷⁶ Typescript of YWAM in PNG Team Newsletter. Howard Carter was a British pentecostal preacher, church pioneer, missionary encourager. Along with his worldwide ministry in the AG, he was known for his close friendship with evangelist Smith Wigglesworth and his mentorship of Lester Sumrall. Ruthie Edgerly Oberg, "This Week in AG History, May 19, 1945," *AG.org* (blog), May 17, 2018, <https://news.ag.org/en/article-repository/news/2018/05/this-week-in-ag-history-may-16-1945>. It seems Jack Kooy, who passed away in August of 2020, was an Australian pentecostal who, with his wife Swanny, ran a ministry in the 1970s called "He Lives Ministries." Keith Heffernan, Facebook Post, August 27, 2020, accessed November 27, 2024, <https://www.facebook.com/keith.heffernan.180/>. Shirley Jones was an Australian evangelist who travelled the world preaching and teaching. "Shirley Jones Obituary,"

Their afternoons of ministry included university visits by Dean and Rod, hospital and medical campus visits by Mem and Sue, Army and Police barrack visits by Keith and Greg. Kalafi and Tom met with Pidgin speaking people and Greg and Sue held four meetings per week in Horse Camp village, having baptised 24 adults by the end of July. Rod and Dean began hosting meetings at the team house a few nights a week to show gospel films and talk about faith. Keith administered a correspondence course “Growing in Grace.”⁵⁷⁷ The team ran a one month “Native School of Evangelism” with the purpose to teach local Christian young people “how to effectively minister and reach others for Christ.” The “Native School of Evangelism” was attended by four young people from Daru and some from Horse Camp.⁵⁷⁸ The entire team was working on learning the Pidgin language and were making preparations to extend their ministry by showing gospel films, preaching in villages, and hosting larger crusades in some suburbs.⁵⁷⁹

By the close of 1970, YWAM had a permanent presence in New Zealand, Australia, Papua New Guinea, and had long-term relationships with churches, missionaries, and Christians in Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa. Up until this point, YWAM’s full-time volunteer staff in the region was comprised of the few individuals who were official “YWAM representatives” later to be known as “National leaders.” The primary

Legacy.com, accessed November 27, 2024, <https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/kinston/name/shirley-jones-obituary?id=8937930>

⁵⁷⁷ Typescript of YWAM in PNG Team Newsletter.

⁵⁷⁸ Typescript of YWAM in PNG Team Newsletter.

⁵⁷⁹ Typescript of YWAM in PNG Team Newsletter.

ministry of these young men and women who were loosely connected through emerging charismatic and global evangelical networks was to mobilize youth in missionary evangelism. While they preached the evangelical message of Jesus Christ that sought to lead their hearers to make a decision to become Christians for the first time and join a church, much of their ministry was teaching Christian young people how to be missionary evangelists. To that audience, the YWAM volunteers hoped that their challenge to fellow youth would renew their Christian faith and inspire them to take up YWAM's invitation to become effective evangelists. The YWAM participants were both youth evangelists to non-Christians and evangelism teachers to their fellow Christians.

Much of the activities and planning of the YWAM individuals in each South Pacific island nation remains untraceable, apart from the oral histories of the surviving members, because their reporting to YWAM's California office was less formal and took place directly to Loren Cunningham by telephone or personal letters, as in Dean Sherman's case. YWAM's development in the South Pacific was slow and steady and based on the individual YWAM "representatives" endorsed by Loren and YWAM, but less formally recognized or known due to the physical distance from California and Switzerland. Still, YWAM personnel from the South Pacific, including Kalafi Moala, and a host of New Zealanders like Ross and Margaret Tooley and Barry Austin and the scores of young people they recruited to YWAM went on to hold global leadership positions into the present, causing the South Pacific's influence on YWAM's global mission culture to retain its own unique, and widely charismatic, legacy.

Conclusion

Between 1965 and 1967, YWAM successfully expanded beyond the United States and Caribbean into Mexico, Central America, Canada, and the South Pacific. The majority of the growth resulted from the first generation of YWAM volunteers' leveraging their membership in vast global pentecostal networks. In Mexico and Central America, Wedge Alman, Alex Bazan, and Ruben Vargas expanded evangelistic campaigns through long-term partnerships with fellow AG pastors throughout the region. They also forged new partnerships with evangelical missionary organizations – CAM and MAF – who were happy to collaborate for the vision of the evangelization of their mission fields. In Samoa, YWAM received its first welcome from AG missionaries Claude and Wilma Rediger. German pentecostals from the PAOC in Edmonton, Rev. Eugene Opheim and Arnie and Heidi Breitzkreuz, organized to establish YWAM Alberta.

By the close of 1967, YWAM had permanent locations in Edmonton, Canada, and Auckland, New Zealand. YWAM Canada and YWAM New Zealand were run by local Christian young adults and supported by local churches, individuals, and volunteers. Each location operated autonomously, but were united through relationship with Loren and Darlene Cunningham and the growing vision of YWAM held together by YWAM's expanding communication network maintained by the California office and volunteer staff. While YWAM in Canada remained closely associated with the PAOC until the early 1970s, YWAM in New Zealand was integrated into emerging charismatic networks.

YWAM's growth and local reception in the South Pacific was unique in many

ways. Given New Zealand's cultural and religious history, YWAM's arrival and development in 1967 and beyond was facilitated by intercultural and interdenominational volunteers, young and old. In Auckland, YWAM's first volunteers came from Anglican, Methodist, Brethren, and Baptist churches. Kalafi Moala, YWAM's first non-white, non-western full-time volunteer, eagerly aided YWAM's spread in the region. For Kalafi and other young people who encountered YWAM in its early years in New Zealand, YWAM's evangelistic vision was synonymous with their recent charismatic experiences. YWAM New Zealand mobilized teams of young people to evangelize Fiji, Tonga, Australia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and the world, all the while retaining a distinctly charismatic flavor that continued to shape the character of the broader Mission.

Chapter 5: Constructing World Christianity, Part III, 1968 to 1970

By the close of 1967, locally-based YWAM teams in the USA, Canada, and New Zealand were planning and leading their own youth evangelistic efforts. YWAM volunteers fostered ongoing partnerships and facilitated annual ministry in the Caribbean, Mexico, Central America, and South Pacific. Loren and Darlene Cunningham trusted local leaders to develop and pioneer YWAM's programming across their respective countries and into other mission fields. YWAM's world Christian momentum was building and by 1968, its volunteers, partner churches, and supportive ministries and friends grew to include an increasingly international and interdenominational constituency. While YWAM's global proliferation was well underway by the later part of the long 1960s, its expanding presence was catalysed by its new Around the World (ATW) mission model and its move to Europe.

This chapter reconstructs YWAM's global expansion and the continual emergence its unique brand of world Christianity from 1968 to 1970. The chapter, organized chronologically, explores YWAM's pioneering of the Around-the-World team and its ministry throughout Asia and parts of Africa. It documents the development of YWAM's School of Evangelism in Switzerland and establishment in Europe. The first section explores the history and development of YWAM's first two Around-the-World (ATW) teams with emphasis on identifying local and international actors in Indonesia, Philippines, Hong Kong, Thailand, Ceylon, Nepal, India, and Kenya. The section constructs the chronology and itinerary of the ATWs and documents the nature of YWAM's partnerships and ministry in each location. The next section details YWAM's

European move and the establishment of its inaugural missionary training school – The School of Evangelism (SOE) – in 1969. Along with the founding and development of the SOE, the section explores the creation and use of Middle East Field Trips, adaptation of its Domestic Crusades, or Summers of Service (SOS) to the European context, and its embrace by historic evangelical, pentecostal, state churches, and evangelistic mission organizations and networks.

Around the World: YWAM’s Early Work in Southeast Asia, South Asia, East and West Africa⁵⁸⁰

The concept of an “around-the-world” mission trip was not new to YWAM when they formally advertised it as a mobile ministry team in the middle of 1968. Looking back to Loren Cunningham’s early itinerant ministry in YWAM’s first few years, he leveraged new access to inexpensive global air travel in the form of multi-stop plane tickets promoted by airplane and travel companies to expand his personal network of global missionary relationships. Loren’s world ministry and mission travels and experiences in 1961, 1962, and with Darlene Cunningham in 1963 expanded his understanding of the world’s diverse cultures. His experiences on these multiple month-long trips contributed to his conviction, steeped in pentecostal soteriology and

⁵⁸⁰ The Around the World team was called a number of things in different YWAM correspondence and literature. It was called the World/Wide team, the Round the World team, and the Around the World team. For simplicity, I am calling it the Around the World (ATW) team.

eschatology, that the world's peoples were lost without Jesus Christ.⁵⁸¹ Young people's need for a challenge and purpose could be found in meeting this pressing spiritual demand. Loren and Darlene, once married, followed this same "around-the-world" pattern for their honeymoon. They gained valuable ministry experience with Send the Light, later renamed Operation Mobilization (OM), in their literature distribution ministry in France in the summer of 1963.⁵⁸² After their month in France, the couple visited and ministered alongside AG missionaries in Europe, Africa, and Asia. Many of these missionaries and locations were repeat visits for Loren who, like his father, maintained global friendships through extensive and ongoing correspondence. The Cunninghams' global travel cemented their transnational mission relationships and defined the networks

⁵⁸¹ Loren Cunningham, as a young AG pastor and missionary evangelist, was convinced that the only earthly hope and eternal peace for all people was through a personal relationship with Jesus Christ, also known as "salvation." The belief that Jesus Christ was the Savior of the world and the mediator between God and people who had promised eternal justice and habitation for all of those who believed in Jesus was foundational in Loren's understanding of the world and faith. Like his contemporaries, preaching the message of salvation through Jesus Christ to all creation and all the peoples of the world was part of every Christian's task in life. It was also the only reasonable framework to view one's place in a global community – as bearers of Christ's message and witnesses of God's kingdom.

⁵⁸² Operation Mobilization (OM), originally named Send the Light, was founded in 1957 when a young man who had been converted to evangelical Christianity at a Billy Graham crusade a few years before, George Verwer, and some friends took a trip to Mexico to distribute Christian literature for the purpose of evangelization. The young men continued to develop their idea and returned to Mexico a number of times before extending their literature ministry to Europe in 1962. Verwer and OM, like YWAM, were focused on mobilizing young people into world evangelization, Verwer's ministry taking a more traditional evangelical protestant approach by tract and gospel literature distribution compared to YWAM's personal witnessing approach augmented with pentecostal prayer and practices. As Loren Cunningham noted in conversation to this author, he was introduced to Verwer by Darlene Cunningham's cousin and founder of Every Home for Christ, Rev. Jack McAlister. Cunningham and Verwer became friends and collaborators as both YWAM and OM developed as global missionary organizations and would pioneer the short-term mission experience. Both ministries had visions of evangelization through naval vessels and by the early 1970s had begun to realize these hopes. For the history of Operation Mobilization, see Ian M. Randall and George Verwer, *Spiritual Revolution: The Story of OM* (Milton Keynes, UK: Authentic, 2008).

that supported and sustained YWAM's early travelling mission teams. YWAM conducted two Around-the-World (ATW) trips, one in 1968 and a second in 1970.

YWAM's First Around-the-World (ATW) Mission Team, 1968

With formal organization, the Around-the-World (ATW) mission team took a new form in YWAM in the spring and summer of 1968. Under the leadership of Jan and Jim Rogers, YWAM announced their "first" Around-the-World team lasting one year. The main purpose of the ATW team was to introduce YWAM to Christians and churches in countries and regions that YWAM had yet to work and to mobilize more of the world's Christian youth to join them in sharing the message of Jesus Christ with their non-Christian neighbors. Essentially a continuous string of short-term missions, like multiple SOEs run together to span different continents, the ATW team was advertised in YWAM's *Youth Advance*, June 1968, as the "World Wide Team" one month before it was set to begin in Australia. The itinerary included ministry in Indonesia, Philippines, Vietnam, Singapore, Thailand, Hong Kong, Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, and Europe.⁵⁸³ The team's agenda was planned, but flexible, adjusting to previously unknown visa restrictions or urgent needs of the team. Running at the same time as YWAM's first SOE in Switzerland, Loren and the Rogers planned for the ATW to conclude in time for YWAM's 1969 Summer of Service expansion into Europe. The original plan was for the ATW participants to "finish out their year of service by training these teams of young

⁵⁸³ "World Wide Team," *Youth Advance on Strategic Frontiers* (June 1968), Folder 1968, Publications – 1964-1994 ADVANCE, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive.

people from Europe, America and Canada.”⁵⁸⁴ In the end the ATW concluded at the same time as the 1969 SOS and rather than act as leaders and teachers of the SOE students, they became the host for some of the SOE students on outreach.

The year-long series of combined short-term evangelistic crusades was preceded by the Cunninghams’ own “around the world” ministry and scouting trip in the spring of 1968 through the South Pacific, Southeast Asia, East Africa, Europe, and Eastern Canada.⁵⁸⁵ Ensuring that old partnerships were strong and that new contacts be willing to host future YWAM teams, the Cunninghams inspected whether the relational ties in their global networks could support the year-long YWAM team before they passed it on to Jan and Jim Rogers to launch. Already well-experienced in international travel and ministry pioneering on behalf of YWAM in the South Pacific, the Rogers recruited for this new type of mission team as they travelled back through Samoa, Fiji, and New Zealand. The ATW officially began in Australia. Jim, Jan and a group of New Zealanders met with the ATW members who came from the US – Berniece Coff, Carol Hayes, Bruce Thompson, Peter Stenhouse, and Lorraine Dierck. YWAM’s contacts in Australia, Noel and Barbara Bell, opened a way for these young people, alongside Kalafi Moala who was then studying at the Methodist Evangelist Institute in Sydney, to recruit and mobilize for the

⁵⁸⁴ “World Wide Team.”

⁵⁸⁵ Loren and Darlene travelled “around the world” in the winter and spring of 1968 to solidify international partnerships in New Zealand and to follow up on potential work in new locations that Jim and Janice and team would work with. This fact is quite significant, given that in the YWAM history, it would appear that Jim and Janice and other YWAM teams “arrive” in a place and find people to work with providentially. While that fact may be true, work in the background by Loren and Darlene and others was an essential aspect to beginning new international mission and ministry partnerships and sustaining old relationships. It was also on the “around the world” trip that the Cunninghams visited Switzerland to find a location for the upcoming School of Evangelism. See Loren D. Cunningham to Leland Paris, January 30, 1968.

first YWAM Domestic Crusade in Randwick, a suburb of Sydney. Dean Sherman joined the group a month into their ministry, in time for the domestic crusade. Local Christian young people joined with YWAM at the Greenacre Foursquare Church and Apostolic Church in Auburn, Sydney, in August of 1968 for door-to-door evangelism in their own neighborhoods.⁵⁸⁶

*Indonesia*⁵⁸⁷

After one month in Australia, the team moved on to Indonesia, to work with long-time friends and YWAM's former hosts in Samoa, AG missionaries sent out from the Southern California District Assemblies of God, Claude and Wilma Rediger.⁵⁸⁸ Only in their second month, the team welcomed new members, New Zealanders Jim and Mary Cameron, and Canadian Ken Korol, for the three-month mission in Indonesia.⁵⁸⁹ In

⁵⁸⁶ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69"

⁵⁸⁷ As noted in the "South Pacific" section above, the political and religious context of Indonesia in the years following the 1965-66 communist purge and genocide were tumultuous. To anti-communist nations, the genocide was viewed positively as it disrupted the communist advance in South Asia and was seen to have a positive effect on the Cold War. For western missionaries who were shaped by anti-communist rhetoric particularly salient in the development of modern US conservative evangelicalism, ministering in Indonesia after the purge which also resulted in scores of detained communist and leftist youths converting to Christianity would have seemed like an auspicious time. With thousands of recent young converts and the eliminated threat of communism, the western missionaries and short-term YWAM teams that worked with them would likely have seen only the opportunities and not the injustices. I am making this assumption based on the reports of the YWAM ATW teams from 1969 and 1970 and the New Zealand 1970 SOS team, none of which mention the genocide or mass detentions and killings or factor its repercussions into the context of their ministry.

⁵⁸⁸ As noted in the section on the South Pacific, Dean Sherman had joined the ATW team and had agreed to take the team from Australia to Indonesia to allow the Rogers to go ahead of the group to find housing, etc. Dean Sherman stayed in Australia, however, and did not continue with the group.

⁵⁸⁹ Tooley, email. Margaret Tooley noted that Jim and Mary Cameron were a part of the 1967 outreach from New Zealand to Fiji. The coming and going of various personnel, like the Camerons and Ken Korol, demonstrates how fluid participation and belonging to YWAM's ministries was. If someone felt God had spoken to them to join or to depart before the ministry was over and they communicated that with Loren Cunningham or the direct leaders and they agreed, it happened.

addition to the Redigers, the somewhat porous team worked with other local leaders and missionaries including Rev. A. Hanney Mandey, a local pastor in Jarkarta,⁵⁹⁰ a Reverend Woods, Pastor and Sari Silooney and their daughter, Reverend Wassell, Reverend Sorbo, Mrs. Lee, Lance Rediger, Bruce Rolnear, Dan Bogdan, Paul Runkat, Lardwic, and a host of local “Indonesian YWAMers” who likely were the students from the Assemblies of God Bible School.⁵⁹¹ The Malang Assemblies of God Bible School was a central ministry location for the ATW team, located in the small city of Malang, East Java.⁵⁹² Based there, they offered evangelism training and led the students, mostly young Indonesian women, in street evangelism, literature distribution, and personal witness to Jesus Christ.⁵⁹³ Apart from the “usual” YWAM ministry format of personal evangelism and church ministry, the team worked with US evangelist Dan Bodgan, who used clowning as an evangelistic tool.⁵⁹⁴ Outside of Malang, the team worked with local pastors and AG youth in Ketapang, North Borneo, and in the urban centers of Indonesia’s

⁵⁹⁰ Loren D. Cunningham to A.H. Mandey, March 26, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁵⁹¹ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69, 1–3.

⁵⁹² According to a report from the 1956 “All Indonesian Conference” that met in Malang, Java, the growth of national workers and decrease of foreign missionary personnel was evident but not discouraging for evangelistic and church growth results. Most of the national workers, while no number was given, were young men who had “endured much for the gospel’s sake. They have been forsaken by family and friends, Some have gone hungry; some have been beaten and tortured for Christ’s sake, but they are soldiers of the Cross. . . .” National workers were serving in Sumatra, North Celebes, Central and South Celebes, East Java, West Java, and the islands of the Moluccas. See Edna M. Devin, “Indonesian Work Advancing,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, September 2, 1956, Digitized Periodicals – Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center.

⁵⁹³ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69, 1–3.

⁵⁹⁴ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69, 1–3.

largest cities – Bandung, the capital of West Java; Tangerang, a large border city to Jakarta; Surabaya, East Java’s capital; Jakarta and its suburb of Kramat.⁵⁹⁵

Philippines

Moving on to the ATW’s three-months in the Philippines, the composition of the team changed with the departure of Ken Korol and addition of Charlotte Sherwood.⁵⁹⁶ Working with Ernie Reb, a long-time AG missionary in the Philippines who founded the Oriental Missionary Crusade (OMC),⁵⁹⁷ the ATW team ministered in Villa Celestial, Southern Mindorro, Mansalay, Caluya, Semarara, Sibay, Quiapo church, and the Far Eastern University in Manila.⁵⁹⁸ Concentrated in Manila for the majority of their weeks, the ATW team’s ministry took place through the Chi Alpha Center, the AG Campus

⁵⁹⁵ The ATW teams worked with local Christians and thus the majority of their work would have been conducted in the local AG churches and extending their evangelistic ministries in their cities and regions. The YWAM ATW young people and the Indonesian youth and Bible College students likely sought to minister to other young people in their street witnessing. In urban centers this type of confrontational evangelism would have been less shocking to the local populations, although given the fact that national Indonesian AG pastors and workers had been evangelizing for decades, there is some context for evangelistic work in well-established relationships and communities.

⁵⁹⁶ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁵⁹⁷ Reb, long time evangelist and preacher in the AG moved to the Philippines in the early 1960s to begin missionary service. He founded the Oriental Missionary Crusade along with Eliseo Sandorra, who was OMC’s Philippine Director and the Assistant General Superintendent for the AG in the Philippines, “planted over 90 churches in seven years in barrio evangelism.” See Floyd T. Cunningham, “Diversities Within Post-War Philippine Protestantism,” 109, Asia-Pacific Nazarene Theological Seminary online repository, [https://resourcecenter.apnts.org/mediator/Cunningham_Diversities\(5.1\).pdf](https://resourcecenter.apnts.org/mediator/Cunningham_Diversities(5.1).pdf). It is highly likely that the participation of YWAM ATW and other groups who came to partner with Reb and Sandorra assisted in the pioneering of new churches through evangelistic work.

⁵⁹⁸ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69, 3–7. The local churches listed include a Foursquare Church in Caluya, a church in Quiapo, and the Mansalay church.

Ministry, on campus and concentrated on evangelism in the dorms in Sampoloc.⁵⁹⁹ With over 500,000 students living in this concentrated region, the YWAM teams organized nightly evangelistic meetings in the various dorms and did individual evangelism during the day, resulting in reports of students professing faith in Christ.⁶⁰⁰ The membership of Chi Alpha increased. The YWAM team also held open air evangelistic meetings each week at the basketball court of the Philippine College of Commerce. Here YWAM, Chi Alpha, and students from Bethel Bible Institute joined efforts to show evangelistic films, sing and play music, and share testimonies as the students were leaving their evening classes.⁶⁰¹

The group used the Oriental Missionary Crusade offices as their “home base” for team devotions, prayer, and planning.⁶⁰² In conjunction with their daily dorm evangelism, they also offered evangelism training for churches. Local youth did not show much interest in this ministry, however, and the YWAMers concluded that physical distance from the suburban churches to the city center where the dormitories were located was a

⁵⁹⁹ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 2. It is interesting to note that early YWAM Vocational Volunteers, Stephen Lim and Pat Guerra, went to the Philippines to help establish the Chi Alpha Center with Ernie Reb. Stephen Lim, email to Allison Kach-Yawngwe, May 6, 2023.

⁶⁰⁰ The degree to which these students had come from Catholic or Protestant backgrounds is unknown, thus their “professions” of faith may or may not be considered conversions to Christianity depending on the definition used. The students were “converted” to pentecostalism through their joined of Chi Alpha, but may or may not have become members of pentecostal churches.

⁶⁰¹ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 3.

⁶⁰² YWAM’s relationship with OMC was fundamentally rooted in AG relationships and US missionary pentecostalism.

hindrance.⁶⁰³ Rather than succeed in having local Christian youth join them in their dorm witnessing, Jim and Jan Rogers reported that “Rev. Gaad of the Project 4 Assemblies of God Church requested we come and teach his Women’s Missionary Council how to witness.”⁶⁰⁴ The ATW team accepted Rev. Gaad’s invitation, which resulted in the women and youth initiating evangelistic outreach in their local community three times per week. Similarly, a Methodist congregation in Kalimbas requested YWAM’s evangelism training that resulted in the attendees starting their own local witnessing efforts.⁶⁰⁵

Other ministry opportunities included preaching to 5000 prisoners in Mutin-lumpur federal prison, delivering an evangelism training seminar to Christian families at Clark Air Force Base, and visitation of US soldiers wounded in Vietnam recovering at the military hospital on Clark.⁶⁰⁶ Each of these opportunities left ATW team members

⁶⁰³ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 3.

⁶⁰⁴ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 3.

⁶⁰⁵ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 3. Communism in the Philippines was a significant political and social force until the end of the Second World War and was beginning its resurgence in the period of the late 1960s. Even though the Philippines had gained independence from US rule in 1946, the presence of US military personnel and the saturation of US Christian missionaries meant that an anti-communist sentiment was present and active in the country during the Cold War even while its own communist party was reorganizing in the late 1960s. For the young YWAM ATW who ministered to wounded Vietnam veterans, the cause of the Cold War and the US’s fight against the enemy of communism would have been apparent.

⁶⁰⁶ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 4. The Report states that the YWAM team in the prison preached salvation and gave training in personal evangelism to the prisoners who “had already been converted before when visited by World Outreach missionary in Manila, Miss Carol Walker.” See <https://world-outreach.com/web/2022/08/18/reaching-indonesia/> for a description of Carol Walker’s early missionary life in Indonesia and Manila. Brother Ferring at Clark Air Force Base Church seemed to be an important contact for their ministry there. A number of the servicemen’s wives joined the YWAM group in door-to-door witnessing and were excited about having the skills to reach out to the 60,000 American dependents on base.

with strong impressions, but the team's final two weeks spent aboard the "Gospel boats of Oriental Missionary Crusade to evangelize remote islands of the Philippines" was, by all accounts, a highlight.⁶⁰⁷ Travels on the Good Ship Grace and the Seavangelist IX took the team to outstation churches and involved partnership with local Christian pastors and ministers Brother Naviza, Vic., Brother Sioco from the Mansalay church, Brother Alvarez of Good Ship Grace, and Brother Daniel who translated for the team at the outstation ministries.⁶⁰⁸ After these remote ministry and evangelism experiences, the ATW team said goodbye to Jim and Mary Cameron and Charlotte Sherwood before boarding a plane to Hong Kong.

Hong Kong

In the British Colony of Hong Kong in early 1969, YWAM worked through an array of established denominational churches, bible colleges, and ministries. Loren and Darlene Cunningham had a long-standing friendship and ministry partnership with Paul and Janet Kauffman, Canadian-American missionaries with ties to the PAOC and Darlene's family based in Hong Kong. Paul and Janet Kauffman were associate missionaries with the PAOC in Hong Kong and served formally with World Outreach.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁷ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 5.

⁶⁰⁸ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69, 3-7. Other names of the people YWAM participants mention as co-workers, or converts, include Esther (convert from Magnolia dorm), Dr. Sadorro, Nelly (Magnolia dorm), Norma, Clemente, Joel, Quentin Edwards, Kerry, Phillis Bakkee.

⁶⁰⁹ The challenging dynamic between Paul Kauffman and his status as an "associate missionary" and the PAOC Overseas Ministry Department head C.W. Lynn is well documented in extant letters. See Paul Kauffman file, PAOC Archives. In these letters, the agreement for World Outreach to undertake the PAOC's literature program is made in a letter dated May 1, 1968.

Their dual role as faith missionaries with World Outreach and their associations with the PAOC aided YWAM with an invitation to Hong Kong and access to World Outreaches' ministries. With closely linked family histories, Paul Kauffman was like family to Darlene Cunningham's missionary uncle and aunt, Clare and Lydia Scratch. Darlene's uncle and aunt had joined the Kauffmans – Paul, his brother, and his mother – in their PAOC mission work in China after Paul's father, Ivan, unexpectedly passed away in the mid-1930s.

Paul maintained a close relationship with Darlene Cunningham's family into his adulthood and throughout his missionary career. While on furlough in North America, he preached at Rev. James Swanson's AG church in Portland, Oregon, from Feb. 9–12, 1967 and was listed as one of the pall bearers at May (Scratch) Swanson's funeral.⁶¹⁰ Darlene's uncle Clare Scratch, gave high praise to Kauffman for his contribution to the 1968 PAOC missionary convention in Toronto to C.W. Lynn, the then Executive Director of the PAOC Overseas Mission Department.⁶¹¹

Given these family and denominational connections, the Kauffmans' ministry in Hong Kong with the New Zealand based-mission organization, World Outreach, offered

⁶¹⁰ Paul E. Kauffman to Rev. Tom Johnstone, December 29, 1966, Paul Kauffman File, PAOC Archives. James Swanson was Darlene Cunningham's cousin. He was the son of May (Scratch) Swanson and the nephew of Clare Scratch. Paul Kauffman is listed as one of the pall bearers at Mary (Scratch) Swanson's funeral.

⁶¹¹ C.W. Lynn to Rev. Paul Kauffman, June 13, 1968, Paul Kauffman File, PAOC Archives. Clare Scratch was, by 1968, revered in the PAOC for his missionary career and his position as the Promotional Secretary for the Overseas Missions Department.

YWAM partnerships on multiple levels.⁶¹² In addition to hosting YWAM's first Around the World team in 1968–69, World Outreach provided YWAM's North American evangelism with access to its correspondence Bible School in connection with the Kauffmans' PAOC relationship.⁶¹³ Furthermore, World Outreach's publishing house in Hong Kong was contracted to print YWAM's second promotional photobook, *A Journey With the Followers* (1969).⁶¹⁴

The Kauffmans' welcomed the ATW team into all aspects of their ministry and relationships in Hong Kong. Along with Paul, Janet, and Paul Jr., the YWAM group spent time with the Moody family, Bill Frazer, Grace, Brother Chung, and Ken Birch, a teacher at Hebron School.⁶¹⁵ Leaning into their mission to train young people for evangelism, the ATW team spoke at Hebron School each morning and gave personal

⁶¹² World Outreach, founded in 1932 by Dr. Len Jones was registered as "Russian and Eastern European Mission" with a name change to Slavic and Oriental Mission in 1952. In 1963, the Mission had missionaries in Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Thailand, and Indonesia. By 1967, Slavic and Oriental Mission changed their name to "World Outreach." Paul and Janet Kauffman are listed as missionaries in Hong Kong in 1964, see page 6 of World Outreach, "Heritage: A Commemorative Publication Celebrating 90 Years of World Outreach" (World Outreach, 2022), <https://world-outreach.com/web/abo-our-history/>. The Kauffmans' story is rather interesting, given the fact that Paul grew up on the mission field, his mother remaining with the PAOC. Paul had a thriving ministry in Hong Kong and among Chinese pentecostals, but he struggled to gain denominational credentials in the US and Canada because he grew up on the mission field and his father had been long dead. Paul was a US citizen and tried unsuccessfully to gain missionary credentials with the AG. Finally, the PAOC granted him associate missionary status, which meant they weren't financially responsible for him and he couldn't fundraise in their churches, but he could claim Canadian denominational affiliation. His main ministry was with and for World Outreach, a faith organization, but his ties to the US and Canada were largely thanks to the Scratch family and their friends.

⁶¹³ The connection between PAOC and World Outreach Bible Correspondence Courses likely points back to Kauffman's agreement with Lynn for World Outreach to print all of the PAOC's literature at a good price. It was the PAOC pastor, Keith Parks, who was the point person for the Correspondence Courses advertised on all of the literature the 1968 and 1969 YWAM teams handed out around the province of Quebec.

⁶¹⁴ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 7. YWAM had contracted World Outreach as the printer of their second photo book.

⁶¹⁵ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69, 8.

testimonies of faith and witnessing in individual classrooms and at large assemblies.⁶¹⁶ They offered trainings for the students at Hong Kong Baptist College, renamed University in 1994, and participated in literature distribution in an area called Rennie's Mill. The extant report and photo record of their time in Hong Kong emphasized the threat of Communist China and the missionary imperative to reach as many people for Christ and, in turn, thwart the communist advance.⁶¹⁷ A slide reel depicts team members Berniece, Peter, David, and Carol looking towards and walking away from the looming border to mainland China.⁶¹⁸ In their report from Hong Kong, the Rogers describe how Communism is alive and well in Hong Kong, especially seen in Communist-run schools that steep children in Mao's indoctrination.⁶¹⁹ Children in the Christian school, Hebron School, instead display "happy faces."⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁶ The Slide Description names a PAOC school and an AG school, but Report on Southeast Asia calls Hebron School a PAOC school. The information listed is confusing because historically the Ka Chi school was founded by PAOC missionaries Miss Pardo and Miss McCloud in 1949: <http://www.kachi.edu.hk/en/about-us/sponsoring-body/school-history> and Hebron School was an Assemblies of God school.

⁶¹⁷ The report from Hong Kong gives the most explicit "anti-communist" sentiments expressed in all of the YWAM archives, although other mentions of the need to evangelize to reach people before they are brain-washed by communist ideology is present in letters written by Floyd McClung and others. Still, being in Hong Kong and seeing communist China with their eyes incited strong emotion and revealed the anti-communist rhetoric that animated western evangelicalism during the Cold War.

⁶¹⁸ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69, 8.

⁶¹⁹ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 7.

⁶²⁰ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 7.

Thailand

On to Thailand for three weeks, the YWAM team worked with Canadian missionaries Don and Faye Schellenberg, the Don MacMurray family, and attended some meetings with a Dr. Cho as the main speaker.⁶²¹ The Schellenbergs welcomed YWAM's partnership in their efforts to evangelize the Suphanburi region, which at that time was reported to have 100,000 people scattered in farming and rural communities and no Christian presence or witness.⁶²² For two weeks the ATW team drove on dirt roads to accessible villages, rode river boats to secluded settlements, and walked through endless rice fields to distribute tracts and sell Gospels of Mark to interested readers. Alongside the literature, the local recipients also received coupons for World Outreach's Thai Bible Correspondence Course.⁶²³ Leaving Southeast Asia for South Asia – Ceylon, India, and Nepal – the Rogers expressed a sober conviction of the need for urgent missionary evangelism in the region, fearing that if “Southeast Asia is not reached for Christ within the next two or three years, it will be too late, and political bondage will prevent active

⁶²¹ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69, 9. There is no other information as to who Dr. Cho was, apart from the fact that he wasn't local and spoke through an interpreter.

⁶²² Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 8.

⁶²³ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 7–8. Another reference to World Outreach's Bible Correspondence Course reveals how pervasive and well-used their ministry resources were by missionaries in South Asia of varying denominations.

evangelism within the borders of her countries.”⁶²⁴ The threat of communism persisted as a motivator of YWAM missions in the region.

Ceylon & Nepal

The ATW’s time in Ceylon, India, and Nepal was short.⁶²⁵ In Ceylon, they worked with Pastor Lloyd and Roshini Perera of Colombo Gospel Tabernacle.⁶²⁶ Present at the same time that missionary evangelist Victor Trimmer was preaching a series of meetings, the YWAM group offered evangelism training to the church youth and contributed to what Perera reported to the Pentecostal Evangel as a revival.⁶²⁷ YWAM’s Slide Description lists participation from a David Nyien and an Elizabeth who was photographed taking notes during a training session. Margaret, Daisy Thomas, Leo Ruston, Sam, Stanmore Wierasingh, Gunasakers’s boy, Faith, Ashely, Constance

⁶²⁴ Typescript of Report on Southeast Asia (from Round-the-World Team) by Jim and Janice Rogers, 1969, 8. It is likely that the Rogers were, at least in part, expressing the concern and urgency of the missionaries they were working with for whom communism was a constant and present enemy.

⁶²⁵ Ceylon, now named Sri Lanka, was used in YWAM’s documents and the author will use the name of the period.

⁶²⁶ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69. Lloyd Perera held his credentials through the Assemblies of God US. The YWAM documents make a note that Lloyd and Roshini also directed the New Life Correspondence School with an enrollment of 1400 students. In a 1962 report from a revival meeting in Imperial Beach, California, one learns that Lloyd Perera was Ceylonese and was “a produce of our won Assemblies of God missionary work overseas. It can be inferred from this expert, “Evangelism Breakthrough,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, April 8, 1962, Digitized Periodicals – Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, that Lloyd and Roshini were Tamil, as his testimony was entitled, “From Idols and Caste Systems to Pentecost.”

⁶²⁷ Lloyd Perera, “Revival Spirit Manifested in Ceylon,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, September 21, 1969, Digitized Periodicals – Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center. It is important to note that Perera’s article does not mention YWAM, but it does describe the events of the YWAM team’s presence: Victor Trimmer’s series of revival meetings and evening evangelism training sessions, likely provided by the ATW team. By this time, all AG foreign missionary personnel had been discouraged from working with YWAM, but in this case it is interesting to note that YWAM workers were partners with the Pereras even if they did not report this fact to the Department of Foreign Missions.

Benjamin (named as a convert of Lorraine), and Sunil are photographed going out witnessing or in the processing of witnessing to people in Colombo.⁶²⁸

India

After moving on to India, the ATW team went to Calcutta to work with Assemblies of God missionaries, Mark and Huldah Buntain.⁶²⁹ Buntain pastored an Assemblies of God church, ran a school, and fed 1000 children each morning.⁶³⁰ The YWAM group served in the church, taught the Sunday School class, shared in the school, and offered evangelism training for the local young people. The “Calcutta Y-wammers” were on the streets and door-to-door witnessing with some recorded conversions. The ATW team of Jim, Jan, Berniece, Bruce, Carol, Peter and Lorraine were joined by Operation Mobilization member Chris Beggs and another OM member.⁶³¹ Other

⁶²⁸ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69. It is unclear if the congregation and the young people who worked with YWAM were Sinhalese, Tamil, or from Mar thoma Christian backgrounds. It is highly likely that the Pereras were Tamil and that they would have attracted other Tamil pentecostals to their church, but that cannot be verified.

⁶²⁹ Loren was given Mark Buntain’s contact information from Bev and Roger Smith in a copy of their report sent on September 1, 1967. In that report, the Smiths assure Loren that there is a great need for YWAM’s ministry in India and they provide a summary of OM and Peace Corps work in the country and share the contact details of a number of local Christians, leaders, and missionaries with whom YWAM should contact before beginning any ministry. Mark Buntain was originally from Winnipeg, Manitoba, a Canadian pentecostal who began working with the AG during international missionary service. Glenn W. Gohr, “This Week in AG History - March 31, 1968,” *AG News* (blog), March 31, 2022, <https://news.ag.org/en/article-repository/news/2022/03/this-week-in-ag-history-march-31-1968>. The porous nature of pentecostal mission networks and denominations in missionary service is an interesting point demonstrated here in the Buntain’s case. YWAM was able to cross over into a variety of pentecostal and non-pentecostal missionary networks because of their commitment to what they called “non-denominational” approach to evangelism. The unifying force of mission and evangelism worked in YWAM’s favor in most cases.

⁶³⁰ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69, 14.

⁶³¹ Again, evidence of YWAM’s collaboration with OM provides insight into ongoing and intricate global mission partnerships between the two groups and the pentecostal missionaries.

participants listed include Alice Fraser, Gloria Fraser, Hazel West, John Vardon, Richard Khan, Gupta, Fiaz, Neville, Russ, Bonnie Buntain, Doris, Alec, Eileen, Walter, Joy, Len, and Lillian Finnerty.⁶³² While evangelism was the major ministry in Calcutta, the Buntains' ministry of feeding and schooling poor children was one of YWAM's first active participation in what was considered "mercy ministry" or humanitarian service.⁶³³ After a visit to the Taj Majah, the team made their way into neighboring Nepal.

YWAM's first visit to Nepal had been much anticipated by Loren Cunningham who told Pastor John Wilkerson in a letter that,

we have a real open door to the country of Nepal. This little country has by law forbidden the Gospel for centuries and we have a unique opportunity to go in as a non-sectarian youth movement for a short time. A hotel owner there will even take care of the room and board for the young people. I'm so thrilled and excited. This is an opportunity not of a lifetime – but of a century.⁶³⁴

As a "non-sectarian youth movement" the ATW team did not engage in proselytizing, but explored and documented the people, scenery, and culture through photographs. The only formal service seems to have been at the Christian leper hospital, where they worked with the Roman Catholic nuns, one identified as Sister Miriam.⁶³⁵ It can also be assumed that the ATW team's time in devotions and prayer was viewed by them as valuable ministry.

⁶³² Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69," 14–15.

⁶³³ As YWAM's vision of its ministry developed, "mercy ministry" would go on to become one of the Mission's three main foci – evangelism, training, and mercy ministries. It is commonly believed within YWAM that the focus on humanitarian and compassionate work became central to YWAM after its involvement in the Thai border camps inhabited by Cambodian refugees escaped from the Khmer Rouge's killing fields. See Steve Goode, Marie Goode, and Jemimah Wright, *Bring Your Eyes and See: Our Journey into Justice, Compassion, and Action* (YWAM Publishing, 2014).

⁶³⁴ Loren Cunningham to Rev. John Wilkerson, April 22, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁶³⁵ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69," 16.

Kenya

The original plan was for the ATW team to finish up their year of missionary travel by training the newly recruited youth participating in the SOS in Europe.⁶³⁶ Plans, however, changed for reasons that remain unclear. A former connection with PAOC missionaries opened a new possibility for the YWAM teams to work in East Africa for the first time. Bill and Lillian Cornelius first witnessed YWAM's ministry while at home in Winnipeg on furlough in the summer of 1967. They were impressed by the spiritual revival YWAM sparked in the Transcona PAOC church when gang members attended the YWAM meetings and became confessing Christians. The Corneliuses exchanged contact information with the Canadian SOS leaders, Arnie and Heidi Breikreuz, and two years later were delighted to welcome YWAM young people to help them in their efforts in Kenya two summers later.⁶³⁷

The ATW team arrived in Kenya when the European SOS began in June of 1969. The Summer 1969 SOS was also the final ministry of YWAM's first School of Evangelism (SOE) that had run in Chateau D'Oex, Switzerland, from January 31 to the close of the SOS on August 22. With the ATW team in Kenya during the same dates as YWAM's various global SOS outreaches, it too was categorized as a Summer of Service and received three SOE students to fulfill their SOS ministries.⁶³⁸ Ramona Jensen, Dan

⁶³⁶ "Round-The-World in Africa," *Youth Advance on Strategic Frontiers* 6, no. 7 (August 1969): 4, Folder 1969, Publications – 1964-1994 ADVANCE, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive.

⁶³⁷ Ray Johnson to Mr. W. Cornelius, November 20, 1969, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁶³⁸ Ramona Musch, interview by Allison Kach-Yawnghe, June 20, 2022, Atlanta, GA.

Roché, and Nova Goodwin met the team of Jim and Jan Rogers, Berneice Coff, Bruce Thompson, Lorraine Dierck, Carol Hayes, Peter Stenhouse, and another unidentifiable young man, now in month 11 of travel and service.⁶³⁹

Welcomed by PAOC missionaries and Kenya Field Directors, Bill and Lillian Cornelius, the ATW/SOS began their two months of ministry and “travelled throughout Kenya speaking and singing in schools, youth camps, open-air services, churches, prisons and on the radio.”⁶⁴⁰ They gave evangelism training sessions for local youth at the Nairobi Assemblies of God church.⁶⁴¹ From there, the foreign and local young people went out witnessing in Nairobi. They also offered evangelism seminars in Nakura and evangelized in Bahati, and a village near Kioumi.⁶⁴² Al Werberski and local Kenyan Christians participated with them in their daily evangelistic activities spanning the two months.⁶⁴³ The ATW/SOS team also participated in a publicized event, the week-long Kenya Youth Camp at Kisumu and sponsored by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada’s Foreign Mission Department.⁶⁴⁴ YWAM’s presence was “special help” that entailed Rev.

⁶³⁹ It is possible that the unidentified young man was David Ravenhill, but I have not been able to get a confirmation of that assumption by any of the surviving members to date.

⁶⁴⁰ Ramona (Jensen) Musch, “The First Years of YWAM in Africa Recalled,” *Jubilee Magazine: Stories of YWAM in Africa 1960-2010*, 2010, Ramona Musch Personal Papers. The Corneliuses encountered YWAM during the 1967 TransCanada stop in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, while they were on furlough and home assignment. The Corneliuses served in Kenya with the PAOC from 1955-1975, see PAOC Archival Records: Bob and Lillian Cornelius.

⁶⁴¹ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69, 17. The team’s ministry began after a visit to the Nairobi Game Reserve, a visit which occupied a large number of the team’s photo documentation.

⁶⁴² Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 19.

⁶⁴³ Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 19. Other names mentioned include Duncan, Dave, Doris, John (from Bible school).

⁶⁴⁴ Carol Sirett, “Kenya Youth Camp of 1969,” *Missionary Outlook: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Overseas Missions Department* 169 (December 1969): 2–3, Ramona Musch Personal Papers.

Jim Rogers, identified as the team leader, teaching morning Bible classes on the theme “Effective Personal Witnessing.”⁶⁴⁵ The daily teachings, worship times, and camp activities lead towards the camp youth boarding seven chartered buses into Kisumu to do door-to-door evangelism followed by an evening youth rally at the Kisumu Municipal Stadium attended by over three-thousand young people, some of whom dedicated their lives to following Jesus Christ for the first time.⁶⁴⁶ Following the Youth Camp, the ATW/SOS said goodbyes. Bruce Thompson remained in East Africa. Berniece Coff returned to the US.⁶⁴⁷ Carol Hayes travelled on to Switzerland to start the next SOE, while Ramona, Dan, and Nova returned to Switzerland to graduate and move on.⁶⁴⁸ Jim and Janice Rogers also went to Switzerland, *en route* to the US to attend YWAM’s 1969 Staff Conference in Kenosha, Wisconsin.

The 1969 ATW-SOS was YWAM’s gateway into East Africa and the Canadian pentecostals, Bill and Lillian Cornelius were the gatekeepers. After 1969, YWAM maintained a mission presence in East Africa through Rudi Lack. Writing to Loren sometime in early 1970 from Nairobi, Rudi Lack said, “PAOC in Africa is looking forward to our visit. There are great opportunities in the Capital of Zambia and Rev. Lynn is very keen on having a team there.”⁶⁴⁹ In 1970, the second Around the World

⁶⁴⁵ Sirett, “Kenya Youth Camp of 1969,” 2.

⁶⁴⁶ Sirett, “Kenya Youth Camp of 1969,” 2.

⁶⁴⁷ “1969 Youth With A Missions Report,” 1.

⁶⁴⁸ Ramona, Dan, and Nova returned to Switzerland to graduate from the School of Evangelism. Jim and Janice Rogers also went to Switzerland before returning to the US in September 1969.

⁶⁴⁹ Rudi Lack to Loren Cunningham,” circa 1971, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

team expanded ministry into West Africa.⁶⁵⁰ Ramona (Jensen) Musch pioneered YWAM in South Africa in the mid-1970s. YWAM's presence in Kenya and the African sub-continent was a direct result of its youth evangelistic teams that travelled across Canada on the 1967 Trans-Canada Summer of Service (SOS).

Around the World, Again: The 1970 Team

By September of 1969, plans for a second ATW team were underway and presented in the 1970 Projections at the YWAM Staff Conference in Kenosha, Wisconsin. YWAM's second ATW was set to begin on February 1, 1970, with ministry stops in "Japan, Korea, Formosa, Manila, Indonesia, Malaysia, Ceylon, Afghanistan, India, Middle East, East Africa, Communist, and Europe."⁶⁵¹ Contrary to these projections from September 1969, the ATW team, led by Floyd and Sally McClung began in January of 1970. Their first stop was Indonesia, joining up with the South Pacific SOS of 37 young people led by Ross and Margaret Tooley who were ministering in Indonesia for two months.⁶⁵² The team of six – Floyd and Sally McClung, Jeannette Boteler, Michal McCord, Dan Secrist, Carolyn Wyllie – all came from the US and took a flight to Jakarta via Tokyo and Hong Kong.⁶⁵³ Met by five of the New Zealand SOS team who was there to meet the US ATW team – Ray McNee (evangelist), Dave Wallis (mathematician), Kevin Phillips (electrician), Ann Douglas (student), Heather Smith

⁶⁵⁰ YWAM's work expanded into Uganda, as per McClung's 1970 report.

⁶⁵¹ Typescript of Minutes of the Staff Conference - Kenosha, Wisconsin, September, 1969, 3.

⁶⁵² "1969 Youth With A Missions Report," 1; Tooley, *The Call to the Harvest*, 4.

⁶⁵³ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report from Ceylon.

(nurse) – the amalgamated group returned to Medan, on the island of Sumatra to continue the New Zealanders’ ministry with the American AG missionaries, Claude and Wilma Rediger and the Browns.⁶⁵⁴

While in Indonesia, the ATW team carried out YWAM’s usual ministry: training local young people in evangelism and practicing their skills by going out door-to-door witnessing. Picking up where the 1969 ATW team left off, the New Zealand SOS and 1970 ATW assisted the missionary families and local pastors. One local pastor opened up the opportunity for them to preach and give their testimonies in a prison that housed Communists captured in the 1965–66 coup who had not been numbered among the more than half a million who had been killed.⁶⁵⁵ The rest of their time they circulated around the participating churches and did a lot of “‘seed planting’ in the hearts of the people. Many of the people have really never heard of salvation through Jesus Christ before.”⁶⁵⁶ Their ministry was dependent on local Indonesian Christian young people, like Freddie

⁶⁵⁴ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report from Ceylon. The New Zealand team had already been working with the Browns and Redigers for the past six weeks. Heather Smith went to Switzerland for the next SOE after the ATW trip. Her school would have been the third SOE.

⁶⁵⁵ Estimates of the number of people killed in this politically motivated and internationally supported genocide are from between 500,000 to one million. This is the only mention of the mass arrests, detention, and extermination of Indonesia’s communist party members and sympathizers in YWAM’s extant records of ministry in Indonesia. While it proves they were aware of the events that predated their presence and ministry, it doesn’t indicate how much they understood or were instructed about the context and ongoing repercussions of these events that were ongoing by the missionaries and pastors they worked with. Typescript of Indonesian Report by Floyd & Sally McClung, February 1970, 2, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. See Robinson, *The Killing Season*; Grace Leksana, “Collaboration in Mass Violence.”

⁶⁵⁶ Typescript of Indonesian Report, 5.

Munte who worked with them as their main interpreter, or Esra and Thelia, two young women who became effective evangelists.⁶⁵⁷

Leaving Indonesia and parting from the New Zealander SOS who were returning home, the ATW team, grew to eight people with the addition of David Cowie and Tom Hadfield.⁶⁵⁸ As Cowie reflected decades later, he left Indonesia with a “renewed burden” for the diverse ethnic groups in “towns and villages without a gospel message,” and the “many souls who do not know the saving grace of Jesus Christ.”⁶⁵⁹ The team travelled to Penang for one week and then moved on to Bangkok until the middle of March.⁶⁶⁰ By the middle of April, the ATW team was in Ceylon by way of Singapore and were joined again by YWAM New Zealand leaders Ross and Margaret Tooley.⁶⁶¹ After two weeks of witnessing in Colombo, the team travelled into the mountains for a youth camp where 90 local youth attended evening rallies with a national evangelist and daytime session where YWAMers taught on personal evangelism and discipleship.⁶⁶² The ATW team moved on to Kandi, focusing mostly on evangelism to the students at the university of Ceylon. With

⁶⁵⁷ Typescript of Indonesian Report, 5–9.

⁶⁵⁸ Cowie and Hatfield had worked with the New Zealand SOS for the full two months, but felt God call them to continue in the YWAM evangelism work and join the ATW.

⁶⁵⁹ David Cowie, email to Allison Kach-Yawngwe, April 10, 2024. David noted that he was a part of a group of 40 other young people from New Zealand that were working in Indonesia for the SOS with the Tooleys. The SOS began in December 1969 and followed a 1969 weekend crusade run by the Tooleys at a church in Christchurch, NZ. Typescript of Indonesian Report, 10. There are no reports from Penang or Bangkok, but it can be assumed that the 1970 team picked up the relationships and ministries left by the 1969 ATW team. It is highly likely that they worked with Don and Faye Schellenberg and World Outreach again.

⁶⁶⁰ Typescript of Indonesian Report, 10. There are no reports from Penang or Bangkok, but it can be assumed that the 1970 team picked up the relationships and ministries left by the 1969 ATW team. It is highly likely that they worked with Don and Faye Schellenberg and World Outreach again.

⁶⁶¹ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report from Ceylon.

⁶⁶² Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report from Ceylon, 6–7.

an the invitation of Fullbright scholar from Michigan, Professor Verhey and his wife, the YWAM team tried to have personal conversations with as many of the 5000 students they could.⁶⁶³ They found themselves challenged to engage in conversation with diverse groups of young people from different religious backgrounds and nationalities, but reported on many opportunities to share their personal testimonies of salvation in Jesus Christ.⁶⁶⁴ Wrapping up with a youth rally, the ATW team noted that their highlight was that they “were able to train 50 young people who had gathered from all over the island, in personal evangelism and take them out witnessing. We pray that as they returned to their towns and villages they will inspire and train still others.”⁶⁶⁵

From Ceylon the team went to Madras, India, on May 15. After departing India, they went to East Africa for the summer months and had planned to arrive on July 11, 1970.⁶⁶⁶ Working with the same contacts in Kenya as the year before, the ministry looked similar, with a focus on university and college campus evangelism. One of their contacts and hosts was PAOC missionaries Bill and Shirley Cornelius.⁶⁶⁷ The group distributed tens of thousands of tracts with the local Kenyan young people who attended their

⁶⁶³ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report from Ceylon, 12.

⁶⁶⁴ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report from Ceylon, 13–15.

⁶⁶⁵ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report from Ceylon, 16.

⁶⁶⁶ Loren D. Cunningham to Mr. Christy Wilson and Floyd McClung, June 5, 1970, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Floyd McClung to Mrs. Elvera Hutchison of Life Messengers, April 23, 1970.

⁶⁶⁷ McClung to Hutchison; Ramon (Jensen) Musch, email to Allison Kach-Yawnghe, April 4, 2024. Ramona noted that they had many hosts.

evangelism training sessions.⁶⁶⁸ At the same time and unplanned, Ramona Jensen who had been a student in the first SOE and then on the SOS/ATW '69 team had returned to Kenya with her friend Linda Bartel while on their summer break from Southern California College. Ramona returned to Kenya independently “as a YWAMer” but she was not aware there was another ATW team also there. With all the same contacts, Ramona and Linda met up with Sally, Floyd, Jeannette, Michal, Dan, and Carol and joined them.⁶⁶⁹ Rudi Lack, a young Swiss man from the second SOE, also joined the ATW team in Kenya upon Loren’s suggestion that he needed more cross-cultural experience outside of Europe.⁶⁷⁰

The ATW '70 team broke into two smaller groups when presented with an opportunity to go and evangelize in Uganda. Floyd asked Ramona if she would join Rudi Lack, a Swiss YWAMer who had just completed his SOE, Dan Secrist, ATW team member, and a few unnamed others to work in Uganda. Ramona agreed and Linda remained in Kenya with Floyd and Sally and the rest of the team, who returned to help with the 1970 Kenya Youth Camp, directed by Patrick J. Osuka.⁶⁷¹ While in Uganda, the smaller team of Ramona, Rudi, Dan, and a few others contacted Southern Baptist missionaries Harry and Doris Garvin. The Garvins housed the team at the mission

⁶⁶⁸ Floyd requested 10,000 *Captain* and 30,000 *Now I'm Free* tracts from Life Messengers. He also stated that they could use the remaining tracts during September and October months in West Africa. For more information on the tracts and ministry of Life Messengers see Chapter 2.

⁶⁶⁹ Email from Ramona Jensen Musch, April 4, 2024.

⁶⁷⁰ Rudi Lack, *Breakthrough: Taking the Gospel Across Forbidden Borders* (Krattigen, Switzerland: Good Literature for All, 1999), 95.

⁶⁷¹ Kenya C.A. Youth Camp Brochure, 1970, Ramona Musch Personal Papers.

station.⁶⁷² Both teams kept to YWAM's main ministry of door-to-door evangelism in 13 cities and villages working with local pastors and churches and missionaries, holding "domestic-like crusades involving church youth."⁶⁷³

The ATW team had planned to work in West Africa during September and October, according to Floyd McClung's April 1970 letter to Life Messengers. David Cowie confirmed that after Kenya, the team went to Ghana, Liberia, and Seirra Leone before moving to India, where the trip concluded in November.⁶⁷⁴ During their work in India, they partnered with missionaries, local churches, Operation Mobilization, and the Evangelical Union, "which is an organization of Christian students of various university campuses who band together for Christian fellowship."⁶⁷⁵ They made use of translated Gordon Lindsay tracts, *The Way to Eternal Life*, when appropriate.⁶⁷⁶ Their first week of ministry in India they offered evangelism training sessions for local Christian youth and

⁶⁷² Musch, email, April 4, 2024. Ramona noted that this couple were Spirit-filled Southern Baptists. The group got the contacts for them from Canadian missionaries, likely in Kenya and possibly the Coreliuses.

⁶⁷³ Photo of YWAM Team in Kenya or Uganda with Written Description, 1970, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁶⁷⁴ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report: India by Floyd & Sally McClung, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. The report is dated November 13, 1970, which can be assumed to be the reception date at YWAM Office in California. Cowie, email, April 10, 2024. In India, the team was joined by Ross and Margaret Tooley, and Michael Bare.

⁶⁷⁵ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report: India, 12. It is likely that this organization was the Union of Evangelical Students in India, founded in 1948. "History," UESI.in, accessed November 28, 2024, <https://uesi.in/history/>.

⁶⁷⁶ Gordon Lindsay was the founder of Christ for the Nations, formerly Voice of Healing. He had been a Texas based healing evangelist affiliated with the AG who went independent and founded his own ministry of global healing and proclamation evangelism. Lindsay began supporting YWAM's work around 1967 after Gordon and Freida's son, Dennis, participated in one of YWAM's SOS. Part of the Lindsays' support for YWAM came in the form of printing and sending tracts for their distribution in global evangelistic work. See Gordon Lindsay, "Youth with Inspiration and Purpose," *Christ for the Nations Magazine*, August 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. For more on YWAM's relationship with the Lindsays and Christ for the Nations, see Chapter 2.

went door-to-door witnessing at the Kolar Gold Fields in Karnataka, India.⁶⁷⁷ Local Christian young people Helen, Nalini, and 30 to 40 others were key agents in translating, sharing their own testimonies of faith, and leading people to a “salvation experience” in their own community.⁶⁷⁸ The team was led by local Christians who witnessed to Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians from ethnic minorities, but who found it difficult to have conversations leading to “conversion” with the majority of Hindus and Muslims. These local Christian young people were recorded as having a “desire for God” and continued organized witnessing efforts after the YWAM team left.⁶⁷⁹

The ATW team moved on to Madras in Madras State and then on to Poona in Maharashtra State for similar ministry training young people in evangelism and door-to-door witnessing. In Madras the team seems to have worked with the local church, but in Poona they were hosted by missionaries from New Zealand before breaking into three smaller groups to cover more geographic area.⁶⁸⁰ Dan Secrist’s team of three moved on to Ahmednagar to assist a recent church plant as their new pastor was getting started. After the team was ready to move on, Dan stayed behind for 10 more days to support the new pastor and used his musical gifts to draw crowds for house meetings and child evangelism.⁶⁸¹ The team reunited in Bombay for the final leg of their India stay, joining

⁶⁷⁷ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report: India, 1–5.

⁶⁷⁸ A salvation experience meant that the listeners would have prayed prayers of repentance of sin and confessed their belief in Jesus Christ. Given YWAM’s pentecostal undertones and the pentecostalism of the local young people, it could have also included a spiritual encounter of healing or baptism of the Holy Spirit with tongue speaking.

⁶⁷⁹ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report: India, 4–5.

⁶⁸⁰ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report: India, 7.

⁶⁸¹ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report: India, 7.

Operation Mobilization's "Operation 100" project to reach 10 million people with Gospel tracts in three months.⁶⁸² They also partnered with the Union of Evangelical Students of India at five college campuses, including Sophia College, a Catholic women's college, and Wilson College, a Protestant college founded by Scottish missionary John Wilson.⁶⁸³ Following their time in Bombay, the Tooleys returned to New Zealand via Thailand and shared reports of some of the team's converts still continuing in faith. After India, some of the ATW team members returned home, some travelled to Switzerland for the next SOE, and others, like the McClungs prepared for a return and lasting outreach in India by way of the Hippy Trail from Europe through Afghanistan to India.

After the 1970 ATW, other large-scale regional teams like "Around Asia" and "Around South America" were planned, but none replicated the same geographic breadth as the original two ATWs.⁶⁸⁴ Together, both ATW teams did what they set out to accomplish: they solidified old mission contacts and partnerships, forged new relationships, equipped local young people in missionary evangelism, and shared the message of Jesus Christ everywhere they could. The ATW disseminated YWAM's message and practice of youth as valuable participants in world evangelization throughout Southeast and East Asia and East and West Africa. They opened new avenues for YWAM's work in the regions they visited and informed their readers at home in the

⁶⁸² Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report: India, 8.

⁶⁸³ Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report: India, 12–13. Helen, a worker with the "Evangelical Union," is mentioned as hosting a Bible study at Sophia College with two of her friends, Baratha and Lena.

⁶⁸⁴ Ross and Margaret Tooley led and planned an "Around Asia Crusade" from December 16, 1970-January 30, 1971 focused on ministry in several Southeast Asian countries.

YWAM office and on YWAM's North American mailing list of the real threat of Communism that beckoned them to Christian action. The ATW's ministry document some of YWAM's first interreligious encounters and traces ways that the young people's approach to mission was both challenged and changed by local contexts and culture. Learning from established missionaries, local pastors and churches of various denominations, and local Christian and non-Christian young people throughout Asia and Africa was formative for the ATW members, many of whom went on to play influential leadership roles in the YWAM.⁶⁸⁵ The ATW ministry was an unique and ambitious extension of YWAM's variety of global Christianity that took root in diverse local contexts.

An Emphasis on Missionary Training: YWAM Moves to Europe

YWAM's expansion into Europe seemed to be only a matter of time. YWAM SOS crusades were moving further afield from North and Central America to the South Pacific and beyond. Along with Loren and Darlene Cunninghams' expansive global missionary and ministry networks were established denominations and pastors in Europe eager to see young people inspired and reached with the message of Jesus Christ. Europe was the Cunninghams' own training ground for mass literature evangelism with OM in

⁶⁸⁵ The majority of ATW participants went on to become full-time missionaries with YWAM for the majority of their missionary careers, some still serving as long-term YWAM missionaries. Even if they moved on from YWAM, like Sally and Floyd McClung or Dr. Bruce Thomson, they continued in missionary work and had an influence on emerging YWAM missionaries and ministries.

rural France in the summer of 1963. Thus, a vision for evangelistic ministry through youth in Europe was likely never far from their imaginings of world evangelization. It wasn't until the early months of 1967, and after Loren's formative first trip to New Zealand that included spiritual fasting and revelation for YWAM's future ministry that he and Darlene began sharing their mutual conviction and perceived direction from God for YWAM to expand into formal missionary training programs. To Loren and Darlene, their vision, prayer, and motivation was to develop YWAM into a "multiplier for mission."⁶⁸⁶ To the Cunninghams, the key to multiplication was teaching and training.

The idea for a YWAM missionary training school developed through Loren and Darlene's conversing, praying, and planning throughout 1967. Loren recounted that during the autumn of 1967 God spoke to him that he was to have a school named the "School of Evangelism" and that it should be in Switzerland.⁶⁸⁷ To investigate the potential of a new work in Switzerland and to prepare for another of YWAM's new ministries just getting off the ground – the Around the World team – Loren and Darlene planned a own global scouting trip.⁶⁸⁸ In part meant to sustain long-time partnerships and to discover new opportunities for youth in world mission, Loren and Darlene intended to

⁶⁸⁶ Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 31. It is important to identify that Loren was officially trained in educational administration and design through his Master's in Education (get official title) and had practical experience in his pastoral roles and as the district Sunday School leader.

⁶⁸⁷ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 82. It is unclear how much Francis and Edith Shaefer's ministry, L'Abri may have influenced Loren's thoughts about Switzerland. It is known that Loren read a Francis Shaeffer book *Escape from Reason* that influenced him profoundly, leading him to include someone from the Shaefer's minister in their schools from the beginning. Cunningham, interview part 1.

⁶⁸⁸ The 1968 trip took place from January 23, 1968 to Easter (April) when Loren and Darlene arrived in Quebec to speak at the Easter crusades in advance of the upcoming Quebec SOS 1968. Their trip included stops in Auckland, Singapore, Manila, Indonesia, India, Eastern Africa, Israel, Switzerland, and Germany. This list is not comprehensive or in order.

visit Switzerland to “test the word” Loren heard from God. The School of Evangelism (SOE) scouting, however, wasn’t YWAM’s only purpose in visiting Europe. There were plans in the works for YWAM’s first short-term European Domestic Crusade, likely to be held during the Christmas break of 1968–69.⁶⁸⁹ To arrange the details, Loren and Darlene visited a Pentecostal minister and Bible College teacher in Frankfurt, Germany, Rev. Gerhardt Wessler, in the spring of 1968 to plan the crusade that ultimately was postponed.⁶⁹⁰

YWAM’s involvement in Switzerland, however, took the primary focus of the Cunninghams’ time in Europe after they received a prophetic word from “a scholar and prophet from Canada, Dr. Willard Cantelon,” the day before they departed on their around the world trip.⁶⁹¹ During a meeting with Loren’s father, T.C. Cunningham, Cantelon expressed his desire to meet with Loren the day before Loren and Darlene were leaving for months of international ministry.⁶⁹² According to Darlene’s retelling, Willard told Loren that he had been praying for him and he heard God speak – “God wants you to go to Switzerland and start a school with visiting speakers who do what they teach.”⁶⁹³

⁶⁸⁹ Loren Cunningham to Letter to Rev. Gerhardt Wessler, Frankfurt, Germany, June 4, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁶⁹⁰ Cunningham to Wessler, June 4, 1968; Gerhard Wessler, “From the Editor’s Mail,” *Full Gospel Men’s Voice*, March 1956, Oral Roberts University Digital Archives.

⁶⁹¹ The meeting with Cantelon was on January 22nd, as Darlene and Loren left on their trip on January 23, 1968. Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 31. YWAM’s practice of hearing direction from God in prayer was a pentecostal carry-over from Loren and Darlene’s revivalist pentecostal roots and a practice that they were raised with. It was foundational for YWAM’s decision making in its early years and up to the present day. One of YWAM’s core teachings in its mission training schools was and remains, “Hearing the Voice of God.”

⁶⁹² Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 31–32.

⁶⁹³ Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 32.

Based on Willard Cantelon's prophetic word, Loren and Darlene were affirmed in what they personally believed God had spoken to them about a YWAM training school in Switzerland. Willard Cantelon had a ready-to-share contact, a fellow Canadian pentecostal, Reverend John Owens, with whom he offered to make introductions.⁶⁹⁴ Owens, it turned out, also happened to own a hotel with an empty annex that could possibly be used for a training center and classroom.⁶⁹⁵

Contrary to the timeline presented in *Is That Really You, God?* that blends the first and second SOEs into one, the Cunninghams visited Switzerland and Germany after they visited East Africa and the Middle East in March of 1968 and before they needed to be in Montreal, Canada, to speak at the Easter Crusade.⁶⁹⁶ Whether they met with Rev. Wessler in Frankfurt before or after they visited Switzerland is unknown. What is known, however, is that their visit to Switzerland centered on meeting Reverend John Owens, the contact given them by Willard Cantelon. The Cunninghams met with Owens to assess if his accommodations, Hotel Rosat in Chateaux D'Oex, Canton De Vaud, Switzerland, would suit YWAM's interests to be the location their first SOE. Suit they did. YWAM

⁶⁹⁴ Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 32.

⁶⁹⁵ John T. Owens had been credentialed PAOC minister, ordained pastor (1941) and evangelist in Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario from 1934 until he withdrew his credentials on January 15, 1949. At the time of his withdrawal, he affiliated with the Latter Rain Movement based in North Battleford, SK. He and his wife Hazel Underhill Owens relocated to Switzerland to "establish a center, . . . not under PAOC." "Clergy Record: John Thomas Owens," n.d., PAOC Archives. As far as this author can discern, there is no record of the "center" that Owens established, apart from him owning a hotel as a means to remain in Switzerland, as per Dennis Kiffiak's recollection.

⁶⁹⁶ Loren Cunningham to Rev. John Wilkerson, April 22, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

entered into a formal contract with Rosat Hotel Co. LTD. and Rev. John T. Owens, its president, on June 14, 1968.⁶⁹⁷

In the contract agreement, YWAM's students and staff would be giving lodging and food from January 30, 1969 to June 30, 1969 for \$100 per person, per week. The YWAM participants would bring their own bed linens, work for two hours each day for the hotel, and be responsible to pay the 'tax-de-sejour' and to pay for any damages incurred.⁶⁹⁸ John Owens, delighted to have plans for a "Bible School" to be run in his hotel, became an asset to Loren's plans for the first SOE as Loren and Darlene travelled North America and returned to California in time for their first child, Karen Joy, to be born.⁶⁹⁹ Owens was tasked with finding French, Spanish, and German language teachers for the SOE and Loren kept him abreast of the recruitment process and the development of the schedule and school plans.

While details for the SOE were being finalized, Loren was making contacts with other European pastors, missionaries, and ministries through his expanding networks. German pentecostal Rev. Gerhardt Wessler, who had some connections with the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship,⁷⁰⁰ Italian-American AG missionary Daniel Del

⁶⁹⁷ Typescript of Contract between Youth With A Mission and Rosat Hotel, June 14, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. The hotel's annex was YWAM's SOE classroom and "training center" while students and volunteer staff stayed in the hotel.

⁶⁹⁸ Typescript of Contract between Youth With A Mission and Rosat Hotel.

⁶⁹⁹ There are a number of extant letters exchanged between Loren Cunningham and John T. Owens in the period between June and November 1968 that concern planning details for language teachers and the school schedule.

⁷⁰⁰ The Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International was an independent pentecostal organization that promoted a pentecostal, and later charismatic, expression of Christianity through evangelism and preaching among lay business people. Founded by Demos Shakarian in 1952 in Los

Vecchio in Malaga, Spain, and former PAOC minister John Owens, are only a few of the contacts that are known.⁷⁰¹ These and other internationals and national Christians opened the way for YWAM to work in European countries, but its operations in Europe remained unofficial and relational.⁷⁰² Outside of Europe, other YWAM leaders continued to run the programs and keep their schedules of itineration while Loren and Darlene dedicated their time to the SOE and the first European SOS. The first SOS in Europe acted as the conclusion for the first SOE and the introduction for the second. YWAM was going to operate a missionary evangelism school in Europe to train youth in evangelism to convert European young people. Just like their counterparts in the South Pacific, Caribbean, Central and North America, YWAM planned to inspire and train European youth to reach others with the message of Jesus Christ.

Endorsement from Established Evangelicals in Europe

YWAM was welcomed into Europe by AG missionaries and pentecostal friends and contacts, but it was their reception by prominent European evangelicals that ultimately led to their acceptance and incorporation into the religious and social

Angeles, this movement became vital to the proliferation of the coming charismatic renewal. Loren Cunningham had known FGBMFI from his days as a young man in Southern California. Richard Shakarian, Demos's son was a friend of Loren's and fellow C.A. leader in the LA region. It is highly likely that Loren's connection with Rev. Gessler came through his own association with the FGBMFI.

⁷⁰¹ "Daniel del Vecchio," SolidariaTV.com, accessed May 4, 2024, <https://www.solidariatv.com/equipo/danieldelvecchio/>

⁷⁰² Loren D. Cunningham to Gordon Lindsay, January 2, 1969, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. In this letter requesting Spanish language tracts, Loren is clear that "The name YWAM should not be used" in any shipment of literature to Daniel Del Vecchio in Spain or to John Owens in Switzerland.

landscape throughout the former Christian heartland. Somewhat akin to the financial support YWAM received from independent pentecostals committed to world evangelization in the US, personal endorsements from European evangelicals and popular Christian figures propelled its popularity forward on continent. Old-time revivalists, evangelical rising stars, Christian philosophers, and established evangelistic societies and denominations were glad to support and endorse what they perceived as a hopeful program newly arrived to Switzerland in 1969.

YWAM's "interdenominational" approach did well for them in Europe. Without a confessional commitment, YWAM was generally welcomed into most Protestant and some Roman Catholic churches.⁷⁰³ While YWAM worked with AG missionaries and pentecostal denominations in Europe, the state of European Christianity had already been hollowed out by wide-spread secularization. State churches were experiencing a rapid decline in attendance and adherence.⁷⁰⁴ Bringing young people into local Swiss churches, YWAM was a breath of fresh air for many Christians, especially because they were not trying to start another church or to compete for dwindling members. Rather, it was YWAM's vision of spiritual revival among the youth that endeared them to local churches of various denominations. YWAM's acceptance by state and established denominations helped pave the way for it to take root in Europe.

⁷⁰³ Al Akimoff and Carolyn Akimoff, interview #3 by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, July 25, 2024, video recording, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection. Al Akimoff notes that during their first SOS in Spain in 1969, that they went to see the Bishop in Marbella to ask his permission to evangelize the young people. The Bishop, who called the group "Jesus People," encouraged them to talk to all the young people they could and to share Jesus with them. This openness to Protestants came during the last years of Franco's leadership when proselytism was illegal.

⁷⁰⁴ Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*, 67–70.

Duncan Campbell

While local and state church support was vital for YWAM's success in Europe, it was the cooperation with and endorsement by well-known European evangelical and interdenominational leaders that gave YWAM credibility and piqued the interest of other Christians, young and old. The first significant boost to YWAM's legitimacy in Europe came from Scottish evangelist Duncan Campbell, credited as the leader of a religious revival in the Hebrides following the Second World War. Campbell, a Presbyterian, had met Loren Cunningham while they were speakers at a conference in Rockford, Illinois, in May of 1968.⁷⁰⁵ Without knowing that Loren and Darlene had been planning a school, Campbell inquired as to whether Loren ran a school and said that he felt God was telling him to make himself available to be a teacher in it.⁷⁰⁶

Plans were made and Campbell came to Chateaux D'Ouex on March 4–14, 1969.⁷⁰⁷ As one student later recalled, the “elderly gentleman who had been instrumental in the Revival in the Hebrides islands,” gave teachings on the holiness of God that “struck directly to the heart with his profound simplicity.”⁷⁰⁸ He became a regular and highly respected fixture in YWAM's consecutive SOE. He and his wife even made a trip

⁷⁰⁵ Andrew A. Woolsey, *Duncan Campbell: A Biography: The Sound of Battle*, Hodder Christian Paperbacks (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974), 184.

⁷⁰⁶ Poulsen, “YWAM & UofN's Timeline.” See the year 1968.

⁷⁰⁷ Duncan Campbell to Loren Cunningham, January 29, 1969, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁷⁰⁸ Christel T. Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990, 4–5, Correspondences, Documents, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive.

to the Holy Land and Athens, Greece, to teach SOE students on location in the second SOE in the spring of 1970.⁷⁰⁹ Campbell and Loren maintained regular correspondence from 1969 until his death in 1972. Duncan Campbell passed away while teaching at YWAM's third SOE in Lausanne, Switzerland in March.⁷¹⁰

Corrie Ten Boom & Brother Andrew

Two other significant figures that helped raise YWAM's profile in Europe came from Holland, Corrie ten Boom and missionary Brother Andrew. Ten Boom's nephew, Peter Van Warden, had connections to Darlene Cunningham's family and AG ministers in California. Van Warden visited YWAM's location in Switzerland after he and his family relocated back to Europe. After visiting, Van Warden insisted his aunt visit YWAM. She did. How Ten Boom's relationship with Darlene and Loren Cunningham developed is not clear, but by the second SOE she was on the teaching roster. Ten Boom taught as a guest teacher on March 20 and 22, 1970 during the second SOE.⁷¹¹ She became a regular YWAM speaker, teacher, and friend. Her story, *The Hiding Place* was published in 1971, and her fame in the evangelical Christian world, especially in the Netherlands, England, and the US remains to the present day.

⁷⁰⁹ Campbell to Cunningham, January 29, 1969. The second SOE began with three months of language study from September to December, 1969, and classes began at the end of December.

⁷¹⁰ Loren D. Cunningham to Mr. John Campbell, April 11, 1972, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁷¹¹ Typescript of SOE 1969-70 Class Notes by Arnie Breitreuz, December 30, 1969, Heidi Breitreuz Personal Papers.

Ten Boom's acquaintance with YWAM sparked another significant connection when she shared about the group with her friend, Dutch missionary Andrew van der Bijl.⁷¹² Also known as Brother Andrew, van der Bijl's ministry of smuggling Bibles to Christians behind the Iron Curtain during the late 1950s into the 1960s led to his founding of the organization Open Doors. Brother Andrew's story was published in 1967's *God Smuggler*. Not only did Brother Andrew become a life-long friend of Loren and YWAM, speaker and teacher in their early SOEs, but he also recruited some of the first cohorts of YWAM participants to help him in ministry, including Al and Carolyn Akimoff who served with Andrew before returning to YWAM to start YWAM Slavic Ministries.⁷¹³

Francis & Edith Schaeffer

YWAM's move to Switzerland put them in proximity to many historic and established evangelical ministries in surrounding countries. One of these ministries, L'Abri, was located a few hundred kilometers away from YWAM's first location and was founded by US Presbyterians Francis and Edith Schaeffer in 1955. While Loren Cunningham made no connection between his and Darlene's sense of God's direction to begin a school in Switzerland and the Schaeffer's pre-existent ministry there, he did note that he was influenced by Schaeffer's book *Escape from Reason* (1968) sometime before

⁷¹² Cunningham, interview, part 1. Loren remembered that Ten Boom told Andrew about YWAM and he began teaching students and became one of Loren's closest friends.

⁷¹³ Akimoff and Akimoff, interview #1. Leland Paris' account of meeting Andrew: Leland Paris, "God's Smuggler – A Real Life Hero," *YWAMTyler.org* (blog), September 29, 2022, <https://blog.ywamtyler.org/god-smuggler-a-real-life-hero-0>.

the 1969 SOE began.⁷¹⁴ Now in the same country, Loren invited the Schaeffers to teach in the School of Evangelism. Many YWAM students and guests travelled to L'Abri and spent time with the Schaeffers. Groups of YWAM's first SOE students, like Floyd and Sally McClung, were significantly shaped by the Schaeffers' teaching on Christian engagement with society and secular culture and learned from their mission practices modeled at L'Abri.⁷¹⁵

The First School of Evangelism (SOE), 1969

YWAM's first formal, and unofficial, ministry in Europe began in the months of preparation before the first day of the SOE at Hotel Rosat in Chateaux D'Oex on January 31, 1969. Before the arrival of the Cunninghams and the group of 29 North American students, John T. Owens and a few others were assisting YWAM settle the details.⁷¹⁶ Dennis and Lee Kiffiak, for example, two Canadians who had been involved on and off with YWAM work in the Caribbean (1966) and in Canada (1967), arrived for the SOE early. After crossing the Atlantic by steamer and visiting some old friends from Bible School, now in London, they traveled to Rotterdam, Holland, to pick up two refurbished

⁷¹⁴ Cunningham, interview, part 1. Loren Cunningham noted that he read *Escape from Reason* and wanted to have Schaeffer as a speaker in the SOE in 1969. Because YWAM was a short drive away from L'Abri, this became possible.

⁷¹⁵ Sally McClung, email to Allison Kach, January 28, 2021.

⁷¹⁶ The staff of the first School of Evangelism were Loren and Darlene and baby Karen Cunningham. The students included Ron Cantrell, Ann Carrington, Richard Cress, Judy David, Nova Goodwin, Denny Gunderson, Donna Hawes, Connie Holderbein, Ramona Jensen, Judi Johnson, Diane "Dodie" Kelly, Den and Lee Kiffiak, John Krintz, Dick Krogh (team photographer), Elwyn Mack, Joe McNeerney, Art Medina, Al Moen, Sue Ness, Eloise Rocha (Captain of Spanish team and Spanish teacher), Dan Roche, Dennis and Betty Sawyer, Carolyn Shook, Jud Stevens, Christel Thee, Elaine Voit, Jim Woodhall.

vehicles for YWAM. Dennis and Lee stayed with the American man who fixed up older vehicles for missionaries going into the Soviet Union and then drove one vehicle to Switzerland with Dennis returning to Holland by train to drive the second vehicle back to Chateaux D'Oex before the start of the school.⁷¹⁷ The other students made their way, mostly by air, and Dennis and Loren made trips in the newly acquired refurbished YWAM vans to collect the new arrivals from the airport.

The first SOE began with orientation and teaching by Loren and Darlene who, as school directors, taught throughout the training school. What followed was four months full of scheduled guest speakers teaching on various spiritual subjects, daily language classes, local church attendance, local evangelism with cooperating churches, and a field trip through Europe from March 20 through April 25 en route to Israel and back again. Instructors included Harry Conn (USA), Rev. Martin Higginbotham (England), Dr. Udo Middleman and Dr. Francis Schaeffer (USA/Switzerland), Rev. Duncan Campbell (Scotland), T.C. and Jewell Cunningham (USA), Al Perna (USA), Rev. Cameron Wilson (USA), and Rudi Lack (Switzerland).⁷¹⁸ On Sundays, the SOE students attended the local Swiss Reformed Church, the Salvation Army, and the Brethren Church. Some of the congregants attended SOE classes at Hotel Rosat.⁷¹⁹ During late February, a large group

⁷¹⁷ Kiffiak, interview.

⁷¹⁸ Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990. Teaching dates and subjects were as follows: Conn: moral government of God, Feb. 15-24, Higginbotham: outreach to industry, Feb. 24-25, Middleman and Schaefer: Feb. 26-27, Campbell: revival, March 4-14, Cunninghams: Bible teaching on site in Israel, April 3-May 1; Perna: biblical history and archeology April 20-23 & June 1; Wilson: unity & "body ministry," May 19-29; Rudi Lack: witnessing to Europeans, May 27.

⁷¹⁹ YWAM had an "open door" policy for its teachings and meetings. They welcomed local Christians to join them and their hospitality, both to guest speaker events and meals, was an early earmark

of young people from Youth for Christ came to the Hotel to join in on the teachings given by Higginbothom, Middleman, and Schaeffer.⁷²⁰ In between the scheduled teachers and lectures and before the SOE went out for their summer outreach, YWAM's first European SOS, they embarked on an epic field trip to the Holy Land.

Middle East Field Trip, 1969

From March 20 to April 25, the SOE loaded into YWAM's three vehicles: a truck, a VW camper, and a VW minibus, and headed off to Israel for their learning field trip.⁷²¹ Camping along the way, the group travelled through Italy, Yugoslavia, and Greece with ministry stops in the latter two countries. In Zagreb, the students attended a youth service on March 22 and Loren preached at Zagreb Baptist Church on March 23.⁷²² In Greece, the group stayed at Brother Goumas' church in Thessalonica and drove to Neapolis and Philippi. Wherever relevant, Loren taught the group "on location" about Paul's missionary journeys. From March 27–31, the SOE worked with AG missionary Mary Metaxatos and stayed at the Pentecostal Bible School in Athens. They visited Corinth and at Piraeus they boarded the Queen Anna Maria cruise ship bound for Haifa, Israel.

of their modus operandi. It is unknown how this same value practiced by L'Abri influenced YWAM's incorporation of maintaining an open door for any to join.

⁷²⁰ Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990. Youth For Christ (YFC) was a youth ministry that focused on evangelizing teens. It was founded in the US in 1940 by Jack Wyrzten and was influenced by the involvement of Torrey Johnson and Billy Graham. See Joel A. Carpenter, *The Youth for Christ Movement and Its Pioneers*, Fundamentalism in American Religion, 1880-1950 (New York: Garland, 1988).

⁷²¹ Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990, 6.

⁷²² Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990, 6. Christel listed Dr. Branko Lovrec as one of the two pastors. She talked with Nela Horak, the pastor's niece.

Once arrived in Israel, the SOE drove to Migdal and set up their camp. Joined by T.C. and Jewell Cunningham, who flew into Tel Aviv on April 2, the students toured Capernaum, Jerusalem, Nazareth, the Galilee, Ceaserea, Haifa, Bethlehem, Jericho, Dead Sea, and Qumran with accompanied “intensive teaching” by Loren and T.C. Cunningham.⁷²³ In their final days there, April 12–13, the SOE volunteered with established missions in and around Jerusalem before making their 36-hour return voyage to Athens on the Queen Anna Maria from Haifa. From there they ferried from Greece to Italy and stopped in Naples to participate in church services at an AG military chapel led by a missionary friend of Loren’s, Al Perna.⁷²⁴ After Rev. Perna gave the school guided tours through Pompeii and Rome, the students participated in a service at the AG Bible School in Rome where Rev. Perna taught and made their return trip to Switzerland.

The SOE’s Final Month

By April 25 the SOE resumed classes and local evangelism in Chateau D’Oex for one more month. The YWAM students’ ministries facilitated interaction with the broader evangelical community in the region through regular witnessing campaigns. Beyond their local church attendance, the SOE students partnered with French Brethren, Spanish Evangelicals, the the Janz Team – a Canadian-based Anabaptist missionary ministry, and

⁷²³ After the State of Israel’s victories through the Six-Days War from June 5-10, 1967, significant biblical sites were “won” and became a part of the State. It was many of these holy sites, like Jerusalem’s Old City, that would have featured heavily in the Cunningham’s teaching tour that was meant to make the Bible come alive to the students. Only two years after this event, YWAM’s SOE was part of an increase in western Christian tourism to Israel.

⁷²⁴ Both Loren and his parents had ministered in Rome, Italy in the early 1960s, and very possibly did so with Al Perna.

the Mennonite Church. The SOE students were divided into language groups to prepare for the upcoming SOS scheduled to France, Germany, and Spain. These smaller groups were given language practice through language specific churches in the region. The French team served the French Brethren Youth Group in Rossingnol, Switzerland. The Spanish team worked with the Iglesia Evangelica in Lausanne, pastored by Rev. Alfonso Carneiro. During the final month of the SOE, each team went on longer ministry trips outside of the local communities – the Spanish team went to Barcelona, the German team went to Basel and Aarburg, Switzerland, and to Loerrach, West Germany.⁷²⁵ These short trips partnering with local churches lasted only a few days, but they acted as language, cultural, and ministry preparation for the summer to come.

Two Things at Once: SOE Summer Outreach & The First European SOS

The first SOE's summer outreach was also YWAM's first SOS in Europe for the summer of 1969. Beginning May 31, 1969, all of the SOE students separated into their language-specific groups and set off for their summer ministries in Germany, Spain, France, and Kenya. The SOE students began evangelistic work a few weeks before the new swath of young people arriving from North America joined them for the first European SOS. In the case of Ramona Jensen, Dan Roche, and Nova Goodwin, they joined the ministries of the first Around the World team already serving in Kenya. In the European locations, the SOE students were present to do foundational work of

⁷²⁵ Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990. Rossingnol ministry was February 8th, Barcelona outreach was March 1-3, Basel outreach was March 9. In Basel, the team worked with "Mr. and Mrs. John Peters of the Janz Team, a Canadian ministry with 60 missionaries in that area. They worked with the Schaezli congregation of Basel's Mennonite churches in Muttentz.

preparation before the foreign SOS participants arrived. With the benefit of the SOE teaching, local ministry experience, and language and cultural training, the SOE students were thought to be more practically and spiritually prepared for the summer and could make headway in the evangelistic work before the newcomers arrived. The realities were likely a little more complicated. Some SOS participants who hadn't been a part of the SOE but had participated in YWAM's domestic and international ministries in the US, Canada, Caribbean, and Central America arrived and, in some cases, were appointed as leaders over students who had gone through YWAM's SOE training. For the German team, newly arrived chaperones Dave and Carol Boyd, became the leaders of SOE students that were finishing their mission training.⁷²⁶

Some of the SOS teams got off to a rocky start due to YWAM's lack of a physical location or headquarters. Many of the SOS newcomers had come to Europe with the intention of staying on for the second SOE that was scheduled to begin in September 1969. The location of that SOE, however, had been thrown into question when YWAM terminated its contract with John Owens and his Hotel Rosat in Chateau D'Oex, the home of the first SOE, early.⁷²⁷ Rather than arrive and gather at a central location for

⁷²⁶ This point of new arrivals being appointed leaders over SOE students reflects the relational nature of YWAM's structure and decision making. If Loren and Darlene knew and trusted the people coming from the US to participate in the SOS, it would have been only rationale to put them in charge of team members that may not have demonstrated the same leadership abilities or commitment to the work.

⁷²⁷ YWAM's termination of their contract with John Owens and Hotel Rosat was a matter of conflict on both sides. Owens had chided Loren and Darlene a number of times for the SOE students being too noisy during the hotel quiet hours. The SOE members also felt that the constant coming and going of new hotel guests was not conducive to their spiritual formation and training. Some members of the first SOE recalled demonic manifestations that required them to pray until they felt the evil spirit depart. As a school, they felt that the demonic possession was the result of unsavory characters participating in witchcraft in the hotel or nearby. The entire saga of the conflict between YWAM and Hotel Rosat has been

orientation, teaching sessions, and prayer which had been YWAM's standard practice in every other SOS outreach it had run in locations around the world, the newly arrived recruits landed in Europe with little details or instructions on where they should go and who they should meet. Some groups received only the name of a city, name of a local pastor, and/or phone number to call upon arrival.⁷²⁸

In a continuation of the SOSes original "bootcamp of faith" ethos, Joe and Judi Portale who were flying from California were given a phone number and instructed to call it when they arrived in Paris. Their first time in Europe, the Portales did not know much French and the person on the other end of the line also did not speak any English. As Joe recounted, after losing rounds of coins in the payphone because the person answering his call hung up upon hearing English, he and Judi prayed for God to help and tried the number again. To their gratitude, Joe described how one of the members of the SOE, now a part of the SOS team, finally answered, wrote down their location, and hurried to collect them.⁷²⁹ In Al Akimoff's case, he parted ways with the Portales after they had found the YWAM team in Paris and overnighted together. Al took a bus to Malaga in search of a pastor. After an unsuccessful search that included visits to the post office and police station, he learned that the pastor he sought lived in a suburb of Malaga and explained why he was impossible to find in any city directory. Just as he had sat

largely hidden from YWAM's popular history, but it seemed that John T. Owens ended up to not be as cooperative and excited about having a missionary training school in the annex of his hotel as he had originally thought.

⁷²⁸ Joe Portale and Judi Portale, interview #2 by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, June 26, 2024, video recording. Joe and Judi Portale, Al Akimoff, Don and Deyon Stephens, and Dave and Carol Boyd were some of the SOS participants who came for the second SOE.

⁷²⁹ Portale and Portale, interview #2.

down on the main street and said, “God, I quit,” he watched a van drive by with a few girls running after it.⁷³⁰ For whatever reason they stopped right in front of Al and he recognized one of the women. It was Eloise Rocha, one of the leaders and translators from the Mexico SOS that Al had been on. He got up immediately and hugged her. He had found his SOS team in what seemed like a miracle moment!⁷³¹

Spanish SOS, 1969

The Spanish team started on the Costa del Sol, with the SOE students arriving first and joined later by the SOS participants like Al Akimoff and others. They worked with American-Italian AG missionary Daniel Del Vecchio who had been working in Malaga and region since 1964.⁷³² Del Vecchio’s evangelical message was not well received among Spanish Catholics for whom any other Christian expression was seen as a ‘sect.’ His pentecostal message gained traction among the diversities of European tourists from traditionally Protestant countries who frequented the Costa del Sol. He and his wife also ministered to the many north African youth who were then immigrating to Spain. The Spanish SOS team joined with the ministries of the Del Vecchios and did door-to-door evangelism, literature distribution, witnessing, and singing in the streets.

Given the fact that the Del Vecchios ministry included North African immigrant youth, it was not surprising that the Spanish SOS team met and befriended North

⁷³⁰ Akimoff and Akimoff, interview #3.

⁷³¹ Portale and Portale, interview #2.

⁷³² Some team members included Al Akimoff, Dodie Kelly, and Dennis Sawyer. It seems that Christel Thee Huxley, a current SOE student and member of Leland Paris’ church in Hammonton, NJ, had put Loren in contact with Del Vecchio in 1968, as per Loren’s letter to Leland Paris in 1968.

Africans. These relationships led to the SOS team venturing into North Africa. As Al Akimoff recounted years after the event, during a visit to a local church in the Malaga area, he was handed a note by a man who had come from Tangiers, Morocco. On the note was the name of a doctor that Al was encouraged to contact.⁷³³ Al took the note and experience back to his team and after praying together, they all that believed Al and another team member, Dennis Sawyer, should go to Tangiers to meet the doctor. Full of faith and with nearly empty pockets, the two boarded the ferry in search of Dr. St. John whom they found with no trouble. St. John worked out of a hospital run by the North African Mission and had originally intended to go to Morocco to minister to local people. Instead, his ministry served the “thousands of western youth” who “were traveling in search of drugs, truth and adventure” who ended up overdosed, injured, and stranded in Tangiers in need of care.⁷³⁴ While Al and Dennis, members of the 1969 Spanish SOS, only visited Tangiers for a short time before rejoining their team in Malaga, their relationship with Dr. St. John and the discovery of the great need for ministry to the young westerners in Morocco germinated among the first cohorts of YWAMers in Europe and grew into plans for a return visit.

⁷³³ Al Akimoff and Bob Lichty, “Hope House Pioneering in North Africa,” *Jubilee Magazine: Stories of YWAM in Africa 1960-2010*, 2010, Ramona Musch Personal Papers.

⁷³⁴ Akimoff and Lichty, “Hope House Pioneering in North Africa.”

*French SOS, 1969*⁷³⁵

YWAM's first outreach team to Paris, the SOS 1969, was hosted by an Assemblies of God pastor Rehard Clement and his church that rented a movie theatre for their services.⁷³⁶ The YWAM SOS made the movie theatre their temporary home upon arrival. The Portales slept in the balcony of the theatre, rolling their sleeping bags out in the aisles. Between the thundering subway line than ran underneath the building and the rats scratching in the walls and ceiling, it wasn't exactly the most comfortable situation.⁷³⁷ In Paris, the team worked with Pastor Clement in door-to-door evangelism. Lacking the language, the group went to nine-story apartments that prohibited any outsiders from entering for purposes of proselytism and started on the top floor so that if the concierge on the first floor discovered that they were there they could drop tracts at every remaining door on the way down and out. Joe Portale recalled that they usually discovered elderly residents on the 9th floor who could only afford the cheapest rent, but who were also virtually shut-in because of age. Alongside their covert evangelism that skirted local restrictions, Annie Clement, the pastor's daughter, took the SOS group

⁷³⁵ No known records exist of the French SOS team, so the section relies solely on the contents of *Taking On Giants*, the conversation with Joe and Judi Portale on June 26, 2024, and on the personal papers and photographs they shared of this particular summer and year.

⁷³⁶ The YWAM team consisted of Gary Moore, Jim Woodhall (1st SOE), Joe and Judi Portale and a number of other SOE students and new arrivals for the SOS. These are the names that Joe and Judi Portale could recall.

⁷³⁷ Joe Portale, *Taking On Giants: A Pioneer Missionary's Pursuit of God's Vision for Ministry and Life*, International Adventures (YWAM Publishing, 2010), 26–28.

around Paris and showed them her favorite places. This experience, both of evangelism and hospitality, left lasting impressions on participants like the Portales.⁷³⁸

After Paris, the French team travelled to the Hauts-de-France region, near the border with Belgium, to the small village of Locquignol to work with a Scripture Union Swiss missionary, Madame Wheeler and the French evangelist, Marcel Tabailleux.⁷³⁹ Staying with Mdme Wheeler in her farmhouse that lacked modern plumbing, the young women slept in the attic and the young men camped in a large tent in the yard.⁷⁴⁰ Apart from weekly Saturday evening trips to Le Quesnoy for a bath at a bath house, the team travelled the countryside serving the ministry of Scripture Union that focused on rural evangelism and Christian literature sales.⁷⁴¹ Madame Wheeler's procedure included dedicating two days to each place. On the first day, the group went out to deliver an envelope with material explaining their offerings and announcing their intent to return the following day with materials for sale. They dropped one envelope at every dwelling in the area. On the second day, they revisited each house, this time offering their four lines of a memorized French script that explained their purpose and ended with "I don't speak

⁷³⁸ Portale and Portale, interview #2. Joe and Judy would go on to return to Paris and France to start YWAM France in 1971.

⁷³⁹ Jean-Luc Tabailleux, "In Memoriam Marcel Tabailleux (1926-2000)," *Servir en l'attendant*, December 2000, <https://www.servir.caef.net/?p=3554>. Tabailleux's ministry in France, Belgium, and Switzerland was far reaching and during the period he was engaged in rural evangelism he founded a new church in Grenoble. In the 70s, he created the Federation Evangelique de France (Evangelical Federation of France) among other works.

⁷⁴⁰ Portale, *Taking On Giants*, 28.

⁷⁴¹ Joe and Judi Portale noted that the facilities in the village did not have running water, thus their weekly visit to the bathhouse was an anticipated trip. Ironically, Joe noted that Sundays after church Madame Wheeler would invite the youth from church and the neighborhood over to play soccer and the YWAM young people would dread the fact that they had just showered the night before and would get sweaty and dirty playing soccer and would need to wait another week for a bath.

French.”⁷⁴² If the listener was interested, they purchased Bibles, youth material, and children’s books.⁷⁴³ If they were not, the young colporteurs kept moving.

Following the leadership and methods of Madame Wheeler, the YWAMers were instructed to go door to door alone rather than in pairs as was YWAM’s practice at the time. Joe Portale noted that Mdme Wheeler insisted on this method in order that she and her group would not be mistaken for Jehovah’s Witnesses or Mormons. Judi Portale recounted how intimidating it was to knock on someone’s door and attempt to sell them Bibles and Christian literature that she knew they did not want, all in a language that she didn’t know beyond her four memorized sentences of script explaining what she was doing. In jest, Joe and Judi noted that Judi had the highest sales of the group because she broke down into tears at most doors and those receiving her felt sorry for her and bought a Bible or a book! Apart from their literature sales results, the YWAM team reportedly “saw about ten people receive Christ.”⁷⁴⁴

Accompanying their ministry of colportage, the evangelistic work also included evening services run by Tabailoux. Starting with a Moody Science Film intended to prove the existence of God, Marcel preached a message followed by the singing of the YWAM group.⁷⁴⁵ It turned out that the Northern French villagers and farmers loved African American spirituals, which team member Gary Moore led in service after

⁷⁴² The YWAM participants from the first SOE did have more French language skills than the newly arrived young people.

⁷⁴³ Portale, *Taking On Giants*, 30.

⁷⁴⁴ Portale, *Taking On Giants*, 30.

⁷⁴⁵ Portale, *Taking On Giants*, 29.

service.⁷⁴⁶ During their approximately one month together, Tabailoux educated the SOS on the spiritual needs of France and the demographics of traditional protestants and modern evangelicals in the country.

Their experience of rural French life, only 25 years after the end of World War II, was also a formative aspect of their summer and cultural learning. Joe and Judi Portale recalled how one of the farmers they visited asked if they were Americans rather than shooing them away, as was commonly experienced. When they told him that they were, he surprisingly invited them on to his balcony and served them all a cool drink. Far from the sort of reception they had been used to, the gentleman went on to explain how his horse, his primary means of farming, had been confiscated by the Germans. The American troops liberated his village and gave him back his horse and he was happy to be able to say “thank you” 25 years later to these Americans now on his balcony. It is doubtful that he bought a Bible, but the YWAM SOS was glad to receive a welcome in their evangelistic work that was normally met with distain and slammed doors. At least three weeks into this phase of the summer, conflict arose on the team and two team members left to return home. These challenges also marked a transition for the French and German SOS teams, who, under Loren Cunningham’s leadership were amalgamated and finished out their summer serving in Holland.

⁷⁴⁶ Portale and Portale, interview #2.

German SOS, 1969

Thanks to extant records, the itinerary of YWAM's first SOS team in Germany offers insight into their ministry that followed a summer tent-meeting circuit with German evangelists hosted by local German churches.⁷⁴⁷ Beginning in Aarua, Switzerland, at the local church of Rev. Lack, the German team assisted the church in a week of tent meetings from June 1-9 that included a day of door-to-door evangelism partnering with the Swiss Pioneer⁷⁴⁸ group to invite locals to the tent meetings.⁷⁴⁹ They went to Frankfurt for a month (June 9 to July 8) where the SOE students were joined by the SOS participants, the YWAM team assisted the local church with more tent meetings and even helped put up the tent by the Main River. The month was filled with door-to-door evangelism, daily witnessing, street meetings before the tent meeting to attract and invite interested people, evening tent meetings, and witnessing at the main train station after the meetings until around midnight. The young people witnessed at a "local university, in social service institutions, in a sister church (in Hanau), and in an evangelical hospital."⁷⁵⁰ In proximity to a number of US military bases, the team's time

⁷⁴⁷ The names of YWAM SOE and SOS participants are mostly unknown. Apart from Christel Thee, Donna, Joe McNerney, David and Carol Boyd, and Denny Gundersen, the remaining eight participants are presently unknown.

⁷⁴⁸ To date, no detailed information on the group was has been found. The international mission agency "Pioneers" was founded in 1979, and it can be safe to assume that the Swiss Pioneers that Huxley noted had no relation to the Soviet era communist youth group named "pioneers." Still, it is unknown who the group was, apart from an evangelistic organization that worked in collaboration with the German-speaking Swiss evangelists.

⁷⁴⁹ Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990. Rev. Lack was the father of Rudi Lack, the first Swiss YWAM volunteer.

⁷⁵⁰ Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990.

in Frankfurt also included some ministry and fellowship with Baptist families on assignment in Germany.

Without any formal ministry schedule between July 8–22, the group followed their team captain Joe McNerney’s guidance to venture north to Hamburg to minister in the nefarious St. Pauli District. The team were given permission to use a condemned and abandoned furniture warehouse for their accommodations, which they also used as the location for their “coffee house” ministry to the sailors and sex workers.⁷⁵¹ Through a contact they had made during the Aarau tent meetings, German Gospel singer Mr. and Mrs. Wolfgang Blissenbach, hosted the YWAM group for tea and had them minister in their church.⁷⁵² After Hamburg, the German team was back on the tent ministry circuit, this time in Winnenden, southern Germany from July 22–29. It was in Winnenden that some of the group started afternoon children’s Bible Story Hour at the tent, a new addition to the meetings that continued until the end of the summer.⁷⁵³ Working with Pastor Ake Odling in Kitzingen, evening tent meetings were held from July 29 to August 17. Loren, Darlene, and Karen Cunningham joined the team for much of this time with Loren being a featured speaker in the evening tent meetings.⁷⁵⁴ Their final week from

⁷⁵¹ Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990, 10.

⁷⁵² Along with his full-time gospel singing career that began in 1963 and took him around the world, Wolfgang Blissenbach was ordained as a pastor with the Pentecostal Free Churches in 1965. See “Evangeliumssänger Blissenbach Heimgerufen,” GEISTbewegt! - Aktuelles aus dem BFP, December 7, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20111207080601/http://www.geistbewegt.de/pages/posts/evangeliumssaenger-blissenbach-heimgerufen164.php>.

⁷⁵³ Huxley’s letter indicates that « German children at that time (and still now) did not have much in the way of Bible Visuals (flannelgraph, etc.) so they really enjoyed ‘The Aunts from America.’”

⁷⁵⁴ Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990. 11. In both Winnenden and Kitzingen the teams ministered in open air, in parks or in nursing homes.

August 17–22 was spent in the small town of Bruchsal, and Christel Thee Huxley noted that by the end of the summer the YWAMers felt respected by the now-familiar German guest speakers who “would welcome us with open arms and introduce us very lovingly to the local pastors and their congregations.”⁷⁵⁵

Holland: A Back-up Plan

Christel (Thee) Huxley’s report of her summer with the German SOS is incomplete in that it does not mention the team’s challenges that resulted in a relocation to Holland to finish up the summer. Given the detailed account Huxley provided, this missing information may be attributed to the possibility that the German team was separated into two groups and the conflicts arose on the other team, leaving Christel Thee’s team intact to finish their ministry in Germany.⁷⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Joe and Judi Portale’s recollection of their 1969 French SOS described the remnants of both French and German teams regrouping under Loren Cunningham’s leadership after internal conflicts. Using his AG contacts, Loren relocated the team to Scheveningen in the Haag to work with an AG Bible College that acted as the SOS team’s host and coworkers. The

⁷⁵⁵ Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990, 12. The concept of having young people work as evangelists and be seen as peers by professional ministers and evangelists was still challenging, as Huxley infers in her statement about the adult evangelists accepting them by the end of the summer. Age distinctions, in Europe as in North America, were still fixed and seeing young people as trusted co-workers would not have been easy to fathom especially in the era of adult suspicion towards young people. In a sense, Christel Thee Huxley is pointing out that the YWAM team proved themselves as reliable and dedicated to the evangelistic ministry.

⁷⁵⁶ The German team was in two groups, Christel Thee Huxley’s team led by David and Carol Boyd finished out their ministry in Germany as per her itinerary. The second German team, led by Don and Deyon Stephens would have been the group that had challenges and merged with the remaining French team members under Loren’s leadership. David Boyd confirmed that there were indeed two German teams, but the details of the second German team’s conflicts and relocation to Holland remains to be confirmed. David Boyd, email to Allison Kach-Yawngwe, December 4, 2024.

YWAM participants concentrated their ministry in the Red-Light District of The Haag.⁷⁵⁷ Judi Portale related that everyone on the team was shocked to learn about legalized prostitution and to spend their ministry focus and attention amongst the sex workers and clients.⁷⁵⁸ Still, the SOS team served the AG Bible College ministry and finished their summer by the end of August and drove to Switzerland for the closing days of the SOS that led into the orientation of the new SOE.

Relocation & Continuation: YWAM's Second SOE, September 1969 to June 1970

Those who made it through the entire summer in Spain, France, Germany, Holland, and Kenya and had planned to reunite for debriefing were the first to gather at YWAM's new location in Chalet a Gobet, a suburb of Lausanne.⁷⁵⁹ Hotel Golf et Foret had been found in what seemed like the last minute. Joe and Judi Portale recalled that right before their team was returning from France, Darlene and Loren told them that on their return drive they needed to watch for them waving on the side of the road as they approached Lausanne. Loren and Darlene were the only ones who knew the address to the new location and would be positioned on the highway to show returning teams how to get there.⁷⁶⁰ Teams arrived on August 22 and YWAM entered into a contract, typed up by

⁷⁵⁷ It is possible that the Bible College was the AG's Dutch Central Bible College. It was in the Scheveningen region of the Haag.

⁷⁵⁸ Portale and Portale, interview #2.

⁷⁵⁹ Darlene and Karen Joy Cunningham and Dennis and Lee Kiffiak remained in the area until a new vacant hotel was found. Various stories exist as to who found it first and when, but according to Dennis Kiffiak, he claimed that he saw the Hotel Golf for sale during one of his drives to run errands for YWAM

⁷⁶⁰ Portale and Portale, interview #2.

German team member and student of the first SOE Christel Thee, with the hotel's owner, Madame Huber, on August 23, 1969. The same day the contract was signed, everyone moved into Hotel Golf et Foret and the SOS debriefing commenced. After debriefing, the first SOE students departed for their homes after eight months of mission training and evangelism that spanned Europe, the Middle East, and for some, East Africa. The majority of the SOS participants had come to attend the second SOE and were joined by other new students arriving for the start of the SOE. With what was an instant turn over, the SOE began on the heels of the SOS with some orientation.

The next four months from the beginning of September through December 20th, 1969, the majority of the new SOE students attended language immersion at professional schools in Switzerland and Germany.⁷⁶¹ Fourteen young adults, included Judi and Joe Portale, learned French at a language school in Lausanne and stayed by twos in the homes of the French-speaking families who hosted them.⁷⁶² Their routine consisted of French class in the morning and afternoon with a daily gathering of the 14 for lunch and English conversation. The group that went to Germany began with a couple of weeks of ministry in Cologne, followed by their formal commencement of German classes at the Goethe Institute in Berlin.⁷⁶³ Like their French counterparts, the SOE German students

⁷⁶¹ Some incoming SOE students, like Rudi Lack, the first Swiss YWAMer, and Marti De Febbo who was already conversant in Spanish, didn't attend the language portion of the second SOE. Marti (De Febbo) Green noted that she spent the final months of 1969 with her family in New Jersey before arriving for the SOE at the end of December.

⁷⁶² Portale, *Taking On Giants*, 33.

⁷⁶³ David Boyd, interview by Allison Kach-Yawnghe, May 2, 2024, video recording. David Boyd, one of the SOE students learning German along with his wife Carol Boyd, recalled fellow SOE students Tom and Terry Bragg, Linda Jordall, Lynn Green, and Don and Deyon Stephens as being a part of the German team studying in Berlin.

lived with local German Christians to enhance their learning and save funds. Couples, Tom and Terry Bragg, David and Carol Boyd, and Don and Deyon Stephens, were housed together. Singles, like Lynn Green who stayed with an elderly widow, were housed individually.⁷⁶⁴ The SOE students preparing for Spanish ministry went to Geneva, Switzerland, and enrolled in a formal language school for two days a week and received classes from YWAM volunteer Eloise Rocha the remaining days. A small group compared to the French and German teams, the three SOE students lived in the Spanish church, ate one meal a day at the Spanish pastor's home, and served the congregation that was primarily made up of migrant workers.⁷⁶⁵

Language school finished on December 20, 1969, and three months of lectures began on December 26. With discrepancies about the number of students enrolled in the second SOE and no known roll call in existence, a safe estimate for the number of students is somewhere around 28 people predominantly from North America, not including staff and teachers.⁷⁶⁶ The school's schedule included three months of teaching

⁷⁶⁴ Marti Green, email to Allison Kach-Yawngwe, July 16, 2024.

⁷⁶⁵ Akimoff and Akimoff, interview #3. The Spanish team was composed of Al Akimoff, Jack Hewitt, and Susan (last name unknown) with Eloise Rocha serving as their Spanish teacher. Al noted that by the end of the language immersion, he was preaching in Spanish. The Spanish team's integration in the local church was a unique aspect to their language immersion.

⁷⁶⁶ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA, 4, lists 40 students. Rudi Lack, Breakthrough, 28, lists 30 students. An archival photo of the class displays 30 people including Loren and Darlene, Harry Conn (teacher), and Bob Rogers (guest present for the Middle East field trip), leaving 24 and not including Arnie Breikreuz who was taking the photo. See YWAM Lausanne Archives for the photo: <https://www.sutori.com/en/story/ywam-uofn-s-timeline--hFAmRcjKfPdRcS3Ygo1fXdHW>. Those in the photo include: First Row L-R: Don Stephens, David Boyd, Rudi Lack, Joe Portale, Tom Bragg, Loren Cunningham. Second Row L-R: Deyon Stephens, Carol Boyd, Tina Reynolds, Marti De Febbo, Judi Portale, Terry Bragg, Eloise Rocha, Darlene Cunningham. Third Row L-R: Val & Dave Snyder, Heidi Breikreuz, Rocki Hill, Harry Conn, Carol Hayes, Susan (last name unknown), Linda Jordall, Janice (last name unknown, becomes Moore after marriage). Back Row: L-R: Al Akimoff, Bob Rogers, Gary Moore, David Richter, Lynn Green, Dennis Lindsay, Jack Hewitt. Not

onsite at Hotel Golf et Foret, followed by a three-month field trip to Israel that included onsite teaching and travel and ministry with local churches and missionaries through Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania.⁷⁶⁷ Along with regular exams given at various points in the school to test the level of student knowledge and comprehension, local evangelism was interspersed in the schedule to offer practical application of content and evangelistic methods.

Adhering loosely to a Monday to Friday schedule, the school ran morning and afternoon teaching sessions with local church attendance on Sundays. Projected topics given to the class at the beginning of the school included Revolution vs. Authority, Exclusiveness of Christianity, Generation Gap (Western), Eastern Thought, Justice of God, Freedom of Choice, Old and New Testament God, Social and Political Involvement, Evolution, Mystery Cults, Demonology, Immorality, Spiritism, Reincarnation, Chemical Determinism, God of Love and Hell, Suffering, Responsibility, Prayer, Fasting, Depravity of Man, Attributes of God, and the Trinity. Along with the guest speakers, many of them repeat from the first school, Loren and Darlene Cunningham led class times to help students process the teachings they heard. The Cunninghams were regular instructors throughout the school, filling in any areas they felt were gaps in the students' preparation for missionary evangelism. While teaching and mission training was the main

included are SOE students Reona Peterson, Gary and Helen Stephens. Rudi Lack was the only European and Reona Peterson the only New Zealander.

⁷⁶⁷ The Breitskreuzes did not accompany the SOE on the Middle East field trip. Instead, they went to Germany with their two children and worked with a local church. Heidi noted that they stayed in a house owned by Christel Thee's parents. Typescript of SOE 1969-70 Class Notes by Arnie Breitkreuz; Breitkreuz, interview.

focus of the school, daily prayer, intercession, devotions, and student chores were a part of the schedule. From January 15–17, the SOE spent the weekend witnessing at a German university and at a US Army Base.⁷⁶⁸ Sometime in late February or early March, the SOE worked with local churches on a weekend evangelistic trip to Grenoble, France.⁷⁶⁹

The official teaching began on Friday, December 26, 1969, with five days of instruction from Jim Seregow on the topic of campus evangelism.⁷⁷⁰ The Cunninghams led two weeks and covered a range of topics that included “The Voice of the Lord” to “How to Prove There is a God.” Student, Carol Boyd, taught the school about “Child Evangelism” part of the morning of January 6th and Peter Stenhouse, member of YWAM’s first Around the World team in 1969 taught the afternoon of January 8.⁷⁷¹ Harry Conn taught from January 24–30. Rev. Gordon Lindsay, founder of Christ for the Nations and father of student Dennis Lindsay, spoke on February 3 and 4th. Joy Dawson taught for an entire month from February 4 to March 3. Brother Andrew taught on “Closed nations” on Sunday, February 22 to Tuesday, February 24.⁷⁷² Stacey Wood of International Fellowship of Evangelical Students taught an afternoon session on March 3. Uddo Middleman, from Francis and Edith Schaeffer’s ministry L’Abri, taught March 4–

⁷⁶⁸ SOE 1969-70 Calendar by Joe Portale, December 20, 1969, 1, Portale Personal Papers. Portale’s notes do not indicate which university or Army base, but it can be assumed that it was in and around Frankfurt, where YWAM had preexisting contacts with the Army chaplain.

⁷⁶⁹ Rudi Lack, *Breakthrough*, 35; SOE 1969-70 Calendar by Joe Portale; Portale, *Taking On Giants*, 38.

⁷⁷⁰ SOE 1969-70 Calendar by Joe Portale, 1.

⁷⁷¹ SOE 1969-70 Calendar by Joe Portale, 1.

⁷⁷² Typescript of SOE 1969-70 Class Notes by Arnie Breikreuz, 79.

6.⁷⁷³ David Foster gave a teaching on “Euro-Evangelism” the morning of March 6th.

Gordon Olson gave three weeks of teaching from March 9–28 with one session by Corrie Ten Boom who spoke from March 18–22. Duncan Campbell taught during the Middle East field trip, onsite in Greece from May 18–28. The Middle East field trip followed a similar pattern to the year before, with instruction from the Bible and early Christianity given at historic locations in and around Israel. The SOE returned to Chalet a Gobet for some final teaching and preparations before teams left for their summer ministries.⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁷³ Francis Schaeffer was also present to teach, although his name only appears on Arnie Breitzkreuz’s list of upcoming topics and speakers, dated December 30, 1969. It is likely that Schaeffer came with Middleman and the two of them taught and conversed with the students at the same time. A photo from Jewell Cunningham’s photo book shows Schaeffer and Middleman casually hanging out and talking with some of the SOE students from the 1969-70 school. The influence of L’Abri and its ministry and teachings on the YWAM SOE students cannot be overstated. Many of the students, like Floyd and Sally McClung, credit their gleaning of teaching and ministry models from L’Abri during their times in Lausanne.

⁷⁷⁴ The course schedule of the first and second SOEs offer insight into YWAM’s forming theology and mission practice. Radical evangelical theology as extended by the pentecostal movement features heavily in content on hearing God’s voice, intercession, prayer, revival, child evangelism, the supernatural world, post-tribulation, and the missionary obligation to preach the message of Jesus in “closed nations.” Emerging charismatic theology focused on a person’s living relationship with God to speak and lead the individual fused with evangelical teaching of Francis Schaeffer that focused on the intellectual engagement of faith in the public sphere. Controversial Bible teachers, Gordon Olson and Harry Conn, dominated the weeks on teaching about the nature and character of God, the Kingdom of God, and eschatology. Much of the content, when brought together, taught a classic evangelical view of God’s sovereignty and holiness as fundamental truths backed by scripture and emphasized the participation of the believer to pray, intercede, hear God’s voice, and obey God’s commands thereby participating with God in God’s specific and general plans. In a sense, the guest speakers and the content they delivered reflected a fusion of pentecostal-evangelical-charismatic theology that centered on the unifying Biblical mandate of world evangelization. Still, YWAM’s course content was far more spiritual and supernatural than one might suspect. This fact did not mean that they excluded other more conservative and fundamentalist Bible teaching. They seemed to try to bring as many different voices leading in areas of mission, evangelism, and the spiritual life together as they could. More analysis of Christel Thee Huxley’s 1969 record, Arnie Breitzkreuz’s notes, and Joe Portale’s calendar of speakers and topics from the second SOE in 1969-70 is needed to form a more cohesive picture of YWAM’s theology and missiology.

SOE 1970 Summer Outreach

Like the year before, the SOE returned from their field-trip, regrouped in Switzerland, and prepared for their summer-long crusades in various locations around Europe, Africa, and Central Asia. Many of the young adults who joined the first European SOS in 1969 and stayed through for the SOE, like Judi and Joe Portale, Deyon and Don Stevens, and Al Akimoff. The repeat summer outreach participants returned to the same countries as their previous summer's SOS. This year, however, the SOE graduates were equipped with language and nearly a year of evangelism experience in each cultural and geographic context. They now also boasted local contacts from their previous summer and their recent six months of study and ministry throughout Europe. Thus, the Portales acted as formal ministry leaders for the French SOS 1970, the Stephens for Germany, and Al for Spain. Unique to the 1970 European SOS, ministry teams included local Christian young people in their two-month ministries.

The French SOS 1970, led by Judi and Joe Portale, was one such team that had recruited two young people from a local church in Lausanne. Along with the Portales and these French-speaking Swiss participants, SOE students Tina Reynolds and Carol Hayes started out for France in a VW bus on June 20, 1970.⁷⁷⁵ That summer, the YWAMers went south with a plan to witness in campgrounds and beaches starting at Juan-les-Pins, near Cannes.⁷⁷⁶ Camping in tents themselves, they used a mobile “coffee house”

⁷⁷⁵ Joe Portale, email to Allison Kach-Yawngnhe, July 1, 2024.

⁷⁷⁶ Portale, *Taking On Giants*, 45.

approach to evangelism.⁷⁷⁷ They brewed coffee on their van's camp stove and set up a sign "Discussion: Subject God" that proved quite successful in starting conversations with young people from Austria, Sweden, France, and the USA.⁷⁷⁸ They continued on around Juan-les-Pins until July 11th when they moved on to camp and share about Jesus throughout other parts of the country until the final week in August when teams regrouped in Lausanne.⁷⁷⁹

The German team, led again by Don and Deyon Stephens, went to East Berlin to join Carol and David Boyd who had already been there for about a month.⁷⁸⁰ The Boyds left the SOE early because they believed that God had spoken to them while on the field trip to Israel that they were to go to Berlin. The Boyds shared their "sense" with fellow student Reona Peterson and SOE directors Loren and Darlene Cunningham, all of whom said they agreed that what they were sensing was indeed from God. The Cunninghams gave the Boyds their approval and the couple, with Doug Sparks, departed from the team in Belgrade with a one-way ticket to Berlin.⁷⁸¹ Once the rest of the SOS team arrived in Germany, totalling 30-35 participants, the YWAM ministry focused on ministering to the

⁷⁷⁷ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA, 4. (France report was given by Portales). "Coffee House" ministry, as already mentioned in Teen Challenge Auckland was focused on relational evangelism. The idea was that by inviting spiritual seekers to come and have a cup of coffee and conversation, that spiritual conversations would arise and lead to a more natural form of conversational evangelism.

⁷⁷⁸ Portale, *Taking On Giants*, 45.

⁷⁷⁹ Portale, *Taking On Giants*, 45.

⁷⁸⁰ Boyd, interview.

⁷⁸¹ Boyd, interview.

hundreds of thousands of students who were resisting the government in West Berlin.⁷⁸² The YWAMers joined in conversations and preached in open air gatherings, resulting in some conversions.⁷⁸³ After the SOS reported back to Lausanne the last week of August and the SOE concluded, David and Carol Boyd returned to Berlin permanently to start YWAM Germany.⁷⁸⁴ With the financial support of the local church in Berlin pastored by Valkhard Spitzer, the Boyds agreed to work with youth. Their work resulted in a growing number of young people, mostly drug addicts, converting to Christianity and joining Spitzer's church.⁷⁸⁵ In essence, the SOE German outreach in 1970 led to YWAM's first formal expansion in Europe, after Switzerland.

In Spain, a group of around 10 people returned to Malaga to work with AG missionary Daniel Del Vecchio for a second time.⁷⁸⁶ Reporting to the Staff Conference in October of 1970, Loren Cunningham noted that the Spain SOS included an event in an amphi-theatre, coverage on TV and in newspapers, and open-air preaching. The team used music for children, street meetings, and door-to-door ministry to share about Jesus and they observed that youth in the area were "open to the gospel."⁷⁸⁷ Marti (De Febbo)

⁷⁸² Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA, 5. The German report was given by Don & Deyon Stephens

⁷⁸³ Boyd, interview. David Boyd noted that Moneer Masauch, an Egyptian student studying in Berlin, was converted to Christianity in a street meeting. He and his wife Ruth (British) went on to pioneer YWAM in Egypt.

⁷⁸⁴ Boyd noted that they started YWAM as a legal entity.

⁷⁸⁵ Carol and David took the new converts through the same YWAM teaching they had learned in their SOE.

⁷⁸⁶ Green, email, July 16, 2024.

⁷⁸⁷ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Staff Conference 1970: Minutes, Carlsbad, CA, 5. Spain report was given by Loren Cunningham.

Green, one of the team members, recalled that the door-to-door and college campus ministry was “not the most successful summer.”⁷⁸⁸ One success, in the sense of a longer-term presence, resulted from a repeat visit to North Africa. Repeat Spanish SOS team member Al Akimoff made YWAM’s second trip to Tangiers during the 1970 SOS which led to YWAM’s first permanent outreach in North Africa the following year.⁷⁸⁹

While the majority of the 1970 SOE students remained on teams focused on European evangelism, two students, Rudi Lack and Lynn Green, were presented with other opportunities. Rudi Lack, as noted in the previous section on the ATW, flew to Kenya to join Sally and Floyd McClung’s Around the World team who had recently arrived in East Africa. Joining in the evangelistic work through partnership with PAOC missionaries in Kenya and Southern Baptist missionaries in Uganda, Rudi and the other ATW team members gave their time to door-to-door evangelism, partnered with local churches, and held evangelism training and campaigns for local youth.⁷⁹⁰ Lynn Green was the only SOE student to join a small team of five heading to Afghanistan for the summer of 1970, a new ministry initiative for YWAM led by Jim and Jan Rogers.

⁷⁸⁸ Marti Green, interview by Allison Kach, November 27, 2020, video recording, Allison Kach-Yawngwe’s Personal Collection.

⁷⁸⁹ A longer-term team went to establish Hope House in 1971. Some of the pioneering longer-term team that arrived in November of 1971 included Denny and Dodie (Kelly) Gundersen and Bob and Vicki Litchy.

⁷⁹⁰ Photo of YWAM Team in Kenya or Uganda with Written Description, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

Afghanistan, 1970: Jim Cameron, J. Christy Wilson, and YWAM

YWAM's 1970 Afghanistan team came about through the diffuse, international, and interdenominational mission networks to which YWAM and its friends belonged. In the case of Afghanistan, it all started with the friendship between long-time US Presbyterian missionary, J. Christy Wilson and New Zealander Jim Cameron.⁷⁹¹ Mary and Jim Cameron were New Zealanders who first joined YWAM's 1967 SOS to Tonga. They remained in contact with Loren and Darlene and other YWAM volunteers over the next years and participated in various YWAM ministries as they were able. The Camerons were responsible for starting YWAM in England.⁷⁹² Jim and Mary were personal friends with Wilson and his family, having stayed with them in Kabul twice before the start of 1970.⁷⁹³

Cameron had received a letter from Wilson in early 1970 in which Wilson expressed his "burden for souls" and request to Teen Challenge to send workers to assist

⁷⁹¹ Jim Cameron to Christy Wilson, early 1970, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Jim and Mary Cameron were New Zealanders who had been involved with YWAM since around 1967. They joined the Rogers Around the World team in Indonesia, along with YWAM New Zealand's large SOS team. They were involved in wide-reaching missionary travels in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Southeast Asia. They had some connection with World Outreach, but were dedicated to expanding YWAM. They also were present for the first SOE teams' ministries in East Africa. During this time they were living in England working with the Foreign Mission Club, while assisting Reona Peterson and their daughter Lorraine to do the early work of making contacts, gathering for prayer, and preparing for a YWAM team in England. The Camerons were staff of YWAM's third SOE in Lausanne, Switzerland and are acknowledged by Marti and Lynn Green as part of the pioneering team for YWAM England. Marti Green, email to Allison Kach-Yawnghe, October 29, 2024.

⁷⁹² Jim Cameron to Loren Cunningham, January 16, 1970, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Jim notes in his letter that he, Mary, and their daughter Lorraine have been visiting churches to promote YWAM. Jim also asked Loren to share the need for a young couple from the SOE to come and take their place in YWAM's work in England because they were preparing to join World Outreach in the Philippines.

⁷⁹³ Margaret Tooley, email to Allison Kach-Yawnghe, May 5, 2024. The Camerons played an instrumental role in founding YWAM in England in the early 1970s

him in the work.⁷⁹⁴ In Cameron's response, written from their headquarters at the Foreign Mission Club in London, he assured Wilson that while Teen Challenge might offer some help, Loren Cunningham had previously expressed a desire to send a YWAM team to Afghanistan. Like Teen Challenge, he reassured Wilson, YWAM used "a personal witnessing approach, and similar methods in working with drug addicts, hippies, etc [sic]."⁷⁹⁵ Cunningham and Wilson were in contact shortly after Jim Cameron's letter and an official invitation was made.⁷⁹⁶

It was Wilson's invitation that Loren read to the SOE sometime in early 1970, as per Lynn Green's recollection in a 2020 interview. According to Lynn, Loren asked everyone to pray about whether God might be asking them to join the Afghanistan team.⁷⁹⁷ Lynn was the only one to approach Loren after the time of personal prayer. When the school ended in June 1970, a team of five had formed and, as per Wilson's suggestion, traveled by land.⁷⁹⁸ The team of Jim and Jan Rogers, Lynn Green, Doug Sparks, and Ken Korol, spent one month on the road and two months ministering to

⁷⁹⁴ Cameron to Wilson.

⁷⁹⁵ Cameron to Wilson, c. early 1970. In the correspondence between Jim Cameron and Loren Cunningham and Jim Cameron and Christy Wilson it is clear that Loren Cunningham had the idea to send a YWAM team to Afghanistan before Christy Wilson sent his letter of introduction and invitation. Jim Cameron acted as the connector between Loren, who had a vision to go to Afghanistan, and Christy Wilson, who expressed his need for help and desire for a Teen Challenge like ministry to come.

⁷⁹⁶ The Afghanistan team was led by Janice and Jim Rogers and included Lynn Green, Doug Sparks, Ken Korol, and two young women who arrived by air (check this again.) I don't have the names of the women.

⁷⁹⁷ Marti & Lynn Green, interview by Adriano Estevam, August 27, 2020, video recording, Media: Lynn Green, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive, Minutes 16-22.

⁷⁹⁸ Cunningham to Wilson and McClung," June 5, 1970.

western hippies in Kabul.⁷⁹⁹ With the exception of Ken Korol who stayed in Kabul, the team returned to Europe and the US at the end of August 1970 and prepared for future ministry with YWAM. Plans for a return trip to Afghanistan, led by Floyd and Sally McClung who were themselves still leading the second ATW team, were in the works before the first team departed Europe.⁸⁰⁰

At the end of August 1970, students and other YWAM members returned to Lausanne for reporting and goodbyes. Loren Cunningham preached his final message to the school on the topic of Jonah in the Old Testament who ran away from God's calling.⁸⁰¹ Loren challenged all of the SOE students to ask where God might be calling them and to be courageous and to obey. The message and the prayer it inspired led many of the SOE students to remain or eventually return to Europe to start new YWAM works. The Boyds were the first to move to a new European location right after the SOE ended. They started YWAM in Berlin. Jim and Jan Rogers, back from Afghanistan, went to Copenhagen, Denmark, and established YWAM there in the fall of 1970. Reona Peterson moved to England right after the SOE and got a job as a school teacher. Her presence and ministry there, in partnership with fellow New Zealanders Jim and Mary Cameron also in England, led to the initial contacts YWAM needed to establish a new ministry there. YWAM in England officially began in 1971 with the arrival of Lynn Green and Marti

⁷⁹⁹ During Estevam's interview with the Greens, he showed them photos of the 1970 Afghanistan team driving a green VW van beginning outside of Dorset, England, where they met, through Bulgaria, Turkey, Iran, and into Afghanistan. It seems there were two young women that joined the team, but flew into Kabul to meet the team. One was named Ruth and the other's name was not remembered.

⁸⁰⁰ Cunningham to Wilson and McClung," June 5, 1970.

⁸⁰¹ Portale, interview.

(De Febbo) Green. Judi and Joe Portale returned to Lausanne in January of 1971 to help Loren and Darlene run the third SOE. They did so again in 1972 and 1973 and ran YWAM's first French SOE in the fall of 1973, the same year they founded YWAM French Ministries. Don and Deyon Stephens returned to Germany after the SOE and went on to spearhead YWAM's first major ministry "outreach" at the 1972 Munich Olympics.⁸⁰²

By the close of 1970, YWAM was spreading through the mission work and migration of still predominantly North American young people in Europe. It was also gaining traction among European young people who had either been converted through YWAM's ministry or recruited through established churches. Between YWAM's first SOE in 1969, their first European SOS, their second SOE in 1969–1970, and the 1970 Summer ministries, a growing network of increasingly global relationships and collaboration of various mission and church groups was emerging. Contacts with local pastors from various denominations throughout all regions in Europe continued to expand through YWAM's movement in planned evangelistic outreach and the SOE field trips. Regular partnership with local Swiss, French, and German churches during the SOE meant YWAM and its young cohort of zealous evangelists were meeting a felt need in European churches. They inspired younger church members to share their faith and brought new converts into the churches. Loren and Darlene's AG mission contacts who helped them gain initial entry into the region remained solid anchors, but the

⁸⁰² This list is not comprehensive, especially as many of the SOE and SOS participants continued working with YWAM in other parts of the world.

Cunninghams and the groups of young North Americans coming and going from the SOEs and SOSes developed relationships far beyond traditional pentecostal networks into state churches, varying Protestant denominations, and Roman Catholic religious orders and parishes.⁸⁰³

As YWAM's work slowly became known to European churches, parachurch organizations, and mission networks. YWAM's first European contacts in Germany and Switzerland in 1968 were connected to the AG missionary apparatus, the PAOC, and the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International through pentecostal minister and Bible College teacher in Frankfurt, Germany, Rev. Gerhardt Wessler and Rev. John T. Owens in Chateaux D'Oex, Switzerland. Once the first SOE began in Chateaux D'Oex, YWAM's partnerships expanded to include their regular church attendance with the local French Brethren, Mennonites, Spanish Evangelicals, Canadian-based Anabaptist missionaries of the Janz team, and independent pentecostal denominations in the region. In geographic proximity to L'Abri, YWAM's ties to Francis and Edith Schaeffer's teaching ministry began in 1969. Other transnational pentecostal and evangelical networks facilitated YWAM's partnerships with European and British evangelical preachers like Duncan Campbell and Martin Higgenbotham, European Youth for Christ leaders and students, C. Stacey Woods of Inter-varsity/IFES, and David Foster, founder of Eurovangelism.⁸⁰⁴ AG missionaries and Bible Colleges in France, Greece, Spain, and

⁸⁰³ More detailed treatment of YWAM's partnerships with other denominational, parachurch, and mission organizations around the world are dealt with in Chapter 2.

⁸⁰⁴ "Our Story," TransformEuropeNetwork.org, accessed December 5, 2024, <https://ten-uk.org/our-story/>. David Foster, listed as the founder of Eurovangelism around 1968.

Italy were central to YWAM's short-term SOS and targeted evangelistic efforts throughout the year. Likewise, local evangelical mission and revival ministries like the Swiss Scripture Union in France and the German pentecostal revival circuit provided YWAM with ready-made outlets eager to utilize their energy and zeal. By 1970, well-known European evangelicals like Corrie Ten Boom and Brother Andrew learned about the Mission and got involved.⁸⁰⁵

By the end of 1970, US-based pastors and Bible teachers like Harry Conn, Gordon Olson, Cam Wilson, Gordon Lindsay, and T.C. and Jewell Cunningham, still comprised the majority of SOE instructors, but the people influencing the budding ministry were becoming increasingly international. These influencers remained concentrated in the white Anglo-protestant world, with Dutch Ten Boom and Brother Andrew and New Zealander Joy Dawson taking central roles. Along with the trend to include more global voices as instructors, YWAM's student body began to diversify, evidence which only begins to be seen in the 1970 SOE with Swiss student Rudi Lack and New Zealander Reona Peterson.⁸⁰⁶ Still, the openness of the Mission to learn from

⁸⁰⁵ Loren Cunningham noted that Corrie Ten Boom's nephew had heard about YWAM and visited their location for a community night meeting – teaching open to the public. After he visited, he was impressed and shared about the ministry with his aunt, who later visited and became a beloved teacher and friend to many of the early cohorts of YWAMers. Cunningham, interview #1. Another important European connection for YWAM came after 1970, around 1971, when Loren, Darlene, and Karen Cunningham stayed at the Evangelical Sisterhood of Mary near Darmstadt, Germany. Darlene credits this ecumenical Lutheran religious order as the root of YWAM's value of hospitality. According to Darlene Cunningham, it was during their stays with the sisters that she and Loren learned how it felt to be cared for by one's hosts and to integrate this value of anticipating the needs of others through the practice of hospitality. See Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 146-8.

⁸⁰⁶ An important note to YWAM's cultural and ethnic diversification by 1970 includes its ongoing expansion in the South Pacific, especially the long-term missionary presence of Kalafi and Tapua Moala and their team in PNG during 1970. Outside of YWAM's growth in Europe, there was simultaneous non-white and non-western growth in the South Pacific.

the experiences and spiritual lives of its young participants, a cornerstone of YWAM's purpose to train and equip young people for missionary evangelism, meant that different students were able to exert influence on YWAM's internal culture and emerging mission ethos and practice.⁸⁰⁷ Loren and Darlene Cunningham continued to demonstrate their trust in the young people who worked alongside them as students and evangelists, delegating authority over leading local and summer ministries as they saw fit, and, of course, were led by God.

Conclusion

Making its home among Christians from a diversity of cultures, languages, and societies in Asia, Africa, and Europe, YWAM was supported by a vast array of historic and emerging transnational networks. Across Asia and Africa, radical holiness faith missions turned pentecostal welcomed YWAM's participation. In Europe, AG missionaries, Bible Colleges, and local pentecostal denominations were the first to open their doors to YWAM. Once there, cooperation with Mennonites, Baptists, and state churches signaled a broader reception. All of these relationships were aided by YWAM's lack of official denominational membership that made it "all things to all people," at least in theory. Strong relational ties to the AG and PAOC mission networks remained and

⁸⁰⁷ It is important to note that students, like Carol Boyd, taught sessions in the SOE based on her own ministry experience. The prayer and intercession times were also open to student leadership, as were the teaching times, where leaders and teachers welcomed questions and discussions. While Loren and Darlene and other leaders still maintained positions of authority, the SOE continued to model a strong belief in the competency of young people without formal ministry training.

assisted YWAM in its early growth in the region, even if they claimed to preached “non-denominational” gospel message of salvation in Jesus Christ.⁸⁰⁸

Their core message and ministry practice – to train and mobilize young people in world evangelism and mission through personal witnessing – came to some as a revolutionary way of Christian living. To others, YWAM’s methods seemed like the empowerment needed to reach their non-Christian societies for Christ, and still to others it seemed like the answer to the prayers of aging and irrelevant churches in secularizing societies longing for revival. Whatever their long-term contributions in Asia, Europe, and Africa were, YWAM infused global Christian churches and young people with an optimistic, entrepreneurial “can-do” mission ethos akin to the western capitalism and globalism that aided their success. They also promulgated a distinctly pentecostal and charismatic vision for the Christian life and mission that was predicated on personal Bible study, hearing God’s voice in prayer, gospel proclamation and conversion, and God’s supernatural intervention in everyday life and ministry. At the same time, YWAM volunteers learned about different cultures, religions, and ways of doing and being in mission that went past the boundaries of typical North American pentecostal mission practice.⁸⁰⁹ For many of the first cohorts of YWAM volunteers from 1968 to 1970, they

⁸⁰⁸ Cunningham to Gill, June 4, 1968. By nature of naming that they preached a “non-denominational” message of salvation in Jesus Christ, Loren Cunningham situated YWAM as a part of the broader evangelical mission movement of the long 1960s that was rising in prominence.

⁸⁰⁹ YWAM participants offer examples of modern contextualization and indigenization, specifically after they expanded their mission outreach out of North America. Al Akimoff noted that when they arrived in Europe in 1969, they were all still wearing the pentecostal approved button-down shirts and ties with short cut hair. Young women wore dresses and skirts that were lengthened appropriately. After just one year living and serving in Europe and abroad, many of them were all dressing, as Al noted, like hippies and were letting their hair grow.

were learning what it meant to be a missionary at the same time as they were teaching others.

By the close of 1970, YWAM had inspired local youth around the world to engage in personal evangelism and missionary outreach. It enabled scores of young North Americans, New Zealanders, and a few Pacific Islanders, Australians, and Europeans to physically move locations and cross cultures to share the message of Jesus Christ and to challenge other young people to follow their example. Their universal message was both salvific and missional – believe in Jesus Christ and tell others about God and God’s kingdom. Everywhere YWAM went, they extended an invitation to local young people to come and join them as they went to tell others about Christ, whether in the next village or across the sea.

YWAM inspired local and foreign young people started their own evangelistic initiatives, with or without adult and denominational backing. YWAM’s influence resulted in global Christian youth of the long 1960s to train to be local pastors, denominational evangelists, and church planters. Others with the means, mobility, and motivation, joined YWAM’s first mission training schools and founded new mission works around the world. From its inception and as it spread around the world, YWAM was intergenerational with volunteers ranging in age from children to seniors. Still, a key distinctive of its message, success, and brand of world Christianity was its focus on championing youth. It was YWAM’s global engagement with young people that ultimately made it a youth movement.

Chapter 6: The Making of a Youth Movement

YWAM's success on the global stage was possible because of the ascendance of youth culture during the long 1960s. A socio-cultural movement that originated in the western world and had ripple effects around the globe, the creation of youth culture significantly affected and aided YWAM's founding, development, and global expansion. Idealistic and optimistic baby boomers came of age during the long 1960s. As youth, they gained agency and independence and asserted themselves in all sectors of society, including the church and missions. YWAM offered pentecostal young people purpose and belonging and an active role in creating a countercultural movement that affirmed their faith and challenged them to engage in the global enterprise of evangelical missions. YWAM became a youth movement as it transformed from an adult-led organization in the Assemblies of God geared to youth to a youth-led organization committed to championing youth in missions.⁸¹⁰ Not only was YWAM a youth movement shaped by the socio-cultural context of its day, but it was also a product of its founders' renewalist pentecostal roots and youthful experiences in family pentecostal ministry.

This chapter explores the history and development of YWAM as a global youth movement originating generally in the United States and specifically in California during the long 1960s. A corrective to the secular bias that governs the history of youth and youth culture, the chapter's account adds a unique case study of a youth movement inspired by pentecostal values and practices to the body of literature dedicated to

⁸¹⁰ Heilbronner, "From a Culture for Youth to a Culture of Youth," 587. Heilbronner classifies "youth" as being those aged 13-30 in a given generation.

understanding the creation of youth culture. From the historical context of the ascendancy of youth in the US and the English-speaking world as explored in the introduction, the chapter begins with a historical overview of youth and student ministry and youth mission in western Protestantism. The development of these groups highlights the ways YWAM was both a continuation of and innovation from past student and youth movements. The section that follows explores the history of youth in early pentecostalism and the founding and development of youth ministries within the Assemblies of God USA (AG) up to the early 1960s.

Arguing that YWAM's vision for youth in missions harkened back to the radical egalitarian ethos of early pentecostalism, the chapter reconstructs Loren Cunningham's history as a youth and young adult leader in the AG from 1948–1960. A section on the creation of the YWAM from 1960–1964 details the development of YWAM's first youth participants. Untrained youth became missionary evangelists, first in US-based evangelistic campaigns and then YWAM's first international mission trip in the Bahamas in 1964. Finally, the chapter examines YWAM's formal exit from the AG, a shift that indicated YWAM's transition from an adult-led movement to a youth movement in its own right.

A Prominent Place in Western Protestantism

Understanding YWAM as a unique youth movement of the long 1960s requires a return to the extant history of youth and youth ministry in modern western

Protestantism.⁸¹¹ The scholarship on the creation of youth has reflected relatively little as to the place of religion, specifically Christianity, and the church in and for young people. The sources that do bridge the chasm between youth culture in the long 1960s and religion, studies by McCloud and Eskridge as previously mentioned, focus on youth constituencies that differ from the Assemblies of God youth who became the first YWAMers and cover time periods later than YWAM's emergence.

Stand-alone histories, whether popular or scholarly, of historic student and youth ministries and mission organizations offer insight into changing perceptions and practices of youth in church and culture in the last 180 years.⁸¹² These histories prove helpful in interrogating the continuities and discontinuities of previous youth ministry models and youth missions evident in YWAM's founding and early development. The history of specific youth ministries can enrich an understanding of YWAM's location in the development of Christian youth movements. The following section will focus on modern trends in youth ministry with attention to historical examples of youth participation in missions and attitudes towards youth as recipient, participant, and/or agent of mission.

⁸¹¹ Marwick, *The Sixties*, 7. Explored more fully in the introduction, Marwick's use of the framework of "the long 1960s" provides a chronological scaffolding for this historical reconstruction.

⁸¹² These historic student and youth ministries include the Young Men's Christian Association/Young Women's Christian Association, the Student Volunteer Movement of Foreign Missions, Christian Endeavor, The Oxford Group, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, Campus Crusade for Christ, Youth for Christ, and Young Life.

Children, Students, and Youth – The Evolution of the Evangelical Impulse to Reach the Young

Long before youth culture was identified as a social phenomenon, Christianity in the English-speaking world demonstrated its value of and concern for young people. The Sunday-school movement which began in England in 1780 focused on Christian education of children. The practice of teaching young people and engaging their faith in Sunday schools was foundational for the emergence of youth-specific ministries. One hundred years before the advent of the “teenager,” the Young Men’s Christian Association was founded by George Williams and eleven of his associates in London. Williams was concerned for the spiritual and physical well-being of the droves of young men flooding urban centers during the Industrial Revolution in 1844 London. Williams, who had moved to London to find employment a few years earlier, sought to create constructive gatherings to foster Christian faith and holistic development in young British men. Within a few years, the YMCA expanded to Canada and the US and eleven years later the movement grew to include women and it established of the Young Women’s Christian Association. Both groups were active in Christian service, prayer, and mission to and among young people.

While William’s original vision was to reach young tradespeople in urban centers, the YMCA/YWCA began to grow among secondary and college-age students. An 1888 offshoot of the YMCA/YWCA, the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM), linked thriving collegiate YMCA/YWCA chapters with the global missionary

enterprise.⁸¹³ The SVM blossomed overnight. After its first student missionary convention in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1891, 6200 students had signed the SVM pledge to become a foreign missionary. 321 students were already serving overseas.⁸¹⁴ The movement continued to spread through student-led prayer meetings and national and international recruiting and organizing. The inspirational preaching and young-adult leadership of John R. Mott, Robert Wilder, and others led to what seemed like the spontaneous expansion of students and young adults pledging their lives to foreign missions. Supporting what may have appeared as near-miraculous growth, highly organized student conferences and local student SVM chapters brought interested and willing young people together to be inspired and challenged in world mission.⁸¹⁵

Many young women and men, like early SVM worker to Korea, Samuel Moffett, acted on the SVM's watchword "the evangelization of the world in this generation." Within the span of one generation, 21,000 SVM missionaries had been sent to foreign fields from North American Colleges.⁸¹⁶ The SVM's growth began to cool around the 1920s as it reflected Mainline denominations' shift towards Social Gospel-inspired

⁸¹³ For a comprehensive history, see Michael Parker, *The Kingdom of Character: The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (1886-1926)* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998).

⁸¹⁴ Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of IntersVarsity Christian Fellowship-USA, 1940-1990* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992), 43. Closely related to the SVM, students in Scandinavia, Britain, the US, and Canada were eager to translate their faith as students into the tenacity and dedication of missionaries by founding the World Student Christian Federation in 1895.

⁸¹⁵ The role of John R. Mott's renowned organizational skills, expansive relational networks, and fundraising ability must be named as a factor in the SVM's popularity and growth. Benjamin L. Hartley, "John R. Mott amidst the Students: Historical and Missiological Gleanings for Today," *Missiology*, November 7, 2024.

⁸¹⁶ Hunt and Hunt, *For Christ and the University*, 43.

ecumenism and away from evangelistic work. Changing motivations for and priorities of international missionary endeavors influenced the deceleration in the number of students taking the SVM pledge and going as missionaries to the foreign field.⁸¹⁷ After a series of mergers with other ecumenical Christian student bodies, the SVM became the National Student Christian Federation in 1959 and then the University Christian Fellowship in 1966.⁸¹⁸

Another movement of the same era that sought to care for youth and to integrate them into the life and mission of the church through nurture and training mirrored the international success of the SVM. In 1881, a Congregational pastor and his wife, Francis Edward and Harriet Clark, formed the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor (Christian Endeavor) by bringing together the Sunday-School, Mizpah Mission Circle, and unengaged but interested youth of Williston Church in Portland, Maine.⁸¹⁹ Within a year, nearly a dozen like societies had sprung up in the US and Canada and rapidly expanded to the UK, Australia, European continent, and Asia. Underscoring the capability of young people to fully serve Christ in the church and society, Christian Endeavor became an interdenominational movement that gained wide-spread support from pastors "in actual fields of labor, and who were in closest touch with their young

⁸¹⁷ Gerald H. Anderson, "A Moratorium on Missionaries?" *The Christian Century* 92, no. 2 (January 16, 1974): 43–45. These changes in motivation and priorities eventually resulted in a large-scale withdrawal of ecumenical Protestant mission personnel from foreign missionary service. The demographic shift, however, was only observable in the 1960s. Coote, "Good News, Bad News."

⁸¹⁸ The US chapter of the University Christian Fellowship voted to cease its operations completely shortly after the final name change in 1966.

⁸¹⁹ Francis E. Clark, *World Wide Endeavor* (Chicago, IL: W.S. Reeve, 1895), 49–57, Google Books.

people.”⁸²⁰ Among its critics, church leaders were afraid that the new organization would draw away its young members and feared the results of endowing “callow” minds with “mature work they are not fit to do.”⁸²¹

Unlike the YMCA/YWCA’s expansion into missions as an outgrowth of student involvement, Christian Endeavor began with missions. The Mizpah Mission Circle was formed as a youth meeting for school-age girls from the church and led by Harriet Clark. The Mizpah Mission Circle focused on discussing mission topics, praying for missions, and offering practical skills to raise mission funds. It was a core group of girls, joined by the Sunday-school class of boys who together signed Christian Endeavor’s charter drafted by F. E. Clark. The merger of the two groups formed the first chapter of the youth organization. While the Society’s focus was not expressly to train young people for foreign missions, it did practice integrating young people into the ministries and mission of the local church. Chapters fostered personal discipleship and nurtured Christian service among youth and led countless young people into full-time ministry and mission work around the world. Of central importance to Christian Endeavor’s growth, according to Clark, was the mandatory nature of meetings, particularly the weekly prayer meeting that encouraged full participation.⁸²² The Clarks’ belief in the abilities of youth to enrich the church and society conflicted with the pervasive ideas that young people lacked the

⁸²⁰ Clark, *World Wide Endeavor*, 97.

⁸²¹ Clark, *World Wide Endeavor*, 96. This reasoning is echoed in the long 1960s “adult-led” religious organizations that mirrored society’s suspicion of youth.

⁸²² Clark, *World Wide Endeavor*, 57, 69.

maturity and knowledge possessed by their elders and should be seen and not heard.⁸²³

Giving young people of school and college-age a place to participate and serve in the local church was as revolutionary in the late nineteenth century as it was to some leaders of the Assemblies of God in the US in the early 1960s.⁸²⁴

A Re-creation of Student Ministries: Reclaiming an Evangelical Ethos, 1920s to 1940s

The YWCA/YMCA, the SVM, and Christian Endeavor pioneered new models for youth participation in the church and Christian service in the world. Their world-wide growth and staying power were a testament to young people's readiness to serve God and people long before the emergence of modern youth culture. Surviving the First and Second World Wars, each organization's youth focus remained, albeit with deep and lasting personal, relational, theological, and missiological scars. The social and religious turmoil society and church experienced after World War I, during the interwar period, and again after World War II altered the people who carried the vision, values, and practices of these historic youth movements.

Out of and in response to intense periods of crisis, new theologies emerged as a means to make sense of God and faith in the world. The rise of the Social Gospel, higher criticism, and liberal theology were met with harsh opposition as conservative evangelicals sought to defend what they viewed as theological orthodoxy. These

⁸²³ Clark, *World Wide Endeavor*, 45.

⁸²⁴ The fact remains that the leaders of the AG in the 1960s simply echoed the social suspicion the "parent culture" held towards young people.

theological divergences gave rise to what some scholars have described as the modernist-fundamentalist controversy that played out in churches and seminaries in North America and Europe.⁸²⁵ Youth ministries were not immune to the in-fighting, schisms, and polarizing effects that caused church splits and emboldened each factions' claims of moral and theological higher ground.⁸²⁶ Student organizing followed the contours of these theological divisions and led to the founding of new initiatives that aligned with evangelically-oriented priorities.

Evangelical students lost confidence in the broader Student Christian Movement (SCM) as the YMCA/YWCA, World Student Christian Federation (WSCF), and SVM who they saw to be aligned with liberal theology and ecumenical ideals. Withdrawing from Y Associations, these students founded alternative groups to better represent their biblical interpretations and evangelistic priorities.⁸²⁷ After WWI, evangelical students in the UK founded Christian Unions as separate entities from the SCM. With links to the evangelical Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU) founded in 1877, the Oxford University Bible Union (OUBU) was organized in 1919. Both groups, along with the other Christian Unions, met for Bible Study and prayer meetings. Soon they gathered for their first "Inter-Varsity" convention at Norman Grubb's suggestion.⁸²⁸ While the

⁸²⁵ North American expressions of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy are noted to have been far more polarizing than in England and Europe where moderates were able to exist in a tension between both. Treloar, *The Disruption of Evangelicalism*, 195-197.

⁸²⁶ Hartley, "John R. Mott amidst the Students."

⁸²⁷ Hunt and Hunt, *For Christ and the University*, 46. Hunt and Hunt note that "Most theologically conservative chapters had removed themselves from their allegiance to the Y Associations as early as 1925."

⁸²⁸ Hunt and Hunt, *For Christ and the University*, 58.

local chapters of these Christian Unions met annually from 1919, it was only in 1928 that the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions was formally registered as a national organization in England. Just one year later, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship of Canada was formed. The Canadian IVCF leaders were instrumental in pioneering IVCF in the United States, with its first chapter in Michigan in 1938 and its formal beginning in 1939.⁸²⁹

Throughout World War II, IVCF continued to negotiate its place in Europe and North America alongside the SCM.⁸³⁰ Starting off as Christian Unions intent on building meaningful Christian community and discipleship on college campuses was a missional vision in and of itself. Absent from IVCF's mandate, however, was an explicit mandate to train, equip, and send western college grads as foreign missionaries. The ministry did take on a mission focus through the influence of David Adeney, J. Christy Wilson, and the 1945 merger with the Student Foreign Missions Fellowship (SFMF).⁸³¹ David Adeney, a former missionary to China, joined the staff of ICVF in 1941 to infuse the ministry with a focus on missions.⁸³² In the same year, Adeney visited Wilson, a missionary-kid who grew up in Iran, while a student at Princeton. Through the further

⁸²⁹ Hunt and Hunt, *For Christ and the University*, 61–73, 86.

⁸³⁰ IVCF's reception in Canada was warmer than in the US, likely due to the closer relationships between UK and Canadian churches and university groups fostered by British colonialism and the Commonwealth.

⁸³¹ See H. Wilbert Norton, "The Student Foreign Missions Fellowship over Fifty-Five Years," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 17, no. 1 (January 1, 1993): 17–21. Hunt and Hunt, *For Christ and the University*, 124. Hunt and Hunt note how Christy Wilson had spoken with IVCF USA pioneer Stacey Woods about the necessity of challenging young people to become missionaries after the War would end and mission fields opened up. Wilson himself became

⁸³² Hunt and Hunt, *For Christ and the University*, 96.

recruitment of Stacey Woods, Wilson became part-time IVCF staff in 1943.⁸³³ He channeled his personal missionary zeal into the organization of the ministry's first student missionary convention in Toronto in 1946.⁸³⁴ Through the influence of these mission-minded student-leaders, mergers with mission-focused evangelical student groups like SFMF, and the development of IVCF's International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES), IVCF moved toward a "mission-ish" identity that has inspired generations of evangelically-oriented college students to choose vocations of campus ministry and full-time missions. Characterized by their annual Urbana Missions Conference, the history of IVCF and the IFES traces the important development of evangelical student /young adult ministry connected to developments in the global Christian movement and missions through the long 1960s and beyond.⁸³⁵

Over a decade after IVCF was founded, another student ministry that became a global student movement, Campus Crusade for Christ (renamed Cru in 2011), was founded by Bill and Vonda Bright at the University of California at Los Angeles in 1951.⁸³⁶ Influenced by Henrietta Mears, faculty at Fuller Theological Seminary, and his

⁸³³ Both Stacey Woods and J. Christy Wilson were involved in YWAM's early development, especially after YWAM relocated to Europe in 1968-1970. Stacey Woods spoke in YWAM's first Schools of Evangelism and J. Christy Wilson invited YWAM to send a team of young people to work in Kabul, Afghanistan.

⁸³⁴ Hunt and Hunt, *For Christ and the University*. 125.

⁸³⁵ Hunt and Hunt, *For Christ and the University*, 103. I use the term "mission-ish" to describe the global expansion of InterVarsity and Campus Crusade for Christ because while their work among students was evangelistic and missional, their foundational vision was not to mobilize and train evangelists and missionaries to plant new churches. Students involved in both IVCF and Campus Crusade for Christ did enter full-time Christian vocational ministry and worked with existing colleagues in other countries, as in the history of IVCF in Jamaica in 1948, and Mexico and Costa Rica in 1945.

⁸³⁶ I will use the name "Campus Crusade for Christ" if I am talking about the organization before 2011 to remain true to the historical context. For an in-depth study on the historical and theological

own experience in college and street evangelism, Bill Bright left his own business at the age of 30 to pursue full-time evangelism among college students.⁸³⁷ On the offensive from secularism and Communism, Bright and his peers at Fuller were motivated by the premillennial urgency to save as many souls as possible before Christ returned.⁸³⁸ In 1952, the Brights were joined by six staff members at UCLA.⁸³⁹ Then in 1958, Campus Crusade for Christ expanded to South Korea when Joon Gon Kim, Bright's friend from Fuller, returned home and started an international chapter of the evangelistic ministry.

By 1959, Campus Crusade for Christ was active on 40 college campuses in the US and existed in three different countries. Bright authored a number of successful books on evangelism that influenced global youth, campus, and mission ministries of the same era. Loren Cunningham was one of Bright's collaborators in 1975.⁸⁴⁰ Campus Crusade for Christ was more focused on direct evangelism and discipleship of college-age students and less on foreign mission work. In the same spirit of the Student Volunteer

foundations of Campus Crusade for Christ see Patrick G. McLeod, "An Historical and Theological Analysis of Campus Crusade for Christ's Evangelistic Practice in Two American University Contexts" (Thesis Ph. D.--Boston University., 2009).

⁸³⁷ John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ the Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 28–30. For more information on Mears, see Arlin C. Migliazzo, *Mother of Modern Evangelicalism: The Life and Legacy of Henrietta Mears*, Library of Religious Biography (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2020).

⁸³⁸ Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ*, 31.

⁸³⁹ "Cru Historical Fact Sheet," [cru.org](https://www.cru.org/us/en/about/cru-press/background/cru-historical-fact-sheet.html), accessed April 12, 2024, <https://www.cru.org/us/en/about/cru-press/background/cru-historical-fact-sheet.html>.

⁸⁴⁰ Loren notes that he met up with Bill Bright, "a dear brother," in 1975 when they developed the "Seven Mountains" teaching. Loren had known Bill previous to this meeting. Loren Cunningham and Janice Rogers, *Making Jesus Lord: The Dynamic Power of Laying down Your Rights* (Seattle, WA: YWAM Pub., 2011), 134. It is interesting to observe that Campus Crusade for Christ expanded rapidly in the US, as opposed to IVCF, which took longer to gain appeal. I wonder if the theological and social factors of an evangelical method and message that was "made in America" spoke more clearly to US students than the IVCF model that was more intellectual and rooted in British evangelical theology and practice?

Movement and IVCF, which both harnessed the leadership of student members, Campus Crusade for Christ was led by non-student adults. Under the oversight of the adult leaders, campus ministry was facilitated by student leaders whose vision and determination to evangelize their fellow students motivated their ministry.⁸⁴¹

While IVCF and Campus Crusade for Christ continued in the long-line of ministry among college-aged students, other organizations with a new “youth-focus” emerged in the same era. The advent of the teenager as a definable consumer category gave new urgency to the commitment to evangelize children and youth, long stewarded by the Sunday-school movement and denominational youth ministries of the previous generations.⁸⁴² What emerged, however, was an innovation that mixed historic children and youth work with a fervent evangelical entrepreneurial impulse of the period. The result was the creation of new parachurch youth ministries that prioritized youth conversion.⁸⁴³ Unlike campus ministries for students located at specific colleges and Sunday-schools for children hosted at specific churches, parachurch youth ministries sought to gather youth for wholesale evangelism and discipleship. The fact that teenagers now had the increasing social agency and income to choose their leisure activities presented youth ministries with new challenges and opportunities. Ministries developed youth-friendly activities to draw unevangelized youth to their programs. The goal for

⁸⁴¹ Hunt and Hunt, *For Christ and the University*, 60–66, 79.

⁸⁴² See Mark Senter, *When God Shows Up: A History of Protestant Youth Ministry in America, Youth, Family, and Culture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010).

⁸⁴³ Senter, *When God Shows Up*, 114. Parachurch is a term used to describe Christian non-profit organizations that developed outside of denominational institutions and churches and sought to foster aspects of Christian mission and witness. The rise of the parachurch organization coincided with independent evangelical and pentecostal ministries and churches of the late 1950s and 1960s.

these ministries was to reach unchurched and non-Christian youth with the Christian message.

Representing two interpretations on “youth-friendly” evangelistic outreach, Young Life and Youth for Christ are clear examples of the post-World War II evangelistic shift of focus from “students” to “youth” expressed globally. Jim Rayburn, another disciple of Henrietta Mears, founded Young Life (YL) in 1941 to share the message of Jesus with high-school-aged young people. Later expanding to middle-school and college, Young Life sought to reach youth with the Gospel through friendship and fun. Summer camps were central aspect to their work. Youth for Christ (YFC), founded by Torrey Johnson in 1944, was also committed to the evangelization of youth, but through large-scale rallies and evangelistic preaching. Predating YFC’s formal organization by Torrey, its first rallies were organized by Jack Wyrzten in New York City.⁸⁴⁴ YFC expanded into Canada through Charles Templeton in 1945. It grew as an international entity focused on “youth” alongside the burgeoning global evangelicalism of the post-war period characterized by the ministry of Billy Graham, who began his own evangelistic ministry as Youth for Christ’s first evangelist.

The social and civic turmoil of the post-war period coupled with the rising premillennial neo-evangelical movement in mid-twentieth century US animated an urgency to ensure the conversion and Christianization of the country’s youth.⁸⁴⁵ The

⁸⁴⁴ Joel A. Carpenter (editor), *The Youth for Christ Movement and Its Pioneers*, Fundamentalism in American Religion, 1880-1950 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), 54. See also Mel Larson, “Young Man on Fire; the Story of Torrey Johnson and Youth for Christ,” in Carpenter.

⁸⁴⁵ Evans, “Called to Arouse, Warn, and Save: The American Fascination with Premillennial Dispensationalism,” 98–101.

development and growth of both campus and youth ministries reflected the church's growing awareness of the social and spiritual needs of the young in US and beyond. The new "youth-ministries" diverged methodologically from the student-led model of the SVM, IVCF, and Campus Crusade for Christ in significant ways. While the creation of youth-focused ministry could have seemed empowering to the young, Young Life and Youth for Christ both followed an adult-leading-young people model. The adult-leadership model was acceptable to modern society and church practice, both which remained suspicious of the latent and unpredictable power of youth. Unlike the older "student-focused" ministries exemplified by the SVM, IVCF, and Christian Endeavor, these modern Christian youth ministries did not emphasize young people's ability as ministers of the gospel or full missionaries. Their goal was for high-school aged youth to become Christians, grow in their faith, and take faith forward into their young adult lives. The growth of adult-led youth ministries remained reliant on adult work as opposed to the grassroots, spontaneous growth that marked the SVM, Christian Endeavor, and IVCF.⁸⁴⁶

YWAM: A Continuation of Student and Youth Ministry with a Pentecostal Flavor

YWAM came on the Christian youth scene decades after well-established ministries had been equipping and reaching out to students and youth across the US and the world. Officially founded in 1960, YWAM's vision and values reflect continuities

⁸⁴⁶ Claiming spontaneity does not preclude the reality that detailed and systematic organization was in place for these movements to grow. The spontaneous nature of the SVM, Christian Endeavor, and IVCF points to their commitment to indigenous leadership and the ability of young people to make decisions and hold leadership positions out from under adult-led leadership.

with some of the abovementioned organizations and with the broader trend of Christian denominations to instruct children and youth.⁸⁴⁷ YWAM mirrored the Student Volunteer Movement's emphasis on students serving in foreign missions and Christian Endeavor's high regard for the full participation of youth in the life of the church. John R. Mott's SVM based its growth on the decentralized model of indigenous student leadership of youth in any given location. Francis and Harriet Clark acted on the belief that young people, and even unchurched young people, had much to contribute and teach to the church. YWAM's founder, Loren Cunningham, demonstrated similar convictions to both Mott and the Clarks. His vision for youth in mission was precipitated on empowering young people to lead.

While Cunningham's beliefs and actions towards young people may have mirrored that of the SVM or Christian Endeavor, he was motivated by his pentecostal roots and family ministry upbringing. The SVM, Christian Endeavor, and YWAM all grew out of well-established institutions, the YMCA/YWCA, the Congregational Church, and the Assemblies of God, respectively. Each of them seemed to spontaneously outgrow their home organization/denomination structure and become something expansive, global, and new. Like its older cousins, Campus Crusade for Christ, Young Life, and Youth for Christ, YWAM reflected the era's evangelical impulses – a return to

⁸⁴⁷ The following section offers insight into the history of youth ministry in the Assemblies of God, the denomination from which YWAM arose, but the history of the Sunday School movement and of youth ministries in traditional and pre-pentecostal denominations are important considerations for further inquiry.

premillennial urgency for the evangelization of the world, a focus on youth conversion, and the use of entrepreneurial energy to pioneer new models of ministry.

More than a modern iteration of “young people’s missionary societies” or one of the many American-based evangelical start-ups of the long 1960s, YWAM emerged with a goal unlike any of its predecessors: to get young people, with or without college and seminary training, into the mission field.⁸⁴⁸ Rooted in early pentecostal values of personal conversion and proof of the Spirit’s infilling with the evidence of speaking in tongues as one’s justification for ministry, YWAM’s founder saw the potential of youth as full ministers and had lived it in his own experience. While YWAM shared many traits with earlier student and youth mission groups and ministries, its high view of untrained young people as full ministers, evangelists, and missionaries set it apart.⁸⁴⁹ Like early Methodist and radical evangelical faith missionaries who followed the examples of Hudson Taylor and William Taylor, YWAM participants believed that personal salvation, God’s word, and a confirmation was all one needed to follow God into the mission field.⁸⁵⁰ Everything else – food, clothes, and language skills – would come from God through faith.

⁸⁴⁸ Senter, *When God Shows Up*, 114; Senter claims that YWAM is today's version of young people's missionary societies. Noll lists YWAM as an American start-up. While neither observation is incorrect, they are incomplete. Noll, *The New Shape of World Christianity*, 85, 116.

⁸⁴⁹ Christian Endeavor’s high view of young people and permission for their participation in the church comes the closest to an early example of YWAM’s belief in youth as full ministers and missionaries. One difference is that the young people of Christian Endeavor who followed a vocational call to ministry or mission went into formal training. YWAM participants in the later years, however, could remain in YWAM and become full missionaries without formal training outside of YWAM.

⁸⁵⁰ David Bundy, “The Legacy of William Taylor,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 18, no. 4 (January 1, 1994): 172–76. Bundy notes that Taylor was not only an inspiration for Methodist and Wesleyan faith missionaries, but also directly influenced “Free Methodist Vivian Drake, the Pentecost Bands, and A.B. Simpson.” He had a “formative influence on Holiness and Pentecostal movements.”

YWAM also demonstrated a fluid age category of youth that departed from the age-defined programming of previous ministries. IVCF and Campus Crusade had a clear focus on college-age students. Young Life and Youth for Christ had mandates to reach out to high school students. Once a student graduated from high school, for example, Young Life and Youth for Christ's programming excluded them. In order to continue serving young people that aged out of their ministries, they needed to expand, which they did. Rather than beginning with age-specific categories to define its programs, YWAM initially worked within the well-established youth ministries of the Assemblies of God which included a range of ages. As YWAM expanded to include international mission service, it did have a minimum age of 16, although the enforcement of that rule had exceptions.⁸⁵¹ For YWAM, an age category was never hard and fast, especially not when accompanied by parental approval and a word from God in prayer.⁸⁵² In fact, YWAM's aim was to challenge any interested and responsible young person to evangelize and serve in world missions. With a far less robust organizational structure than other evangelical youth ministries, Noll's classification of YWAM as a "rapid start-up" rings true if viewed from within the Assemblies of God youth orbit.⁸⁵³ It is impossible to

⁸⁵¹ YWAM's practical conception of youth more mirrors a broad age range, as in Heilbronner's definition of a youth movement that included those from 13-30. Heilbronner, "From a Culture for Youth to a Culture of Youth," 576. It is also important to note that while YWAM started with a focus on getting youth in missionary service, it had the participation from older adults. Later, especially after 1970, YWAM volunteers became intergenerational, although its core value remained championing youth in mission.

⁸⁵² Candy Sparks and Doug Sparks, interview by Allison Kach, September 20, 2020, Colorado Springs, CO.

⁸⁵³ Noll, *The New Shape of World Christianity*, 115.

understand YWAM apart from the AG denominational structure and youth and evangelistic programming from which it developed.

Youth in Early Pentecostalism and the Assemblies of God

Keeping YWAM's dis/continuities from historic student missions and youth ministries in mind, this section explores youth in the early pentecostal movement and the development of youth ministry in the Assemblies of God. The early pentecostal movement, rooted in radical holiness evangelicalism, officially began in the first years of the twentieth century. While US pentecostalism is credited as beginning at the Azusa Mission under the ministry of William Seymour in April 1906, it was a young female student, Agnes Ozman, who first spoke in tongues at a 1901 Topeka Bible School. Whether one uses Agnes' tongues speaking or William Seymour's revival to mark the beginning of US pentecostalism, these two individuals and events underscore the centrality of youth and minority agency in the movement.⁸⁵⁴

With a reinterpretation of Wesley's "second blessing," early pentecostals sought to be "baptised by the Holy Spirit" to gain personal holiness, divine empowerment for service, Christian unity, and the fast track to completing the task of world evangelization.

⁸⁵⁴ Some scholars contest the egalitarianism of early pentecostalism and claim it to be a myth, or a point of ambiguity, at best. For the purposes of this historical study, I have chosen to interpret the presence and participation of youth, women, African Americans, and other non-white ethnic minorities in founding and expanding the pentecostal movement at face value. Holding this analytical framework does not ignore the fact that the development of Classical Pentecostalism in the US was largely white and male-dominated. For a recent theological assessment of the contested interpretation of pentecostal egalitarianism, see Joseph Lee Dutko, *The Pentecostal Gender Paradox: Eschatology and the Search for Equality*, T&T Clark Systematic Pentecostal and Charismatic Theology (London: T&T Clark, 2024); Blumhofer, "Women in Pentecostalism," 394–407.

“Spirit Baptism” took the form of bodily spiritual experiences and sensations often described as fire or electricity that were confirmed by the seeker speaking in other tongues, xenolalia or glossolalia, as proof. And while much historical analysis of early pentecostalism has focused on its spiritual practices and ecstatic encounters, of equal importance was its radical egalitarian values. Early pentecostals believed that God was both restoring the apostolic age and offering a foretaste of the eschaton. In the Kingdom of God, every race, culture, language, and generation stood on level footing before Christ as a co-heir, ransomed soul, and high priest.

Following a restorationist logic rooted in the belief that one’s justification for ministry came from Christ and was evidenced by the indwelling Holy Spirit, the participation of every believer in God’s mission regardless of age, race, class, and gender was clear. In its early days, ethnic minorities, women, and youth, were as qualified to preach, evangelize, lead churches, and be vessels of God’s Spirit as theologically trained men. In fact, pentecostalism spread across North America and the globe through these diverse individuals. But the pioneering days of “every believer a minister” were short lived in formal practice.⁸⁵⁵ As churches and pastors began looking for credentials and the benefits of organizing into denominations, the early egalitarian ethos of pentecostalism evidenced in interracial denominations and male and female leadership was overshadowed by the social norms of white racism, misogyny, and adult leadership. In 1914, the Assemblies of God came together as white ministers from traditionally

⁸⁵⁵ Daniels, “North American Pentecostalism,” 78–82.

interracial associations withdrew to form their own denomination that restricted African American and female ordination.

Even with formal institutionalization that reinstated the white male adult hierarchy, the movement continued to spread through diversities of itinerant evangelists and preachers convinced of the pentecostal experience and message about salvation, global evangelization, and Christ's return. Some of these itinerant evangelists were young people, like Jewell Nicholson Cunningham, Loren Cunningham's mother. While one example of many, Jewell and her siblings all received a call to preach as young people. Jewell was 12 years old. The Nicholson children, like other pioneering pentecostal families and youth, spread the pentecostal message across the Southwestern US, leading revival meetings, planting churches, and evangelizing at every opportunity.⁸⁵⁶ Officially on the family preaching roster at 17, Jewell's years as a young lady preacher in the Southwest took place after the AG was an official denomination, but she, her father, and her siblings, like many others, were more interested in saving souls and obeying their calling than in credentials and "man-made denominations" they believed would stifle the movement of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁵⁷ Her example, and that of countless young women and men in the early days of the pentecostal movement, embodied the belief that with the Holy Spirit's indwelling presence, youth could function in full ministry with or without training.

⁸⁵⁶ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*.

⁸⁵⁷ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 127, 175. Despite their opposition to organizing in a denomination, Jewell, her father, and her sister Marylydia were licensed with the AG in 1928.

After the AG was founded, women and men inspired by the pentecostal message continued to spread the message independent of the denomination. Thus, the inclusive pneumatological mission ethos resident in early pentecostalism remained a force in the pioneering of new pentecostal churches, some that remained independent or joined other denominations and some that eventually joined the AG. All the while, the egalitarian impulse remained an undercurrent in Assemblies of God families and churches who had lived it first hand and continued to do so regardless of the denomination's policies. The radical pentecostal ethos continued to reassert itself under supportive leadership in local churches and regional (district) contexts that cared more about their fidelity to God's work through Pentecost than about the wishes of the denominational headquarters in Springfield, Missouri. It inspired various renewal movements within the denomination that challenged the denomination to return to its roots and restore the spirit of pentecostalism, resulting in break-away churches and denominations intent on accomplishing the task.⁸⁵⁸ YWAM became one of these renewalist forces as it sought to restore the place of youth in the mission of Pentecost.

Youth Ministry in the Assemblies of God

Youth agency in pentecostal ministry was a reality for the second generation of pentecostals. For them, the assertion that young people were a vital part of the church with gifts and skills to contribute to the church's work and God's mission was a

⁸⁵⁸ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 3-4.

continuation of their experiences.⁸⁵⁹ Self-initiated youth groups arose first in the Southern California District, prompting a national campaign and eventual adoption of a denomination-wide youth program – Christ’s Ambassadors (C.A.). Unlike the post-war emergence of parachurch organizations that focused on the evangelization of youth, Christian denominations had long sought to teach and train their younger members in faithful Christian living and service through age-related Catechism and Sunday Schools. Relevant to the history of YWAM, youth-initiated and youth-led programming in the Assemblies of God dates back to as early as 1924. Characteristic of the period, these programs followed the adult models of ministry and service. The program emphasis was on young people doing what adult pentecostals did. Christ’s Ambassadors youth preached, sang, studied the Bible, prayed, and evangelized. Their focus was on the mature activities of ministry and not on popular youth activities thought to attract new members.

The creation of Christ’s Ambassadors, the youth division of the Assemblies of God, in 1926 transpired after an amalgamation of grassroots youth associations from Central and Northern California Districts of the Assemblies of God.⁸⁶⁰ The push for AG churches, pastors, districts, and the denomination to formally organize its youth came from a number of directions and trickled across the country at different times depending on regional and local support and resources. Before the organization of Christ’s

⁸⁵⁹ These same assertions of young people’s central role in church life filled volumes of books dedicated to youth ministry from a wide-range of denominations from the 1970s - 1990s and continue today. The Assemblies of God young people made their claim in 1926.

⁸⁶⁰ Darrin J. Rogers, “This Week in AG History -- September 25, 1926,” September 24, 2015, <https://news.ag.org/en/features/this-week-in-ag-history--september-25-1926>.

Ambassadors, youth programming was left to local churches and leaders from the denominations' founding in 1914 to 1926.⁸⁶¹ In the Arkansas District, Teeter noted that church elders and pastors feared the influence youth had on others and hesitated to create specific ministries for them.⁸⁶² In fact, the Arkansas District Sunday School Superintendent David Burriss saw a need for a youth program in 1926, but he proceeded in secret lest the church elders found out. Once he could "prove to the elders that the young people were not monsters as some feared, but rather a potential that could be used for the development of churches," he brought his youth group up from the underground.⁸⁶³ Burriss' establishment of a youth program happened to coincide with the 1926 denominational approval of Christ's Ambassadors. Even if the elders had disapproved of Arkansas youth groups, Burriss had denominational leadership to back him up.

Echoing the sentiments articulated by Karl Mannheim's 1928 social theory of the "generations in conflict," AG sources reveal adult leaders who mirrored the cultural suspicion of youth as an emerging and separate socio-cultural category.⁸⁶⁴ There were churches and leaders who held true to the egalitarian pentecostal ideas of the early movement and championed youth organizing from the middle of the 1920s. The earliest documented evidence of youth-initiated groups in the AG took place in the Northern and

⁸⁶¹ Earl R. Teeter, "A History of the Arkansas Assemblies of God, 1908-1968" (MA thesis, Arkadelphia, Arkansas, Ouachita Baptist University, 1970), 63.

⁸⁶² Teeter, "A History," 63.

⁸⁶³ Teeter, "A History," 64–65.

⁸⁶⁴ Heilbronner, "From a Culture for Youth to a Culture of Youth," 577.

Southern Districts of California. The existence of the “Pentecostal Ambassadors for Christ” from Oakland, the “Fresno Full Gospel Crusaders,” and Los Angeles’ “Christ’s Ambassadors” proves that there were pastors, leaders, and District administration who saw the “potential” in and need to serve their young people and support youth organizing in the church.⁸⁶⁵

The September 25, 1926, *Pentecostal Evangel* included a section written by Carl E. Hatch entitled “California Young People’s Notes.” Hatch lists various initiatives organized by the young people – evangelistic teams preached and led music, youth orchestras played in churches and community parks, youth groups led services in exchange with another youth group, and one youth group leader, Carl E. Hatch, published a paper, *The Christ’s Ambassador Herald*, geared to AG youth.⁸⁶⁶ Hatch was one of the key advocates for denominational approval and centralization of AG youth. His words and actions reflected a conviction and drive to treat youth as able pentecostal ministers.⁸⁶⁷ His sentiments are clearly articulated in “An Appeal to the Young People:”

The importance of young peoples’ part in the church cannot be overestimated. It is the natural prerogative of young people to do the aggressive work. Unless the latent powers and talents are harnessed and developed for God’s service they will be used for the world or the devil.⁸⁶⁸

⁸⁶⁵ Carl E. Hatch, “An Appeal to the Young People!,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, September 25, 1926, Consortium of Pentecostal Archives.

⁸⁶⁶ Hatch, “An Appeal to the Young People!,” 4.

⁸⁶⁷ While not signed by Hatch, the likelihood of his authorship is reflected in the details he provides, “we already have a paper called “Christ’s Ambassadors.” Hatch was the one who published that paper and led the LA Bethel Temple’s youth group under the same name. Bethel Temple was one of the AG’s flagship churches.

⁸⁶⁸ Hatch, “An Appeal to the Young People!”

From its 1926 founding, Christ's Ambassadors (C.A.) grew to be a staple for Assemblies of God youth coming of age in the inter and postwar periods. With a youth group of their own, AG youth needn't look to parachurch organizing for an outlet or affirmation of their place in the church. Divisional C.A. rallies and national rallies were organized and overseen by area directors. AG young people met other pentecostal youth from different districts and parts of the country. By 1944, the program added a missionary support component, harnessing youth's economic participation for the cause of world mission. The "Speed-the-Light" campaign was founded to unite C.A. groups to raise funds for missionary transportation in the far reaches of the AG foreign mission field.⁸⁶⁹ The addition of popular summer youth camps, a method used by other youth and student ministries like Young Life and Inter-Varsity, became a part of AG Christ's Ambassadors, along with Bible quizzing, talent contests, and the development of Chi Alpha, the AG's own collegiate youth program.⁸⁷⁰

The development of these programs in one Christian denomination reflects the larger societal trend in western countries to cater to the desires of baby boom youth who were ascending to a position of cultural dominance, both as economic consumers and religious and social participants/members. The fact, for example, that the AG saw the need to create its own collegiate youth program alongside well-established ministries like IVCF and Campus Crusade for Christ hints at the presence of pentecostal young people at US public and private colleges and the denomination's commitment to keep their young

⁸⁶⁹ Teeter, "A History," 66.

⁸⁷⁰ Teeter, "A History," 68.

people distinct.⁸⁷¹ No longer relegated to study at their own separate pentecostal Bible Colleges, the founding of the collegiate ministry also points to the pentecostal move from a fringe sect on the periphery of society toward the accepted center in broader US evangelical culture.⁸⁷²

Pentecostal students were able to be both pentecostal and evangelical at their colleges which led to broader Christian cooperation. The case of the 1959 AG collegiate group, Chi Alpha, at Fresno State proves this point. An article in the *Campus Ambassador* notes that three of Chi Alpha's officers also served as officers for the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship.⁸⁷³ Formerly isolated pentecostal families, churches, and networks were beginning to integrate with the wider US culture, both Christian and secular. As a result, initiatives of cross-denominational cooperation became possible for youth and students who retained their distinct pentecostal identities and values. In the context of pentecostal youth engaging with the wider evangelical, Christian, and secular world, one young pentecostal adult from Southern California, Loren Cunningham, attempted to expand youth involvement in the church to include both interdenominational cooperation and mission work.

⁸⁷¹ A paradox exists in the founding of Chi Alpha, for while AG youth were attending non-AG institutions of higher learning and pentecostals were increasingly accepted by the broader evangelical culture, the need to promote friendship and doctrinal adherence between pentecostals was a matter of importance. If not, the AG would have been content to let their young people join IVCF or other campus ministries.

⁸⁷² This entrance into the mainstream of evangelicalism officially began when the AG joined the National Association of Evangelicals in 1943. Where they had once been outcasts and seen as heretics by fellow evangelicals, their social and religious acceptance in society and evangelicalism began to increase after this time.

⁸⁷³ "Attention!," *Campus Ambassador*, April 1959, 20, Loren Cunningham's Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

Youth in Missions: A Return to “Pentecost’s” Roots

Youth-initiated evangelism was nothing new in the Assemblies of God. By the time Loren Cunningham was coming of age as a Christ’s Ambassador at Faith Tabernacle in West Los Angeles in the early to mid-1950s, pentecostal youth in Southern California had been organizing themselves and engaging in evangelistic ministry for nearly three decades.⁸⁷⁴ While Cunningham has acknowledged the role of his family, both nuclear and extended, in shaping his life of faith and commitment to evangelism and following God’s calling, his coming of age in the religious, administrative, and educational infrastructure of the Assemblies of God – the Sunday School, Christ’s Ambassadors, Central Bible Institute – was formative for his emerging vision of youth as qualified agents of God in local and cross-cultural mission.

Running parallel to Loren’s family and institutional formation were the tightknit relational networks of the Assemblies of God in Southern California. The District administration, regional and local pastors, and a vast array of family and personal friends trusted Loren as a young person because they knew him and his family. They gave him freedom and support to grow in formal ministry positions and to create self-initiated ministries that went beyond the denomination’s formal programs. Loren’s ministry initiatives reflected the same pentecostal ethos of Holy Spirit inspired ministry leading to

⁸⁷⁴ See section on the history of C.A.s, above.

individual salvation, conversion, church planting, revival, and world missions that the Southern California District held dear. Loren was one of their budding stars.

Loren Cunningham: A Youth in the Assemblies of God, 1948–1956

Before Loren Cunningham became consumed with the desire to connect young people with God’s missional work, the same concern that captured Carl E. Hatch decades before him, he was a committed member of the AG Christ’s Ambassadors. Both as a young man and later as a young adult associate pastor, Loren participated in and created AG programming geared to youth. Acknowledging and reconstructing Loren’s microhistory is essential to understanding how his ideas of youth in missions were shaped, tested, and launched in the creation of YWAM. On the surface, Loren’s life as an AG pastor’s kid appeared the same as his contemporaries. Digging deeper into the extended family and Loren’s parents’ ministry, it is clear that a generational commitment to itinerant preaching, evangelism, church planting, and pastoring was central to the Cunningham’s family culture. Loren and his siblings, Phyllis and Janice, were active in ministry from the time they could stand and sing on a street corner to draw a crowd to whom their mother and father could preach.⁸⁷⁵

Loren received a call to preach when he was just 13 years old during a Christ’s Ambassador’s rally in Springdale, Arkansas. During the summer of 1948, Jewell had

⁸⁷⁵ Jewell Nicholson Cunningham and her ministry as a preacher was a significant factor in Loren and his sisters being involved in ministry from young ages. Had Jewell and T.C. Cunningham practiced a more classic version of pentecostal family life, T.C. would have been out preaching and Jewell would have kept the children at home. The very fact that Jewell was out preaching separate from or alongside her husband, meant that her children went along for the ride and took part in the work.

taken the Cunningham children to a Nicholson family gathering that doubled as a tent revival in Arkansas.⁸⁷⁶ With four of the five Nicholson children ordained AG ministers and evangelists, plus their spouses, they took turns preaching over the weeks of meetings. According to Jewell's account, she took a night off from preaching at the camp meeting to speak at a local C.A. Rally in order "for youth to say 'Amen to God's call.'"⁸⁷⁷ Naturally, Jewell took her children with her to the event. After her sermon, Loren joined other young people and knelt at the altar to wait on God to speak. In that moment, Loren saw the words, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature" from Mark 16:15 appear before his eyes.⁸⁷⁸ After expressing his experience to his mother, she bought him a celebratory pair of new "gospel" shoes and alerted her siblings to the good news.⁸⁷⁹ Loren was promoted to the Nicholson family camp meeting's preaching roster the following week. At age 13, he delivered his first sermon "on testings." It lasted ten minutes and his mother filled in the rest of the time.⁸⁸⁰

Following Loren's eventful summer as a newly minted young preacher, his father had a profound experience on a trip to the Holy Land that further altered the Cunningham family ministry trajectory and cultivated new ground that became crucial for the founding of YWAM. Tom (T.C.) Cunningham joined the AG General Council trip to Israel on the

⁸⁷⁶ Jewell's maiden name was Nicholson.

⁸⁷⁷ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 144. Loren's account of this story says that he received his calling at the camp meeting where Jewell was preaching, but this author defers to Jewell's account. Either way, whether at the CA rally or at the camp meeting, the event was in the summer of 1948 in Arkansas when Loren was 13.

⁸⁷⁸ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 21.

⁸⁷⁹ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 144.

⁸⁸⁰ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 22.

Ambassador I, the AG's missionary aircraft, in July 1950.⁸⁸¹ The Israel trip, and Tom's personal encounter with an Arab girl begging that rendered him "burdened for the lost souls of the world," was pivotal in T.C. Cunningham becoming an outspoken promoter of world missions.⁸⁸² Upon his return home, his family found him a changed man. He "put all of his fervor into preaching world evangelism in his own church and accepted from the Executive Presbytery the portfolio of Secretary of World Missions, a beginning for carrying out part of his burden for lost souls."⁸⁸³ After his ministry-altering encounter, T.C. hosted missionary conferences in the churches he pastored and began giving and raising as much financial support for AG missionaries as he and his congregations was able. At one of the missionary conventions T.C. organized at Faith Tabernacle, Loren felt God ask him to give his \$30 of savings to missions. At the same time Loren received a calling to be a missionary.⁸⁸⁴

Beyond these formative experiences that Loren and his family have attributed as God's preparations for the founding of YWAM and the Cunningham family's mission involvement, Loren personally engaged in international ministry as a young person that exposed him to AG missionaries on the field and to Christians of other ethnicities and cultures. As a boy, Loren and his sisters and parents were neighbours with and ministered

⁸⁸¹ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 151–53. It is interesting to notice how the use of the word and theme of "Ambassador" was widely used in this period, both for the AG youth ministry and its missionary aircraft.

⁸⁸² Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 153.

⁸⁸³ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 153.

⁸⁸⁴ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 140–41. The Cunninghams regularly hosted missionaries in their home, thus, Loren and his siblings were accustomed to hearing missionary stories and became acquainted with a host of AG missionaries. The fact that Loren Cunningham had \$30 saved proves his status as a young person with disposable income.

to Spanish-speaking people in Southwestern and California border towns. Then, when he was 18, Loren and a group of male friends took an Easter trip to San Phillipe, Mexico, to apply their Spanish in street preaching.⁸⁸⁵ Not officially endorsed or sponsored by anyone, these young men were likely all AG and by association, were a part of Christ's Ambassadors. The group was surprised when around 20 local hearers publicly accepted their evangelistic message and, as Loren described, "said yes."⁸⁸⁶ Apart from ending up in the hospital with dysentery, Loren interpreted the positive reception to his preaching by local listeners as a sign from God. He believed God directed him to enroll in Central Bible College (CBI) in Springfield, Missouri.⁸⁸⁷

Loren Cunningham: A Promising Young Adult Pentecostal Pioneer, 1956–1960

While Loren was studying at Central Bible Institute in Springfield, Missouri, he was active in various ministries. He sang in a variety of choral groups – King's Choraliers, the Revivaltime! Choir, the King's Messengers Quartet, the Liberators Quartet, and the King's Magnifiers Quartet. Loren's ministry with the King's Magnifiers took on an international scope with concerts scheduled at pentecostal churches across the US and Canada on weekends and school holidays. Then in the summer of 1956, The King's Magnifiers – Loren Cunningham, Ernie Wood, Dave Scott, and Warren Flattery –

⁸⁸⁵ The Mexico trip took place in 1953. Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 26; Loren Cunningham, Conversation with Loren Cunningham, May 13, 2022. In the book, it notes there were 11 young men, including Loren. In personal conversation in 2022, Loren recounted that there were 12 total, including himself.

⁸⁸⁶ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 26.

⁸⁸⁷ Loren studied at Central Bible Institute from 1954-1957. Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 26.

embarked on an international tour with performances in the Bahamas and Canada.⁸⁸⁸ Hosted by AG missionary in Nassau, Bahamas, John M. Wilkerson, Loren and his company sang in church and spent time with Wilkerson. During their visit, Loren heard about three young men from the US who came to the Bahamas to do mission work. The young men dated local girls and caused much controversy and gossip.⁸⁸⁹ At the same time that he was appalled by the young men's lack of cultural understanding, Loren was intrigued with the idea of young people going to a different country and culture for a short period of mission service. More importantly to Loren's own recollection, however, was the spiritual vision he received one night in his room at Wilkerson's house. Loren described his experience as having seen "waves of young people, kids my age or younger covering the continents" preaching on streets, evangelizing house-to-house, talking to people, and caring for people.⁸⁹⁰ The vision stayed with Loren for the next few years before his idea for YWAM germinated. The "waves of young people" from everywhere to everywhere became the formative vision and founding narrative for YWAM and continues to animate its ministry.

⁸⁸⁸ Photograph of King's Magnifiers, circa 1956, Digitized file, Flower Heritage Pentecostal Center. This 1956 photo lists Johnny Leverett at piano, Ernie Wood, Dave Scott, Loren Cunningham, and Warren Flattery as the singers. The next year the group changed. See Olson, Tajbel, and Flokstra, eds., *The Cup, 1957*, 181. In 1957, The King's Magnifiers consisted of Dave Weston, Stan Ramsy, Ernie Wood, and Loren Cunningham.

⁸⁸⁹ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 27. Loren Cunningham, Conversation with Loren Cunningham. Loren named the AG missionary host of their singing tour to the Bahamas as John Wilkerson, the uncle of Teen Challenge founder, David Wilkerson. Loren also noted that he met Talmage Butler on this trip as Talmage flew the quartet into the Bahamas. Loren would later visit Talmage and Marge Butler in West Africa on his first "Around the World Trip" in the summer of 1960.

⁸⁹⁰ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 28–29.

After his summer singing tour with the King's Magnifiers, Loren returned to Springfield for his senior year at Central Bible Institute. Loren's leadership skills developed outside of the classroom in his roles as the President of the Student Advisory Council, the President of Choraliers Choir, the Prayer Leader for Latin America, and Outstation Pastor.⁸⁹¹ After graduating with a double degree in Bible and Religious Education in the spring of 1957, Loren returned to Long Beach and joined his father at First Assembly serving as the assistant coordinator of education and music while enrolling at the University of Southern California to begin his Master's in Education.⁸⁹² Loren, assisted by his elder sister Phyllis Cunningham, was responsible for the children, junior, and adult choirs. He also led Christian education in the Sunday School and youth programs. Then, less than one year later in March 1958, T.C. Cunningham was elected as the Assistant Superintendent for the Southern California District. He resigned the pastorate in Long Beach.⁸⁹³ The change prompted Loren's resignation from Long Beach to allow the new pastor a fresh start with the congregation.⁸⁹⁴

⁸⁹¹ Olson, Tajbel, and Flokstra, *The Cup*, 51.

⁸⁹² Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 159. Sparks and Sparks, interview. Doug Sparks noted that Loren's enrollment in non-AG schools was rare in AG circles at that time, especially for AG ministers. From Loren's personal history and conversation with him, it is clear that he liked to keep busy. He was an individual who was always doing something and did not like to be idle.

⁸⁹³ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 163. Jewell Cunningham notes that L.E. Halvorson was the District Superintendent that Tom worked with. In this role, Tom was assigned the home and foreign mission portfolio after asking Halvorson to be assigned the task.

⁸⁹⁴ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 164. Jewell notes that Tom held to the principle "When a pastor is through somewhere, he should move on and let the new pastor have all the attention." She describes Loren as echoing his father's sentiments in this regard, prompting his resignation.

Responding to T.C.'s new post at the District Office in Pasadena, the Cunningham family moved closer to his work, leaving Long Beach for Inglewood. Loren went to assist Pastor Marcus Gaston at the thriving Calvary Assembly in Inglewood, California.⁸⁹⁵ In the role of assistant pastor of Christian Education and Youth/Music, Loren's previous training, experience, and interests continued to develop as he challenged parishioners toward active participation in church and mission and sought ways to partner with others for evangelism and mission.⁸⁹⁶ One of Loren's early initiatives in September 1958 included inviting Rev. W.B. Brittin, the pastor of Fairview Heights Baptist Church, to speak to Calvary Assembly about his recent trip to the Middle East and Europe and show slides from the Assemblies of God work in Italy.⁸⁹⁷ In the Calvary Assembly Bulletin of February 8, 1959, for example, the Senior, High, and Intermediate Christ's Ambassador's services feature missionary speakers: the Devines, the Irwins, "missionary appointees to Egypt," and Brother McPherson who ministered "amongst the Indians."⁸⁹⁸ The same Bulletin lists an announcement for the monthly "Sunday School Workers' Conference" where a film on "understanding our pupils and their problems" was to be shown. Thus, themes later evident in YWAM's formation and

⁸⁹⁵ Archival letters from this period – 1958-1960 – list the Southern California District Council Office address as 261 E. Colorado St., P.O. Box 503M, Pasadena, California, Sycamore 6.8196. Loren Cunningham to Undisclosed Recipients regarding "Hawaii Tour", February 20, 1960, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁸⁹⁶ Loren's efforts to expanding the church's ministries are present in the archival documents from this period. Most notably, themes of world mission, training Christian workers, and ecumenism run through the extant letters, Sunday School/CA initiatives, and church bulletins from this period.

⁸⁹⁷ Loren Cunningham to Members of Calvary Assembly, September 1958, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁸⁹⁸ Calvary Assembly Sunday Bulletin 02/08/1959, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

development – ecumenical cooperation in world mission, youth inspired for mission, and Christian worker’s equipped for ministry – were clearly present and blossoming in Loren Cunningham as an assistant pastor in Inglewood.

Loren’s was serving as the Los Angeles C.A. sectional leader by the summer of 1959.⁸⁹⁹ The role allowed him freedom to expand his leadership in the network of AG pastors, fellow sectional leaders, and youth. Alongside his local church work with the C.A.s, Loren organized regional youth conferences, kept record of each C.A. chapter’s giving to the national “Speed-the-Light” missions campaign, submitted reports to the District, planned and preached at local and regional C.A. events, and fostered friendships. District C.A. leader, Roy Sapp, was an old friend of Loren’s and someone with whom Loren was able to relate his longings for young people to find a worthy cause within the church.⁹⁰⁰ Through their relationship, Sapp supported Loren’s idea to introduce Southern California young people to missionary service. Already in the works by the fall of 1959, the “Hawaii Missionary Tour” was intended to expose youth to a cross-cultural mission experience during the upcoming Easter Break.⁹⁰¹ While not completely novel, Loren’s plan was based on partnering with the local AG churches in Hawaii and engaging with

⁸⁹⁹ Dick Fulmer to Reverend Loren Cunningham, June 9, 1959, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁹⁰⁰ Wilson, *God’s Guerrillas*, 129.

⁹⁰¹ Edward A. McAndrews, Trans Continental Airlines Agency, to Reverend Roy Sapp, November 16, 1959, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. The letter details the proposed date, the estimated 105 passengers, and the necessary financial deposits required to proceed with booking the airfare.

local C.A. youth in hopes that the Southern California young people would be challenged to serve others and find purpose in preaching the gospel to unbelievers.⁹⁰²

Inspiration from his own evangelistic trip to Mexico as a teen, the idea of youth in missions that he heard about in the Bahamas, and the vision he saw of waves of young people bore fruit in the “Hawaii Missionary Tour” of 1960. Originally pitched as a trip “taking a large number of kids to Mexico to evangelize,” the destination changed after Loren discovered that the cost of taking a boat of young people down the coast to Mexico was more expensive than chartering an airplane to Hawaii.⁹⁰³ Roy Sapp, the Southern California District C.A. Leader and friend of Loren, supported the entrepreneurial endeavor, and made it a district-wide youth offering endorsed by the Southern California District Council.⁹⁰⁴ In the end, 106 young pentecostals flew to Honolulu for an eight day tour filled with C.A. rallies, tours, service in AG churches, and ministries throughout Oahu under Floyd Westerbrook’s oversight.⁹⁰⁵ Forty-eight of the youth paid extra and toured the outer islands with Roy Sapp, Loren Cunningham, and Ronald Wiseman,

⁹⁰² Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 33.

⁹⁰³ Wilson, *God’s Guerrillas*, 130. The fact of air travel being cheaper than sea travel hints at the accessibility of low-cost air travel for the globalizing trends of the era.

⁹⁰⁴ Loren Cunningham undisclosed recipients regarding the Hawaii Missionary Tour, February 20, 1960, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Loren’s letter to his “fellow travelers” was sent on District letterhead. It is important to note that while Roy Sapp endorsed and participated in the trip, Loren’s father, T.C. Cunningham, was the Assistant Superintendent at the time. While it is speculation to say that T.C. Cunningham would have given Loren extra support as his father, it is important to acknowledge that Loren’s relationship to the District administration was one of familiarity and friendship. Loren Cunningham to Assemblies of God, September 10, 1959, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

⁹⁰⁵ There is some discrepancy with the length of the “The Hawaii Tour” as the Cunningham and Gaulsin, “YWAM Founder’s Timeline, November 2011,” lists the trip as being 10 days. I have chosen to use the amount of days listed by the primary source the *C.A. Herald*. Wilson, *God’s Guerrillas*, 130; Romayne E. Hertweck, “Hawaii Bound,” *C.A. Herald* 33, no. 7 (July 1960): 16–18. Floyd Westerbrook is listed as the secretary-treasurer of the Hawaii district.

District vice-president.⁹⁰⁶ Bonnie Cox reportedly dedicated her life to ministering to the children of Oahu. There were “many conversions” through the groups’ ministry in AG churches. Three conversions and seven Spirit baptisms were reported on the island of Hawaii. Despite these reports, on the flight home Loren and Roy lamented the majority of youth’s disinterested disposition toward evangelism.⁹⁰⁷

While Loren’s later reflections of the “Hawaii Missionary Tour” in *Is That Really You, God?* have a tone of failure, the trip acted as an initial testing ground for his ideas and experiences that were coalescing around youth and missions. Upon his return home, Loren continued interrogating his own calling to missions and the restlessness he perceived in the youth he met in AG churches and youth groups. To continue his own explorations in missions, Loren found an “Around the World” trip sponsored by Universal Tours, Inc. that allowed him to visit 16 countries over several months.⁹⁰⁸ In preparation, Loren sold his car to purchase his ticket and took a leave of absence from his pastoral and district ministry duties.⁹⁰⁹ Travelling as a “missionary-evangelist,” Loren used the multi-stop ticket to meet with local Assemblies of God missionaries and pastors,

⁹⁰⁶ Hertweck, “Hawaii Bound”; Cunningham regarding the Hawaii Missionary Tour, February 20, 1960.

⁹⁰⁷ Hertweck, “Hawaii Bound”; Wilson, *God’s Guerrillas*, 130. Loren’s reflection of the Hawaii trip, as noted on page 34 of *Is That Really You, God?*, was that mission work and sightseeing should not mix because it will attract two different types of young people and he was interested in youth that wanted to be challenged in mission.

⁹⁰⁸ Geoff Bengé and Janet Bengé, *Loren Cunningham: Into All the World* (Seattle, WA: YWAM Publishing, 2004), 93-96; T.C. Cunningham to Rev. Paul F. Klahr, June 20, 1960. Paul Klahr was an AG missionary in Kobe, Japan, as per T.C.’s letter. He wrote Rev. Klahr to ask him to assist Loren during his tour stop over in Tokyo on July 8-10, 1960.

⁹⁰⁹ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 34; Wilson, *God’s Guerrillas*, 131. Marcus Gaston regarding Personal Recommendation for Loren Cunningham’s Passport and Immigration, June 14, 1960, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

visit their mission stations, and preach in their churches. In Tokyo, Loren was aided by Paul F. Klahr, AG missionary in Kobe sent from Southern California District.⁹¹⁰ In New Delhi, Loren spent time with missionary, Bob Marion.⁹¹¹ In India, both at the ceremonial burning grounds and his visit to the Taj Mahal, Loren was further convinced of the desperate situation in the world for those without Christ.⁹¹² His desire to share the hope of Jesus with the living of the world grew and he committed to tell everyone he could upon his return to the USA about the great spiritual need he encountered in the diverse countries and cultures of the world.⁹¹³

Once Loren returned to the US, he used every speaking opportunity he was given to tell people about the desperate need for mission evangelism in every country he visited. He resumed his work as associate pastor Calvary Assembly in Inglewood, regional C.A. representative, and Southern California District Sunday School Director. He used every speaking opportunity to challenge young people to commit themselves to remedy the problems of the world's peoples through sharing the message of Jesus Christ, to get involved in mission. Exactly what Loren was challenging youth to do was not clear, but he was convinced that youth could make a difference in the spiritual and natural state of people's lives around the world.

⁹¹⁰ T.C. Cunningham to Rev. Paul F. Klahr, June 20, 1960. Explored in Chapter 2, Loren's father's missionary networks gave him access to a global mission network.

⁹¹¹ Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 131.

⁹¹² Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 131–32. Wilson's account lists a stop in Hong Kong, but provides no details as to who hosted Loren.

⁹¹³ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 35.

I was especially interested in telling young people about the primitive, not-so-clean-and-comfortable world that was out there, teeming with opportunities to do something important.⁹¹⁴

During the fall of 1960, a number of conversations and encounters aided Loren's process in clarifying what he was challenging youth to do. It all unfolded in a vision for YWAM. Just one month after Loren's return from his formative "Around the World" trip, he was the visiting evangelist at a series of youth meetings at a church in Bakersfield, California. After one evening service, some of the local young people invited Loren out to eat. During his time with the youth not much younger than himself, Loren became frustrated with the conversation's focus on cars, clothes, and a comfortable life.⁹¹⁵ Two of the young adults in the crowd were Larry Hendricks and Dallas Moore. Despite an apparent lack of interest from the youth, Loren shared his stories of foreign peoples and mission fields with them. He urged the C.A.s to consider what they could do to reach out to a needy world.

After Bakersfield, Loren spoke at the Southern California C.A. Convention in Santa Barbara.⁹¹⁶ He used the opportunity to test using "a pledge" he conceived to challenge youth towards full-time Christian service.⁹¹⁷ After the final service, he handed a commitment form for youth to fill in and return with the promise that Loren would mail

⁹¹⁴ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 36.

⁹¹⁵ Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 132.

⁹¹⁶ Rogers and Rogers, interview. Janice noted that the C.A. Rally was held in Santa Barbara, although to date I have not been able to find extant sources to corroborate this detail.

⁹¹⁷ Loren's use of a pledge sheet handed out to young people in his meetings to commit to mission service resembled the SVM pledge. To date, no source has been found that indicates Loren getting inspiration for the pledge from John R. Mott or the SVM, but it is a striking similarity.

their own cards back to them in one year's time. Unknowingly creating a robust mailing list of youth in the District, after the final service, Loren read the cards. He noticed that most of young people expressed a desire to give their lives for Christ. With his friends from Calvary Assembly in Inglewood, Bob and Lorraine Theetge, and their son Richard, the group drove home to LA. from Santa Barbara.⁹¹⁸ On the drive, Loren expressed his desire to do everything he could to find places for young people to serve in missions.⁹¹⁹ Both Loren and Richard Theetge recall Bob's simple and affirmative response to Loren's musings – "Let's do it!"⁹²⁰ From the simple affirmation of Loren's idea to helping establish a new ministry, the Theetges proved to be unfailing supporters of Loren and early YWAM.

The Creation of Youth With A Mission, 1960

Loren's vision and dream of youth in missions began to take shape. He and his friends and fellow ministers in the Assemblies of God formed a legal board of directors and decided on a name. Having recently been a guest on local TV series called "Men with a Mission," Loren took inspiration from the catchy name.⁹²¹ Youth With A Mission

⁹¹⁸ Calvary Assembly in Inglewood, California, was an AG church and should not be confused with Calvary Chapel church in Costa Mesa, California. Calvary Chapel Costa Mesa was founded by Church Smith in 1965 and was catalyzed by the Jesus People Movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

⁹¹⁹ Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 133; Theetge, interview.

⁹²⁰ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 38; Theetge, interview.

⁹²¹ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 101.

was incorporated in California in December of 1960.⁹²² Loren and his new organization had the support of all 25 presbyters in the Southern California District of the Assemblies of God. Superintendent L.E. Halvorson, District C.A. leader Roy Sapp, Pastor Watson Argue Jr., Inglewood church elder & businessman Bob Theetge, businessman Frank Daniels, and Hollis Lawson formed YWAM's first Board of Directors.⁹²³ Loren's father, while not a member of the board, held the Assistant Superintendent position for the District. T.C. Cunningham's position and leadership of the District's mission portfolio acted as a significant support to YWAM in its founding and early years.⁹²⁴ Loren's idea received encouragement and celebration from his peers and older leaders alike. The involvement of District leadership endorsed his new ministry and allowed him access to the District's churches. Loren was free to recruit youth from Californian AG churches and promote his evangelism and mission events.

Even though Loren and the Board of Directors received Southern California District support, founding a separate youth mission organization while still ministering with the Assemblies of God made some waves with the central denominational mission administration. To seek their support, Loren and Roy Sapp made a trip to the

⁹²² Cunningham and Gauslin, "YWAM Founders' History Time Line," 1. YWAM's name was derived from a number of related ministries that Loren was involved with. In Inglewood, Loren had been interviewed on a television program called "Men with a Mission." Bengé & Bengé, *Loren Cunningham*, 101.

⁹²³ Photo of YWAM's First Board of Directors.

⁹²⁴ Cunningham, interview part 1. Loren mentioned that all 25 presbyters were in support of his idea for YWAM. Roy Sapp, District C.A. leader, and JR. Watson Argue were two of the original board members. Article about Larry and Dallas in the LA Examiner lists Frank Daniels, owner of Daniel's Construction where Dallas and Larry trained, as one of the board members. Loren's father, T.C. Cunningham, was the District Assistant-Superintendent and overseer of the District's mission portfolio.

headquarters in Springfield, Missouri, in the early months of 1961 to present YWAM's vision of youth in missions.⁹²⁵ According to Loren's recollection, the denominational and mission leaders received them with kindness and listened to his ideas, before rebuffing him with ample objections:

Inexperienced young people would be an explosive element overseas, they explained. With rising nationalism and political unrest, the denomination had its hands full keeping the *experienced* missionaries from getting kicked out. And there were the complexities of different cultures. And there were real dangers and diseases. The last thing they needed was a bunch of thrill-seeking kids complicating the worthwhile job the real missionaries were trying to do.⁹²⁶

Denominational leadership hesitated to let untrained young people "loose" in missions and reflected the broader socio-cultural and institutional suspicion and distrust of youth rising in the era. Rather than reject Loren's vision for YWAM outright, however, the Director of the Department of Foreign Missions, J. Philip Hogan, suggested a redirection.⁹²⁷ He proposed that Loren place trained young people in well-established mission stations where they could be properly supervised. In a safe context, youth could serve for one or two years and offer their skills to free missionaries up to do the important "ministry" of soul-winning.⁹²⁸ Loren agreed that YWAM could meet the need Hogan

⁹²⁵ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 39. Loren recounts his father telling him that some denominational leaders were not excited about him starting a separate youth organization, hence his trip to Springfield.

⁹²⁶ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 39-40.

⁹²⁷ Everett A. (Everett Alan) Wilson, *Strategy of the Spirit: J. Philip Hogan and the Growth of the Assemblies of God Worldwide, 1960-1990* (Oxford: Regnum, 1997), 17-19. J. Philip Hogan was elected as the Director of the Department of Foreign Missions in a race between himself, Emil Baillet, and Melvin Hodges.

⁹²⁸ Jennifer Esterly, "YWAM's First Outreach Team: The Larry Hendricks & Dallas Moore Story," (ywam.org, February 2000), 1, Bryan Bishop Personal Papers. Larry's recounted that "Dallas was telling me about an opportunity to go out on the mission field to do the menial tasks so the missionaries could have more time to be able to minister to people. I thought that sounded like something I'd like to do."

proposed. Young people would get an opportunity to serve in world missions. Upon Loren and Roy's return to California, YWAM ran with Hogan's redirection and launched its first program - Vocational Volunteers (VVs). While it was not the vision that Loren had pitched to the AG executives in Springfield, it was a starting point that came with denominational approval.

The First YWAM Workers: Christ's Ambassadors Become Vocational Volunteers

With a plan for getting youth on the mission field coming into view, Loren's recruitment strategy was simple. He had the names and addresses of 180 AG churches, pastors, and youth pastors, mostly from the Southern Californian District, from his C.A., Sunday School work, and itinerant preaching. Lorraine Theetge typed up a letter introducing YWAM's plan to channel young people onto the mission field. YWAM's first letter was mailed out to its contacts.⁹²⁹ Loren contacted the Far East Broadcasting Company stations in Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Manila, to see if they had a need for young workers. He then began looking for volunteers. He contacted young people with whom he made a personal connection at previous youth services and asked if they had interest in giving a year of service to missions. Loren had amassed hundreds of young people's mailing addresses from the mission commitment cards he handed out at the District C.A. Conference in Santa Barbara. Loren personally knew all of the District C.A. leaders and senior pastors in his region. Between personal contacts and a robust mailing list, Loren

⁹²⁹ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 101-102.

was able to personally share his vision and send promotional letters to churches and C.A. youth groups. Unsurprisingly, YWAM's first recruits for its Vocational Volunteer program came from its denominational relationships and networks.

Loren connected willing young people with the needs of known missionaries. The first opportunity for Vocational Volunteers came when Loren learned that New Hope Town leper colony run by AG missionaries in Liberia needed a new road built.⁹³⁰ Loren contacted Dallas Moore, one of the young men he conversed with over pie and coffee after his service in Bakersfield a couple months earlier. Dallas, in turn, shared the opportunity with Larry Hendricks, his friend since high school youth group.⁹³¹ Both young men, 21-years old, were interested in the service opportunity and began preparations with Loren's help. Selling their possessions to raise money for their year in Liberia, Larry and Dallas began heavy machinery and road maintenance training at Daniels Construction Company in San Diego, run by YWAM board member Frank Daniels. After their training, the two boarded a plane for Cape Palmas, Liberia, in October 1961. Their year of voluntary mission service had begun.⁹³²

⁹³⁰ Gary B. McGee, "Steidel, Florence," *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (New York: Macmillan Reference, 1998). Steidel is one of the missionaries who worked at the New Hope Town leper colony.

⁹³¹ It is important to note that the Bakersfield AG youth group fell under the umbrella of the Christ's Ambassadors ministry. Larry and Dallas were Christ's Ambassadors.

⁹³² Esterly, "YWAM's First Outreach Team," 1. The status of "volunteer" meant that their room and board would be covered by the mission that hosted them for the year, but their work came without a salary or compensation. Larry and Dallas were required to raise money toward their flight and living expenses and YWAM (Loren) assisted them. This model remained in YWAM while it was in its early years, as the income from offerings, itinerant speaking, donations, went to meet the budget that included meagre salaries and living expenses for YWAM staff.

To their surprise, even with their combined skills in auto and road maintenance, there was more than enough hard work to go around. “I went over there thinking that those poor, old missionaries needed help because they were old and feeble and everything,” says Dallas, “But I found out that for a 21-year-old there was just a lot of work to be done in very adverse situations.”⁹³³ With its first missionaries on the foreign mission field, YWAM’s recruitment work was underway. Before Larry and Dallas boarded their plan, Loren had left on his second “around the world” trip to scout more opportunities to send VVs.

Simultaneously, Loren was gaining his own mission experience as a young evangelist serving long-term missionaries, primarily in Senegal, Mali, Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria. In Nigeria, Loren taught a course at Central Bible Institute in Umuahia. He challenged the Bible college students and the youth in the local AG mission church to “take the gospel to all the world” as missionaries.⁹³⁴ Loren recounted that two Bible college students took his challenge seriously and were making plans to go as missionaries to Sierra Leone after graduation. He was moved by the initiative of the Nigerian youth from Aba, who evangelized and planted a church in Mberri. In Senegal, Loren had the opportunity to preach to a local tribe that had yet to hear the gospel or receive foreign visitors. These experiences, and the encouragement he received from the missionaries, Talmadge and Marge Butler, cemented and deepened his commitment to

⁹³³ Esterly, “YWAM’s First Outreach Team,” 1.

⁹³⁴ Bengé and Bengé, *Loren Cunningham*, 104-114.

the vision of youth, from every country and culture, being effective missionaries.⁹³⁵

Loren returned to the US with proof that young people had much to offer missionaries and the unsaved masses.⁹³⁶

While Loren travelled, the ongoing recruitment of efforts of Lorraine Theetge, YWAM's board members, and the Southern California District youth and missions' departments resulted in five Vocational Volunteers serving abroad with YWAM by the fall of 1962. Bonnie Rees, of Torrence, California, was "the first girl to serve under Youth with a Mission" in Manila, Philippines. She worked as a secretary with the Far East Broadcasting Company (FEBC) from December 1961.⁹³⁷ Emily and Elaine Foster, twin 21-year-old sisters from San Bernardino, California, served as secretaries for the

⁹³⁵ Loren Cunningham, interview part 2 by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, May 16, 2022, Kailua-Kona, HI, recording. Loren named the Umuahia Bible College as the place he had taught. Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 41-46; Bengé and Bengé, *Loren Cunningham*, 107. Talmadge and Marge Butler and their son Stephen tragically died in a plane crash during their return to Senegal in June 1968.

⁹³⁶ Typescript of *Black Man's Applause* by Reverend Loren Cunningham, ed. Nat Olson (Unpublished, 1961), 5-6, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives; Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 139. An important distinction between Loren and the young people he was recruiting for mission service was his ministry experience, training, and credentials. Loren was an ordained AG pastor and an endorsed evangelist in the denomination. His family relationships and networks also afforded him the opportunity to travel the world and be received by long-term missionaries.

⁹³⁷ Loren Cunningham, "Youth With A Mission," *C.A. Herald*, October 1962, 4, Loren Cunningham's Personal Papers, YWAM Kona. Providing specific dates of service for Bonnie, Emily, and Elaine proves difficult as the extant records are sparse. *The C.A. Herald*, October 1962, does indicate that Bonnie was in Manila by early December 1961 and was still there in October 1962. Emily and Elaine Foster's details in Japan are not accompanied by a start date, but they were there during Loren's writing of the article. The only concrete sources for the Vocational Volunteers include photographs of the first VVs and an undated hand-written list of 27 names with country of service and position.

FEBC in Tokyo, Japan in 1962.⁹³⁸ By the spring of 1963, YWAM had sent a total of 20 Vocational Volunteers into the mission field.⁹³⁹

Without records of the specific dates of service for most of the VVss, it can be deciphered that the bulk of these mission workers were serving internationally between 1962-1965. Delmer (Del) Hutchison of Fresno, California, and Don Pech followed Larry and Dallas' footsteps and worked for the New Hope Mission in Liberia.⁹⁴⁰ Nina Gonzales, a graduate of the Latin American Bible Institute, and YWAM's first Latina missionary, taught at Newaka School, Liberia as a teacher in August 1964.⁹⁴¹ Dale Lee, John Bethell, Myrna Sue Wilkins, and Darwin Wendland served as teachers in Nigeria. Gladys Rose and Marie Nuefeld served as bookkeepers in Upper Volta (renamed Burkina Faso after its 1984 independence).⁹⁴² Terry Brennen and twins, Janene and Charlene Senechal, joined the group working with FEBC in Hong Kong. Jeanne Beecham, Mauline Mulloy, and Betty Wright served respectively as teacher, secretary, and bookkeeper in El Salvador. Mr. and Mrs. Mum went to the Marshall Islands. Steve Lim and Pat Guerra helped Dr. Eliseo Sadora develop a Chi Alpha Varsity Center in 1964-1965 for the Oriental Missionary Crusade, founded by missionary Ernie Reb, in Manila,

⁹³⁸ Cunningham, "Youth With a Mission," 4.

⁹³⁹ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 52; Photobook of YWAM Vocational Volunteers, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Vocational Volunteer Program had nearly reached its peak growth by 1963. After this year it sent only seven more volunteers before the program was swallowed up by the success of the Summers of Service and YWAM's eventual foray into training and longer-term missions in 1969.

⁹⁴⁰ Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 48.

⁹⁴¹ "The Nina Gonzales Story." Newaka School was a part of the New Hope Mission – the same mission where earlier VVs Larry, Dallas, and Delmer served.

⁹⁴² Upper Volta became Burkina Faso after independence from France in 1984.

Philippines.⁹⁴³ Teachers Viola Krablin worked in Honolulu, Hawaii, and Marguerite Brenda in Okinawa, Japan. Gerald Ranforth served as a mechanic in France, Italy, and Holland.⁹⁴⁴

As YWAM's first official program, Vocational Volunteers, began as a means to fulfill Loren Cunningham's vision to get young people serving in missions. YWAM wasn't defined solely by its first program.⁹⁴⁵ In fact, some of the Vocational Volunteers, like Stephen Lim, did not even know that their ministry had a specific name other than YWAM.⁹⁴⁶ While the name "Vocational Volunteers" was used for the first program, it was Youth With A Mission, YWAM for short, that had staying power. Promotion and description of the program reflected YWAM's developing vision of youth in global missions, first describing itself as a "Peace Corps Presenting Christ's Peace" – the tag line on YWAM's early promotional materials and its first *Youth Advance* newsletters.⁹⁴⁷ The specifics of how youth would go to a hurting world with YWAM and what they

⁹⁴³ Lim, email. Both Stephen Lim and Pat Guerra went on to become professors at Assemblies of God seminaries / universities. Stephen Lim noted how his involvement in YWAM was central to his spiritual journey and preparation for full-time Christian ministry.

⁹⁴⁴ It is possible that Gerald Ranforth worked with OM in Europe, given the multiple locations and his mechanic work.

⁹⁴⁵ Interestingly, a Roman Catholic lay mission initiative in Latin America approved in early 1960 had a similar name – Papal Volunteers for Latin America. See Angelyn Dries, *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History*, American Society of Missiology Series; No. 26. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998).

⁹⁴⁶ Lim, email.

⁹⁴⁷ The verbiage of "Peace Corps" indicates a level of reciprocity in YWAM's relationship to the Peace Corps, although YWAM was branding itself with this title before the Peace Corps was founded on March 1, 1961. Of particular interest requiring further research is the fact that Loren Cunningham accepted an invitation to the White House from Patrick Kennedy and Sally Bowles to share what he was doing in youth work and help them in their organization of "Youth Peace Corps." Loren recalled that this meeting took place sometime around 1961 or 1962. Cunningham, interview part 1.

would do when they got there was still in flux. To begin, however, YWAM's flyers were animated by illustrations of teachers, medical technicians, office workers, builders, and printers. The flyer's text highlighted the spiritual needs of lost humanity in the midst of the enemy of Communism and the threat of rising nationalism.⁹⁴⁸ Youth giving of themselves in service to Christ and his mission was the solution to the world's dire needs.⁹⁴⁹

Drawing on these same themes in his October 1962 article in the *C.A. Herald*, Loren Cunningham expressed how youth sent with YWAM primarily worked to free missionaries from menial tasks so that missionaries could focus on "spiritual and evangelistic work."⁹⁵⁰ YWAM's message reached young pentecostals through articles in the *C.A. Herald*, promotional material sent through the mail, Loren's speaking engagements at AG churches and C.A. events, and through word of mouth. Interested parties inquired directly with Loren after a church service or wrote to the YWAM office for more information. Once potential volunteers filled out an application, they were interviewed by Loren and a panel of pastors and leaders from their local church and

⁹⁴⁸ Another possible parallel to YWAM's Vocational Volunteers was Margaret Flory's Frontier Internship in Mission (FIM) founded in 1961. Flory's motivation to "harness students' enthusiasm for a new kind of mission work," albeit from a United Presbyterian, International Missionary Council, and World Student Christian Federation support base and theological disposition. See Ada Focer, "The Frontier Interns: Margaret Flory and the Remaking of Missions," *The Christian Century* 135, no. 20 (January 1, 2018): 22–25.

⁹⁴⁹ Promotional Flyer 'A Call for You to Serve on Strategic Frontiers Through Youth With A Mission,' Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona. Again, the link between the mandate of the Peace Corps, albeit without the overt evangelistic message, is striking.

⁹⁵⁰ Cunningham, "Youth With a Mission," 4.

District.⁹⁵¹ The panel decided whether or not the young person was “fit to serve” as a YWAM volunteer. If they were accepted, Loren paired them with a known need on the mission field or solicited AG mission contacts to find an appropriate fit. Some fruitful partnerships were formed between YWAM and “mature” AG mission stations and projects. The AG’s New Hope Mission in Liberia and the Far East Broadcasting Company throughout Asia were two regular partners with YWAM VVs between 1961 and 1964.⁹⁵²

On paper and to the AG’s mission executives, the VVs’ role was to support trained, denominationally endorsed missionaries. They had made it clear to Loren and Roy Sapp that if left to their own devices, youth would do damage on the mission field. YWAM conceded to Springfield’s concerns and began sending their youth volunteers as secretaries, bookkeepers, mechanics, school teachers, etc. In practice, however, the majority of the VVs did participate in the “spiritual” work of the missionary. Reports from VVs published in the October 1962 issue of the *C.A. Herald* indicate how the vocational work was simply one part of their ministry and life on the mission field. The words of Bonnie Rees, Larry Hendricks, and Dallas Moore describe their involvement in the direct work of evangelism and missions.

⁹⁵¹ Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 25. Darlene was interviewed to become a nurse with YWAM’s Vocational Volunteers.

⁹⁵² These mission partnerships must be seen in context of relationship. TC Cunningham, and his family, knew the majority of missionaries sent by the Southern California District of the Assemblies of God. It is safe to say that YWAM youth were sent to mission stations where Loren had relationship with the missionaries. It was more than a denominational match, it was a relational match. T. Glen Dunn, “Training Youth in the Philippines: Bethel Bible Institute Holds Graduation Services in Bethel Temple, Manila’s Newest Evangelistic Center,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, no. 2146 (June 26, 1955): 6.

Vocational Volunteers preached, taught in Sunday Schools, took evangelistic trips with missionaries or on their own, evangelized in the street, and baptized new converts. The “spiritual” tasks of evangelism, preaching, and teaching took place during the VVs’ “own” time or with the missionaries they went to support. By 1962, YWAM’s Vocational Volunteers had reportedly planted nine new churches in the African countries of service and by 1965, they had evangelized countless children, youth, and adults throughout Africa, Hong Kong, Japan, the Philippines, and El Salvador. Vocational Volunteer Darwin Wendland founded YWAM’s first training school – an Agricultural Technical School in Senegal – during his year of service in 1962.⁹⁵³ The Vocational Volunteers did more than support the “real” missionaries, they were active partners in ministry.

Youth as Evangelists: A Plan in the Works

YWAM’s volunteers were active in evangelistic work in their various fields, but their primary role remained vocational support. The majority of the VVs had never been to Bible College.⁹⁵⁴ Never mind that they had planted churches and led people to Christ in countries all over the world, they were still not seen as legitimate missionaries. Clearly, Loren Cunningham believed that young people could be effective evangelists and missionaries. To test his theory further, he returned to the Bahamas during Easter of

⁹⁵³ Cunningham and Gauslin, “YWAM Founders’ History Time Line,” 1. The timeline cites the years 1961-1962 for the planting of nine churches in Africa and for the founding of the Agricultural Training School.

⁹⁵⁴ Nina Gonzales and Pat Guerra were exceptions to this rule. Nina graduated from the Latin American Bible College in 1964. Pat graduated from SCC in 1964 before he and Steve Lim went to the Philippines.

1963. Seven years after his formative visit to the islands and the place where the vision of YWAM came into view, Loren was back to see if the Bahamas might be a good destination for YWAM's move into international missions.⁹⁵⁵ After his trip to the Bahamas, Loren returned to California to marry Darlene (Scratch) Cunningham in June 1963.⁹⁵⁶ As newlyweds, Loren and Darlene got a taste of what masses of young people in mission could look like.⁹⁵⁷ For the first part of their honeymoon, Loren and Darlene served with Send the Light's (later renamed Operation Mobilization, or OM) European mission outreach in Lamorlaye, France.⁹⁵⁸ Two thousand, mostly young, volunteers participated in tract, literature, and scripture distribution for the entire summer – Loren and Darlene among their ranks.⁹⁵⁹ The newly married Cunninghams experienced the first-hand effectiveness of and hard work undertaken by young people in evangelistic mission. They also gleaned from George Verwer's evangelistic strategies that emphasized

⁹⁵⁵ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 52.

⁹⁵⁶ Darlene Scratch was the daughter of AG pastors Ed and Enid Scratch. She was a trained nurse and had applied to join YWAM as a Vocational Volunteer in 1962 on the same day that she met Loren Cunningham for the first time while her parents were hosting him as their guest preacher. Darlene went through the application process and underwent the interview to determine her "fitness" for mission service, but Loren and Darlene's relationship had started to develop and it turned out that she would marry Loren and become YWAM's co-founder rather than a short-term Vocational Volunteer.

⁹⁵⁷ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 49. Loren and Darlene got married on June 14, 1963. They honeymooned on an "Around the World Trip," starting with Send the Light's (OM) European outreach.

⁹⁵⁸ Loren Cunningham noted that he was introduced to George Verwer through Darlene's cousin, Jack McAlister. Jack contacted Loren and told him he met George and thought Loren needed to meet George because their vision for youth evangelism was similar. Loren met with George in 1962 at Every Home for Christ to talk and pray together. It was in this meeting that George invited Loren to join OM for their summer outreach in France. Cunningham, interview part 2.

⁹⁵⁹ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 39. Enid makes a note that Darlene's role included doing the team's laundry.

literature distribution and conversational evangelism – two evangelism methods that became central to YWAM’s mission strategy.

Upon the Cunningham’s return to the United States in October of 1963, Loren and Darlene criss-crossed the country preaching at any place they received an invitation.⁹⁶⁰ While they “kept the road hot recruiting,” Lorraine Theetge ran the office in Pasadena with the help of volunteers Mrs. Myrtle Overton, Berneice (Coff) Seigel, and administrator Thad Coleman. Continuing to challenge youth to serve God in missions during the final months of 1963 and into 1964, Loren and Darlene began promoting more than the one-year vocational service. They were challenging youth to dedicate their lives to full-time mission service beginning with personal evangelism in their home country in during their school holidays. They called it the Domestic Crusade.⁹⁶¹ Two upcoming evangelistic programs took place in Utah and Texas in June 1964.⁹⁶² District AG leaders supported Loren and Darlene’s efforts. Youth evangelism infused local C.A. chapters with vibrancy, empowered young people to strengthen the work of local churches, and served as a recruitment opportunity for what became known as YWAM’s first Summer of Service (SOS) in the Caribbean.⁹⁶³

⁹⁶⁰ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 39. Enid recalls picking Loren and Darlene up from the San Francisco airport in October of 1963. After their return, the couple moved into the Cunningham’s home in LA.

⁹⁶¹ In seeking to be true to the historical record, I have chosen to call YWAM’s US-based evangelistic campaigns by the name they gave them – Domestic Crusade – even if the term is dated by today’s standards.

⁹⁶² Hurst, “Operation Utah,” 21. While “Operation Utah” details the evangelistic crusades Loren helped organize in 1965, page 21 references the 1963 evangelistic outreaches that Loren and YWAM led in Toole, Utah.

⁹⁶³ Later branded the “Summer of Service,” Loren, Darlene, and their associates simply use the word “crusade” to denote the evangelistic work they were planning.

YWAM's plans for an extended evangelistic work in the Caribbean had been underway since Loren's Easter Bahamas visit in 1963. The trip offered Spanish and English-speaking young people an opportunity to partner with the local Assemblies of God churches and missionaries to share their faith. On Loren and Darlene's recruitment trip to Evangel College in Springfield, Missouri, late in 1963, they shared the vision of the summer mission outreach with Loren's younger sister Janice and her new boyfriend Jim Rogers, both students at Evangel.⁹⁶⁴ Eager to volunteer, Janice Cunningham and Jim Rogers were two early joiners to the Caribbean crusade still in the planning stage. Loren and Darlene continued to gather interested youth, while simultaneously planning the logistics and communicating with the Assemblies of God leaders in the Bahamas. In a copy of the formal invitation sent to the Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God dated April 13, 1964, forwarded to Loren Cunningham, the Superintendent of the Assemblies of God in the Bahamas, Gary Curry, states:

This will confirm the plans made with you for a crusade this summer in the Bahama Islands. On behalf of the executive committee of the Assemblies of God in the Bahamas I would like to invite you, along with others in the Youth With a Mission programme [sic], to work with us in reaching the Bahamas for Christ this Summer.⁹⁶⁵

YWAM's partnership with local AG churches throughout the Bahamas included recruitment of local young people and congregations committing to hosting a large group

⁹⁶⁴ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 56; Rogers and Rogers, interview. Janice Rogers confirmed Loren and Darlene's visit in 1963 and she and Jim's excitement to volunteer the next summer.

⁹⁶⁵ Gary Curry to AG Foreign Missions Department, April 13, 1964, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

of youth evangelistic teams from the US.⁹⁶⁶ The project was a first for the Bahamas and for YWAM, and for the Assemblies of God Department of Foreign Missions who was less than pleased to learn of the plans in an afterthought.⁹⁶⁷

In reply to Gary Curry's invitation letter to Loren and YWAM, Department of Foreign Missions Secretary, R.T. McGlasson, was upset. Dissatisfied in learning about a ministry plan agreed upon without his department's knowledge or approval, McGlasson intimated that the planned ministry would leech much needed finances and resources from the AG mission churches in the region.⁹⁶⁸ McGlasson's letter was addressed to Melvin Hodges who was the field director of AG missionaries in the Caribbean and Central America, and a number of other AG executives. The letter was full of surprising statements, including McGlasson's emphatic statement that "neither YWAM nor this program has any connection with the Foreign Mission Department of the Assemblies of God or its works. It is simply Brother Cunningham's program being operated entirely independently."⁹⁶⁹ McGlasson, on behalf of the General Executive in Springfield, made the denomination's relationship with YWAM clear. Loren may have been a part of The Assemblies of God, but they made no claim to YWAM and denounced the upcoming Summer of Service. To Gary Curry and the Bahamas District executive, the YWAM board made up of Southern California District members, and the missionaries of the AG

⁹⁶⁶ Gary Curry to Loren Cunningham, April 13, 1964.

⁹⁶⁷ R.T. McGlasson to M.L. Hodges, W. Turnbull, S. Vandermerwe, G. Curry with Copies Sent to T.C.C., Roy Sapp, Jim Swanson, YWAM Home Office, May 13, 1964.

⁹⁶⁸ McGlasson to Hodges, Turnbull, Vandermerwe.

⁹⁶⁹ McGlasson to Hodges, Turnbull, Vandermerwe.

in the Bahamas, such a letter did little to deter the momentous plans for two months of youth evangelism.⁹⁷⁰

A Summer Experiment: Bahamas Crusade 1964

Leading up to the summer, YWAM hosted evangelistic crusades in Utah and Texas that drew local and regional Christ's Ambassadors' participation. These events served multiple purposes. For the Christ's Ambassadors, the Domestic Crusades were opportunities for young people to come together and go deeper in their faith while being challenged in evangelism and ministry. For Loren and YWAM, the crusades were important sites for recruitment and training ground for the Bahamas, especially the crusade in Dallas.⁹⁷¹ In an effort to increase participation, YWAM purchased buses to drive youth from California to Dallas for a week of personal evangelism training taught by Sam Jordan and Charles Capps.⁹⁷² The youth put their learning of the "Romans Road" and guided spiritual conversations into practice in door-to-door evangelism in Dallas.⁹⁷³

⁹⁷⁰ While the Bahamas SOS cannot be identified as the beginning of Short-Term Missions (STMs), some scholars credit YWAM and Operation Mobilization as the pioneers of the modern phenomenon. See Don Fanning, "Short Term Missions: A Trend That Is Growing Exponentially," 1. Sutphin called YWAM "one of the first" to organize STMs. Sutphin, "Developing Ethical Training Curriculum for University Short-Term Missions," 9.

⁹⁷¹ "Operation New Orleans," *Advance on Strategic Frontiers*, December 1964, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. A photo of the Dallas, Texas evangelism is included in the December newsletter, noting "two YWAM team members presenting the plan of salvation to a young Texas family."

⁹⁷² Charles Capps went on to found a Word of Faith ministry called "Charles Capps Ministries." His daughter Annette has confirmed by email that it was, in fact, her father, who was a part of YWAM in these early days. Annette also shared that Loren and Darlene had visited the Capps' home in England, Arkansas.

⁹⁷³ Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 33; Rogers and Rogers, interview; Loren Cunningham to Charles Capps About Upcoming Bahama Trip, July 13, 1964, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Mr. Capps visited all 22 teams during their summer ministry with Loren Cunningham. Baptist

After the week wrapped up, YWAM buses loaded with young people drove to Miami on route to the Bahamas.

Youth volunteers from various churches across North America, many of whom had attended the Dallas crusade, gathered in Miami bound for Nassau.⁹⁷⁴ Youth that didn't attend the Dallas crusade but who were accepted by YWAM for the summer, met the group in Miami and they all boarded an airplane bound for Nassau. After two days of orientation at Evangelistic Temple in Nassau, the 146 North American and 64 Caribbean young people were spilt into 22 all-male and all-female teams overseen by two adult counsellors. The groups began preparations for the next six weeks of evangelism on their designated islands throughout the Bahamas, the Dominican Republic, and the Turks and Cacaos Islands that included finding transportation, accommodations, and ministry opportunities as they trusted God to lead them.⁹⁷⁵ A Spanish-speaking team of 14 young people left for the Dominican Republic to work with missionaries Larry and Dorothy Cederblom.⁹⁷⁶ Most teams found boats or sea planes to ferry them to their destinations that didn't come with the advantage of local missionary presence.

pastor, Dr. Jack Hyles has claimed that he put together what would become known as the Roman's Road to Salvation. He did publish a book, *Step-by-Step Lessons in How to Win a Soul to Christ*, published April 1962, <https://www.jackhyles.com/soulwin.htm>. This manuscript contains many of the points that early YWAM practiced: be clean and neat, go two by two, etc. It is unknown if Hyles was an influence in YWAM's evangelistic strategy directly or indirectly through the other evangelism instructors, but it is possible.

⁹⁷⁴ Cunningham and Gauslin, "YWAM Founders' History Time Line," 1; Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 57. Janice (Cunningham) Rogers was one of the young people that missed the Dallas training and joined the group in Miami.

⁹⁷⁵ Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 29.

⁹⁷⁶ Undisclosed author to Loren Cunningham, "Greetings from Your Rep in Santo Domingo," July 1964, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

When there were missionaries or local pastors present the YWAM teams worked with them and the local youth volunteers.⁹⁷⁷ Along with the intended leadership of two adult counsellors, each team was appointed a youth leader to help guide the groups in their daily ministries and mundane tasks of cooking, cleaning, and laundry. Jim Rogers led a team of young men to Long Island. Janice Cunningham led a team of young women to Spanish Wells/Eleuthera. Don Stephens led a team of young men to Andros. Deyon Green led a team of young women to the Grand Bahama Island. Alex Bazan was on the team to the Dominican Republic.⁹⁷⁸ Paul Bruton led Al Akimoff's team composed of young men from San Francisco. They roved between locations to fill in immediate needs during the outreach.⁹⁷⁹ David Lim, one of a number of Bible College Students from Bethany and Southern California College on the trip, was on the team to the Grand

⁹⁷⁷ Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 38. Ruth Wilson names a young local man named Napoleon from Sandy Point who had been praying for his friends to become Christians for years. Al Akimoff and his team befriended Napoleon and, in essence, became co-workers with him in his evangelistic purposes. No records indicate that the first group of YWAM SOS young people worked with missionaries or pastors outside of the Assemblies of God. The practice became common in YWAM's later international mission work, but in these early years it is unclear if interdenominational cooperation took place. If it did, there is no existing record of it.

⁹⁷⁸ Undisclosed author to Loren Cunningham, "Greetings from Your Rep in Santo Domingo," July 1964. Alex Bazan was the Presidente del Embasadores de Christo (Christ's Ambassadors) for the Pacific Conference of the Assemblies of God (Spanish Speaking) before becoming the first District Missionary Secretary for the Latin American District Council of the Assemblies of God in 1966. See Espinosa, "'Silent No More': Latino Assemblies of God Leadership Under Demetrio Bazan and José Girón," 53.

⁹⁷⁹ Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 35. Akimoff and Akimoff, interview #1. It is interesting to note that Al Akimoff said that after his first Summer of Service in 1964 there was not a YWAM to join during the rest of the year, so many of the young people went to Bible College. Al, Don Stephens, Phil Holderbein, Jim Steir, David Boyd were all at Bethany together. Bible Colleges became recruitment grounds for YWAM.

Bahama Island.⁹⁸⁰ There were a total of 16 teams that spread out through the region for the summer.

The youth teams worked day and night in their evangelistic ministries and reported conversions, supernatural healings, and miracles along with real challenges and hardships. They went door-to-door by day and held evangelistic services at the local church, in the open air, or at whatever building they had access to by night.⁹⁸¹ Jim Rogers' team on Long Island visited every home and distributed portions of the Gospels supplied by T.L. Osborn Ministries and Oral Roberts.⁹⁸² Along with literature distribution and conversational evangelism, Janice Cunningham's team used Oral Roberts' movies as an evangelistic tool.⁹⁸³ Prayer was a central component of each team's practice. Teams often prayed for God to provide them with food, intervene in their ministries, or protect them from natural or human threats. Al Akimoff's team reported God stilling the turbulent seas after their fervent prayer, enabling their boat to cross over to Sandy Point so they could begin their ministry.⁹⁸⁴ Two 17-year-old young women on the Exuma team

⁹⁸⁰ Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 65. David Lim had been named Christ's Ambassador USA in 1963, had recently graduated from Bethany Bible College and joined the YWAM summer crusade before returning to San Francisco to take over the pastorate at Chinese Christian Center in San Francisco. For more details on David Lim's ministry, see Full Life Christian Center, "History," accessed October 31, 2023, https://www.sfflcc.org/english/?page_id=419. David Lim, email.

⁹⁸¹ The strategy of these first Summers of Service and YWAM's domestic crusades mirrored the work *Send the Light* (OM) was doing across Europe and Asia: literature distribution, door-to-door evangelism, and conversational evangelism. Loren and Darlene's experience with George Verwer and group just one year before the first Bahamas SOS was clearly formative in helping them plan how youth would conduct evangelism.

⁹⁸² Rogers and Rogers, interview.

⁹⁸³ Rogers and Rogers, interview.

⁹⁸⁴ Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 37-38.

prayed for a man they met who had a withered arm. Sharon, the one who prayed aloud, fainted in shock after his arm “shot out, totally straight and restored.”⁹⁸⁵

In the midst of the hard work and exciting testimonies, relational issues and conflict abounded from within the teams and from outsiders. Ruth Wilson’s account described how “Communist agitators began to stir up a crowd of thousands at a street service...none of the group was hurt when the agitators began to throw rocks.”⁹⁸⁶ Within the YWAM teams, the adult counsellors who were intended to provide leadership to the youth turned out to be sources of problems. One adult counsellor for the Dominican Republic team “flew the coop and left us with our imagination, having returned home without as much as a goodbye [sic].”⁹⁸⁷ Adult leaders of the Dominican Republic and other teams had a more difficult time adapting to the restricted diet of cornflakes and canned foods and the uncomfortable living and ministry conditions. The issues that arose from the adult members led YWAM to discontinue the inclusion of adult counsellors as part of the SOS after its first iteration.⁹⁸⁸ Among the youth, David Lim recalled that the majority of his ministry was spent trying to keep two of his teammates from fighting each other.

Two of the guys were constantly at each other’s throat— a huge personality clash, as one was too easygoing and the other with quite high-strung. I spent much of

⁹⁸⁵ Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 29.

⁹⁸⁶ Wilson, *God’s Guerrillas*, 143.

⁹⁸⁷ Undisclosed author to Loren Cunningham, “Greetings from Your Rep in Santo Domingo,” July 1964.

⁹⁸⁸ Rogers and Rogers, interview; David Lim, email. David mentioned the diet of cornflakes and canned food.

the time keeping them away from each other, taking one away from the group and counseling him, then taking the other away to counsel him.⁹⁸⁹

Despite the failings of the adult counsellors, the young people were not completely left to their own devices on the out islands. Along with written correspondence travelling back and forth, like the letter from the “Rep” in Santo Domingo, Loren and Darlene visited each group throughout the six weeks. Other guests, like Charles Capps, flew in for short visits. Guests joined Loren and Darlene in visiting teams, preaching in the evening services, and witnessing the youth hard at work in ministry.⁹⁹⁰ Some guests visited the teams for longer periods like Pastors Ed Scratch, Darlene’s father, and Ralph Cranston who stayed for an entire month.⁹⁹¹

By the time the teams regrouped in Nassau the last two weeks of August for evangelistic meetings to conclude the summer, testimonies of supernatural provision of food, restoration of broken-down vehicles, physical healings, and salvations were bubbling up from each team. A reported 5000 people made decisions to follow Christ and two Assemblies of God churches were started on Andros Island. YWAM recruit Bill Morely had volunteered to stay behind and pastor the church at Hope Town.⁹⁹² The youth that returned home were, as Loren argued in an April 1965 letter to the AG General Superintendent Thomas Zimmerman, changed by their ministry experience with YWAM

⁹⁸⁹ David Lim, email.

⁹⁹⁰ Loren Cunningham to Charles Capps regarding upcoming Bahama Trip, July 13, 1964.

⁹⁹¹ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 57; Loren Cunningham to Charles Capps, July 13, 1964. Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings of a YWAM Widow*, 41–42.

⁹⁹² Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 60; Cunningham to Zimmerman, April 13, 1965. Loren’s book names 6000 people interested in the Gospel, whereas his letter to Zimmerman in 1965 claims 5000 people made “definite decisions” to follow Christ.

because they saw God at work in people’s lives. Many of the youth expressed a sense of God’s calling to full time ministry after the summer crusade. Nearly 50 young people from the 1964 Summer of Service enrolled in Assemblies of God Bible Colleges across the US the following academic year. Some young people went on to minister with Teen Challenge and others started youth evangelism in their home churches.⁹⁹³ All of them were spreading the word of their experience as short-term missionary evangelists with their peers at school, church, youth group, college, and university. To Loren and Darlene, their suspicions of what they referred to between themselves as the “Grand Experiment” – youth in missions and evangelism – grew into a conviction that youth in missions didn’t just work, it was essential for worldwide evangelization.⁹⁹⁴

Rebellious to Adults or Obedient to God, 1964-1965

The 1964 Summer of Service (SOS) in the Bahamas and Dominican Republic was a turning point for YWAM. The following 1965 Domestic Crusades and SOS drew hundreds more young people, many of whom went on to join YWAM and become prominent leaders for decades. Going forward, YWAM’s programs were clear: Domestic Crusades, Summers of Service Crusades, and Vocational Volunteers.⁹⁹⁵ These three “phases” of YWAM, as Loren referred to them in his 1965 letter to Thomas Zimmerman,

⁹⁹³ Cunningham to Zimmerman, April 13, 1965.

⁹⁹⁴ Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 29.

⁹⁹⁵ Loren Cunningham to Rev. T. F Zimmerman, Chairman, February 25, 1965, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

were undergirded by Loren and Darlene's itinerant ministry, dedicated office volunteers who managed communications, scheduling, promotional materials, volunteers, and finances, and the YWAM Board of Directors.

The small, but growing number of youth who looked to YWAM as an outlet for ministry and a door to missions in 1964-65 came from Assemblies of God churches, Christ's Ambassadors groups, and AG Bible Colleges. Essential for YWAM's growth and development, the denomination of the Assemblies of God provided the needed structure for the young people who returned home from their Domestic Crusades and Summer of Service and wanted to continue in ministry. In the years between 1964-1968, YWAM was limited in its ability to provide youth with anything more than these short-term evangelistic crusades and its VV program. Thus, between Christmas and Easter Domestic Crusades and Summers of Services, youth engaged in YWAM's ministries found their place in established ministries like the local church youth group (C.A.s) and College student leadership.

Even if YWAM believed it was serving the vision of the AG, tension was growing between the Executive Presbytery and YWAM. The Department of Foreign Missions' displeasure, expressed in McGlasson's spring 1964 letter, was amplified throughout the denominational leadership. Loren and Darlene were summoned to the AG headquarters in Springfield in November 1964 and given an ultimatum by then Superintendent, Thomas Zimmerman.⁹⁹⁶ Loren's recollections of the rift are summarized in *Is That Really You, God?* In the popular retelling, the separation seems to happen over

⁹⁹⁶ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 65-66.

a number of days. In truth, the struggle for YWAM's future in the AG between Loren & Darlene and the Executive Presbytery was a much longer process that unfolded over many months. It eventually resulted in Loren's withdrawal from the AG sometime in the middle of 1965.

The conflict can be traced through correspondence between April 1964 and June 1965. A series of extant letters exchanged between Loren Cunningham, Thomas Zimmerman (General Superintendent), Bartlett Peterson (General Secretary), and L.E. Halvorson (Southern California District Superintendent) give insight into some of the events that transpired. While the details of this verbal wrestling match are interesting in their own right, in sum, the General Presbytery offered to hire Loren as a "national representative in the Spiritual Life – Evangelism Commission." This role would have allowed him to continue the work he had done in YWAM, but on a smaller scale. They proposed that Loren could take 20 young people out in evangelism each year.⁹⁹⁷ Loren responded, accepting the position as long as he could remain "YWAM's field representative" and fully integrate YWAM's three phases into the Assemblies.⁹⁹⁸ Ultimately, Loren was not willing to let go of the AG or YWAM and continued his attempt to bring the full expression of YWAM into the denominational structure. The General Presbytery's patience wore thin and they reneged on their offer in June 1965, claiming that Loren's lack of clear response to their repeated job offer warranted his

⁹⁹⁷ Bartlett Peterson to Reverend Loren Cunningham, June 4, 1965, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives; Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 65.

⁹⁹⁸ Cunningham to Zimmerman, April 13, 1965.

denial.⁹⁹⁹ The conflict had reached a stalemate. Loren would not work for the AG and give up YWAM in its three phases. Loren and Darlene were forced to leave the denomination, but YWAM's momentum continued.

Leaving the AG and the Making of a Youth Missions Movement

While painful for Loren and Darlene, they conceded that they could not continue YWAM in its blossoming form and remain within the denomination to which they, their parents, and grandparents pioneered and belonged. The need to withdraw Loren's credentials became clear to the Cunninghams by the summer of 1965. To local AG congregations, family members, College faculty, friends, and missionaries their departure from the denomination did not hinder the flourishing youth mission ministry nor warrant a break in relationship or end to financial and relational support. AG churches and Colleges continued to invite Loren to speak. AG youth continued attending YWAM organized events – Domestic Crusades and Summers of Service. YWAM and Christ's Ambassadors continued to partner in youth evangelism. AG missionaries loyal to the Cunningham family through T.C., Jewel, and Loren's ministries, as well as that of Darlene's parents, uncles and aunts, and cousins continued to work with Loren and YWAM.

The AG Department of Foreign Missions mounted a letter campaign prohibiting global mission workers from partnering with YWAM and Bethany Bible College

⁹⁹⁹ Peterson to Cunningham, June 4, 1965.

professors petitioned the Northern California District to ban YWAM speakers over its controversial Arminian theology.¹⁰⁰⁰ Despite the best efforts of some in the AG to cut YWAM out of its global and national networks, generational friendships and vast family networks proved stronger than policies, bylaws, and restrictions passed by the General Presbytery. Loren and Darlene Cunningham were no longer formal members of the Assemblies of God, but YWAM retained its pentecostal and AG heritage, networks, and financial support and the majority of YWAM youth, volunteers, and leaders remained loyally AG and YWAM.

Free from the express boundaries of the denomination, YWAM's global growth was fostered by a diversity of independent ministries, traditional and emerging global mission networks, Christian denominations, and the emerging charismatic movement. North of the border, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) remained a welcoming and willing partner for YWAM until the early 1970s. Districts of the PAOC advertised and facilitated Domestic Crusades and youth evangelism training in Canadian cities. The national office promoted YWAM's large-scale evangelistic outreaches for the Trans-Canada Summer of Service in 1967 and the Quebec Summer of Service in 1968.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Jan and Jim Rogers noted how the AG Foreign Missions Department, or J. Philip Hogan who was the Director, sent letters to all its missionary personnel instructing them to break ties with YWAM and any of its associates. Rogers and Rogers, interview. The AG even refused to pass on any information and denied having any previous knowledge about YWAM when a young woman, Joan Bishop, wrote the Headquarters in Springfield, MO, inquiring about the ministry. Miss Joan Bishop of Memphis, TN, to the Southern California AG, August 3, 1965, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives; Robeck, email, April 22, 2020. Mr. Robeck noted that a group of seminary professors at Bethany Bible College led by Dr. Rider mounted a case against Winkey Pratney, a well-known teacher in YWAM who questioned predestination. Robeck was present for some of these meetings at Bethany. Rider's campaign went to the Northern California District Superintendent resulting in the District banning Watson Argue Jr., the DCap (District C.A. Leader) from using Pratney as a speaker at Youth Conferences or events. Argue Jr. stood by Pratney and lost his job as the C.A. leader. The campaign reflected some of the theological confusion and error the AG accused YWAM of sowing among its congregants over the years.

Some of YWAM's early work in East Africa was done in partnership with the PAOC missionaries in Kenya.¹⁰⁰¹

Alongside the PAOC, the post-war parachurch ministry phenomenon and the emergence of the charismatic movement aided YWAM's own development. Emerging ministries geared towards youth and evangelism in North America and Europe, like David Wilkerson's Teen Challenge, Bill Bright's Campus Crusade for Christ, George Verwer's Operation Mobilization, Francis and Edith Schaeffer's L'Abri, Jack McAlister's Every Home for Christ, and Gordon Lindsay's Christ for the Nations played significant roles in providing Loren and Darlene Cunningham the friendship, encouragement, and comradery lost by leaving the AG.¹⁰⁰² The growth of independent evangelical and pentecostal churches and organizations coupled with the proliferation of the charismatic movement throughout the English-speaking world during the same period as YWAM's development offered the ministry new channels of relationship, recruitment, and expansion.¹⁰⁰³

Beyond the role of denominational infrastructure, emerging parachurch ministries, and the charismatic renewal, YWAM participants, mostly youth, themselves became

¹⁰⁰¹ Sirett, "Kenya Youth Camp of 1969," 2-3.

¹⁰⁰² Loren had previous relationship with David Wilkerson, also from a generational pentecostal family, through David's uncle. John Wilkerson was the missionary Loren stayed with in the Bahamas in 1956. John Wilkerson later became pastor of an AG church in Kenosha, Wisconsin, and provided faithful support and ministry opportunities to Loren and the growing YWAM staff. Jack McAlister was Darlene Cunningham's cousin. Dennis Lindsay, Gordon's son, was a YWAM worker until returning to take over the ministry from his father. Another significant network for Loren and YWAM was the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship. The Fellowship was founded by the father of Loren's friend and fellow Southern California CA leader, Richard Shakarian. These relationships are explored in more detail in Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁰³ See Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*.

sources of sustaining and spreading the work of YWAM. After 1965, YWAM's Vocational Volunteers faded from the spotlight and institutional memory and ceased to exist. Meanwhile, handfuls of youth who had served a summer or domestic crusade with YWAM between 1964 and 1968 had graduated college and wanted to continue in the work full time, but longer-term volunteer opportunities were only beginning to materialize.

Adding to their staff of full-time volunteers, YWAM grew with the addition of Wedge and Shirley Alman. Having been denied missionary service in the AG because they had too many children, the Almans took a pastorate at a church in New Mexico that was under the Latin American District of the AG in an attempt to fulfill their missionary calling. After serving with YWAM's early Summers of Service in 1965 and 1966, the Almans resigned their pastorate and moved to California to oversee YWAM's Latin American ministry in 1967.¹⁰⁰⁴ Also in 1967, recent Southern California College graduate Floyd McClung and his wife Sally (Claiborne) McClung became full-time YWAM workers overseeing the Caribbean crusades.¹⁰⁰⁵

Alongside these older "full-time" YWAMers, college-age youth like Don Stephens, Al Akimoff, and David Boyd used their time at Bethany Bible College as opportunities to use the leadership skills they had learned with YWAM to recruit peers

¹⁰⁰⁴ The Almans took leaves of absences during the Summer of Service to fully participate in the ministry of YWAM. They took their children with them and included them in the ministry. Wedge retained his credentials in the AG for some years after joining YWAM full-time.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Southern California College was later renamed Vanguard University and is an AG institution. Floyd McClung was from the Church of God, so although he was pentecostal, he came from a different denomination.

like Joe Portale and Jim Steirs. Young Latin American leaders like Alex Bazan and Ruben Vargas remained active in the Latin American Assemblies of God while serving full-time with YWAM in Central America. After his Summer of Service in 1964, David Lim began pastoring a Chinese church (AG) in San Francisco and hosted future YWAM teams who came partner with Lim's church in evangelistic ministry.¹⁰⁰⁶ Jim and Judy Seregow left YWAM to pioneer an AG campus ministry, Campus Action, in Ann Arbor, but maintained relationship with the mission through their years.¹⁰⁰⁷ Like the churches and people that supported YWAM's faith mission, these leaders and young people saw no conflict between their multiple belongings in the AG and YWAM. While young leaders eventually had to choose either YWAM or the AG for the sake of vocation and career, many continued to maintain relationships with leaders and friends in the mission leading to YWAM's expansion and growth at the grassroots of the AG.

During the period following 1965, YWAM was reorientated from adult-led denominationalism to youth-led missions movement for youth. This change did not mean that all adults left the mission in opposition to and suspicion of youth. On the contrary. Many of YWAM's early adult supporters – Bob and Lorraine Theetge, Mrs. Myrtle Overton, T.C. and Jewell Cunningham, Ed and Enid Scratch, and the District Presbytery

¹⁰⁰⁶ David Lim and his wife May went to pastor Grace Assembly of God church in Singapore before returning to the US in 2014.

¹⁰⁰⁷ James Seregow, *Jesus and the Radicals: The True Story of Campus Action* (n.p.: Johnson Press, 1972). Campus Action was originally a conception of Jim and Judy Seregow and Loren Cunningham and was not officially an AG ministry. It was independent of the denominational. Jim noted that while he never left the AG, he was called in to a meeting at the AG headquarters in Springfield, Missouri, for the Executive Presbytery to ascertain whether Campus Action was a threat to their college ministries. Seregow, interview.

of Southern California – remained loyal while additions after 1965 included older, mature, and married couples with children – Wedge and Shirley Alman, Rod and Millie Gerhart, and Noel and Ruth Wilson. The shift to a youth-led movement was not in the age of its participants, which after 1965 diversified far beyond the 16-30 age range, even though most of its growth was among young people in their early 20s.

Conclusion

By 1965, YWAM had developed clear vision and whole-hearted commitment to champion untrained Christian youth in local and world evangelism and mission. Uniting around this principle and practice caused conflict from within its parent denomination, the Assemblies of God (AG), but ultimately allowed YWAM to distinguish itself as a self-autonomous movement. Unlike its contemporary youth movements, YWAM didn't set out to rebel against the parent culture or reject it wholesale. It did, however, present an alternate and competing vision for the practice of pentecostal faith and mission that was more fluid and inclusive than the Assemblies of God was willing to accept.¹⁰⁰⁸ Many older adults and parents of the youth involved supported YWAM for its pentecostal distinctives – dependence on the Holy Spirit, a commitment to world evangelization, a fundamental view of the Bible – and for the effects it had on the youth – many young people received a calling to ministry and missions and many more simply retained a

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cunningham, interview part 1. Loren shared that Zimmerman's mandate as General Superintendent was to solidify the uniformity of the denominational structure and doctrine. Loren noted how the number of churches being planted drastically declined as Zimmerman implemented policies like the one that barred non-AG persons from preaching in AG pulpits.

newly activated Christian faith into adulthood. Even as YWAM indirectly challenged denominational uniformity in their youthful zeal to obey God's command to preach the gospel to all creation, the result was the same as other youth movements of the time. YWAM moved away from the practices and leadership of the parent culture and created a culture led by youth for youth.¹⁰⁰⁹

Pastors, leaders, and individuals who supported Loren and Darlene Cunningham and the hundreds of youth attending YWAM events through the year, were, in essence supporting youth participation in mission.¹⁰¹⁰ The adults that remained in YWAM and joined later were dedicated to YWAM's vision for mission and youth, regardless of denominational affiliation. Together these adults and youth embraced a model for mission that affirmed youth as qualified evangelists and missionaries who produced results, regardless of their age or training. What the founders, early joiners, and participants likely did not realize was that their commitment to youth in mission was quickly becoming an influential movement around the world. YWAM's unique expression of world Christianity reflected the radical egalitarianism of early pentecostalism and a family model of ministry that regarded every member, regardless of age, race, or gender, as qualified ministers and missionaries.

¹⁰⁰⁹ An unintended consequence to youth in mission was the pioneering of short-term missions.

¹⁰¹⁰ The use of "youth" according to Heilbronner spans from 13-30, YWAM generally took 16-21-year-old youth, but a few 15-year-olds were included as an exception. Loren and Darlene were themselves in their 20s during YWAM's early years, thus constituting my calling them "youth" according to Heilbronner's range.

Chapter 7: The Women Who Made YWAM

The majority of the young people YWAM trained for missionary evangelism in its first decade were young women. Women and youth in YWAM's faith mission endeavor continued in the spirit of early pentecostalism that included women and was inspired by an eschatological urgency.¹⁰¹¹ In the early pentecostal movement women evangelized their neighbors, preached in churches, embarked on lone evangelistic tours, and pioneered new churches and mission stations. Jesus Christ was coming back and every worker, female or male, was needed to spread the message of God's salvation to all creation to speed up his return. At the same time, early pentecostal women were bound by social norms of female submission to male authority supported by biblical passages. Pentecostal women navigated the social and religious ambiguities that promoted their participation, but restricted their spiritual authority as equals in Christ.¹⁰¹² YWAM's vision for women in mission, although undoubtedly a mix of the ambiguities between submission and freedom, was shaped by the egalitarian ethos of early pentecostalism modeled by the strong pentecostal women leaders who helped found it.¹⁰¹³

¹⁰¹¹ Dutko, *The Pentecostal Gender Paradox*, 5-7. See also Joseph Lee Dutko, "Eschatology and Women's Equality: Resolving the Pentecostal Gender Paradox" (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 2022), ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2873017629?pq-origsite=primo>.

¹⁰¹² Blumhofer, "Women in Pentecostalism," 397-98.

¹⁰¹³ Dutko, *The Pentecostal Gender Paradox*, 56. To Dutko's list of prominent pentecostal women for whom eschatology served to authorize their ministry, I add Jewell Nicholson Cunningham. Jewell's experiences and calling as a preacher and evangelist in the early pentecostal movement were directly related to the eschatological urgency of her early years in ministry and to the pentecostal origins that developed a "significant contribution to Pentecostal belief and practice."

Into a third-generation pentecostal family that practiced a radical and family-based model of egalitarianism, YWAM emerged in the social and religious context of Classical Pentecostalism in the USA during the long 1960s. This context meant that despite YWAM's more radical disposition towards women in ministry, it nevertheless continued to mirror many of the gendered ambiguities experienced by women in early pentecostalism.¹⁰¹⁴ Like the women of early pentecostalism, YWAM women were seen as full partners in God's missionary endeavor, qualified and equipped to be evangelists and missionaries at home or abroad.¹⁰¹⁵ As faith missionaries, YWAM women preached in church pulpits, shared the message of Jesus on the streets and across the sea, and went where the Holy Spirit was leading them to pioneer new evangelistic works and ministries.¹⁰¹⁶ Young single women functioned as equal partners in YWAM's missionary endeavors, whereas young married women balanced their domestic roles and responsibilities as wives and mothers with ministry, often remaining behind the scenes or off the record. It was these women in the midst of their gendered ambiguities – wives,

¹⁰¹⁴ Martin, "The Pentecostal Gender Paradox," 54-55. Martin notes that "the Pentecostal doctrine of salvation, and its liturgical practices based on the gifts of the Spirit, carry a radically modernizing egalitarian impulse, albeit inside a formal patriarchal casing, just as Methodism did in an earlier phase."

¹⁰¹⁵ Robert, *American Women in Mission*, 253. Robert observed that the pioneering phase of pentecostalism offered women abundant ministry opportunities. As a return to revivalist pentecostalism, YWAM exemplified the pioneering mission ethos of early pentecostalism that gave ministry opportunities to women. Robert noted that pentecostal pneumatology opened cross-cultural evangelism and leadership to women. While YWAM did not emphasize their theology of the Holy Spirit, it was a prevalent and present justification for the inclusion of women, as Jewell Nicholson Cunningham's life and influence on Loren and the mission demonstrates.

¹⁰¹⁶ Dzubinski and Stasson, *Women in the Mission of the Church*, 174. Dzubinski and Stasson explore the role of women in faith missions, although they do not specifically address the period of the long 1960s or YWAM. Still, they underline both the opportunities faith missions presented to women in global mission and the gender paradox and struggle they experienced. Thus, YWAM women navigated both the pentecostal gender paradox and the broader gender struggle of women in the history of the faith mission movement.

mothers, grandmothers, sisters, and friends – who inspired, pioneered, founded, and extended YWAM in its infancy making it what it became.

This chapter reconstructs women’s contribution to and influence in the founding and development of early YWAM from 1956 to 1970. The chapter is organized chronologically in four main sections – YWAM women before 1963, in 1963, from 1964 to 1968, and from 1968 to 1970. Each section profiles specific women who made significant contributions to YWAM in each period and documents the names and general histories of groups of women for whom little archival records exist. The task of naming all of the women involved in YWAM’s early years remains impossible because of scant archival materials. The chapter does retrieve and name many women who have otherwise been lost to YWAM’s own popular history.¹⁰¹⁷ Such documentation serves to make the contribution of these women visible to mission history and global pentecostalism.¹⁰¹⁸ In addition, telling the early history of the mission from the vantage point of its early female volunteers offers an alternate narrative of YWAM’s early history that has largely been

¹⁰¹⁷ The majority of YWAM women in the first decade were short-term participants and little to no record remains of these women’s contributions. The sections on YWAM’s first Vocational Volunteers, Office Staff, and Domestic and International Crusade participants offers a significant recovery of the “everyday” young women who participated with YWAM but did not go on to have a life-long missionary career with them. More data exists for the women who remained with YWAM for decades, although their stories are often less pronounced in the popular history.

¹⁰¹⁸ Leanne M. Dzubinski, “Portrayal vs. Practice: Contemporary Women’s Contributions to Christian Mission,” *Missiology* 44, no. 1 (January 1, 2016): 82, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0091829615619378>.

told from the men’s perspective, or at least credited to the men.¹⁰¹⁹ YWAM’s history was and remains women’s history.¹⁰²⁰

The Foundations: YWAM Women Before 1963

One woman can be credited as the pioneering matriarch who directly influenced the vision and founding of YWAM – Jewell Nicholson Cunningham. As the mother of YWAM founder, Loren Cunningham, Jewell’s influence on her children directly shaped their understanding of God and their expression of faithful obedience to God. Jewell, along with her ministry partner and husband T.C. Cunningham, included her children in their active pentecostal itinerant ministry from their infancy.¹⁰²¹ Jewell grew up in a family of travelling evangelists. With her family, she was a pioneering pentecostal church planter and evangelist in the early 1920s. She and her family preached “Pentecost” across the southwestern US. Jewell’s family background, pentecostal conversion experience,

¹⁰¹⁹ Women have had a significant hand in writing and documenting YWAM’s history, as the chapter will show. The first popular book about YWAM’s early history, *Is That Really You, God?*, is credited as being written by Loren Cunningham “with Janice Rogers.” The process of writing that first book was, in fact, undertaken by Janice Rogers who interviewed Loren Cunningham and took the transcripts of those interviews and put the events and details down on paper and wrote it in to a book. Thus, without Janice Roger’s efforts, YWAM’s own internal history would likely have remained oral histories. A similar process took place for the majority of the books written by Loren Cunningham.

¹⁰²⁰ Robert, “World Christianity as a Women’s Movement,” 184-86.

¹⁰²¹ For the purpose of consistency, I have chosen to include women’s maiden names. Many of the young women began with YWAM as singles and later married, thus their memory in the mission includes both last names. For the women who married and took the name of their spouse during the period, I have included their maiden name in brackets, like Marti (DeFebbo) Green. For the women who were already married when they factor into the early history, I have left their names as found in the records, as in Millie Gerhart. For the women who retained their maiden name in their own representation, like Jewell Nicholson Cunningham and Ruth Marshall Wilson, I have retained both last names without brackets as the women themselves did.

calling into ministry as a young woman preacher, practical faith, and ministry as single women and then as a partner in ministry with her husband, contributed to her and her children's self-understandings of women in ministry.¹⁰²² Her experiences and the values and character that she instilled in her children, YWAM's founder and first volunteers, directly shaped YWAM's ministry and future. Jewell was also a part of YWAM's early years indirectly through prayer, support, and encouragement, and directly through her ministry of teaching and preaching, ministering alongside YWAM teams, and hosting YWAM youth in her home and church.

Jewell's influence on her second born child, Loren Cunningham, was what justifies her title as YWAM's "matriarch," but her influence on her daughters, Phyllis and Janice, was of equal importance. Naming Phyllis and Janice as Jewell's daughters places them in her physical and spiritual lineage and explains how these two sisters came to serve in pioneering roles in their brother's ministry in its early years. Phyllis and Janice's support of their brother and their shared family ministry were formative experiences rooted in equality and friendship. As girls and young women, Janice and Phyllis played central, although underestimated, roles in volunteering for the new ministry. They offered support and friendship to YWAM's founder, their brother, and went on to play central roles in YWAM's establishment, organization, and international expansion.

¹⁰²² Dutko, *The Pentecostal Gender Paradox*, 56. While Jewell's own experiences of "Pentecost" and pentecostal ministry were central to her own self-understanding of her spiritual authority and calling, her family unit and especially her parents were vital to shaping her egalitarian views of women and men in ministry.

Likewise, another overlooked pioneer of early YWAM was Lorraine Theetge and the faithful female volunteers who helped her run the YWAM office in its first years. Lorraine, a married woman with two sons, was active in her local church, women's mission circle, and prayer groups. She found fulfillment for her own missionary calling by being YWAM's first full-time unpaid volunteer after Loren Cunningham. Lorraine's dedication gained her Loren's praise five decades later when he signed called her "YWAM's co-founder."¹⁰²³ Yet, Lorraine is little known in the institutional history because she was never officially considered a YWAMer. Lorraine and her husband Bob remained active members of their AG church and served elsewhere in missions after their years helping YWAM get off the ground.¹⁰²⁴ Still, Lorraine is rightly numbered, along with Jewell, Phyllis, and Janice Cunningham as one of the women who built YWAM's foundations before 1963.

Jewell Nicholson Cunningham

Born on March 22, 1907, to Oklahoma Territory settlers and sharecroppers, Rufus Chalmers Nicholson and Martha Hough Nicholson, Jewell Etta Nicholson Cunningham was a mother and grandmother of early YWAM. She was the biological mother of YWAM founder Loren D. Cunningham and early YWAM worker Janice (Cunningham) Rogers. Her youth was shaped by holiness preaching at brush arbor meetings

¹⁰²³ Inscription of Lorraine Theetge's YWAM 50th Anniversary Study Bible by Loren Cunningham, December 2010, Richard Theetge Personal Papers.

¹⁰²⁴ Lorraine and Bob Theetge went on to serve with Mercy Ships in their retirement, according to their son Richard Theetge. Mercy Ships was a missionary organization started by Don and Deyon Stephens, who had been with YWAM for many years before breaking away and starting their own ministry.

characteristic of the sweeping pentecostal experience that travelled across the mid-western prairie like wildfire. In her auto-biographical book written to honor the life and evangelistic ministry of her father Rufus, *Look at Your Hand*, Jewell paints a unique picture of life in the early pentecostal movement in the midwestern USA as a family of travelling evangelists. Jewell was six years old in 1913 when, as she recounted, “God met papa,” at the breakfast table and their lives changed forever.¹⁰²⁵ Jewell’s father had grown up in a Presbyterian family in Arkansas before leaving behind faith and saddling his horse to head to what at that time was considered the frontiers of Texas and Oklahoma Territory. Before his pentecostal conversion he was an angry drunk, but started lingering at the brush arbor meetings to listen to the preaching of E.H. Humbard and C.A. Lasater.¹⁰²⁶

After her father’s conversion, his call to preach followed in 1914. The family spent all their time apart from working the fields in church, at mid-week cottage prayer meetings, holding revival meetings, evangelizing, or in the wagon to and from ministry engagements. From 1915 to 1930 the Nicholson family set out on the gospel trail, living in their covered wagon as itinerant evangelists with some stints of settled ministry pastoring churches in the newly forming Assemblies of God.¹⁰²⁷ Rufus Nicholson

¹⁰²⁵ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 10–15.

¹⁰²⁶ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 10. Jewell lists Humbard incorrectly, as E.H., but identifies him as Rex Humbard’s father. The correct name for Humbard is Alpha E. Humbard and he is identified in early denominational records as A.E. Humbard. See “Ordained Elders, Pastors, Ministers, Evangelists and Missionaries of the Church of God in Christ with Their Stations for 1914,” 7, Digitized Periodicals – Consortium of Pentecostal Archives. Here A.E. Humbard and C.A. Lasater are both listed, Humbard serving in Pangburn, Arkansas, and Lasater at Shoal Creek, Arkansas. It makes sense that their itinerant preaching ministries took them to nearby Oklahoma.

¹⁰²⁷ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 50.

pioneered countless churches that they then turned over to the denomination.¹⁰²⁸ Jewell, her sisters – Marylydia, Pebble, and Frances – and brother Coy attended school where and when they could and changed schools when their ministry moved on to a new town. They gained an education from the peoples and places they encountered as they travelled and, as Jewell put it, they were schooled in “the ways of God.”¹⁰²⁹ Prayer, fasting, salvation, repentance, holy-living, street preaching, miracles of healing, tongue speaking, falling down in the Spirit, hearing the voice of God, and experiencing the “anointing” to prophecy and preach were normal parts of Jewell Nicholson’s childhood and youth. It was in this context that Jewell received her own call to preach at age 12. By the age of 17 she was on the regular preaching roster of the Nicholson family, known by some as “The Jesus People.” She was a credentialed preacher with the Assemblies of God at age 21.¹⁰³⁰

After Jewell’s mother died and her father remarried and went off with his new wife in their own ministry, the Nicholson children continued itinerant preaching and leading revivals. As each of them got married their team shrank. By 1933, the Nicholson family of evangelists was down to Jewell and her brother Coy. They were conducting a revival in Duncan, Oklahoma, when they met Tom (T.C.) Cunningham. Another itinerant preacher who served alongside his father James Henry Cunningham, Tom attended the

¹⁰²⁸ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 100. Jewell notes that her father avoided joining the Assemblies of God for five years because he believed that “joining an organization would cause a preacher to become spiritually dead.” She explains that he remained independent, but he did turn the churches he pioneered over to the Assemblies of God to ensure the people were cared for and pastored.

¹⁰²⁹ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 45.

¹⁰³⁰ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 15; Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 127, 175. Jewell notes that she, her sister Marylydia, and her father were licensed with the Assemblies of God in 1928. Her sister Frances and brother Coy were licensed in 1930. It is important to remember that women were not able to be formally ordained in the AG until after 1934.

Duncan revival on his off day. After helping Coy and Jewell with the music ministry, Jewell and Tom became better acquainted.¹⁰³¹ After a short courtship, Tom and Jewell were engaged, married, and on their way to help Tom's father with a revival meeting before starting their own.¹⁰³² Jewell described her and Tom's shared sense of God's calling to preach and minister as individuals and as a couple. Their marriage became an extension of their individual ministries that had now come together. Jewell brought nearly ten years of experience itinerating, preaching, and leading revival meetings into their marriage. From the beginning of their marriage and ministry partnership, they shared the pulpit – a practice not without its challenges over their many years.¹⁰³³

The clarity and confidence in Jewell's personal calling and the controversy surrounding her ministry emerge as consistent themes in her writings and autobiographical account that continued into marriage, motherhood, and missions.¹⁰³⁴ Jewell's strength of personality and character and her orientation towards justice were evident both in her experiences as a "lady preacher" and gospel minister concerned with fellow humanity. Jewell's early ministry in the late 1920s and early 1930s reflected the contradictions and conflicts tied to gendered social norms and religious roles inherent in

¹⁰³¹ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 188. There is some discrepancy on the year that Jewell and Tom married. The account in *Look at Your Hand* lists 1933 as they year they were wed, but *Conflict & Triumph*, 64, says that June 19, 1934, was their second wedding anniversary. The date of their wedding needs to be verified.

¹⁰³² Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 13–14.

¹⁰³³ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 14.

¹⁰³⁴ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 192. Jewell says, "Controversy has always been a part of my ministry."

the pentecostal movement of her day.¹⁰³⁵ Under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, women prophesied and preached to mixed crowds eager to receive from God through these “yielded” vessels. Within this historical context charged with the urgency of the return of Jesus Christ, Jewell was accepted as a young woman preacher on the cutting edge of pentecostal revival in the Southwestern US.

To her great sadness, the freedom in ministry that she experienced in these early years and believed to be a core belief and practice of pentecostal faith diminished as the churches she and her family members pioneered joined the Assemblies of God.¹⁰³⁶ By the late 1950s, only 20 years after she was dubbed a “petticoat preacher,” Jewell was barred from the pulpit after the board of the church she and T.C. pastored voted to silence her.¹⁰³⁷ Reflecting decades later, Jewell recounted the emotional pain, physical stress, and lengthy battle with depression she experienced after being denied the ability to preach in

¹⁰³⁵ Blumhofer, “Women in Pentecostalism.” Blumhofer notes the contradictions present for women in the pentecostal movement and ministry. Women were accepted as preachers as long as the eschatological urgency was strong. Once the movement cooled off, social norms that supported female submission to male authority ruled policy and practice. While Blumhofer notes a few exceptions to the rule, like Frances Crawford, the trend within the AG was that women were accepted in ministry if they didn’t challenge male authority or seek to promote themselves. Jewell’s story offers insight into courting ambiguities of social gender norms reinforced by the AG hierarchy that worked alongside a message that empowered women in their spiritual and domestic lives.

¹⁰³⁶ Mark Chaves, “Ordaining Women: The Diffusion of an Organizational Innovation,” *American Journal of Sociology* 101, no. 4 (1996): 854. Chaves notes that in decentralized denominations people can ordain whomever they choose, but once a denomination centralizes these free-style choices are brought under official policy. The historical process observed by Chaves was true within the Assemblies of God, who from their organization in 1914 until 1935 did not officially ordain women. Daniels, “North American Pentecostalism,” 81-82.

¹⁰³⁷ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 154–57. It was at the pastorate at Long Beach First Assembly that the Board voted that Jewell should not be allowed to preach in the Sunday evening meetings.

their church.¹⁰³⁸ No longer able to exercise her spiritual gifts in the church she helped pastor, Jewell noted how she found comfort in trusting that God would make a way for her to use her preaching gift, something she believed God had done all through her life.¹⁰³⁹ Intrinsically egalitarian in her understanding of the Holy Spirit's presence and God's spiritual gifts, Jewell's history expressed the reality of pentecostal women who refused to acquiesce to cultural and religious misogyny.

Jewell's pentecostal idealism reflected the radical egalitarianism of its Azusa roots and included interracial equality.¹⁰⁴⁰ Having been a co-laborer alongside African Americans all her life, Jewell reminisced, "As a girl I'd worked in the cotton fields with the Blacks in the South. Then too we'd shared a common bond and thought nothing of eating our lunches together. Wherever there's common ground for all colors and races, there will be no more 'tiffs' between them."¹⁰⁴¹ On a trip in 1947 through Arkansas during the Jim Crow laws, Jewell confronted a white bus driver over his racist behavior to an African American rider.¹⁰⁴² "The bus driver was so rude to the blacks I could not help but have a few words with him, even though I feared that I would be put off the

¹⁰³⁸ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 158. Jewell's experience offers insight into how pentecostal women who were limited in their ministries dealt with disillusionment and disappointment. While some researchers note that most pentecostal women simply "submitted" to the boundaries of the domestic sphere and role of "helpmete" to their husbands, Jewell's story problematizes the narrative. Jewell remained in partnership with her husband (submission) even while she contested the unfair treatment by church boards and sought God and opportunities for new venues to minister, ultimately pushing her into missionary work and street preaching.

¹⁰³⁹ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 158.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Daniels, "North American Pentecostalism," 77.

¹⁰⁴¹ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 85.

¹⁰⁴² Loren D. Cunningham, interview by Paul Ericksen, CN 647, February 9, 2009, Collection 647, Evangelism & Missions Archives of Wheaton College, <https://archives.wheaton.edu/repositories/4/resources/723>.

bus.”¹⁰⁴³ This experience, and other stories like it, demonstrated Jewell’s concern for others and regard for people of non-white races. She and T.C. ministered in Arizona, New Mexico, and California border towns and shared their church buildings with Spanish congregations and gladly ministered to and partnered with the Mexican families who were their neighbors. These experiences were formative for her son Loren, who recounted the shock of experiencing the racism in the southern US as a contrast to his childhood with Latino/a friends and the fear that his mother’s concern for others might get him kicked off the bus.¹⁰⁴⁴

Her stories and pragmatic faith characteristic of early pentecostalism speak of persistence through struggles and an unwavering commitment to continue in pioneering pentecostal ministry. The evangelistic and church planting work of Jewell, her husband, and children led to three churches being started and many “converts” being added.¹⁰⁴⁵ It was in their later years that Tom’s formative experiences and ministry in the Assemblies of God Southern California District Mission administration helped orient the regional churches towards an active role in world missions. Foundationally, however, Tom and Jewell raised their children in the same kind of active pentecostal ministry in which they were raised. Jewell’s children were partners and participants in the ministry and sang on the streets to draw a crowd for their mother and father’s preaching just like Jewell and her

¹⁰⁴³ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 141.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Cunningham, interview by Ericksen.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 16. Jewell and Tom pioneered three churches that remained active at the date of the first printing of *Is That Really You, God?*.

siblings did for her father.¹⁰⁴⁶ Loren was raised in this evangelism and church planting “strategy” that continued to be a useful tool for him and those he pastored and taught well into the founding years of YWAM.

Jewell was known for her love of the Bible, life of prayer, fiery preaching, and active supernatural spiritual life that included hearing directly from God in word or vision and administering divine healing. She was committed to obeying what God had spoken or led her to do or say, regardless of the opinions of others or repercussions.¹⁰⁴⁷ Her bold faith and action were hallmarks of her life. It was her living faith and unbridled determination to preach the message of Jesus Christ that greatly influenced her children and led to core beliefs and practice that shaped early YWAM. Jewell Nicholson Cunningham lived a faith that declared sacrificing everything to preach the gospel came with the highest rewards. Jewell’s life of faith made strong declarations. God would provide for one’s needs. Women were equal and active agents in ministry. Families were meant to serve together in evangelism. Children and youth were qualified ministers. A life of prayer – hearing and obeying God’s voice – was a thrilling adventure. All of these characteristics evident in Jewell’s life translated into foundational practices and values embodied by Loren that shaped early YWAM.¹⁰⁴⁸ In her writing, Jewell attributed the

¹⁰⁴⁶ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God*, 17.

¹⁰⁴⁷ It seemed that Jewell was either highly regarded or seen as too overbearing for her strong conviction to obey God. One student from the first SOE in 1969 recalled how uncomfortable she felt when she saw Jewell approaching penitent Catholics at a shrine in Italy, making their way up the stairs on their knees. Jewell disturbed their climb and lifted them up one by one, and shouted “Get up! Jesus has set you free!” Musch, interview.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Cunningham, interview by Erickson. Loren recounts a number of stories how Jewell prayed for something and the next day what she prayed for came into their lives. He jokingly says that his mother’s

qualities of her spiritual life as a continuation of the pentecostal heritage handed down from her father, Rufus Nicholson.¹⁰⁴⁹ The same can be said of Jewell and her direct and pentecostal influence on early YWAM.

Phyllis (Cunningham) Griswold

Phyllis acted as a friend and ministry partner to her younger brother in the years leading up to YWAM's founding. Phyllis led the way among the Cunningham children and was adept at everything that "family evangelism" and church planting entailed by the time Loren was born.¹⁰⁵⁰ In an oral history interview, Loren recounted how at age three he and Phyllis, two years his senior, sang to draw crowds during their parents' Saturday night street preaching.¹⁰⁵¹ Their musical ministry continued as a family as Phyllis and Loren, and later their younger sister Janice, grew up. They sang and directed the choirs in the churches their parents pastored. Phyllis and Loren sang duets and Phyllis used her

life of prayer and "connection to God" meant that if he did anything untoward that she would know about it because God would tell her. One of YWAM's original teachings on "Hearing God's voice" has been taught and modeled by Loren and Darlene Cunningham and can be traced back to Loren's upbringing and Jewell's influence and life example.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Cunningham, *Look at Your Hand*, 191. At the end of Jewell's first book she notes, "We are endeavoring to hand on the Pentecostal traditions to our children and our children's children."

¹⁰⁵⁰ "Family evangelism" in the case of the Cunningham family and other pentecostal itinerant families of the era refers to a ministry model where the entire family travelled and did ministry together. In the Cunninghams' case, all family members were participants in the ministry and had a part to play. The model can be seen in stark contrast with the dominant trope in pentecostal itinerant evangelism of the day where the husband left wife and children at home to fend for themselves "by faith" as the husband and father followed the leading of the Holy Spirit. See Blumhofer, "Women in Pentecostalism," 398.

¹⁰⁵¹ Cunningham, interview by Ericksen.

musical abilities to minister in church orchestras and bands, playing the accordion and piano.¹⁰⁵²

In 1955, Phyllis transferred from Southern California College to accompany Loren on his first year at Central Bible Institute (CBI) in Springfield, Missouri. While at Central, Loren and Phyllis sang in the school choirs, took over a small church plant together, and ministered as a singing duet to host churches. Their time only overlapped one full academic year before Phyllis returned to California and began working at Hughes company, but their friendship and co-ministry continued.¹⁰⁵³ According to Loren's recollection, Phyllis and he continued their travelling singing ministry until 1957.¹⁰⁵⁴ Once Loren graduated from CBI, Phyllis worked as his assistant in his first pastoral job. As the assistant coordinator of education and music at First Assembly of God in Long Beach, California, Loren and his assistant, Phyllis, led multiple choirs and Sunday Schools.¹⁰⁵⁵

Phyllis's involvement in Loren's life and ministry changed when she met and married Leonard Griswold. Wed at Inglewood Assembly where Loren was assistant pastor, the couple were busy as teachers in Los Angeles around the time Loren's vision for youth in missions began to materialize late in 1960.¹⁰⁵⁶ The couple soon relocated to San Diego for Leonard to complete his navy service. While Phyllis was not directly

¹⁰⁵² Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 149.

¹⁰⁵³ Samuel Balius and George M. Flattery, eds, *The Cup*, 1955, 106-107, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://view.publitas.com/evangel-university/1955-cbc-cup-yearbook/>.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Cunningham, interview part 1.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 159.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 46.

involved in getting YWAM off the ground, she continued to minister through her work as a secretary at the First Assembly of God church in San Diego.¹⁰⁵⁷ Phyllis' administrative role in the Assemblies of God was a help to her brother's ministry, even if indirectly. It wasn't until the middle of the 1970s when their children were older, and after the time period of this study, that Phyllis and Leonard took up full-time YWAM work when Leonard agreed to manage the YWAM office. Phyllis' presence in the Cunningham family and as an older sister to Loren made her an invaluable part of YWAM's early history. Her friendship, leadership, care, and dedication to her family and siblings is reflected in her willingness to leave her place of study to move with her younger brother. And by the accounts listed here, Phyllis and Loren got along well enough to work, sing, minister, and serve together into young adulthood. Their formative years growing in ministry together were the same years that the ideas and hopes that became YWAM were percolating in Loren's heart and mind.

Janice (Cunningham) Rogers

Janice (Cunningham) Rogers participated in her older brother's ministry as a young person before YWAM began. A member of the youth groups Loren led, Janice had a unique vantage point of her older brother's personal and vocational life. Present to witness the transformation of Loren's bedroom into YWAM's first office in December of 1960, Janice was involved in YWAM's work from day one. She was recruited as free and

¹⁰⁵⁷ Cunningham and Biros, *Fifty Years of Conflict and Triumph*, 164.

willing labor to stuff envelopes for YWAM's first mailing to their list of pastoral contacts. While she did not become an official volunteer in her teenage years, Janice was very much a part of Loren's work as YWAM was getting off the ground. When Janice went off to college at Evangel, Loren embarked on more missionary trips and developed the vision for YWAM resulting in its first program – Vocational Volunteers.¹⁰⁵⁸ While Loren was travelling the world and getting acquainted with the opportunities of youth in world evangelization, Janice was making friends and training for a life-time of service in missions.

Janice and her friend, and future husband, Jim Rogers, both signed up to be on YWAM's first Summer of Service in the Bahamas and the Dominican Republic in 1964.¹⁰⁵⁹ After years of family ministry with Janice, Loren trusted his younger sister and made her one of the team leaders even though she missed the crusade training before the trip.¹⁰⁶⁰ From the 1964 SOS, Janice and Jim were present and significant fixtures in YWAM's development. After they graduated from Evangel, the couple got married in 1966 and joined YWAM full-time. They led teams in the summer and did itinerant ministry recruiting for YWAM year-round with stints serving as missions pastor for Rev. Floyd Westbrook in Westminster, California.¹⁰⁶¹

¹⁰⁵⁸ Vocational Volunteers was YWAM's first "official" program that began in 1961. The vision was to enlist recently graduated young people to volunteer for one or two years at established mission stations to "free up" missionaries to do the real work of evangelism.

¹⁰⁵⁹ The Summer of Service (SOS) was YWAM's first "international" evangelistic crusade that lasted for eight weeks. It began in 1964 in the Bahamas and Dominican Republic and was YWAM's first "overseas" ministry that acted as a first "short-term mission" trip. The history of the SOS is covered in more detail in Chapter 2 and Chapter 5.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Rogers and Rogers, interview.

¹⁰⁶¹ Rogers and Rogers, interview.

Janice and Jim played a central role in YWAM's extension into the South Pacific in 1967. Doubling as a honeymoon, Janice and her new husband travelled to New Zealand by way of Samoa and Fiji at the close of 1966 to recruit and run YWAM's first domestic evangelistic crusade in Auckland. After establishing the YWAM house in Auckland during 1967, they left behind a small team of young people to continue the ministry. Janice and Jim returned to the US before leading YWAM's first Around the World (ATW) trip in 1968–69. In many ways, they can be credited with the development of YWAM's global ministries that began moving outside of the Anglo-protestant world around 1967. With their small team, Janice and Jim travelled to AG mission stations and developed deeper relationships, served established ministries of missionaries and local pastors, and recruited and trained local young people for evangelism. After the first ATW concluded, Janice and Jim led the first YWAM team to Afghanistan in 1970 in response to J. Christy Wilson's letter inviting YWAM to send missionaries.¹⁰⁶² Janice and Jim pioneered YWAM in Denmark in 1970–71 before returning to the United States to develop YWAM's communication ministry based in Texas. Janice and Jim did the

¹⁰⁶² J. Christy Wilson was a child of Presbyterian missionaries to Iran. A student leader with Inter-
 varsity during his undergraduate study at Princeton, Wilson and his wife Betty moved to Afghanistan as
 teachers with a missionary vision. In Kabul, Wilson pastored the Christian church for expats and was
 involved in a variety of ministry work. After twenty years of service, the couple relocated to the US for
 Wilson to study. Wilson served as professor of Mission at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. Ken
 Wilson, *Where No One Has Heard: The Life of J. Christy Wilson, Jr.* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey
 Library, 2017); Jim Cameron to Christie Wilson, c. early 1970, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM
 Kona Archives. More details on Wilson's relationship to YWAM is explored in Chapter 5.

ground work of interviewing, transcribing, and writing YWAM's first book about its story, *Is that Really You, God?*¹⁰⁶³

Lorraine Theetge & Her Helpers

From YWAM's beginning, Lorraine Theetge stands out as an essential support for YWAM in its infancy. In an inscription in Lorraine's *YWAM 50th Anniversary Study Bible*, Loren acknowledged Lorraine's role as a "co-worker at the beginnings,"... "a 'co-founder,' friend & great inspiration."¹⁰⁶⁴ While YWAM officially acknowledges Darlene (Scratch) Cunningham as YWAM's co-founder, Lorraine Theetge was the first woman who filled the role predating Darlene's entrance into YWAM in 1963. The significant and centrality of Lorraine's role in co-founding YWAM from 1960–62 must not be understated.¹⁰⁶⁵ Lorraine and her husband Bob and their two sons, Richard and Ron, were faithful members of Calvary Assembly in Inglewood, California, where Loren Cunningham worked as associate pastor in charge of youth and music between 1958–1960.¹⁰⁶⁶ Lorraine and Bob were involved in the church's youth ministry and their sons

¹⁰⁶³ It is because of the efforts of Janice and Jim Rogers that much of the archival research for this dissertation was possible. The Rogers are responsible for collecting and documenting YWAM's media over the years. Jim Rogers acted as this author's host for the archival research conducted at YWAM Kona in May 2022.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Inscription of Lorraine Theetge's YWAM 50th Anniversary Study Bible.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Darlene became an integral part of Loren and YWAM's life from the start of their dating relationship in 1962 until their wedding on June 14, 1963. See Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 19–24. While Darlene partnered with Loren in life and ministry, Lorraine Theetge remained the anchor of YWAM administrative function in the office.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 37.

attended the meetings and retreats that Loren held.¹⁰⁶⁷ Bob was a church deacon during the time when Loren was on staff as an associate pastor and Lorraine helped Loren with the radio program “Haven of Rest.”¹⁰⁶⁸

Lorraine and Bob became friends with Loren in the context of co-ministry and church life. The Theetges were credited as the first people to hear and encourage Loren’s vision of young people in missions. According to Richard Theetge, Lorraine and Bob’s son, he was also present with the couple and Loren as they drove from Santa Barbara back to Los Angeles in the Theetges’ car after a church service late in 1960.¹⁰⁶⁹

According to Loren Cunningham and Richard Theetge, after Loren shared his thoughts of youth in missions, Bob’s affirmative response – “Let’s do it!” – sparked the beginning of YWAM.¹⁰⁷⁰ Offering their practical, financial, and administrative support, Lorraine and Bob helped Loren convert his bedroom into YWAM’s first office. They purchased a daybed for him so he could have space for a desk and helped with the physical work of getting things set up.¹⁰⁷¹ After YWAM’s work outgrew Loren’s bedroom, the Theetges found, secured, and funded YWAM’s second office in the upstairs of a two-story house

¹⁰⁶⁷ Theetge, interview.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Cunningham, interview part 1.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 38. Richard Theetge is not traditionally acknowledged as being a part of this conversation, but according to his memory, he was sitting in the back seat of the car with Loren when Bob and Lorraine were driving them all home from church. It was then that Loren shared his vision for youth in mission and his frustration with the limited opportunities that young people had to serve God. Thus, while Bob and Lorraine were active participants in getting YWAM started with Loren, Richard was also present and part of this process. Theetge, interview.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 38; Theetge, interview.

¹⁰⁷¹ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 39. Loren needed a smaller bed so that he could fit a desk in his room. The used typewriter and mimeograph machine were stationed in the Cunningham’s garage. It is important to note that Bob Theetge became one of YWAM’s first members of its Board of Directors.

owned by Lake Avenue Congregational Church in Pasadena.¹⁰⁷² Bob was one of the founding members of YWAM's Board of Directors and their personal friendship continued beyond their years of partnering in ministry together. To express their gratitude to the Theetges, Loren and Darlene Cunningham took Lorraine and Bob on an "Around-the-World" trip in the late 1960.¹⁰⁷³ As Loren noted in a 2022 interview, they never did that with any other couple in the history of YWAM.¹⁰⁷⁴

A hard-working and practical woman, Lorraine found expression for her own vision for world missions through Loren's idea of YWAM.¹⁰⁷⁵ From the beginning, Lorraine started working for Loren and YWAM without pay.¹⁰⁷⁶ Her central role in the YWAM office continued at least until 1964, when according to YWAM's newsletter *Advance*, she was identified as YWAM's "personnel director" who, "works closely with Director Loren Cunningham in the placing of qualified young people on the mission

¹⁰⁷² Cunningham, interview part 2; Theetge, interview. Loren credits the Theetges with finding and funding the second office. Richard recalls helping move the office desk into the second story house, which was beside Lake Av. Congregational Church in Pasadena. Richard noted that his parents started to attend Lake Av. Church for a time.

¹⁰⁷³ Cunningham, interview part 1. Loren noted that he and Darlene took the Theetges on an "around-the-world" trip in 1967. Loren noted that they never did this with any other couple, but it acted as a "thank you" for all they had done for them and YWAM. The date is not confirmed, as a photo that Richard Theetge has of them in Jerusalem is dated 1969. Photo of Loren Cunningham, Lorraine Theetge and Bob Theetge in Jerusalem, April 1969, Richard Theetge Personal Collection.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Cunningham, interview part 1. In addition to their close friendship with the Cunninghams, the Theetges were instrumental in Sally and Floyd McClung's early life and ministry. Lorraine helped Sally (Claiborne) McClung plan her wedding to Floyd McClung, the event took place on June 3, 1967. Bob Theetge walked Sally down the aisle. Sally McClung, email to Allison Kach-Yawnghe, January 27, 2024.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Theetge, interview. Richard noted that before Loren had his idea, the Theetges were strong mission supporters and they often hosted missionaries in their home.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 40.

fields of the world.”¹⁰⁷⁷ Lorraine ensured communication was flowing to and from church leaders, ministry partners, and YWAM workers already scattered around the world. Essentially, Lorraine did the work of secretary, office manager, and personal assistant without any formal education.¹⁰⁷⁸ She used her relational networks and knowledge of the Assemblies of God mission needs to direct promising YWAM applicants to felt needs in the mission field.

In the case of Nina Gonzales, a young Spanish woman who had recently graduated from the Latin American Bible Institute and was seeking a missionary placement with YWAM, Lorraine was the woman in charge. Through her AG women’s mission and prayer groups she discovered that the Newaka School in Liberia was in need of a new teacher. Lorraine saw Nina’s application to YWAM’s Vocational Volunteers and knew that she would be the perfect candidate.¹⁰⁷⁹ Thus, Lorraine’s involvement in the broader AG women’s mission and ministry networks allowed her to bridge YWAM’s budding ministry opportunities to a young female constituency that Loren Cunningham may not have had full access to. Along with the relational dimensions of her role, Lorraine helped Loren with the arduous office tasks of typing, filing, answering telephones, managing correspondence, maintaining the mailing list, fulfilling mail-outs,

¹⁰⁷⁷ “The Nina Gonzales Story.” Lorraine’s involvement lasted much longer than 1964, however. The YWAM board/staff conference minutes in the late 60s or early 70s list her and Mrs. Overton as having prepared the food for the meetings and indicating that she was still very involved, just not managing the office.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Cunningham, interview part 2. Loren stated that Lorraine was YWAM’s “Human Resource Director,” although in the time period the title quoted in the text above “personnel director” was used.

¹⁰⁷⁹ “The Nina Gonzales Story.” Richard Theetge estimates that his mother worked in the YWAM office at least for five years, but possibly for 10 years. He could not give an exact date, but was certain it was at least for five years. Theetge, interview.

keeping Loren's calendar, and managing the budget.¹⁰⁸⁰ Because Loren was often travelling, Lorraine was the front facing figure when young people called or wrote letters to YWAM.

Lorraine was not alone in the vital work in the YWAM office. She was assisted by a long list of volunteer secretaries and office helpers that started with an older woman, Mrs. Myrtle Overton.¹⁰⁸¹ Myrtle not only volunteered with YWAM, but she also led a team of other "elderly" women volunteers whom she mobilized to help with YWAM's mass mailings.¹⁰⁸² Mrs. Overton and her team were present to fold, stuff, address, and stamp envelopes helping with the flow of information to churches and young people all over the US.¹⁰⁸³ In an organization where most of the staff were itinerating or travelling the world and Lorraine Theetge was focused on personnel, Mrs. Overton was present to

¹⁰⁸⁰ Lorraine's work would have required a college degree in most other contexts. As a full-time volunteer, formal qualifications were not required although her lack of credentials in no way diminish the importance and professionalism of her work. See Elizabeth Oelrich, "The Position of the Female Secretary in the United States from 1900 Through 1967: An Historical Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Dakota, 1968), 234, <https://commons.und.edu/theses/3710>. Oelrich describes the role of secretaries by 1960 and her descriptions encapsulate Lorraine's role, although without the formal educational requirements, job descriptions, and pay.

¹⁰⁸¹ While a birthdate and age of Mrs. Myrtle Overton has yet to be discovered, some early YWAM participants estimate that she was in her 50s or 60s. As Janice Rogers noted in a conversation with the author, she remembers Mrs. Overton as being so old, but it was likely because she was so young. Rogers and Rogers, interview.

¹⁰⁸² It is important to note that the definition of "elderly" to a youth organization carries nuance. While Myrtle Overton's age during her time volunteering with YWAM is not known, it is likely that she was not in fact "elderly" but just older.

¹⁰⁸³ Cunningham, interview part 1. Loren recalled Mrs. Overton as having a group of elderly women volunteer to help in the office during mailings. See also Poulsen, "YWAM & UofN's Timeline," Poulsen's timeline lists "Mrs. Overton as YWAM's first secretary." See also Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 45. In 1962 when Loren spoke at Ed Scratch's church, he recounted that he told Darlene that YWAM had ten volunteers and two staff – Lorraine Theetge and Myrtle Overton.

answer the phone, however feeble she may have sounded to the young people seeking more information about the mission.¹⁰⁸⁴

The Convergence: YWAM Women in 1963

Darlene (Scratch) Cunningham is acknowledged as YWAM's co-founder alongside her husband, Loren. Her addition to YWAM as a capable nurse with a missionary calling and as Loren's wife and partner in leading YWAM shaped it in distinct ways in and after 1963. Darlene, daughter of Enid and Ed Scratch, came from a long line of pentecostal ministers and missionaries. In marrying Loren Cunningham, she brought a wealth of pentecostal and missionary pedigree into their work that greatly expanded YWAM's networks and loyal supporters. Darlene had originally applied to YWAM to be sent as a missionary nurse for one to two years as a Vocational Volunteer. Her marriage to Loren Cunningham altered her temporary plans to a lifetime of missionary service.¹⁰⁸⁵ After Darlene entered into Loren's life, his other female supports remained intact but room was made for Darlene to become the in-coming co-leader of YWAM after 1963. Before looking at Darlene's unique contribution to YWAM,

¹⁰⁸⁴ Janice (Cunningham) Rogers, interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, April 22, 2023, video recording. Janice Rogers commented on how funny it was to make a call to the YWAM office and have an elderly voice, Mrs. Overton, answer the phone.

¹⁰⁸⁵ At the time of writing this dissertation, Darlene Cunningham survives Loren and acts as the most senior leader alive in the mission today.

however, it is appropriate to include a biographical sketch of the woman who nurtured and supported her – her mother.¹⁰⁸⁶

Enid (Morris) Scratch

Born and raised in Mountain Ash, Wales, Enid Morris emigrated to Canada with her mother and two siblings when she was 12 years old in 1926.¹⁰⁸⁷ Enid's father had died in 1920 leaving her mother a widow with four children. Ivor, the eldest Morris child, had left for Canada in 1925.¹⁰⁸⁸ He made a way for the entire family to immigrate and Enid's mother sold their home and moved herself and her three youngest children to Grand Forks, British Columbia, to join him, and their family friends, the Prices. An essential factor in the Morris family's new life in Canada was the "store front church" that Uncle and Aunt Price attended. In her autobiographical book, Enid describes her family as "church going" Anglicans before their move to Canada. Consequently, their geographic migration to the "Canadian wild west" also meant a departure from the state church of their home country. In their Grand Forks store front church, they heard new and challenging teachings from pioneering pentecostal Pastor J.E. Barnes.¹⁰⁸⁹ Encouraged

¹⁰⁸⁶ A more detailed exploration of Darlene's family background and religious history is included in Chapter 2. See also Appendices C and D.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, v.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 52.

¹⁰⁸⁹ "District History," PAOC BC & Yukon District, accessed April 21, 2023, <https://www.bc.paoc.org/district-information/pages/district-history>. "Reverend J.E. Barnes was District Superintendent for the conferences of 1930 through 1935. Brother Barnes formed an evangelistic team holding crusades and as a result many churches in British Columbia, including churches in Fernie, Kimberly, Kelowna, Merritt, Kamloops, Port Alberni, Salmon Arm, and Grand Forks were formed." It is important to note that the western provinces of Canada joined the Assemblies of God from 1919-1924, but

to fully follow the Lord and to seek the Holy Spirit, the entire family had “asked Jesus to be our personal savior” after just one month of attendance.¹⁰⁹⁰ While she did not know it at the time, Enid and her family had been swept up in the fervor of early pentecostalism as it spread across Canada. Their Christian faith, rooted in Anglicanism and “the Golden Rule,” took on new expression in rural Canada.¹⁰⁹¹

Enid joined the early pentecostal movement in rural British Columbia and, as a consequence of her family obligations, became an active participant. She came of age during the Great Depression and her hopes and plans to go to university to become a teacher proved futile. There were no teaching jobs and no money to pay for her schooling.¹⁰⁹² Instead of attending Normal School, and to her frustration, her mother sent her to help her sister, Olive, in Merritt, British Columbia. Before the Depression, Olive had gone to the country’s first pentecostal Bible College in Winnipeg founded in 1925 by former Anglican turned pentecostal, John Eustace Purdie.¹⁰⁹³ Like her fellow students

many left the AG and joined the PAOC after 1924. The records of the Scratch family indicate that by the time they were in pastoral leadership, or as in Clare Scratch’s case district leadership, they were working under the administration of the PAOC. For a more detailed treatment of the Scratch family history, see Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, vi.

¹⁰⁹¹ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, vi. For histories and context of the early pentecostal movement in Canada, see also Rudd, *When the Spirit Came upon Them*; Thomas William Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Mississauga, ON: Full Gospel Pub. House, 1994); Gloria Grace Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada*, ed. Walter E. McAlister (Toronto: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958); George A. Rawlyk, *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997).

¹⁰⁹² Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 101.

¹⁰⁹³ The first name of the school was Central Canadian Bible Institute, but by 1927 its name changed to Canadian Pentecostal Bible College. From its founding, the College was intended to be a temporary ministerial training facility for new pentecostal ministers in Canada. Until the early to mid-1930s, however, it was the only vocational training school of its kind before similar Bible Colleges were founded in Toronto and Edmonton. For a detailed history of Purdie and the College, see Ross, “James Eustace Purdie.”

being trained for pentecostal ministry, Olive worked at some churches in her home district before meeting and marrying Ernie North. After marriage, the Norths pioneered a new church in Merritt, British Columbia, and Enid was sent to help them prepare for the arrival of their first baby, expected in November of 1931.¹⁰⁹⁴ By default, she also helped Olive and Ernie evangelize Merritt and start a new church.

Enid's writings vividly described the challenges of pioneering the church in Merritt. Enid, Olive, and Ernie maintained a full schedule of ministry. They preached on the street on Saturdays, held Sunday services, did visitation during the week, hosted children's church on Friday afternoons, and led a youth service on Friday evenings.¹⁰⁹⁵ Enid led the children's church, preached for the youth services, and she and Olive led the music and song on Sunday mornings.¹⁰⁹⁶ All of the work was done "by faith" – none of them received a salary or income outside of the free will offerings people gave them. They believed that God would provide for them because he had called them to do God's ministry of preaching. Their work was to be faithful to keep up the ministry and to live as economically as possible. As "faith" pioneers of a new church, they lived off what the church members could give, which included fresh produce, canned goods, butter, and eggs.¹⁰⁹⁷ After a short time in Merritt, the family ministry team moved on to start a new

¹⁰⁹⁴ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 101.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 103.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 103.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 104.

church in Cranbrook, British Columbia.¹⁰⁹⁸ In Cranbrook, Enid became acquainted with a travelling evangelist friend of her sister's, Ed Scratch.

Ed came from a family of pentecostal pioneers who had planted churches all over Western Canada.¹⁰⁹⁹ Ed's early ministry included assisting his parents in their pastorates in Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia before he began holding his own revival meetings. In 1933, Ernie and Olive North invited Ed to preach at series of meetings at their church in Cranbrook.¹¹⁰⁰ Through ministering together and staying in the same flat with the Norths, Enid and Ed became friends. After the Cranbrook meetings ended, Ed was appointed as a PAOC pastor in Fernie, British Columbia, only a short train ride from Cranbrook. The proximity allowed Ed and Enid's friendship to continue, although his post didn't last long.

On an itineration trip to Saskatchewan, Ed stopped at a pentecostal church in Drumheller, Alberta, and preached a series of meetings. During Ed's meetings, the pastors, Vera Coulter and Alice Richardson, felt God instruct them to move on and elect Ed as the new pastor.¹¹⁰¹ The two female evangelists resigned and the church elected Ed

¹⁰⁹⁸ The church planting ministry of young couples like Olive and Ernie North was directly connected to the oversight of their mentors and leaders, in their case John Barnes. The likelihood that Barnes directed them to move on to Cranbrook is likely, although it is very possible that they felt God led them to move on and were supported in this move of faith by Barnes.

¹⁰⁹⁹ A more detailed history of Ed Scratch's family and ministry can be found in Chapter 2. Alfred Scratch, "Application Blank for Ordination Certificate"; "Biography of Clare Scratch"; "Clare Scratch, 1902-1974."

¹¹⁰⁰ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 115.

¹¹⁰¹ This example of Ed being appointed a new pastor of the Drumheller church after preaching some meetings offers insight into the transient nature of the early pentecostal movement in Western Canada. Pastors went where they felt God was leading them and there was little formal administrative structure to dictate such decisions. Ed's pastoral posts were short lived.

as their new pastor.¹¹⁰² Enid and Ed stayed in touch, became engaged, and planned their wedding by correspondence during the months of 1933. They were married on November 14, 1933, in Calgary, Alberta.¹¹⁰³ After their wedding, Enid returned to Drumheller with Ed and they began their pastoral ministry together. Ed received his ordination at the 1934 Alberta District Council of the PAOC and Enid received her papers as a Deaconess.¹¹⁰⁴

Enid and Ed Scratch's pastoral ministry continued until Ed's death in 1991.¹¹⁰⁵ While in Canada they pastored a PAOC church in Abbotsford, British Columbia, before transferring their credentials to the Assemblies of God in the US. South of the border, they pastored AG churches in Olympia, Washington; Akron, Ohio; Redwood City, California; and Bellevue, Washington.¹¹⁰⁶ Their daughter, Darlene, was born in Abbotsford on January 5, 1939, and was raised as a part of her parents' ministry team until she graduated high school in Redwood City and went to study nursing.¹¹⁰⁷ Enid's presence and example shaped Darlene's generosity and orientation to serve others. In her book, Darlene recounted an experience she had at age six when Enid asked Darlene to

¹¹⁰² Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 117.

¹¹⁰³ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 124. Enid and Ed were married at Clare Scratch's PAOC church in Calgary because Clare could not take holidays from his pastorate. The reason they chose this church was to ensure that Ed's family could be present. Enid's sister Olive

¹¹⁰⁴ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 138. See also "Deceased Ministers – Scratch, Eddie Reid," Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center Archives, Secretariat – Executive Files at 75/5/3, accessed April 27, 2023. This file contains Ed's ordination application and lists the date of his ordination as 8/19/34. This document confirms Enid's dating and account, although it is important to note that before transferring to the AG in the US, Ed and Enid held their credentials with the PAOC in Canada.

¹¹⁰⁵ "Deceased Ministers --Scratch, Eddie Reid."

¹¹⁰⁶ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 158, 162. There is some discrepancy between Enid and Darlene's dates and recollection of Darlene's age at some of these moves. Enid wrote that Darlene was 15 when they moved to Akron, but Darlene wrote that she was 13 in *Values Matter*, 22.

¹¹⁰⁷ Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 20. Darlene notes how her parents included her in their ministry of pastoring and serving people from early on.

give her favorite record to the daughter of a missionary to Africa visiting their church.¹¹⁰⁸

Darlene described her mother as available and full of inspiring stories of family and friends serving in missions and ministry. Enid modeled a life of relationship with Christ and faithful ministry service.

In 1962, Enid and Ed Scratch were instrumental in hosting Loren Cunningham as a guest speaker, sparking the beginning of relationships and YWAM partnership in their own life and that of their church up until they retired. Enid and Ed attended the first YWAM Crossroads Discipleship Training School in Kailua-Kona in 1979. Meant for older adults in the middle of their lives, Enid became a student in the very mission she and her husband supported and helped develop through their parental and pastoral roles. After Ed passed away, Enid continued to serve the mission as a guest speaker and through pastoral care as she travelled with Darlene and Loren to international YWAM events and mission training schools. Enid was a part of YWAM until her death, affectionately becoming known to younger YWAM members as “Mama Dar.”

Darlene (Scratch) Cunningham

The only child of Ed and Enid Scratch, Darlene grew up involved in her parents’ pastoral ministry and inspired by the missionary service of her Uncle Clare and Aunt Lorraine Scratch.¹¹⁰⁹ Her exposure to YWAM and early involvement took place in 1962 during Loren Cunningham’s preaching visit to the Scratch’s church in Redwood City,

¹¹⁰⁸ Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 20.

¹¹⁰⁹ “Clare Scratch, 1902-1974.”

California. Having just graduated from St. Francis School of Nursing, Darlene was trying to reconcile her desires to fulfill the missionary calling she had received as a nine-year-old at summer camp with a romantic relationship with a young man that wasn't willing to leave the United States.¹¹¹⁰

Darlene first heard Loren share his vision of young people in missions over a Sunday lunch hosted by her parents. Her intrigue and attraction to the thought of serving as a YWAM missionary grew throughout the day and after hearing Loren preach at the evening service. She talked with Loren's team of recently returned Vocational Volunteers Dallas Moore, Larry Hendricks, and two young women.¹¹¹¹ After the service, Darlene and her nursing friend, Brownie, took YWAM applications. Darlene pursued the process to become a Vocational Volunteer in Africa. She went through the "face-to-face interview with a panel of pastors and Christian leaders," who decided that she was fit to serve.¹¹¹² The events of Darlene's acceptance into YWAM were altered by her and Loren's growing friendship and affection that led to them getting engaged on January 5, 1963, and married on June 14, 1963.

Darlene (Scratch) Cunningham's influence on YWAM from 1963 forward was profound. The wife of the founder and visionary, Darlene became Loren's ministry partner in mission evangelism and youth mobilization. Not a preacher, music minister, or

¹¹¹⁰ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 53. Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 23. Darlene was in a serious dating relationship when she first heard about YWAM.

¹¹¹¹ Scratch, *The Worldwide Wanderings*, 9. The names of the two young women are not recorded, but were likely included Bonnie Reese and Emily and/or Elaine Foster. These young women were among the first to join YWAM's VVs.

¹¹¹² Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 25.

Bible College graduate herself, Darlene was content to support Loren and work behind the scenes. Her pragmatic disposition and medical training meant that she offered logistical and practical skills YWAM needed to plan and implement its first international evangelistic campaign during the 1964 Summer of Service. In her own words, Darlene recalled her role in YWAM from 1963 on:

Maybe I couldn't see the vision of the waves of young people in the same way Loren did. Still, I could see what they needed to have when they landed on the shores of nations – food, housing, spiritual and cultural equipping, and so on – all the practical things needed to support the ministry.¹¹¹³

As YWAM's ministry expanded beyond itineration, Domestic Crusades, Vocational Volunteers, and Summers of Service, Darlene's role also changed. With the arrival of their first child, Darlene became the first YWAM worker to give birth and become a new mother in the mission. While there were married women with children already working with YWAM by 1967 – Heidi Breitzkreuz and Shirley Alman – Darlene and Loren modeled the same family ministry of inclusion with which they were both raised.¹¹¹⁴ Karen Cunningham simply became another member of the Cunningham family's YWAM ministry. When Karen was around two years old, however, Darlene recognized her need to stay home more to appropriately care for their daughter. The

¹¹¹³ Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 28. The First YWAM Cookbook, compiled by Darlene, was meant for Summers of Service teams and reflected an attempt to help young people get the nutrition they needed on a shoe-string budget. See YWAM Cookbook.

¹¹¹⁴ It is important to note that there were families ministering full-time in YWAM before Darlene gave birth to their first child. A difference between the Alamans and Breitzkreuzes and the Cunninghams was that the latter two families had older children who were school age. This fact meant that during the SOE or other evangelistic work, the children were enrolled in school and both parents could participate in the YWAM ministry like a full-time job. For Darlene and Loren, however, having a baby, then toddler and another baby meant that one of them needed to tend to the children in their infancy while also learning how to maintain a sustainable presence in the ministry.

Cunninghams increased family demands coincided with YWAM's first School of Evangelism in Switzerland. With Darlene and Karen staying "home," Darlene also became the consistent presence in Lausanne when the teams would travel to evangelize for short or long periods. Darlene recounted how she struggled emotionally and logistically to keep up with the work that fell to her as the only adult left at their Swiss "home base."¹¹¹⁵ During the years of having a young family in ministry, Darlene learned more about the ministry of hospitality as the task of hosting students, guest speakers, and interested guests was left to her as the one at home.¹¹¹⁶

By the close of 1970, Darlene was shaping YWAM through her partnership with Loren, ability to relate with the young people, expansive behind the scenes work, and budding ministry of hospitality. At the same time, Darlene was discovering how to raise a family in a mobile, transient, youth mission while still being a leader and co-founder. Her contribution to YWAM and its vision and values during the years with small and growing children incorporated mission methods that sought to transmit faith through the domestic

¹¹¹⁵ Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 145-46.

¹¹¹⁶ Much of Darlene's understanding of Christian hospitality came from her and Loren's visits to the Evangelical Sisterhood of Mary in Darmstadt, Germany. Her experiences with the Sisters took place after the period of this study. See Cunningham, Gauslin, and Lambert, *Values Matter*, 146-8. Historically, it has been women in Christian mission who have used the act of hospitality as a means of mission. Interestingly, when Darlene Cunningham became more bound to the home through raising a young child, she personally discovered this ministry that had been accessed by women in missions for centuries, as she learned from the Evangelical Sisterhood of Mary. See Dana Lee Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion*, Blackwell Brief Histories of Religion (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 138-41. YWAM's shift to embrace and develop hospitality as a part of their values and mission is a direct correlation to its female members marrying and having children. YWAM women who were married with children found ways to continue to minister and contribute value to the Mission. It is not surprise that those ways followed historical contours of mission methods tried and tested by generations of intercultural female missionaries.

sphere.¹¹¹⁷ Many young women followed Darlene in having children in YWAM, leading to later developments of YWAM's mission expanding beyond youth into the areas of hospitality, family ministries, YWAM's King's Kids, and preschool education.¹¹¹⁸

The Infrastructure: YWAM Women from 1964 to 1968

YWAM's early days and years were upheld by the prayer, encouragement, finances, friendship, and willing volunteer work of a number of individuals. While some of these first supporters and volunteers were male friends of Loren Cunningham from Bible College or ministry, many of them were women – single, married, young, and old. From Bob and Lorraine Theetges' original affirmation of Loren's vision for youth missions to the daily running of the YWAM office in its various Southern California locations, YWAM was powered by willing women who often worked behind the scenes.¹¹¹⁹ Loren's vast network of Assemblies of God friends, fellow ministers, and

¹¹¹⁷ Dana Lee Robert, "The 'Christian Home' as a Cornerstone of Missionary Thought and Practice," in *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914*, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 134–65. In YWAM's case, the "Christian home," was a more communal and porous model than the historic examples Robert names from the late twentieth century, but the principle and centrality of translating the domestic life into ministry and mission opportunities are central to documenting and interpreting Darlene Cunningham's role as YWAM's co-founder in these years.

¹¹¹⁸ Cunningham and Gauslin, "YWAM Founders' History Time Line," 3. King's Kids was founded in 1976 by Dale and Carole Kauffman during their YWAM training school in Kailua-Kona, Hawaii. "History," King's Kids International, accessed December 6, 2024, <https://kki.global/who-we-are/history/>. King's Kids focus on children is closely connected to the work of Family Ministries that offers training on at-risk children, family systems, relational models, etc. These sources do not specifically mention the founding of YWAM Family Ministries, which is its own entity and specialized ministry in YWAM. To date, this author cannot find a documented start date to Family Ministries.

¹¹¹⁹ YWAM women, like women in historic and contemporary mission studies, were seen as "occupying supportive roles and their work credited to that of a male supervisor." Dzubinski, "Portrayal vs. Practice," 79. The YWAM office started out in Loren Cunningham's bedroom and then moved to various church buildings in Pasadena, Burbank, and Anaheim.

Christ Ambassador's leaders unquestionably opened avenues for YWAM to get the word out to youth, form local partnerships, and elicit help from willing church congregants.

Female workers occupied official and unofficial positions in the YWAM office as secretaries, personnel director, public relations director, and managers. Unofficially, many of these women offered their time in prayer for Loren, the YWAM workers, and the work and vision of the Mission. Some of them got paid; but most of them were full-time volunteers like the short list of itinerant YWAM workers travelling the country and globe, speaking at churches and conferences and recruiting young people for YWAM. It was the group of women from this period, with a number of men in their ranks, who faithfully prayed and kept the administrative work of the growing mission moving forward. They built and maintained YWAM's communication network with interested youth, AG pastors, global missionaries, and YWAM volunteers.¹¹²⁰ The women developed YWAM's ministry in such a way as to prepare it to embrace more young people interested in missionary service. Not only did they strengthen YWAM's foundations, but they also fashioned its expanding global infrastructure.

The majority of young people who answered YWAM's call in its first decade were young women from Assemblies of God youth groups (C.A.s) or Bible Colleges.¹¹²¹ They took up Loren's mission challenge and signed up to be mission helpers, local

¹¹²⁰ The men who worked in the office in the early years included Thad Coleman, Nat Olsen, David Ravenhill, and Dick Tennison. Winkey Pratney used the YWAM office at night for writing his *Youth Aflame* manual. Green, interview.

¹¹²¹ The female majority of early YWAMers was nothing abnormal to the history of mission or Christianity. Women have and continue to make up the majority of the world's Christians and the majority of the world's missionary personnel. See Robert, *Christian Mission*, 118; Robert, "World Christianity as a Women's Movement," 180; Zurlo, *Women in World Christianity*, 4.

evangelists, and short-term missionaries during YWAM's "boot camps of faith."¹¹²²

While young women's involvement in YWAM's early programs is clear, the sheer volume of participants and the lack of extant records makes profiling these women challenging especially because the majority of them did not continue with YWAM beyond one week-long or summer campaign. The the majority of the young people who participated in YWAM's Vocational Volunteers, Domestic Crusades, Summers of Service, and School of Evangelism were, like the world Christian movement they were part of, women.¹¹²³

Office Volunteers

Following in the footsteps of Lorraine Theetge and Mrs. Overton, a long list of women developed YWAM through secretarial work and administration.¹¹²⁴ Berniece (Coff) Seigel started with YWAM in 1964 and was serving in the office in the summer of 1965 when Janene and Charlene Senechal sent a letter addressed to her.¹¹²⁵ Millie Gerhart, who had gone to the Las Vegas crusade in 1965, started volunteering in the

¹¹²² Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 55.

¹¹²³ Robert, "World Christianity," 180; Zurlo, *Women in World Christianity*, 4. This section draws on the oral histories of some of YWAM's first participants and the extant archival records and personal papers that document young women's names and testimonies in YWAM promotional materials. It must be stated, however, that the list of women's names and statistics is vastly incomplete.

¹¹²⁴ Like YWAM's vision to mobilize untrained youth into foreign mission, their office volunteers were also untrained, often lacking the formal education increasingly required for secretarial and administrative work in during the long 1960s. For a history of the increasing educational requirements for secretaries in the period, see Oelrich, "The Position of the Female Secretary in the United States," 234.

¹¹²⁵ Typescript of Report from Hong Kong by Janene and Charlene Senechal, July 1965, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives; Berniece Coff Siegel, *Walking with God in the Heights* (Xulon Press, 2001), 13.

office with her husband, Rod, in 1965.¹¹²⁶ Then, when Rod Gerhart agreed to lead the Puerto Rico SOS team with Jim Rogers, Millie filled in as YWAM's part-time secretary during the summer of 1965 when the "regular office staff are busy with the Summer of Service crusades in Mexico, Samoa, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands."¹¹²⁷ Corbetta Sue Crace served as YWAM secretary for 4 months from approximately March to June, 1966. She formally resigned by letter to the YWAM board on June 21, 1966.¹¹²⁸

Throughout the long 1960s, the roles of women were rapidly changing and the young women of the YWAM office reflect increasing social agency.¹¹²⁹ After participating in the 1965 Summer of Service to Samoa and the 1966 Summer of Service to Jamaica, Sally (Claibourne) McClung turned down Loren's invitation to her to move to Pasadena and work as the YWAM secretary. Instead, her plan was to go to Southern California College (SCC), now Vanguard University, in the fall of 1966. After she made the move from Galveston, Texas, to Irvine, California, she "didn't have peace" with her

¹¹²⁶ Rod Gerhart, *Autobiography - Unpublished*, n.d., 182–86. It is very interesting to note that Millie Gerhart was a young wife and mother when she attended her first YWAM domestic crusade in Las Vegas. Her young husband stayed home to take care of their baby and Millie went to the crusade alone. It was her excitement after the evangelism training and practice that led to the Gerharts becoming YWAM volunteers, although they were never considered YWAMers because they only volunteered parttime.

¹¹²⁷ Millie Gerhart to Miss Joan Bishop, August 16, 1965, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

¹¹²⁸ Corbetta Sue Crace to The Youth With A Mission Board, June 11, 1966, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

¹¹²⁹ Through the influence of Second Wave Feminism, roles of women in western society were changing and being challenged through women asserting their agency and independence outside of male authority and the traditional family. The young women in YWAM, who represent a demographic of pentecostal young women, were navigating their responses to feminism and their faith commitments. For many of these YWAM young women, whether they espoused feminism or not, they benefited from the advances of second wave feminism. An excellent example of the ambiguity between evangelical women in ministry and feminism is the research conducted by Dr. Melody Maxwell. See Maxwell, "Faithfully Feminist."

decision. She made a telephone call to Loren and Darlene and moved to Pasadena to start working in the YWAM office.¹¹³⁰ Sally remained full-time in the office while her boyfriend and fiancé, Floyd McClung, finished his degree at SCC. They were married in June 1967 and Sally's role in the YWAM office morphed into full-time itinerant ministry with Floyd as the Caribbean Area Directors.

Shirley Alman took up the role of full-time office manager and secretary when she, her husband Wedge, and family moved to California in 1967. Shirley gave a permanence to the YWAM office, as her tenure lasted until 1972 when the Almans moved to direct YWAM in Central and South America.¹¹³¹ Under Shirley's leadership, the YWAM office stabilized with the addition of Martha (Marti) DeFebbo (Green) who had been invited to join the staff team by Sally and Floyd McClung on Marti's Summer of Service to Jamaica in 1967.¹¹³² Moving from New Jersey, Marti joined Shirley late in 1967 and worked with her until she moved to Switzerland to attend the second School of Evangelism late in 1969.¹¹³³ David and Nancy Ravenhill joined the YWAM office team after moving back to the US from New Zealand in 1968.¹¹³⁴ These four, with the

¹¹³⁰ Sally McClung, email to Allison Kach, January 28, 2021.

¹¹³¹ Alman, *He's Your God, Too!*, 65; Alman, interview; Typescript of Special Memo to All Staff by Darlene Cunningham, 1967, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

¹¹³² Green, interview; Martha DeFebbo to Mutual Life Insurance Co., April 30, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

¹¹³³ Green, interview. Marti DeFebbo had been a member, with her family, of Leland Paris' AG church in Hammonton, NJ.

¹¹³⁴ Loren Cunningham to Mr. David Ravenhill, November 30, 1967, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. The Ravenhill's outlasted Marti and Shirley, staying long past the years covered in this early history. Another office staff, Dick Tennison, is present in the archival materials for 1970-1971. It is important to note that there were men volunteering in the office throughout YWAM's early history. Still, from the archival records, the communication from the male office volunteers often reads with more force and direction than that of the women.

assistance of temporary office staff that included Katheryn Van Duzee and Doddi (Diane) Kelly, marked a period of consistency and stability for the YWAM office as it moved from Pasadena to Anaheim in 1967 and then from Anaheim to Burbank 1971.¹¹³⁵ These women – Lorraine, Myrtle, Millie, Sally, Berniece, Corbetta, Shirley, Marti, Nancy, Katheryn, and Doddi – and the many unnamed women like them served behind the scenes. They sustained and steadied YWAM’s administrative function during these years full of change, physical moves, and international expansion and it is vital to recognize that their work played a significant role in the Mission’s development, even if forgotten or taken for granted.¹¹³⁶

Ruth Ellen Marshall Wilson: YWAM Author, Editor, and Historian ¹¹³⁷

Another constant female presence who shaped YWAM in its early years was Ruth Marshall Wilson. Wilson’s service to YWAM singlehandedly advanced YWAM’s media exposure, developed its public relations, and laid a foundation for YWAM’s future in publishing. Ruth’s involvement with YWAM began informally in 1962 when Loren Cunningham spoke at a youth meeting led by Ruth’s husband, Noel, in Redwood City,

¹¹³⁵ Katheryn Van Duzee to Mr. Kenneth Olsen, June 18, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives; Denny Gunderson, interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, May 20, 2022, Seattle, WA; Cunningham, interview part 1; Claude & Wilma Rediger to Loren and Darlene, May 11, 1971, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. In Claude’s letter, he mentions that he will send a carbon copy of the letter sent to Switzerland to the office in Burbank. While this is not an exact date of the move, it does indicate that YWAM’s office was in Burbank by May of 1971.

¹¹³⁶ Dzubinski, “Portrayal vs. Practice,” 82.

¹¹³⁷ Ruth Wilson used a number of pennames and thus can be traced in the archival materials under R. Marshall Wilson, Ruth E. Wilson, or Ruth M. Wilson. The author has chosen to name her with her full name, as used by her husband Noel for the eulogy at her memorial – Ruth Ellen Marshall Wilson.

California.¹¹³⁸ Ruth was born and raised in a pentecostal family connected to Alice Luce’s Manhattan Beach church in Inglewood, California.¹¹³⁹ After high school and working as a nanny, she enrolled at Bethany Bible College to work towards fulfilling her calling as a missionary.¹¹⁴⁰ During her studies, she met and became friends with Noel Wilson who was a year her junior.¹¹⁴¹ Ruth graduated and worked as the “first full time PR Person for Bethany” and she and Noel married after he completed his degree.¹¹⁴² Noel began his work as an assistant pastor and Ruth got a job as the secretary for the assistant librarian of the University of California – Berkeley.¹¹⁴³ After a number of pastoral positions, the Wilsons moved north to Redwood City to work with Ed and Enid Scratch. They were serving as the youth and music directors for Pastor Ed Scratch the first time Loren Cunningham came through to preach in 1962.

¹¹³⁸ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 49.

¹¹³⁹ Noel Wilson, “Ruth Ellen Marshall Wilson,” 2007, Noel Wilson Personal Papers. This document is the eulogy Noel wrote for Ruth’s memorial service held on February 22, 2007. Ruth passed away on February 17, 2007. Noel Wilson sent the author his eulogy for Ruth via email on May 1, 2023. It is held in the author’s personal files. For a biography on Alice Luce, renowned AG missionary and the woman who introduced missiologist Roland Allan’s ideas into pentecostalism, see Darrin J. Rodgers, “Alice E. Luce,” *Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center* (blog), June 27, 2024, <https://ifphc.wordpress.com/tag/alice-e-luce/>.

¹¹⁴⁰ Wilson, “Ruth Ellen Marshall Wilson,” 2. Noel recounts in the eulogy that Ruth rejected Noel’s proposal of a first date because “she had a missionary call and I didn’t.” Her determination to resist Noel because of her calling lessened, however, and a year later they returned to their friendship and decided they wanted to marry, which happened after Noel graduated from Bethany.

¹¹⁴¹ Noel is the son of Ruben A. Wilson and Harriet Porter Wilson, licensed ministers and pastors with the Assemblies of God. Five of his six siblings are/were ordained in the Assemblies of God. See <http://oldsite.villagealive.com/NoelWilson.html> . His older brother, Everett Wilson was a pentecostal historian and professor at Vanguard. Everett wrote and published historical pieces with Ruth. <https://scmemorial.com/tribute/details/2499/Everett-Wilson/obituary.html>

¹¹⁴² Wilson, “Ruth Ellen Marshall Wilson,” 2.

¹¹⁴³ Wilson, “Ruth Ellen Marshall Wilson,” 2.

As the youth leaders, Noel and Ruth were intrigued with Loren's vision for young people to be trained and equipped in evangelism and mission. They soon linked up with Loren and YWAM and encouraged their young people to participate in the Domestic Crusades and evangelism training that originally ran through the District's Christ's Ambassadors program.¹¹⁴⁴ As pastors' wives, Ruth developed a close relationship with Enid Scratch that lasted their lifetimes. Ruth and Noel were, therefore, connected to Darlene and Loren through shared ministry and family friendship. Ruth helped decorate the church for Darlene and Loren's wedding.¹¹⁴⁵ Enid helped Ruth prepare her wardrobe for her trip with YWAM to Samoa. Because of their ministry alongside Darlene's parents, Loren and YWAM became a part of their ministry while they remained at Redwood City.

In the mix of youth ministry, personal relationship, and missions, Ruth set out on a writing project that spanned years and produced far more than she intended. As an aspiring author, she had previously published a number of articles in the magazine *Christian Life*. Her new idea was to interview Loren and write an article about him.¹¹⁴⁶ In 1965, Loren met with Ruth for an interview during which he suggested that if she wanted

¹¹⁴⁴ Noel Wilson relayed this information to the author in a personal telephone conversation, May 1, 2023. Typescript of "Youth With A Mission – One' Girl's Story" by Ruth E. Wilson, 1967, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. The "girl" profiled in the story was from Menlo Park, California which neighbors Redwood City. Thus, Doreen Young likely was a youth from Ruth and Noel's youth group who went to YWAM through their influence.

¹¹⁴⁵ Wilson, interview. Noel noted that Enid was a warm and caring person and that she and Ruth had a close relationship.

¹¹⁴⁶ Wilson, interview. Noel noted that Ruth had published a few pieces in the magazine *Christian Life* before getting the idea to write a piece on Loren. Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 3; Seregow, interview. James Seregow noted that Ruth told him that she used the name "R. Marshall Wilson" for the book because she didn't think some people would read it if they knew it was authored by a woman.

to really learn about the vision and mission he had, she should spend a summer travelling with the young people. Ruth was open to Loren's suggestion, being a woman who enjoyed adventure. As Ed Scratch's Youth Minister, Noel was in a unique position and able to get six weeks of unpaid vacation for him and Ruth to travel with the YWAM Summer of Service to Samoa the summer of 1965.

Ruth and Noel followed the group, taking photos, writing notes, and making observations. They documented YWAM and local youth at work sharing the gospel and the results that followed. Furthermore, Ruth became the contact person and collector of testimonies and reports from the Summers of Service and Domestic Crusade teams. Ruth compiled and sent in reports to partner ministries that donated literature for YWAM's evangelist work.¹¹⁴⁷ She also served YWAM through public relations and promotion, "sending articles and photos to interested publications."¹¹⁴⁸ As early as 1968, Ruth noted that they had amassed a large library of black and white photos of "Y-wammers at work, witnessing, etc., plus hundreds of pages of reports of what God is doing through these young people who are going all out for Christ."¹¹⁴⁹ Ruth had ideas for creating a variety of YWAM promotional materials that featured stories from young women and young men that could be sold by YWAM at speaking engagements and special meetings. One such idea was a pamphlet that profiled Doreen Young of Menlo Park, California, and her

¹¹⁴⁷ Wilson, "Youth With a Mission Life's Messengers Literature Report 1967."

¹¹⁴⁸ Ruth E. Wilson to Dan Moe, March 30, 1968, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

¹¹⁴⁹ Wilson to Moe, March 30, 1968.

experience over two Summers of Services in 1966 and 1967. Ruth wanted to help young people learn about YWAM's SOS and be inspired to join.¹¹⁵⁰

Ruth's original plans for a magazine article turned into a six-year long adventure that included joining YWAM young people on multiple Summer of Service trips, visiting YWAM teams in Europe, and corresponding with a range of young people to learn about their experiences. During YWAM's infancy, between 1965 – 1971, Ruth wrote three books, collected a treasury of photos and field reports, edited multiple *Advance* newsletters, and wrote numerous magazine articles on behalf of Loren Cunningham and YWAM. It was Ruth Wilson who wrote the first iterations of YWAM's history through her first photo book in 1966, *Journal of a Summer*.¹¹⁵¹ Then, in 1969, Ruth and Noel published a second photo book after following YWAM workers around the globe a second time, *Journey with the Followers*. According to Noel Wilson, Logos International approached Loren in 1970 and asked if he would write a book about YWAM. Loren, who was busy running SOEs in Europe and preaching and teaching around the world, referred them to Ruth Wilson. Ruth's narrative approach to writing YWAM's history centered on the young people whose stories are retold in the book's chapters. In 1971, *God's*

¹¹⁵⁰ Typescript of "Youth With A Mission – One' Girl's Story." From the events in the story, the date of this piece is late 1967 or early 1968. Sadly, while these archival records are no longer in known existence, glimpses of the testimonies, reports, and photos are preserved in and through Ruth's published work and extant correspondence.

¹¹⁵¹ Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 3.

Guerillas was published and became the first published account of YWAM's founding and early years.¹¹⁵²

Ruth and Noel Wilson left the pastorate in Redwood City in 1967, but their relationship with Loren and Darlene and YWAM continued beyond their connection to Darlene's parents and their church.¹¹⁵³ Ruth also maintained relationships with the office staff and many of the YWAM youth workers. James Seregow, whose testimony was featured in chapter six of *God's Guerillas*, fondly remembered Ruth's energetic personality and described her admirable work ethic while she was working on the book.¹¹⁵⁴ Ruth interviewed all of the young people featured in the book and after she finished her draft, she asked each young person to read, comment, and edit what she had written. Her desire was to give an accurate depiction and faithfully represent the events and people she was writing about.¹¹⁵⁵

Ruth's investment in the young people and leaders of YWAM through relationship and team work and her contribution to preserving YWAM's history and living memory through her research, documentation, and written work is commendable.

¹¹⁵² It is important to note that this first published book about YWAM's early years is not generally known within YWAM's popular culture. Had it not been for the first cohort of YWAMers that I was able to interview, some of whom are profiled in the book, I would not have easily found it. Some of the people I spoke to intimated that Loren Cunningham did not like the way Ruth portrayed YWAM and therefore did not promote it or embrace it as part of the organization's official founding "canon." Another possibility for YWAM distancing itself from this first book is Ruth and Noel Wilson's steady alliance to the AG and move away from YWAM during theological controversies of the late 1960s.

¹¹⁵³ Ruth gave birth to their first child, Peter, in 1967. The same year they moved to Santa Cruz where Noel taught at Bethany Bible College from 1967-1975. Wilson, interview.

¹¹⁵⁴ Seregow, interview; Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 109.

¹¹⁵⁵ Ruth's commitment to give an accurate history is well-explained in the preface to her book. Equally important are the things that some of the young people remembered about her. She was invested, confident, and friendly.

While she and Noel did not join YWAM as full-time workers, their fingerprints are on the Mission from its early days. By 1971, the Wilsons had started to withdraw from the ministry and relationships of YWAM to continue in their own direction with the Assemblies of God. Noel recalled some aspects of YWAM's theological teaching at the time about which he and Ruth were concerned.¹¹⁵⁶ According to Noel Wilson, their relationship with YWAM came to an end after Noel refused Loren's offer to him to become the full-time music minister on the ship ministry that YWAM developed in the mid-1970s. Sensing a desire to be faithful to his work at Bethany Bible College and concerned with the departure of YWAM's theology from orthodox Assemblies of God doctrine, Noel declined and he and Ruth's involvement with YWAM decreased.¹¹⁵⁷ Ruth's influence on the mission through her writing, publishing, production of promotional material, and storytelling, however, provides a record of the names, faces, and stories of countless young people who were a part of YWAM in its first decade.¹¹⁵⁸

¹¹⁵⁶ The early theological controversies that Noel was referring to have to do with the accusations of heresy linked to Arminian theology. Akimoff and Akimoff, interview #1; Al Akimoff and Carolyn Akimoff, interview #2, Allison Kach, April 17, 2020, video recording & transcript, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection; Robeck, email. As Al Akimoff and Cecil Robeck recounted to this author, there was much disagreement to YWAM's theology among the then mostly Calvinist faculty of Bethany Bible College. Added to this, the denominational split with the AG in 1965 only heated up when accusations were made that Loren Cunningham and other YWAM teachers like Winkey Pratney were preaching heresy. The scrutiny of the theological soundness of Harry Conn and Gordon Olson's teaching on the moral government of God created a stir.

¹¹⁵⁷ Wilson, interview.

¹¹⁵⁸ Ruth's stories are distinctly pentecostal – with an emphasis on healings, salvation, and speaking in tongues. During this author's conversations and oral histories, one person told the author that Loren was not pleased with how the book depicted YWAM and thus later on needed to write his own version of the story. *Is That Really You, God?*, Loren's version of the story is still full of supernatural experiences that many would attribute to pentecostalism, but it is less "Assemblies of God" and more in line with the charismatic movement. Ruth went on to contribute original research and historical works for the Assemblies of God including Wilson, *Southern California Assemblies of God*.

Without Ruth Marshall Wilson's contribution to YWAM, much of the little that remains of its early history would be nonexistent.

Women as Vocational Volunteers

The first group of youth and young adults that YWAM sent to the mission field as early as 1961 were a part of YWAM's first program – Vocational Volunteers. The point of the VVs was to recruit young adults who had some vocational skills and were willing to sign up for short-term service projects to assist missionaries for one to two years.¹¹⁵⁹ As is detailed in Chapter 6, the Vocational Volunteers came about after J. Philip Hogan redirected Loren Cunningham's idea of youth as full missionaries during his visit to present his idea of YWAM to the General Assembly headquarters in Springfield, Missouri in early in 1961.¹¹⁶⁰ As Loren recalled, at the time he presented his idea of young people in missions, older denominational executives saw young people's involvement in evangelization and mission as more of a liability than a benefit.¹¹⁶¹ Rather than reject Loren's idea outright, Hogan tried to harness it so young people could

¹¹⁵⁹ It is interesting to note that while Loren Cunningham had led his first "short-term" trip of youth missions to Hawaii in 1960 with Roy Sapp and the Southern California Christ's Ambassadors, "short-term" was still considered in years rather than in months. This change to the notion of "short-term" was in process during these years, but had not fully emerged. Thus, calling the Vocational Volunteers "short-term" is fitting, for in 1960 anything less than a four-to-five-year mission commitment was short-term. Operation Mobilization (OM) was a pioneer along with YWAM in this method. See Howell, *Short-Term Mission*; Priest, *Effective Engagement in Short-Term Missions*.

¹¹⁶⁰ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 39. While Loren does not list the year in the book, he went after he started sending information out about YWAM from his home office, which took place late in 1960. The meeting in Springfield took place before Loren heard about the needs in Liberia which were met by Dallas and Larry who were on an airplane by July 1961.

¹¹⁶¹ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 39–40. Loren uses stronger words in his description and relays the denominations hesitation to send "thrill-seeking kids" who would only complicate "the worthwhile job the real missionaries were trying to do."

be involved in ministry in a “safe” manner while simultaneously strengthening the Assemblies of God existent mission work. Thus, at the suggestion of the Assemblies of God Department of Foreign Missions Director J. Philip Hogan, Loren and his first associates developed the vision of “Vocational Volunteers” to be paired with existing Assemblies of God missionaries and international ministries that had need of workers.¹¹⁶² Within YWAM’s first few years, they had placed 27 such workers in Liberia, Nigeria, Uganda, Japan, Hong Kong, the Philippines, El Salvador, Western Europe, and the Marshall Islands.¹¹⁶³

Among these 27 young people were 15 young women. Bonnie Rees, from Torrance, California, was the first woman sent as a YWAM Vocational Volunteer in 1961.¹¹⁶⁴ She went to Manila, Philippines, and worked as a secretary with the Far East Broadcasting Company at least into 1962. Next, YWAM sent 21-year-old twin sisters from San Bernardino, California, Emily Foster and Elaine Foster to Tokyo, Japan. The Fosters worked as secretaries with the Far East Broadcasting Company and were there in

¹¹⁶² Cunningham, interview part 1; Wilson, *Strategy of the Spirit : J. Philip Hogan*, 17–19; Darlene (Scratch) Cunningham was one of the first young women who applied to become a YWAM Vocational Volunteer nurse, Darlene’s plans changing after her and Loren began dating and then married in 1963.

¹¹⁶³ List of YWAM Vocational Volunteers, YWAM Kona Archives, Cunningham Personal Papers.

¹¹⁶⁴ Cunningham, “Youth With A Mission,” 4. The article calls Bonnie Rees “the first girl to serve under Youth with a Mission.” Robert, *American Women in Mission*, 189-254. Robert’s chapter, “Women and Independent Evangelical Missions” offers historical analysis of women’s involvement and reception as evangelists in the faith mission movement. While the history of these first Vocational Volunteers comes later than the period Robert researched, the same processes are at play as YWAM was an extension of the holiness and pentecostal impulses that caused faith missions to flourish at the turn of the twenty-first century. Thus, these young YWAM women can be seen in continuation with the women researched in Robert’s seminal work.

1962.¹¹⁶⁵ Nina Gonzales of Cypress, California, taught at the Newaka Elementary School in Liberia.¹¹⁶⁶ Gladys Rose and Marie Nuefeld went to “Upper Volta” as bookkeepers.¹¹⁶⁷ Myrna Sue Wilkins went to Nigeria as a teacher. Janene and Charlene Senechal worked as secretaries with the Far East Broadcasting Company in Hong Kong in 1965.¹¹⁶⁸ Viola Krablin was a teacher in Honolulu, Hawaii, and Marguerite Brenda went as a teacher to Okinawa. Jeanne Beecham, Mauline Mulloy, and Betty Wright went to El Salvador and worked as teacher, secretary, and bookkeeper. And Mrs. Mum, alongside a Mr. Mum, taught in the Marshall Islands.

To date there is sparse record of these women’s backgrounds, the work they did, the ministries and missionaries with whom they worked, or the local people whom they served.¹¹⁶⁹ There are some traces in extant YWAM records and the Assemblies of God’s *C.A. Herald* worth noting. There are a number of direct quotations in published records from some of the female VV workers which offer a small glimpse at their experience and

¹¹⁶⁵ Cunningham, “Youth With A Mission,” 4.

¹¹⁶⁶ “The Nina Gonzales Story,” 2.

¹¹⁶⁷ Photo of ‘Gladys Rose,’ July 1965, Photobook, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Gladys Rose was in Burkina Faso in 1965, as per the date stamp on the photo, but it is unknown if Marie Neufeld was there at the same time. The handwritten document in the YWAM Kona Archives names “Upper Volta” as the location of some Vocational Volunteers. Upper Volta is dated language for what would become known as Burkina Faso.

¹¹⁶⁸ Photo of Our Sunday School Class at New Life Temple, Hong Kong, 1965, by Janice and Charlene Senechal, December 12, 1965, Photobook, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Janice and Charlene Senechal were daughters of the AG evangelist, Charles Senechal. Rev. Senechal was well-known for his evangelistic efforts among children. He also taught in YWAM’s first SOE on the topic of how to evangelize among children.

¹¹⁶⁹ As already mentioned regarding the contribution of YWAM’s own office workers, the invisibility of the type of work these women were doing and their status as women who were supporting male missionaries likely added to the loss of their memory in the Mission. Dzubinski, “Portrayal vs. Practice,” 82. It is important to note that while their roles as secretaries are listed in the records, it was their evangelistic work in their “free time” that gained praise in the *C.A. Herald*.

disposition in their work. There are also some photographs of the women engaged in their work, some published but most unpublished, held in the YWAM Kona Archives. Even though not much is known about the women listed in the archival materials, it is still valuable to know their names, where they served, and the positions they held. Of the 17 known female VVs with the exception of Mrs. Mum, all of them were in their early 20s. YWAM's guidelines stated that applicants must be at least 21 years old and single.¹¹⁷⁰ All of the women had gone through some professional training and were qualified to work as secretaries, teachers, or bookkeepers.¹¹⁷¹

The women who joined in the years before 1965 were connected with the Assemblies of God in general and Christ's Ambassadors in particular. The fact that the *C.A. Herald* published a piece on YWAM's first Vocational Volunteers and claimed them as Christ's Ambassadors demonstrates a significant connection between early YWAM and the Assemblies of God.¹¹⁷² Those who joined after 1965 could have been affiliated with other Christian denominations, but it is likely that they were largely AG. YWAM continued partnering with Christ's Ambassadors in their Domestic Crusades and Assemblies of God young people were recruited for YWAM ministry.¹¹⁷³ Another significant connection was the fact that YWAM volunteers were being placed with

¹¹⁷⁰ The Vocational Volunteer program only took people 21 years of age and single. See Gerhart to Bishop, August 16, 1965, 2; Promotional Flyer 'A Call for You to Serve on Strategic Frontiers Through Youth With A Mission.' There was one exception to the singleness requirement as Mr. and Mrs. Mum went as VVs to the Marshall Islands.

¹¹⁷¹ Promotional Flyer 'A Call for You to Serve on Strategic Frontiers Through Youth With A Mission.'

¹¹⁷² Cunningham, "Youth With A Mission," 5.

¹¹⁷³ Sapp, "Operation New Orleans."

Assemblies of God missionaries and partner ministries around the world. Vocational Volunteers were, from these indicators, serving the vision and goals of Assemblies of God Department of Foreign Mission through the auspices of YWAM. And while the women were engaged in their prescribed work duties, they had the opportunity to serve in evangelism and church ministry and be examples to other young Christians in their foreign locations and back in the United States, as the testimonies of Bonnie Rees, Janene and Charlene Senechal, and Nina Gonzales demonstrate.

Bonnie, Janene, Charlene, and Nina

To date, archival sources have provided insight into four of the 15 female VVs' experiences. All four of the young female VVs corresponded frequently with Lorraine Theetge and the YWAM office staff in Pasadena, who acted as a relational and organizational anchor for these young missionaries. Office records, while sparse from the early years, include a photobook that includes photos of Bonnie Rees, Gladys Rose, Elaine and Emily Foster, and Janene and Charlene Senechal.¹¹⁷⁴ A lone letter exists in YWAM's office records from Janene and Charlene from Hong Kong. Bonnie Rees, the Foster sisters, and Nina Gonzales were featured in YWAM promotional print materials that offer some insight into their experiences.¹¹⁷⁵

¹¹⁷⁴ Photo of Our Sunday School Class at New Life Temple, Hong Kong, 1965, by Janice and Charlene Senechal; Photos of Gladys Rose; Photo of Elaine Foster Serving in Japan, n.d., Photobook, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives; Photo of Emily Foster: Japan, n.d., Photobook, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

¹¹⁷⁵ Elaine and Emily Foster are simply included in a photograph and caption of the *C.A. Herald* that focuses more on the first two male Vocational Volunteers, Dallas Moore and Larry Hendricks.

Hailed as “the first girl to serve under Youth with a Mission,” Bonnie Rees was featured in the *C.A. Herald* in August of 1962 alongside Dallas Moore and Larry Hendricks. Some of Bonnie’s correspondence back to the YWAM office was quoted in the article. According to her letters, she enjoyed the people and culture of the Philippines and participated in an array of evangelistic activities with the local church. Bonnie’s words demonstrate that as a young person serving at in missions, she was active in spreading the gospel in her free time.¹¹⁷⁶ Bonnie’s testimonies acted as an encouragement to other young people wanting to serve in missions. She is quoted as telling students she talked with at the University of Manila, “When you live for God, He uses the talents you already possess. He never asks you to do what you cannot do.”¹¹⁷⁷

Janene and Charlene Senechal were sisters from Southern California and daughters of well-known AG evangelists among children – Charles and Irene Senechal.¹¹⁷⁸ In their report sent to Berniece Coff at the YWAM office dated July 1965, the sisters noted that they were in Hong Kong working with the Far East Broadcasting Company for the second summer. And while they did not offer much commentary about

¹¹⁷⁶ Cunningham, “Youth With A Mission,” 4. This article also features Larry Hendricks and Dallas Moore, the two young men considered YWAM’s first missionaries. They went to Liberia, Africa, in 1961. Both Larry and Dallas are featured in Loren Cunningham’s books and are mentioned in YWAM history, but none of the women are ever mentioned, even though the majority of them stayed longer in their service positions than Larry and Dallas.

¹¹⁷⁷ Cunningham, “Youth With A Mission,” 4.

¹¹⁷⁸ Charles and Irene Senechal were AG evangelists that focused on sharing the gospel message with children. Their ministry consisted of holding children-focused evangelistic campaigns and offering training to other ministers in the AG on how to conduct evangelism geared to children. Charles Senechal was one of YWAM’s first SOE instructors in October 1969. Loren D. Cunningham to Mr. Charles Senechal, January 7, 1969, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives; Edith Armstrong, “Ministering to the Children,” *The Pentecostal Evangel: Weekly Voice of the Assemblies of God*, no. No 2088 (May 16, 1954): 10–11; Typescript of Report from Hong Kong by Janene and Charlene Senechal, July 1965, Cunningham Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives.

their daily work as secretaries or mention that they worked with YWAM, they did detail life, culture, and gospel-need in Hong Kong like any other missionary letter sent to home supporters. Charlene and Janene recounted a recent visit from their father, Charles, and the evangelistic ministry to children that he continued in South Asia. The need for more mission workers in Hong Kong was a constant theme, as they talked about the dire situation in the “Walled City” and the exciting expansion of the Far East Broadcasting Company’s work to Macau. The Senechal sisters’ letter offered a picture of young women dedicated to preaching the gospel through the evangelistic work and international missions of the Assemblies of God. Their role as secretaries is interestingly not mentioned in their letter, although they undoubtedly contributed to valuable work during their “day jobs.”

Nina Gonzales from Cypress, California, is another example of a young woman who gained access to foreign mission work through YWAM’s VVs. Nina’s story is unique in that she was the first Latina/o young person who ventured into missions through YWAM. Her work as a VV also signaled to the presence of thriving Latin American churches in the Assemblies of God in California and their relationship to the YWAM network. Sometime in the spring of 1964, Nina was accepted as a YWAM worker and joined Assemblies of God missionaries Ellen Marie McCormick and Mildren Duncklee as a teacher at Newaka Elementary School in Liberia in July of 1964.¹¹⁷⁹

Little is known about Nina’s background before and life after she served with YWAM. Her story was featured in an edition of YWAM’s newsletter, *Advance*, in

¹¹⁷⁹ “The Nina Gonzales Story,” 2.

August 1964. The article included Nina’s photo and a brief description of her background, alongside Lorraine Theetge’s testimony. Lorraine expressed that Nina was an answer to her prayers for the Newaka missionaries’ need. A recent graduate of the Latin American Bible College, Nina “heard about the need for a teacher in Liberia. She made application. Her qualifications were excellent. She was accepted as a Youth With A Mission team member.”¹¹⁸⁰ The newsletter piece also highlighted the fact that Nina had experienced miracles from God. She was healed from a brain tumor that affected her sight and she miraculously received financial provision for her mission.¹¹⁸¹ By the time of the newsletter’s publication in August of 1964, Nina had only been in Liberia less than one month. She had already written and sent her first letter by airmail to the YWAM office and reported:

The Lord certainly knew what He was doing when He sent this Spanish girl to Africa. I was welcomed enthusiastically – because of my youth and my ‘brown’ skin. The girls here at the school had a hard time trying to decide if I was black or white. You see, I’m the first Spanish person they’ve ever met...¹¹⁸²

Nina’s words, however brief, offer insight into her intercultural and intergenerational experience serving as a YWAM Vocational Volunteer. Nina’s willingness and desire to serve in missions found opportunity in YWAM, all made possible through the interconnections of Spanish and English Assemblies of God women’s prayer and mission groups and Lorraine Theetge.

¹¹⁸⁰ “The Nina Gonzales Story,” 2.

¹¹⁸¹ “The Nina Gonzales Story,” 2.

¹¹⁸² “The Nina Gonzales Story,” 2.

While the length of Nina's tenure in Liberia is unknown, her story was still being used in a 1968 article about the urgent need to pray for missionaries by Alex Bazan, the Latin American District Missions Director.¹¹⁸³ Referring to Nina's time in Africa as a mission helper with no reference to YWAM, Bazan used the past tense, "Nina Gonzalez estaba en el Africa como ayudante misionera."¹¹⁸⁴ Bazan's story continued with a description of Nina's confrontation with "una víbora cobra," or cobra, while on a walk. Nina was frozen with fear and offered a cry to Christ for help. In the same moment, as Bazan recounted, her mother was awakened in the middle of the night by the Holy Spirit in her home in Santa Ana, California. The Holy Spirit told Nina's mother to pray for her daughter who was in danger. Bazan explained how the story concluded with a miraculous appearance of a hen who seemed to come from nowhere. The hen distracted the cobra long enough for Nina to run away. While the story might seem unrelated to YWAM and the first volunteers, it proves how integrated the early YWAM workers were with the Assemblies of God, Spanish or English. Nina's experiences and mission service continued to offer instruction and inspiration to the members of the Latin American District Council of the Assemblies of God long after YWAM was no longer affiliated with the Assemblies.¹¹⁸⁵

¹¹⁸³ Alex Bazan, "Necesidades del Campo Misionero," *La Luz Apostolica: La Entradad De Tus Palabras Alumbra* 52, no. 9 (May 1968): 8, Digital Periodicals, The Consortium of Pentecostal Archives. .

¹¹⁸⁴ Bazan, "Necesidades del Campo Misionero," 8.

¹¹⁸⁵ The reality of YWAM's roots in the AG makes it difficult to separate from the interconnected pentecostal networks after Loren Cunningham's 1965 formal withdrawal from the denomination. The fact remained that the first cohort of YWAM volunteers came from AG families and churches and were financially supported by AG networks in the US and abroad. Many YWAM young people and older volunteers, like the Wilsons, Theetges, and Gerharts continued fully in the AG and working with YWAM.

Women of Domestic Crusades and Summers of Service

For most of the first generation of young women involved in YWAM, their experiences were short-term in YWAM's limited programs. Young women participated in the first Easter and Christmas door-to-door evangelistic crusades beginning in 1964. Initially a partnership with Christ's Ambassadors (C.A.s), the events drew young people from the districts of the US Assemblies of God for one week of intensive training on "soul winning" followed by door-to-door evangelism and nightly evangelistic church services.¹¹⁸⁶ The Domestic Crusades were an entry point to YWAM for many young women and offered an excellent opportunity for Loren and the first YWAMers to recruit for the Summers of Service that began in 1964. The events also allowed YWAM to grow its mailing list to include interested Canadian and US young people who would receive future promotional materials and newsletters like *Youth Advance* or *Advance*.¹¹⁸⁷

Embodying multiple religious belongings was not a conflict for most of the early YWAM workers and volunteers. Ramona (Jensen) Musch, daughter of AG pastors, and student in the first SOE noted to the author in a conversation that she thought YWAM was a part of the AG well into the 1970s. She joined in 1969 and apparently it was never stated clearly that YWAM was not affiliated with the AG.

¹¹⁸⁶ Interestingly, the literature and archival documents indicate that YWAM and Christ's Ambassadors both claimed the Domestic Crusades as their own program. The Assemblies of God Christ's Ambassadors had a periodical that profiled the crusades and credited Loren Cunningham, YWAM Director, as the leader. YWAM's recollection of these crusades through oral history, popular history, and archival documents does not mention or credit the Assemblies of God as a partner or participant in the Domestic Crusades. The account from the Assemblies of God archival materials provides insight into the integrated nature between YWAM and Christ's Ambassadors expressed in the first Domestic Crusades.

¹¹⁸⁷ Alman, interview. Shirley noted that by the late 1960s, YWAM's mailing list included 40,000 addresses. YWAM's newsletter had the names *Youth Advance* and *Advance*, depending on the period.

To date a detailed list of participants for each known Domestic Crusade and each Summer of Service does not exist.¹¹⁸⁸ Thus, determining gendered participation of YWAM's early evangelistic campaigns is a challenge. Thanks to the few existing promotional materials and reports, a survey of names and testimonies of participants reveals strong female participation and even majority.¹¹⁸⁹ The 1966 *Journal of a Summer* records 119 participants excluding adult counselors and YWAM leaders. 71 of those participants were young women making the rate of female participation 60% of the whole. The 1967 "YWAM Life's Messengers Report," says that 1000 young people participated in YWAM evangelism in Canada, the Caribbean, Central America, and the South Pacific. Ruth Wilson's report includes testimonies from 22 young people, 17 of which were young women.¹¹⁹⁰ Later, in 1969, *Journey with the Followers*, of the 85 young people whose names are listed in the book, 44 are young women.¹¹⁹¹ In Ruth Wilson's 1970 book *God's Guerillas*, 2 of the eight young people profiled in the seven chapters are young women, Linda McCullough and Joanne Thomasson from Fresno,

¹¹⁸⁸ There are gaps in the archival materials regarding the chronology of the domestic crusades. In some sources, crusades are mentioned to have taken place in Edmonton and other Canadian cities, but there is no record of such events taking place, let alone the details of host church or specific dates. One can speculate, but that isn't helpful when attempting to determine the proven facts. Still, the trend that these domestic crusades took place through the organizing of local churches reveals that they were grassroots events and therefore difficult to trace.

¹¹⁸⁹ Robert, "World Christianity as a Women's Movement," 184-86.

¹¹⁹⁰ Wilson, "Youth With A Mission: Life Messengers Literature Report, 1967. Report 5.," 1. Ruth Wilson's respondents were predominantly from the Trans-Canada Team, which she notes consisted of 85 young people. Zurlo, *Women in World Christianity*, 13.

¹¹⁹¹ Wilson, *Journey with the Followers*, 11-55. Of the young people mentioned by Ruth Wilson in the book, 15 of the 37 in the Caribbean are young women; 12 of the 20 mentioned in Quebec; 2 of the 4 mentioned in the South Pacific, 9 of the 14 in Latin America, and 6 of the ten mentioned in Trans/USA are young women.

California.¹¹⁹² These two friends attended the Domestic Crusade in Galveston, Texas, and ministered on the Latin American team led by Wedge and Shirley Alman and Ruben Vargas. Upon their return to Fresno, they started local evangelistic ministries for youth.

The full participation of young, single women in YWAM's evangelistic ministry led a number of the early participants like Sally (Clairborne) McClung, Martha (DeFebbo) Green, Deyon (Green) Stephens, Carolyn (Shook) Akimoff, Candi (Cortesi) Sparks, Dorothy (Kelly) Gunderson, and Janice (Cunningham) Rogers to join YWAM as full-time faith missionaries with the young YWAM men who became their husbands.¹¹⁹³ These young women's stories are accessible because most of them remain involved with YWAM to the present day. The majority of YWAM's young female participants, however, did not continue on in the mission. Their names and experiences are largely unknown, but extant archival records like the 1999 letter from Christel (Thee) Huxley, the young women of early YWAM Domestic Crusades and SOSes carried their YWAM experiences with them in their lives and ministries. Many of the young women who came from AG families or Bible Colleges, like the women listed in this section, continued in

¹¹⁹² Wilson, *God's Guerrillas*, 48; Wilson, *Journey with the Followers*, 40.

¹¹⁹³ All of the women listed were married by the early 1970s, with Janice and Jim Rogers marrying in 1964 and Sally and Floyd McClung marrying in 1967. There were other young married women, like Judi Portale, who joined YWAM with her husband in 1969. Dzubinski's study assesses the "two-person" career of missionary couples and is helpful in understanding the contribution these young married women made to YWAM. As is true for all these women listed, they were "highly engaged in additional types of ministry" while caring for their families. Dzubinski, "Portrayal vs. Practice," 91.

the Assemblies of God, started new ministries themselves, or joined other mission organizations.¹¹⁹⁴

The Extension: YWAM Women from 1968 to 1970

After Loren and Darlene Cunningham withdrew from the Assemblies of God in 1965, their vision for YWAM as an interdenominational youth mission movement began to take shape through old and new channels. Coinciding with a growing US evangelical mission movement and the global Charismatic Renewal already underway in New Zealand and the UK, Loren and Darlene Cunninghams' networks of co-workers and friends in ministry and mission grew along these contours. YWAM's foray into international evangelistic endeavors expanded after 1967 and the presence of YWAM workers outside of North America, the Caribbean, and Central America followed. These developments translated into a growing number of international Christian young women joining and influencing YWAM.

While YWAM's short-term evangelistic teams were still largely composed of US and Canadian young people, more international Christian women, young and old, found their place in YWAM in its various iterations and extensions. Some of the women entered YWAM through its expanding networks of Summers of Service in New Zealand, Fiji, and Tonga in 1967. From New Zealand and Tonga, young women joined newly

¹¹⁹⁴ Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990. It is highly likely that the young women who participated with YWAM, like Christel (Thee) Huxley and Linda McCullough, applied their YWAM experiences to the ministries that they undertook in their futures.

formed longer-term mission teams in South Asia and the South Pacific. The majority of Around the World (ATW) team members were young women from the US and the just over half of the first School of Evangelism students were young women.¹¹⁹⁵

Maintaining its focus on mobilizing young people into global missions, the growing number of international and interdenominational YWAM women were in their late teens and early 20s. YWAM also welcomed the participation and input of older women who influenced the Mission in significant ways. Women like the Dutch evangelical author Corrie Ten Boom and the Sisters of the Evangelical Sisterhood of Mary were notable international female influences that shaped the Mission during the early 1970s. One of these women stands out above the rest. Joy Dawson and her husband Jim became friends with Loren Cunningham in the early days of 1967. Her legacy continues to influence YWAM.

Joy Dawson

Joy (Manins) Dawson was raised in an Open Brethren family in Auckland, New Zealand. She recalled her father as being “a strong spiritual leader, Bible teacher, and evangelist among the Open Brethren,” who “pioneered Christian radio in New Zealand.”¹¹⁹⁶ Her mother was a caring woman who demonstrated her practical faith in care of the poor and needy.¹¹⁹⁷ Joy’s parents practiced hospitality, regularly having

¹¹⁹⁵ Of the 29 students, 15 were women. Huxley to The Registrar, University of the Nations, December 29, 1990.

¹¹⁹⁶ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 20.

¹¹⁹⁷ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 21.

church friends over for meals. It was in her own home and in the family setting that Joy met and became friends with Jim Dawson when she was 14 years old. Eight years later, in 1948 after Jim returned from fighting in World War II, Joy was 22 and Jim was 25, they married.¹¹⁹⁸ Having both grown up in the Open Brethren, Joy and Jim were committed Christians and faithful church attenders. Their lives began changing in the early 1950s when Joy's discontent for their church's lack of contact with non-Christians was met with her conviction that God spoke to her to join the "Open Air Campaigners" on a Sunday evening.¹¹⁹⁹ Both Joy and Jim joined the public witnessing group and remained members for years.¹²⁰⁰

Another significant event for Joy's life and ministry took place after the couple had been seeking God to "be filled with the Holy Spirit as commanded in Ephesians 5:18."¹²⁰¹ Joy and Jim had two children – John, born in 1952, and Jillian, born in 1955. During the summer of 1956, while on a summer vacation with Joy's cousins Mary and Frank Garratt, Joy and Jim received the baptism of the Holy Spirit through prayer from Frank and Mary.¹²⁰² Joy's desire to know God – through knowing the Scriptures and by hearing God's voice speak to her personally – increased after her Spirit baptism. The foundations of her teachings were developed in these years as she studied the scriptures

¹¹⁹⁸ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 25.

¹¹⁹⁹ The Open Air Campaigners, also known as OAC, was originally founded in England is an "international organization that has been in New Zealand since 1954." "About," OAC.org, accessed December 13, 2024, <https://www.oac.org.nz/about>.

¹²⁰⁰ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 31.

¹²⁰¹ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 33.

¹²⁰² Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 34. Joy notes that Frank and Mary had already been baptized by the Holy Spirit at this point.

and noticed a central theme of the “fear of the Lord” that she felt God was highlighting. As Joy described, “I never attended Bible school,” but “over the many years of being in this School of the Holy Spirit and the Word of God, my future destiny was being shaped, and I was totally ruined for the ordinary.”¹²⁰³

Joy and Jim officially left the Open Brethren and joined the Baptists during the charismatic renewal on account of the Brethren rejecting and the Baptists embracing the Holy Spirit and gifts. They became active members in the Baptist church. Jim served as an elder and taught a boy’s Bible class and Joy sang in the choir. The Dawsons continued to host prayer meetings in their home and were active in their evangelistic ministry outdoors and in the high security prison.¹²⁰⁴ Jim and Joy started Teen Challenge Auckland with the help of Neville Winger, Wyn Fountain, and Graham Braddock.¹²⁰⁵ Joy was asked to teach in women’s meetings and was sought out for personal counselling and prayer ministry.¹²⁰⁶ Then, in 1967, Neville Winger, a notable car dealer, active leader in the early charismatic movement, and founder of Orama with his wife Dorothy in 1963, invited Joy to teach at their summer convention on Great Barrier Island because, in Joy’s words, he “understood my teaching gift and,”... “believed I had messages both sexes

¹²⁰³ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 35.

¹²⁰⁴ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 39, 54. Joy notes that they held prayer meetings with their “three evangelist friends, George Bremner, Muri Thompson, and Allan Williams.”

¹²⁰⁵ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 49. Joy and Jim started the ministry with Neville Winger’s help and turned the leadership over to Graham Braddock. Joy and Jim continued to minister on Saturday evenings. Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*, 53–54, 140–141. Maiden mentions the significance of New Zealand Brethren in the charismatic renewal. He also lists Neville Winger and the Orama community. In the first edition, he calls Neville’s wife Joy, but her name was Dorothy or “Dot.”

¹²⁰⁶ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 61–64.

should hear.”¹²⁰⁷ During the two-week camp meeting, Joy taught men and women the Bible for the first time. She also met and served on the camp leadership team with Loren Cunningham.¹²⁰⁸ The leadership team’s experiences in prayer and Joy’s analytic teaching on spiritual topics of hearing God’s voice and intercession impressed Loren. Years later, Loren referred to Joy’s methods of prayer, certainty in hearing God, and the way she taught others to do the same as something new and exciting that came into YWAM.¹²⁰⁹

After their first meeting at Orama, Jim and Joy Dawson invited Loren to stay in their home in Auckland for one week. He accepted their offer and started his stay with them with a week of fasting and prayer, an event that he recounted as a profound encounter with God’s conviction and new revelation on how they could multiply mission workers around the world.¹²¹⁰ Joy recounted that Loren stayed with them for four weeks

¹²⁰⁷ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 64; Calder, “For the Love of God.” Joy Dawson noted that she and Jim had approached Neville Winger when they wanted to start Teen Challenge. Their acquaintance had, therefore, been for some time before 1967. Maiden, *Age of the Spirit*, 53–54, 140–141. Maiden lists events present in Joy’s writing, but did not make the link between Joy and Jim Dawson and Teen Challenge and the Wingers.

¹²⁰⁸ Joy identifies the conference leadership team consisting of Neville Winger, the director, Milton Smith, Loren Cunningham and Jim and myself, *My Journey with Jesus*, 64. Loren Cunningham recounts these five leaders on p. 69–70 of *Is That Really You, God?*, although he includes less detail saying, “There were five of us, including the camp director and Jim and Joy Dawson.”

¹²⁰⁹ Loren Cunningham, interview by Janice (Cunningham) Rogers and June Coxhead, Typed transcripts of tape recording, tape #8, August 15, 1983, Jim and Jan Rogers Personal Papers, YWAM Kona Archives. Loren is quoted as saying, “What was new about it – I had lived with the voice of the Lord all my life. It was operating around me, and it was operating in me. But what was new that anyone would teach on it. And Joy, through her analytical mind, and her searching out of scriptures on the subject, started listing other ways of hearing God’s voice that were, I had never put them together before. And that was the thing that excited me. I ever analyzed it, I had enjoyed it. What it was with her, she analyzed it.” This quote and Loren’s interpretation of Joy’s teaching offers insight into how charismatic teaching supplemented and revived some pentecostal practices from the previous generations. It was the same, but different.

¹²¹⁰ Cunningham and Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?*, 73–78.

in total, during which time she and Loren spent time together in prayer and intercession.

They had numerous spiritual conversations about how God speaks.¹²¹¹ Joy noted that

He was interested in the way I interceded for nations and cities, which was waiting on God, listening in silence, asking the Holy Spirit to give me directions, not praying until I heard, and then speaking out what He said in faith. We spent one afternoon interceding together for all the provinces in China, under the Holy Spirit's directions.¹²¹²

Before Loren returned to the United States, Joy recounted that he asked her if she had a tape of any of her teachings. She had one tape on which she taught how to intercede effectively. Joy gave the tape to Loren and discovered upon Loren and Darlene's return to Auckland late in 1968 that Loren had shared that tape with pastors in the US and had lined up a list of speaking invitations for her.¹²¹³

Not only did Loren Cunningham invite Joy Dawson to the United States to speak in church services, he and Darlene invited Joy to teach at YWAM's first School of Evangelism to be held in Switzerland in 1969. Because Joy and Jim had already received a word from the Lord that she was to accept every invitation to teach and speak but only starting in 1970, she accepted with a caveat.¹²¹⁴ On January 1, 1970, Joy Dawson left New Zealand and flew to California. She stayed with Ed and Enid Scratch in Redwood

¹²¹¹ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 65.

¹²¹² Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 65.

¹²¹³ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 67. Loren Cunningham recounts this story much differently. He remembers it as he and Joy talking about hearing God's voice and Loren got a tape recorder and started recording what she was saying. The difference between Joy's recollection and Loren's in 1983 is that Joy wrote her book based off her journals. Loren's responses to the interviewers were simply based on recollections and memory. While there is discrepancy in the circumstances and content of the recorded tape that Loren took back to the US, the fact is clear that there was a recorded tape of Joy Dawson teaching that Loren had and shared with others to secure speaking invitations. See Tape #8: Loren.

¹²¹⁴ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 67.

City, California, and began her first international speaking tour brokered by YWAM. Joy preached in the Scratches' church in the evenings and she taught the YWAM students of the School of Evangelism in San Francisco each day.¹²¹⁵ She preached at Glad Tidings Assembly in San Francisco and at Watson Argue Jr.'s church in Santa Rosa.¹²¹⁶ From there, Joy joined Leonard Ravenhill for meetings in the Bahamas and then taught the YWAM School of Evangelism at Chalet a Gobet, Switzerland, in February, 1970.¹²¹⁷ After a few more stops, Joy taught in a Bible School in Indonesia directed by Claude and Wilma Rediger, Assemblies of God missionaries and friends with Loren and Darlene Cunningham.¹²¹⁸

Once Joy returned home, she received a letter from Loren Cunningham asking her to return to Switzerland to teach for three weeks in the following 1971 School of Evangelism. Ed Scratch also wrote and asked her to return to minister in his church. All

¹²¹⁵ The San Francisco School of Evangelism, led by Ron and Dee Shires, took place at Glad Tidings Assembly in January of 1970 at the same time that second Swiss SOE was running at Chalet a Gobet. The San Francisco SOE was not repeated as the Shires went to Lausanne the following year, 1971. Shires, interview; *Youth With A Mission Advance*, 7, no. 3 (March 1970): 5-6.

¹²¹⁶ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 75. Watson Argue Jr. or J.R. Argue was one of Loren's groom's men and had served on YWAM's board since its incorporation. He remained in the Assemblies of God.

¹²¹⁷ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 76-82. Leonard Ravenhill was the father to David Ravenhill, who was working with YWAM during this time. David and Nancy Ravenhill had been ministering in New Zealand before returning to California to work with YWAM and help in the office. Joy notes that they met Leonard when he had visited Auckland, New Zealand "prior to this time." The connections between Joy, Leonard, David and Nancy, and Loren are intertwined.

¹²¹⁸ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 85. Joy misspells the Rediger's last name as "Rediga" and "Ridiga." Claude and Wilma Rediger and Loren and Darlene and YWAM goes back to the early 1960s. The Redigers were Assemblies of God missionaries sent out of the Southern California District. They were YWAM's hosts in American Samoa in 1965, 1967 in the Philippines and 1968 in Indonesia. See "Missionary News Notes." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, January 15, 1967. Loren visited them in the Philippines and Jim and Janice Rogers brought their "Around the World" team to minister with them in 1968. See Claude & Wilma Rediger to Loren and Darlene, May 11, 1971, and other correspondence between the Redigers, Loren, and YWAM. Martin Rediger was a student in YWAM's third School of Evangelism in 1971.

of these people and events came together as Joy and Jim Dawson discerned what they described as God's call for Jim to "leave secular employment" and for them to move their family to the US and "join YWAM as unsalaried missionaries."¹²¹⁹ By 1972, God's words became the Dawsons' reality. Already by the close of 1971, Joy Dawson's effect on Loren and Darlene Cunningham and the swath of early YWAM leaders who attended the first San Francisco and second and third Swiss Schools of Evangelism in 1970 and 1971, meant that Joy's life, experiences, and teachings were cemented in YWAM's solidifying foundations. Hearing God's voice was a foundational practice of Loren and Darlene Cunningham before Joy Dawson entered the story, but as Loren noted in a 1983 interview, no one talked about it, let alone taught on it. Joy's practical theology and spirituality that centered on the fear of the Lord, hearing God's voice, and intercession became integral theological DNA of YWAM.¹²²⁰

International Evangelists and Students

At the same time that YWAM was established in New Zealand in 1967 with the help of local charismatic leaders and pentecostal pastors, young New Zealand and Pacific Island women found purpose in YWAM's brand of international evangelism.¹²²¹ Led by a

¹²¹⁹ Dawson, *My Journey with Jesus*, 89. Jim Dawson took over the administrative work of the YWAM office, after Shirley Alman. Interestingly, Joy notes on page 92 that Loren told Jim that he would become "YWAM's first administrator." The claim of "first secretary" or "first administrator" has been held by numerous people, including Mrs. Overton, Dodi Gunderson, Shirley Alman, and Jim Dawson.

¹²²⁰ Dawson's teachings on intercession is enshrined in YWAM locations and schools through what is known as the "Principles for Effective Intercession." In these ten steps, an individual or a group is led through steps of prayer that are expected to result in hearing from God. See <https://ywam.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/PrinciplesForEffectiveIntercession-JoyDawson.pdf?lang=en>

¹²²¹ A more detailed history on YWAM's early years in New Zealand can be found in Chapter 4.

young married couple, Janice and Jim Rogers, YWAM New Zealand attracted young women and men from churches and charismatic prayer groups. Within months of their first door-to-door evangelistic campaign in Ponsonby, YWAM New Zealand sent their first short-term team of New Zealanders to Fiji and recruited its first full-time volunteer. Barbara Davy, a Hamilton-area young woman and pastor's daughter, had participated in YWAM New Zealand's first campaign in Fiji.¹²²² After she returned from the ministry in Fiji, Barbara moved in with Janice and Jim Rogers and became YWAM New Zealand's first secretary.¹²²³ Other New Zealand young women who joined YWAM in its early years included Mary Cameron, Miriam Ataya, Reona Peterson, and Margaret Tooley.¹²²⁴ Mary Cameron, along with her husband Jim, were a part of YWAM New Zealand's Tonga crusade June – August 1967.¹²²⁵ Reona Peterson, also a member of the Tonga 1967 team, joined YWAM's second SOE in Chalet a Gobet and, along with a Swiss student, was the SOEs' first non-western student.¹²²⁶ After YWAM's 1967 Tonga crusade, its local organizer and YWAM's first non-western and non-white volunteer

¹²²² Rogers to New Zealand Pastors, April 27, 1967. The team to Fiji included Ross Tooley and Barbara Davy.

¹²²³ Barbara Davy's father was a pastor of a church in Hamilton, NZ. Their church welcomed YWAM and hosted a domestic crusade there. Sherman, interview; Rogers to New Zealand Pastors, April 27, 1967.

¹²²⁴ These are the names of a few of the many women who participated with YWAM. The names of these women are known to history because these women remained or rejoined YWAM later.

¹²²⁵ Tooley, email; Green, email.

¹²²⁶ Reona Peterson, later married and name changed to Joly, was one of the early YWAM workers who moved to England after her SOE. She, along with Mary and Jim Cameron, helped make the first connections for YWAM in England and are credited as doing the pioneering work that led to YWAM England's founding in 1971. Reona went on to start YWAM in Albania, ending up in prison, as documented in Reona Peterson Joly, *Tomorrow You Die*, International Adventures ed. (Seattle: WA: YWAM Pub, 1996).

Kalafi Moala married Tapu. She became YWAM's first female Pacific Islander volunteer. Along with her husband and their children, Tapu established YWAM's first permanent presence in Papua New Guinea starting in 1970. Miriam Ataya worked at YWAM Auckland's secretary in 1969, alongside Margaret Tooley and her husband Ross who directed YWAM.¹²²⁷

Added to the numerous South Pacific women that joined YWAM full time, many more participated in domestic evangelism events and Summers of Service in New Zealand and abroad. From two existing documents, a shortlist of these young women who participated in YWAM New Zealand's Summer of Service to Indonesia 1970 can be compiled. For the majority, the list includes only first names – Tricia, Merle, Peggy, Jenny, Julie, Marion, Sue, and Rosemary. With the help of a second document, Ann Douglas and Heather Smith are listed as other participants.¹²²⁸ These nine young women were a part of a team of 37 young people that evangelized in Indonesia for two months and co-worked with YWAM's second ATW team in January 1970.

The female participants of YWAM's first two ATW teams, the 1969 team led by Janice and Jim Rogers and the 1970 team led by Sally and Floyd McClung must also be credited as the first wave of YWAM's international female missionary evangelists. Along with team leader, Janice Rogers, the 1969 ATW team's female members included

¹²²⁷ Margaret Tooley, interview. Margaret Tooley joined YWAM through marriage to Ross in April 1969.

¹²²⁸ Tooley, *The Call to the Harvest*. The McClungs' document lists Ann Douglas and Heather Smith, the only two women whose names are listed. See Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report from Ceylon by Floyd & Sally McClung.

Berniece Coff, Carol Hayes, and Lorraine Dierck.¹²²⁹ The 1970 ATW team under Sally and Floyd McClung included Jeannette Boteler, Michal McCord, and Carolyn Wyllie.¹²³⁰ All of these women came from the United States and a number of them had previous YWAM experience, like Sally McClung, Carol Hayes, Berniece Coff, and Janice Rogers.

Both ATW teams were dominated by female participation and worked in religious and cultural contexts that restricted the public participation of women. Along with the cultural challenges young women teaching and practicing personal evangelism by twos must have presented to the churches and communities the ATW teams ministered in 1969 and 1970, so too did other aspects of their presence. One of these challenges and opportunities came through YWAM's first longer-term African American female participant – Michal McCord. Commonly referred to as Mike in the existing records, Michal McCord came from the Chicago area and was a valuable addition to the team. Her presence attracted attention from the students on university campuses, at least in Ceylon, where the educated friends the YWAM team conversed with commented on how impressed they were that the group could work interracially.¹²³¹ No known record of Michal's experiences of being the only black woman on a white team working in countries and contexts that mirrored the racist beliefs of her home country, so the analysis and insight of her role on the ATW team is limited. Michal's presence on the ATW 1970

¹²²⁹ The team had three male participants – Jim Rogers, Bruce Thompson, and Peter Stenhouse. Typescript of Slide Description and Catalogue, Round-the-World Team, 1968-69.

¹²³⁰ After Floyd McClung, the only other male participant was Dan Secrest. This 1970 team had a number of members who came and went, but for accuracy, they are not included in this section. See Chapter 4 for more detail on the ATW teams.

¹²³¹ Typescript of Indonesian Report by Floyd & Sally McClung; Typescript of 1970 Around the World Team Report from Ceylon.

team and her tenure in YWAM alongside the other young women missionaries was historically significant.

As YWAM began to develop mission opportunities like the ATW and formal missionary training in the SOE, more young women joined. These longer-term opportunities also led to women becoming long-time YWAM missionaries. The first School of Evangelism in Chateaux D'Oex, Switzerland in 1969 boasted around 29 students.¹²³² 15 of those were women, mostly young single, women from the US. With the exception of Canadian Lee Kiffiak and American Betty Sawyer, the 13 remaining female students were single. Some of those women married young men in YWAM after the first and second SOEs. Carolyn Shook married Al Akimoff, and remained in YWAM for many years until the present. Others, like Ramona Jensen, remained single and became a pioneering YWAM missionary in South Africa in the early 1970s. The second SOE, which began in the fall of 1969 and finished at the end of the summer in 1970 had somewhere between 26-30 students, depending on the source. At least 14 of the second SOE students were young women and six of those 14 were young married women studying with their husbands.¹²³³ After and during their studies, female students from

¹²³² An archival photo of the first SOE includes: Ron Cantrell, Ann Carrington, Richard Cress, Judy David, Nova Goodwin, Denny Gunderson, Donna Hawes, Connie Holderbein, Ramona Jensen, Judi Johnson, Diane "Dodie" Kelly, Den and Lee Kiffiak, John Krantz, Dick Krogh (team photographer), Elwyn Mack, Joe Mc Nerney, Art Medina, Al Moen, Sue Ness, Eloise Rocha (Captain of Spanish team and Spanish teacher), Dan Roche, Dennis and Betty Sawyer, Carolyn Shook, Jud Stevens, Christel Thee, Elaine Voit, Jim Woodhall.

¹²³³ A list of the second SOE students includes: Don Stephens, David Boyd, Rudi Lack, Joe Portale, Tom Bragg, Deyon Stephens, Carol Boyd, Tina Reynolds, Marti De Febbo, Judi Portale, Terry Bragg, Val & Dave Snyder, Heidi Breitreuz, Rocki Hill, Carol Hayes, Susan (last name unknown), Linda Jordall, Janice (last name unknown, becomes Moore after marriage), Al Akimoff, Gary Moore, David Richter, Lynn Green, Dennis Lindsay, Jack Hewitt, Reona Peterson, Gary and Helen Stephens, Arnie

both SOEs travelled with evangelistic teams in France, Spain, Germany, Kenya, Uganda and some ventured as far as Afghanistan.¹²³⁴ These young women, single or married, made up at least half of YWAM's first trained missionaries ready to spread the message of Jesus through Europe and the world. Some of them have not stopped since, whether with YWAM or not.

Conclusion

Women made YWAM what it was and what it was becoming during the long 1960s. The women profiled throughout this chapter, while nowhere near comprehensive or complete, offer insight into the ways in which YWAM was a women's movement tied to the idealized egalitarian roots of a pragmatic and revivalist pentecostal faith.¹²³⁵ Courting the same ambiguity around "women's freedom and her submission" modeled in the early and ongoing pentecostal movement from which it came, YWAM believed in women's ability and function as full partners in mission and gospel work while simultaneously not giving them formal titles or institutional recognition.¹²³⁶ YWAM women undertook the same work and fulfilled the same ministry commitments as

Breitkreuz. It is important to note that by the late 1960s, the "youth" of YWAM's first cohort were entering their early to mid 20s. While YWAM's focus remained youth mobilization and mission, as the YWAMers got older, they remained in YWAM. YWAM took a more "intergenerational" approach to its original youth focus which remains strong in its ethos today.

¹²³⁴ While the names of the young women who joined the YWAM team to Afghanistan in 1970 are yet unknown, there are photos of the young women who flew to meet the team of young men, plus Janice Rogers, who travelled by land. Green, interview by Adriano Estevam, August 27, 2020, Media: Lynn Green, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archive, Minutes 16-22.

¹²³⁵ Robert, "World Christianity as a Women's Movement," 180.

¹²³⁶ Blumhofer, "Women in Pentecostalism," 397-98; Dzubinski, "Portrayal vs. Practice," 81.

YWAM men. Their names were rarely mentioned and they were content to remain active agents behind the scenes. Yet, it was the women – the mothers, sisters, office workers, authors, editors, evangelists, and workers – who outnumbered the young men in presence and, as the chapter argues, influenced YWAM’s founding, development, and expansion.

Still, YWAM’s embrace of women, young and old, as leaders, teachers, and co-equal participants in missionary evangelism was a hallmark of its mission ethos and organizational development.¹²³⁷ Early YWAM women may not have been credited for their contribution at the time, but that was nothing new in mission history or contemporary missionary perceptions of women.¹²³⁸ Still, YWAM was founded with and maintained an inclusive vision of women in mission as spiritually adequate leaders, teachers, preachers, and evangelists. Loren and Darlene Cunningham’s commitment to promote and include the ministry and leadership of women in mission must be credited to the ministry and experience of YWAM’s original matriarch – Jewell Nicholson Cunningham, her daughters, and all of the women who came after her. Jewell’s contribution to YWAM, primarily in the raising of her children as participants in the family ministry of itinerant evangelism and her partnership with her husband, made a way for YWAM’s own gender inclusive family-in-ministry model that made room for women in all stages of life.

¹²³⁷ Loren Cunningham, David J Hamilton, and Janice Rogers, *Why Not Women?: A Fresh Look at Scripture on Women in Missions, Ministry, and Leadership*, 2014. While YWAM’s theology supports women in ministry, as per this theologically-based book, in practice few senior leaders are women. YWAM’s theological universality and range of local theological and cultural expressions mean that some YWAM locations focus more on women’s need to submit to male authority, while others promote women in leadership.

¹²³⁸ Dzubinski, “Portrayal vs. Practice,” 92.

Young, old, single, and married with children – all of the women of early YWAM were pioneers and builders of an international, intercultural, and global expression of modern Christianity and mission that welcomed women’s participation, however complex that relationship proved for some of the women.¹²³⁹ While the prevalent narratives of YWAM’s history acknowledge the presence and role of some of these women, it is essential and the purpose of the chapter to call attention to the efforts, resilience, and strength of the known and unknown women who carried the vision and the work of YWAM and made its survival and expansion possible. Like their pioneering pentecostal foremothers, all the early YWAM women needed was a word from God, the faith to risk, and the grit to work for it. Their efforts founded, formed, and shaped one of the largest and most influential global missionary movements of the modern era that is, at its core, a women’s movement.

¹²³⁹ This chapter does not explore the role of age and YWAM’s female participation in depth. It is clear throughout the dissertation that while YWAM was focused on youth in mission, it was also successful because of the older women and men who supported it and joined. Along with age and its influence on role in YWAM, another area that requires further research is on the women’s relational status. Clearly, as outlined in the section on Darlene Cunningham becoming a mother in YWAM’s early years, once the young women married and had children their ability to participate in ministry in the same ways as before children changed. An interesting aspect to this dynamic is in the way YWAM pivoted to include more family-oriented ministries, as noted early in this chapter.

Chapter 8: An End and a Beginning

Within its first decade, YWAM grew from a dream in the heart of a young Loren Cunningham to an international mission movement with 40 full time missionaries in permanent locations in the US, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Switzerland, and Papua New Guinea.¹²⁴⁰ On paper and to YWAM, early growth was minimal and not the multiplication of young people in missionary evangelism they had been praying and working towards. Yet, as the dissertation has documented, YWAM's growth and success as a global youth mission movement was already well established by 1970. Its role in creating a unique and influential expression of world Christianity was underway. YWAM's informal growth and its wide-spread mobilization of the world's youth as missionary evangelists set the stage for its continued expansion after 1970. What began with pentecostal young people between the ages of 13 and 30 travelling the world to conduct personal evangelistic campaigns gradually became an interdenominational, intergenerational, and holistic missionary movement that significantly influenced world Christianity and mission. It was, as the dissertation asserts, YWAM's foundational history and the broader social, religious, and cultural contexts into which it emerged that made its later success and ongoing status as one of the world's largest and most influential missionary training and sending organizations possible.¹²⁴¹

¹²⁴⁰ Cunningham and Gauslin, "YWAM Founders' History Time Line," 2.

¹²⁴¹ "Our Story: His/Story," YWAM.org.

The purpose of this concluding chapter is part summary and part reflection. First a short section reviews the dissertation's significant contributions and reviews the structure of the chapters. The next section reflects on some implications for and applications to future research expanding from YWAM's early history. The conclusion of the dissertation is at the same time a beginning and an invitation to further research.

Significant Contributions

YWAM's history and its continued global influence in the world today, religious and secular, merit scholarly attention. While research on aspects of YWAM's educational and humanitarian programs, spirituality and mission practice, and organizational structure have increased in the last number of years, global scholars are beginning to lament the fact that there are few sources they can turn to when researching YWAM and its contemporary global mission counterparts.¹²⁴² As stated in Chapter 1, a recent symposium in Ede, Holland, demonstrated the lack of scholarly sources on YWAM available to researchers.¹²⁴³

A preliminary response to the frustration over the lack of research on YWAM expressed by the Dutch scholars who gathered in Ede, this dissertation acts as the first

¹²⁴² As discussed in Chapter 1, there have been an increase in the interdisciplinary theses and dissertations that focus on aspects of YWAM's mission or ministry. A number of these scholars have conducted their doctoral work and research through the Oxford Center for Mission Studies. The studies provide valuable insight into various aspects of YWAM's function and work and can be found in the bibliography.

¹²⁴³ Jeff Fountain, "Out of the (YWAM) Box," Weekly Word from Jeff Fountain, email newsletter, March 17, 2024. Fountain noted that the symposium was held under the "auspices of MissieNederland, the Dutch Evangelical Alliance." YWAM was founded in Holland in 1974 by Romkje Fountain.

formal academic history of YWAM and is intended to be a building block for future interdisciplinary research. Limited to YWAM's pre-history and founding years from 1956 to 1970, the dissertation does not offer a comprehensive history of the movement up to the present day or focus on one national expression or narrative. The dissertation reconstructs YWAM's early historical actors, chronological events, and transnational relational and religious networks. The details, however seemingly insignificant, provide the foundational history necessary to understand YWAM as a continuation of its religious heritage, mission spirituality and practice, and as a contemporary social and historical phenomenon on a global scale.

Thus, the work of organizing and chronicling YWAM's development and global spread in its first decade is a foundational contribution to mission history and world Christianity. YWAM's decentralized structure means that in the absence of a central headquarters or official archives, all institutional records are unofficial and held at locations and by individuals throughout the world. By identifying and locating some of these unofficial archives and personal collections, the research creation that preceded writing the dissertation acts as a valuable roadmap for future researchers and archivists who may seek to explore the extant sources or consolidate a YWAM archive. Another aspect of the research was digitizing documents discovered to save in a digital repository and to share with YWAM's own digital archive, the YWAM Heritage Project. Sharing archival findings with YWAM's own digitization project will add a more robust collection of early archival documents and aid YWAM in learning about, telling, and

retaining their own complex history. The dissertation provides access to YWAM archival documents for future researchers, inside and outside of YWAM.

The dissertation is a significant contribution to US, Canadian, and global pentecostal history. In its founding, YWAM was a continuation of revivalist pentecostalism and mission. Chapter 2 details the tight-knit and expansive family-like networks rooted in the Assemblies of God and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada that were directly responsible for founding and supporting YWAM in its early years. The microhistories of the Nicholson, Cunningham, Morris, and Scratch families in Chapter 2 offer insight into the family ministry models at work in the pentecostal movement. YWAM's history profiles multiple generations of pentecostal women and details their contribution to mission and evangelism. Pentecostal mission networks and pentecostal missionaries appear in every chapter and were primarily responsible for facilitating YWAM's local flourishing and global migrations. YWAM's early history presents an account of the dissonance between AG and PAOC central administration and the decentralized power of district administration, local pastors, and global missionaries. YWAM's success hinged on the widespread and diffuse support from local, district, and global pentecostal leaders and their networks in the face of denominational opposition.

The dissertation contributes to the history of modern independent, entrepreneurial evangelicalism. Chapter 3 contains sections dedicated to US-based evangelical mission organizations and ministries that partnered with YWAM after Loren and Darlene Cunninghams' departure from the AG. Independent pentecostals and evangelicals, especially in the United States and Canada, founded global mission organizations and

parachurch ministries that came to dominate the world of global mission in the latter part of the twentieth century. Operation Mobilization, Teen Challenge, Life Messengers, Oral Roberts Ministries, T.L. Osborn Ministries, Christ for the Nations, and Every Home for Christ were some of YWAM's strong supporters and friends in its first decade. Not only did these ministries provide YWAM with resources for their evangelistic work, but perhaps more importantly, they shared their own growing networks of global contacts and helped open new doors for YWAM's expansion.¹²⁴⁴ The dissertation is a start to reconstructing the new and emerging religious networks that were central in reshaping world Christianity and mission in an era of evangelical and pentecostal ascendance.

The history of YWAM's global expansion and transnational character is a central and significant contribution of the dissertation. Reconstructing YWAM's history chronologically as to expanded through the United States, Caribbean, Mexico, Latin America, Canada, the South Pacific, Southeast and East Asia, Europe, and Africa offers unique insight into its regional and local religious histories while demonstrating the interconnected and transnational dimensions of its existence. YWAM's history chiefly details how it created and influenced a pentecostal-charismatic missional expression of world Christianity on every inhabited continent. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 track YWAM's global diffusion through pre-existent pentecostal, evangelical, and emerging charismatic

¹²⁴⁴ Another significant network for YWAM was through Billy Graham and his global evangelistic association. YWAM's relationship with Graham developed later in the 1970s, but YWAM's presence in Europe aided and facilitated 1974 International Congress on World Evangelism held at Lausanne, Switzerland. According to Joe Portale, his assistant John Gordon left YWAM to work with Billy Graham's European director, Rev. Hoake. 150 YWAMers were present to set up the venue and serve at the Lausanne 1974 gathering. Portale and Portale, interview. Loren Cunningham later served on Billy Graham's radio ministry board, Cunningham, interview, part 2.

mission networks. Chapter 3 constructs YWAM's development in the US and Caribbean. Chapter 4 retraces YWAM's reception among Spanish-speaking pentecostals in the US, Mexico, and Central America; German pentecostals in Canada; and New Zealand charismatics. Chapter 4 also explores YWAM's entrance into emerging charismatic networks through the budding movement in New Zealand. Chapter 5 follows the Around-the-World team (ATW) and documents YWAM's move to Europe and development of the School of Evangelism. Chapter 5 details the emergence of new networks and relationships with independent evangelical mission organizations in Asia and European evangelical endorsements that aided YWAM's success on the continent.

YWAM's "international" vision and the indigenous principle that allowed its quick spread were intrinsic to Loren Cunningham's pentecostal mission ethos.¹²⁴⁵ The establishment of permanent YWAM locations in Canada (1966) and New Zealand (1967) without the geographic relocation of YWAM's founders signalled the fact that YWAM was doing and teaching something in which young people in other parts of the English-speaking world were eager to participate. Loren and Darlene Cunningham, while at the center of YWAM's expansive global network, practiced the decentralized model of their revivalist pentecostal families. Instead of trying to control YWAM's expansion as administrative leaders, they built and maintained trust and friendship with local and

¹²⁴⁵ No evidence has been found in the archives of Melvin Hodges' direct influence on Loren Cunningham. Nevertheless, Hodges' book shaped mission theory and practice of the AG and was influential by the time Loren went to Bible College in Springfield. Thus, acknowledging Hodges influence on the AG assumes his influence on Loren Cunningham as a student in AG Bible College. See Melvin L. Hodges, *The Indigenous Church*, (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1953)

indigenous leaders in each new location. As they grew and expanded around the world, Loren and Darlene and the first generation of YWAM stayed in touch by frequent letters and the occasional telephone call. Their extensive communication network ensured that everyone, especially Loren and Darlene, was up to date on YWAM's work around the world. The constant flow of communication was a way to keep track of the YWAM volunteers' coming and going.

Viewing YWAM as a historical example of a religious youth counterculture of the long 1960s makes a significant contribution to the study of youth and youth culture. YWAM's early history reveals its continuations of historic student and youth focused mission and ministries in the modern Protestant and evangelical traditions. It also offers insight into how pentecostal youth navigated the social upheaval of the era and how they sought to apply their faith to what they perceived as the pressing needs of their time. Chapter 6 details Loren Cunningham's early biographical history as a young person and connects his experience to the other baby boomers enjoying the social uplift and disposable income that made their autonomy and cultural power a reality. In addition to Loren Cunningham's experiences and personal development that led to founding YWAM, the chapter adds the names and experiences of a diverse global constituency of youth from the ages of 13 to 30 to the historical record. The young people named throughout the chapter and the countless others who remain unnamed were significant historical actors in the establishment and success of YWAM.

Like the narrative of youth history central to the founding and early growth of YWAM, the recovery of women's history is another significant contribution of the

dissertation. Chapter 7 details and documents the lives and contributions of early YWAM women who must be credited with founding, forming, and extending the Mission in all its global and local forms. As at least half of the youth participants of YWAM in its first decade, women entered into evangelistic ministry and full-time mission service through YWAM. YWAM was not just an avenue for ministry for younger women. Older women, like Jewell Nicholson Cunningham, Lorraine Theetge, Ruth Marshall Wilson, and Joy Dawson, infused and inspired YWAM with their egalitarian convictions, gifted ministries, and bold faith. Naming these women and crediting them for the foundational contributions they made to YWAM's early years is a vital and essential step in reconstructing the history of the movement.

Important aspects of YWAM's transnational religious history and creation of and contribution to the emergence of world Christianity are woven through each chapter. The focus on naming participants and friendships translates to uncovering religious networks that were directly responsible for YWAM's growth and success in its first years. A number of official ministry relationships and networks are named and explained in the dissertation, but it is the unofficial and the "off the record" relationships, often invisible on the surface of an organization's own institutional history, that shed light on the characteristics and qualities of the historical actors and their commitments. YWAM's inclusion of interracial youth and intergenerational members, its promotion of collaboration across denominations, its praise of indigenous youth as excellent missionaries, and its support of women in mission and ministry from its founding and in its early development are revealing. The relational expressions of YWAM's beliefs and

values were both a result of and an influence on its ethos and practice, however ambiguous or contradictory they were in different times and places. Layers of different types of relationships and connections are woven throughout the historical reconstruction of the dissertation and are intended to prepare the way for further analysis of YWAM.

Implications & Applications

Studying YWAM as a youth movement, women's movement, pentecostal continuation, evangelical innovation, and constructor of modern world Christianity affords new scholarly insight in a number of fields of study and disciplines. As a foundational history, the dissertation is intended be a starting point for future researchers. To pentecostal historians, the dissertation is a reconstruction of some of the pioneers of the movement, both locally and transnationally. It also serves to uncover historical aspects of pentecostal revivalism and faith evangelists that have received little attention – families of itinerant evangelists and specific generational family networks that supported denominational expansion. To global evangelical historians, it offers an example of the entangled history shared among global pentecostalism, evangelicalism, and the Charismatic Renewal bound together through mission and evangelism. It provides insight into the relational nature of a structurally agile and so-called “theologically universal” movement instrumental in the pentecostalization of global Christianity. YWAM's early history is needed to understand its role as a vehicle and catalyst of the charismatic movement, especially after 1970.

To church and mission historians and theologians, the dissertation documents the global networks of historic and emerging church and religious movements. YWAM's history makes the youth constituency responsible for much religious and cultural change of the long 1960s visible. Their role in the rise of global evangelical mission organizations and adaptation to and embrace of parts of the 1960s cultural revolutions significantly influenced local and global expressions of church and mission. These interactions between religious and secular cultural trends can be seen in how YWAM young people adapted their dress code, sang and created new forms of music, and embraced and pioneered diverse mission practices within the first ten years.¹²⁴⁶ The dissertation documents the eras' popular and evolving methods of evangelism, intercultural exchange, and contextual mission theology. Similarly, the dissertation is a history of YWAM's addition to the development of short-term mission (STM). The dissertation provides the framework for understanding YWAM's mission theology and its emerging pentecostal-charismatic mission spirituality. YWAM's early years reveal a nuanced navigation between patterns of colonial mission and emerging pentecostal applications of the indigenous church principle.

¹²⁴⁶ A study on the evolution of YWAM's songs and music is full of potential. From singing a cappella pentecostal hymns during their early years and creating their own verses to popular hymns like "Ringing doorbells for my Lord" to writing songs in local languages that shaped expressions of Christian worship, the history of YWAM's hymnody and music holds much value. One central example is Linda McGowen's contribution to French evangelicalism in France and la Francophonie. Linda was a part of Joe and Judi Portale's French YWAM team, produced YWAM's first songbook in French *J'aime L'Eternel* in 1974. The songs and the subsequent songbooks produced by YWAM in France have profoundly shaped modern French evangelicalism and are still sung in French churches today. Thus, YWAM's role in shaping emerging evangelical and charismatic expressions, especially outside of North America is significant. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, YWAM sent its first team to Thailand to work in the Cambodian refugee camps during and after the Khmer Rouge genocide. See Steve and Marie Goode, *Bring Your Eyes and See* (Seattle, WA: YWAM Publishing, 2014).

To YWAM and other mission organizations, the research can serve as a chronological record of the first generation of the movement and their specific contributions to its development. In addition, it provides a detailed account of its first programs and traces adaptations and changes over time to become what is the working model of today. The dissertation can serve YWAM's own institutional memory and be used as a resource to educate the present and next generation of its volunteers. It can also be used as inspiration for local YWAM workers, especially in the Global South, to compile and construct their own histories. The need for this work is especially pressing as the first generation is passing away and the institutional memory naturally focuses on more well-known and prominent locations and YWAM workers. YWAM's history is far more than a narrative of white, western missionaries. It is a global history of interdenominational, intergeneration, and intercultural cooperation in mission that deserves to be told by a polyphony of global voices from the global church.

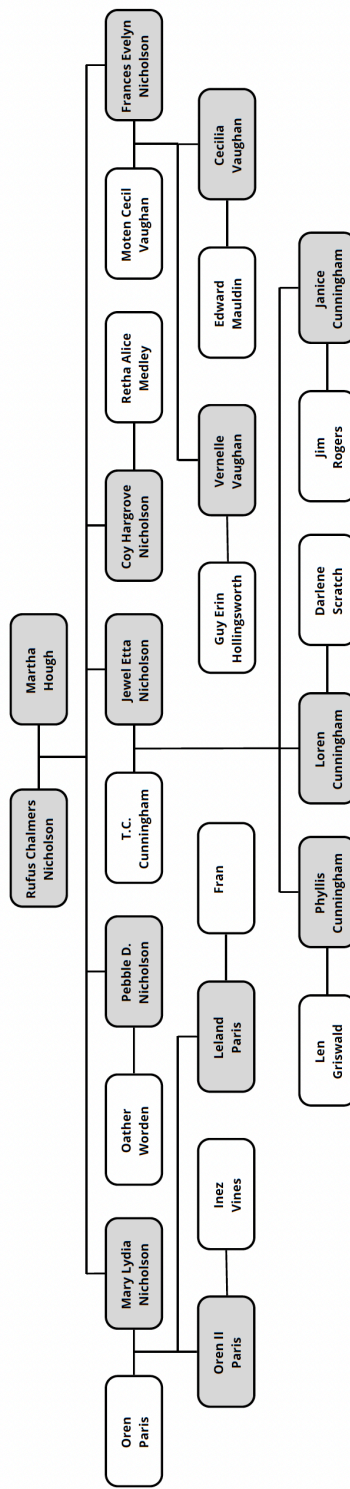
An Invitation

This dissertation has the ability to offer many things to many people. It nevertheless leaves many holes and creates more questions than it provides answers. It does not seek to answer contemporary questions or engage YWAM's past controversies. It does not reflect on the theological, missiological, or sociological contribution of the Mission or transnational movements of which it was a part. It does not support or critique YWAM's mission practice or follow its development past the end of 1970. The questions that the dissertation leaves with the reader are meant to inspire

inquiry. The dissertation simply provides a historical anchor for future research, but it does not define the direction or shape that it will take. What is clear is that more research of every kind is needed on YWAM's past and present. The dissertation, thus, leaves scholars and students with an invitation to continue the research on YWAM's history and to uncover its multifaceted role in the making of modern mission and world Christianity. Just as the first generation of YWAM became the first waves of the rising tide of its unique brand of pentecostal-charismatic missional Christianity, by the close of 1970 the waves of youth about to wash upon the world's shores were just getting started.

Appendix A

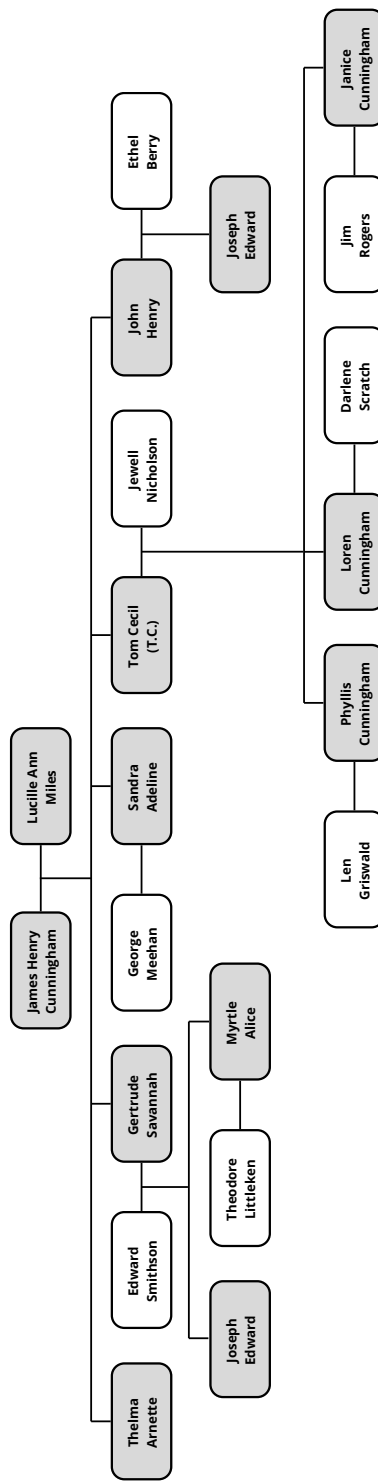
Nicholson Family Tree*



*This family tree is intended to help the reader follow the family history reconstructions in Chapter 2. It is not a comprehensive or complete family tree and is incomplete.

Appendix B

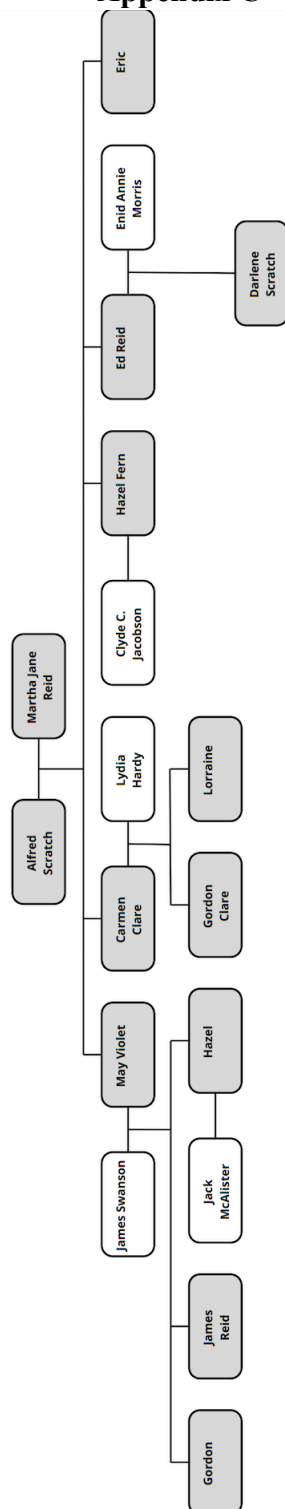
Cunningham Family Tree*



*This family tree is intended to help the reader follow the family history reconstructions in Chapter 2. It is not a comprehensive or complete family tree and is incomplete.

Appendix C

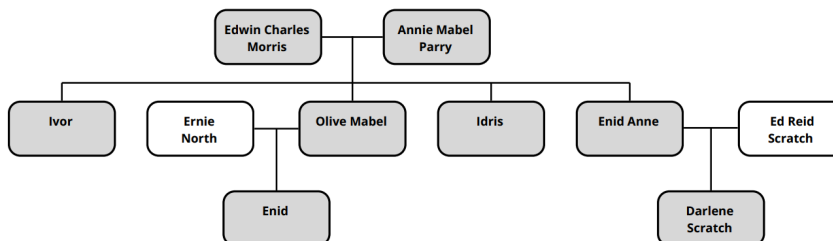
Scratch Family Tree*



*This family tree is intended to help the reader follow the family history reconstructions in Chapter 2. It is not a comprehensive or complete family tree and is incomplete.

Appendix D

Morris Family Tree*



*This family tree is intended to help the reader follow the Morris family history reconstructed in Chapter 2. It is not a comprehensive or complete family tree and is incomplete.

Appendix E

The purpose of this appendix is to list the detailed record of participant names for the Summer of Service 1964, 1965, and 1970. Footnotes provide the archival source material for each individual list. Extant records for 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969 have yet to be located in the archival collections.

1964 Participant List¹²⁴⁷

Name	Place	Notes
Akimoff, Mr. Al	San Francisco, CA	
Amarine, Miss Zelma	Cortez, CO	Married
Anderson, Mr. Edward	Los Altos, CA	BBC
Anderson, Mr. Nicholaus	Tacoma, WA	BBC
Aulds, Mr. James	Turlock, CA	BBC
Bice, Miss Cheryl	Castro Valley, CA	
Bingham, Miss Judy	Grand Junction, CO	
Boado, Mr. Frank	Lamont, CA	SCC
Brewer, Mr. Carl	Arvin, CA	SCC
Brown, Mr. John	South Gate, CA	SCC
Campbell, Miss Patricia	San Luis Obispo, CA	
Carrington, Mr. Dennis	Turlock, CA	SCC
Coff, Miss Bernice	Pasadena, CA	
Coleman, Mr. Willard	Grand Junction, CO	
Copeland, Miss Leta	San Diego, CA	SCC
Cox, Miss Vonnie	Grand Junction, CO	BBC
Cunningham, Miss Janice	Monterey Park, CA	Evangel
Daughter, Mr & Mrs Don	Redwood City, CA	
David, Mr. Roger	Englewood, CO	
Eason, Miss Connie	Hull, TX	
Ellard, Mr. Glen	Long Beach, CA	SCC
Formby, Mr. Stan	Barlesvill OK	Evangel
Frankil, Miss Thelma	Cupterina, CA	BB
Franks, Miss Joan	Turlock, CA	married

¹²⁴⁷ Typescript of Youth With A Mission Summer of Service, 1964, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archives, Kona, Hawaii.

Frick, Mr. Larry	Flint, MI	CBI
Fuller, Miss Mary	Grand Prairie, TX	SAGC
Gamboe, Mr. Clyde	Grand Junction, CO	
Gibson, Mr. & Mrs. Emmet	Homeland, CA	
Gilmore, Mr. Ike	Forth Worth, TX	
Glenn, Miss Cora	Santa Ana, CA	
Green, Miss Deyon	Grand Junction, CO	
Grimes, Miss Barbara	Ahsland, OR	BBC
Gundlach, Mr. Jared	Costa Mesa, CA	SCC
Haroldsen, Mr. Gary	Hathorne, CA	
Harper, Miss Shirley	Riverside, CA	SCC
Hartsough, Mr. Robert	Grand Junction, CO	SBBC
Hathaway, Miss Linda	Hingland, CA	married
Haughtelin, Miss Linda	Long Beach, CA	
Henderson, Miss Myrnie	Vista, CA	SCC
Hess, Miss Barbara	Fresno, CA	SCC / married
Hokanson, Miss Jan	Houston, TX	SCC
Hokanson, Miss Judy	Houston, TX	SCC
Holderbein, Mr. Philip	Portola Valley, CA	
Hodges, Mr. James	Fort Lupton, CO	
Howenstine, Miss Sandra	Inglewood, CA	SCC
Householder, Miss Linda	Castro Valley, CA	BBC
Howell, Miss Jeannie	Arlington, TX	
Inghrm, Miss Mavis	Taylorsville, KY	SAGC
Job, Mr. Roger	Arvin, CA	
Johnson, Miss Wilma	Tacoma, WA	BBC
Kendrick, Miss Ruth	Pasadena, CA	SCC
Koetitz, Miss June	Kaysville, UT	
Kornelsen, Miss Carol	Springfield, MO	CBI
Larson, Mr. Eric	Vista, CA	SCC
Lewis, Mr. John	San Franscico, CA	SCC
Ligon, Miss Joy	Grand Prairie, TX	SAGC
Lim, Mr. David	Oakland, CA	BBC
Maybery, Mr. William (Skip)	Lancaster, CA	BBC
Martin, Miss Diana	Sand Springs, OK	Evangel
Maw, Mr. and Mrs. Jim	San Diego, CA	
Maw, Miss Sandra	San Diego, CA	

Meier, Miss Judy	Tacoma, WA	
Meier, Miss Mavis	Tacoma, WA	
Messenger, Miss Donna	Rossnoor, CA	SCC
Miller, Miss Pearl	Beaumont, TX	Married
Mitchell, Mr. & Mrs. J	Hughson, CA	
Montgomery, Mr. Ray	Houston, TX	
Morley Mr. Wm	Sacramento, CA	Bahamas
Nelson, Miss Florence	San Jose, CA	
Patton, Miss Marylin	Carmichael, CA	
Pearcy, Mr. Shelby	Carnegie, OK	SAGC
Picard, Mrs. Olivi	Lake Charles, LO	
Pilot, Miss Peggy	Salt Lake City, UT	NCBI
Plocek, Miss Joyce	Menlo Park, CA	SCC
Plunkett, Miss Kathy	Oakland, CA	SCC
Pierce, Miss Jonnie	Santa Clarita, CA	
Pynter, Miss May Dean	Nokomis, FL	
Pine da, Miss Barbara	Santa Ana, CA	La Puente
Purcell, Miss Marion	Philpot, KY	SAGC
Quick, Mr. Frank	San Diego, CA	
Ramos, Miss Phyllis	San Franscico, CA	BBC
Rees, Miss Bonnie	Torrence, CA	SCC
Ribali, Mr. & Mrs. Paul	Puelbo, CO	
Rogers, Mr. Jim	Duncan, OK	Evangel
Roos, Miss Stephanie	Long Beach, CA	
Seedborg, Miss Deborah	Long Beach, CA	
Schexnider, Miss Sharon	Lake Charles, LO	
Schmoll, Miss Anna	Spokane, WA	
Schroeder, Miss Carol	Sunnyvale, CA	BBC
Schultz, Mr. David	Houston, TX	
Shapland, Miss Karen	Hayward, CA	
Shull, Mr. Mike	Pasadena, CA	
Simmons, Mr. Gary	Palatak, FL	
Smith, Miss Susie	Washington, DC	
Smith, Mr. Roger	Turlock, CA	
Spencer, Mr & Mrs. Charles	Fresno, CA	
Sundberg, Carol	Seattle, WA	
Stephens, MR. Donald	Estes Park, CO	
Swaringer, Mr. Gary	Charlotte, NC	

Tate, Mr. John	Dallas, TX	SAGC
Tedrow, Mr. Steven	San Francisco, CA	
Van Cleve, Miss Janice	Eugene, OR	
Villa, Mr. Marty	Topanga, CA	SCC
Walker, Miss Joan	Houston, TX	
Watson, Miss Shirley	Wahachie, TX	SAGC
White, Mr. Larry	Conoga Park, CA	
White, Helen	Forth Worth, TX	
Wheeler, Miss Marjorie	Benton Harbor, MI	
Wiley, Miss Sue	Santa Clara, CA	BBC
Willeford, Miss Elaine	Grand Prairie, TX	SAGC
Williams, Miss Pearl	Pueblo, CO	
Yetz, Miss Shirley	Long Beach, CA	
Young, Miss Cheryl	Casper, WY	SMC
Zerman, Miss Carol	Oakland, CA	
Brauchler, Miss Anna	Michigan	
Brauchler, Miss Hertha	Michigan	
Cisneros, Mrs. Carmen	San Francisco, CA	Teen Challenge
Duarte, Miss Arlene	San Francisco, CA	
Rev. William Ashpole	Montevideo, MN	
Rev. Bob Hoskins	Bangor, ME	
Rev. Warren Flattery	Richardson, TX	
Rev. Alex Bazan	Pacific Grove, CA	
Rev. Elmer Bueno	Hayward, CA	
Esther Perales	San Francisco, CA	
Warren, Mr. Bill	San Jose, CA	
Dowler, Mr. Charles	Casper, WY	Evangel
Bruton, Rev. Paul	La Mesa, CA	

1965 Participant List¹²⁴⁸

Name	Place
Abaya, Prisma Nola	Edmonton, Alberta

¹²⁴⁸ Typescript of Participants In Summer of Service – 1966 Youth With A Mission Inc., YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archives, Kona, Hawaii.

Abney, John	National City, CA
Akimoff, Al	Pacifica, CA
Alexander, Ray	Foturna, CA
Aliaga, Miriam	Costa Mesa, CA
Angel, Cheryl	Stayton, OR
Arlich, Cheryl & Darrelyn	Los Angeles, CA
Batemen, Helen	Redwood City, CA
Berg, Elaine	New Hyde Park, NY
Bobo, Gary	National City, CA
Breitreutz [sic], Arnold	Edmonton, Alberta
Brown, Jon	South Gate, CA
Bruce, John	Seattle, WA
Burke, Allan	Bellingham, WA
Castillo, James	
Cayce, Ann	Fort Worth, TX
Chavez, Jo	Santa Fe, NM
Christenson, Paulette	Bellview, WA
Cochran, Mary Ann	Sulphur Springs TX
Conely, Donna	Inverness, FL
Claiborn, Sally	Galveston, TX
Cortesi, Robin	Guyahoga Falls, OH
Crissman, Paul	Oildale, CA
Cunningham, Janice	Alhambra, CA
Davis, Roston	Nassau, Bahamas
Dean, Randy	Sacramento, CA
Dormaier, Sherril	Hartline, WA
Dickinson, Ida	Seattle, WA
Douglas, Stephen	Rockford, IL
Dyson, Tom	Placerville, CA
Edmoundson, Ada	Oildale, CA
Fargo, Larry	Palo Alto, CA
Farmer, Steve	Santee, CA
Farrar, Steve	San Mateo, CA
Friedmeyer, Bonnie	La Crescenta, CA
Hansen, Nancy	Tacoma, WA
Haughtelin, Linda	Long Beach, CA
Haughton, Sheila	Kingston, Jamaica
Hawkinson, Don	Seattle, WA

Hayes, Carol	Goldendate, WA
Keitke, Evangeline	Minneapolis, MN
Kines, Les	Emerson, AR
Holderbien, Phil	Portola Valley, CA
Holloway, Pat	Sacramento, CA
Hoskins, Mr. & Mrs. Howard	Seattle, WA
Koskins, Brenda	El Centro, CA
Howard, Deltra	Visalia, CA
Howard, Elizabeth	Fresno, CA
Huber, Sandy	Pasadena, CA
Israelson, John	Bellevue, WA
Johanson, Donna	Longview, WA
Johnson, Eldon	Kirkland, WA
Johnston, Mr. & Mrs. Bill	Kuldesca, ID
Johnson, Jan	Redwood City, CA
Kellogg, Ric	Seattle, WA
Kennedy, Judy	Enumdaw [sic], WA
Kummen, Rondi	Issaquah, WA
Kiumpe, Ernie	Santa Maria, CA
Kiffiak, Mr. & Mrs. Dennies [sic]	Edmonton, Alberta
Larson, Lynette	Lancaster, CA
Maldonado, Roland	Phoenix, AZ
Maracle, Lorna	Charlestown, MA
Mauck, Gayliss	Bentonville, VA
McClung, Floyd	Santa Ana, CA
Messnger, Donna	Rossmor, CA
Metcalf, Wilbur	Rimbey, Alberta
Nedelishy, Gary	Portland, OR
Enewbold, Betsy	Nassau, Bahamas
Olander, Karen	Cypress, CA
Patterson, Mr & Mrs Earnest	Chicago, IL
Peters, Venita	Fresno, CA
Peterson, Charles	Seattle, WA
Ragains, Donna	Pasadena, CA
Rebman, Ed	Edmonton, Alberta
Reed, Sheilla	Tacoma, WA
Richter, David	Placerville, CA
Riehl, Wally	Edmonton, Alberta

Rocha, Eloise	Fresno, CA
Rogers, Jim	Pasadena, CA
Romer, George	Maywood, IL
Rubiy, Jo Ann	Bakersfield, CA
Schjerning, Dwight	Winnipeg, Manitoba
Swingle, Vicky	Costa Mesa, CA
Shook, Carolyn	Sebastopol, CA
Shull, Mike	Pasadena, CA
Slape, Sharon	Phoenix, AZ
Smith, Donna	Rockford, IL
Smyth, Nancy	Seattle, WA
Snider, David	Loco, OK
Springer, Orval	Duncan, OK
Syverson, Marilyn	Farmerville, LO
Tamraz, Charlotte	Turlock, CA
Tiffith, Jean	Berkely, CA
Turnipseed, Jim	Chicago, IL
Tuson, Lorena	Tipp City, OH
Uttz, Phillip	Goleta, CA
Vargas, Ruben	San Jose, CA
Van Driel, Arie	Santa Cruz, CA
Vaughn, Greg	San Diego, CA
Villa, Marty	Santa Monica, CA
Walters, Thema	Kingston, Jamaica
Walther, Dennis	Denver, CO
Watson, Ray	Kirkland, WA
Waslander, Jeanette	Santa Barbara, CA
Whittington, Leah	Dallas, TX
Wilbring, Margreet	Santa Cruz, CA
Wilkins, Myrna Sue	Bonner Springs, KS
Williamson, Susan	La Crescenta, CA
Willeford, Elaine	Grand Prairie, TX
Wilson, Mr & Mrs. Noel	Redwood City, CA
York, Esther	Sacramento, CA
Yokr, Mr. & Mrs. John	Fort Worth, TX
Young, Doreen	Menlo Park, CA
Zamora, Tommie	Alamogardo [sic], NM
Wirkkala, Marilyn	Naselle, WA

1970 Participant List¹²⁴⁹

Names	Place	Notes
Caribbean		
Akimoff, Raissa (F-21)	Pacifica, CA	
Baxley, Robin (F-17)	Exeter, CA	
Epler, Connie (F-19)	Corcoran, CA	
Eserline, David (M-18)	Felton, CA	
Gutel, James (David) (M-20)	Costa Mesa, CA	
Hamm, Darlene (F-21)	Regina, Saskatchewan	
Mansen, Murray	Burnaby, British Colombia	
Holderbein, Phil & Kathy	Redwood City, CA	
Houg, Tami (F-21)	Pacifica, CA	
Kyriss, Dana (F-19)	Madera, CA	
Lash, Vicki (F-19)	Sebastopol, CA	
Miller, Carol (F-20)	Newell, SD	Didn't go
Nicholson, Candy (F-16)	Avenal, CA	Loren's cousin (Coy & Retha's daughter)
Nicholson, Ray & Gail		Directors
Odin, Joanne (F-16)	Burnaby, British Colombia	
Payne, Juanita (F-23)	Los Angeles, CA	
Ravenhill, Dave	La Crescenta, CA	Director
Siegel, Leonard (M-23)	Costa Mesa, CA	
Sweeney, Don (M-31)	Camarillo, CA	
Van Zante, Martha (F-20)	Oskaloosa, IA	
Zupke, Debbie (F-19)	Randalia, IA	Didn't go
Mexico		
Alman, Wedge, Shirley, Robbie & Brenton		Until August 25th
Arreola, Rosa (F-20)	Exeter, CA	
Ayala, Sammy (M-18)	San Jose, CA	

¹²⁴⁹ Typescript of 1970 Summer Crusade / YWAM & Staff List, YWAM Heritage Project Digital Archives, Kona, Hawaii.

Bunnell, Chuck (M-20)	Chatsworth, CA	
Molina, Estella (F-21)	Oxnard, CA	
Neal, Jerry	Wilmington, CA	
Reed, Bill (M-28)	Fillmore, CA	
Riedesel, Cheryl	Bellflower, CA	
Rosenberg, Patricia (F-25)	St. Ansgar, IA	
Schmidt, Terry (F-19)	Yuma, Az	
Stutzman, Alice (F-19)	Lilburn, GA	
Villa, Marty & Erne	Glendale, CA	Directors
Wyrick, Julie (F-16)	Sierra Madre, CA	
US West		
Alman, Cris (F-15)	Burbank, CA	daughter of Wedge and Shirley
Annan, Gerald (M-32)	Long Beach, CA	
Blohm, Darlene (F-18)	Portland, OR	
Corder, Diane (F-24)	Lake View Terrace, CA	
Gyori, Wendy (F-16)	Rimbey, Alberta	
Miller, Ann (F-20)	Ellendate, ND	
McAlister Lori (F-15)	Van Nuys, CA	Darlene's cousin, Hazel (Swanson) and Jack McAlister's daughter
McDowell, Bonnie (F-19)	La Mesa, CA	
Shires, Ron	Greenfield, CA	Director
US East		
Grubbs, Dan	Watsonville, CA	
Ng, David	Hammonton, NJ	
Nye, Linda (M-17)	Mayslanding, NJ	
Perry, David (M-20)	Devon, PA	
Simpkins, Martha (F-19)	Westmont, NJ	
Thomas, Debbie (F-17)	Scotts Valley, CA	
Varesio, Denise (F-17)	Vineland, NJ	
Carmichael, Jim		Director
Singapore		

Arendt, Ruth Louise (F-25)	North Battleford, Saskatchewan	
Seward, Debbie (F-18)	Lomita, CA	
Africa		
Kannisto, Kathleen (F-23)	San Francisco, CA	
Sumpter, Joyce (F-32)	Washington, DC	
Spain		
Clark, Sally (F-22)	Visalia, CA	
De Vito, Jerry (M-20)	La Mirada, CA	SCC MAP program
Canada		
Backman, Brita (F-30)	Santa Cruz, CA	
Hudson, Paul (M-22)	Waterford, CA	
Zupke, Mark (M-17)	Randalia, IA	
Europe		
Alexander, Steve (M-18)	Everett, WA	
Campbell, Ed (M-17)	Vacaville, CA	Sibling to Pam
Campbell, Pam (F-23)	Vacaville, CA	sibling to Ed
Frances, Sharon (F-19)	Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan	
White, Gwen (F-26)	Langley, British Columbia	
England		
Jones, Kathy (F-16)	Santa Rose, CA	
Orvis, Debbie (F-17)	Altadena, CA	didn't go
Parks, Janet (F-20)	San Diego, CA	
Richie, Melanie (F-19)	Westminister, CA	
Sports, Bert (M-17)	Westminister, CA	home August 3, 1970 and joined US West team

YWAM SOS Office Locations & Miscellaneous

Burbank YWAM Office

(Margie Carpenter)

PO Box 4044, Burbank,
CA

London YWAM Office

(Jim Cameron)

PO Box 4 RH, 111 Oxford St., London, England

New Jersey YWAM Office

(Jim Carmichael, Mgr.)

Box 467, Hammonton, NJ

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Consortium of Pentecostal Archives. <https://pentecostalarchives.org/>.

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Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center Archives (Digital). Springfield, MI, USA.

Gerhart, Rod and Millie, Personal Papers. Nashville, TN, USA.

Musch, Ramona, Personal Papers. Atlanta, GA, USA.

Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Archives (Digital). Mississauga, ON, Canada.

Portale, Joe and Judy, Personal Papers. YWAM Kona Archives, Kailua-Kona, HI, USA.

Rogers, Jim and Janice, Personal Papers. YWAM Kona Archives, Kailua-Kona, HI, USA.

Theetge, Richard, Personal Papers. Costa Mesa, CA, USA.

Tooley, Margaret, Personal Papers. Auckland, New Zealand.

Wilson, Noel, Personal Papers. Santa Ana, California, USA.

YWAM Heritage Project (Digital). Lausanne, Switzerland, and Kailua-Kona, HI, USA.

YWAM Sheep River Archives (Digital). Turner Valley, AB, Canada.

Oral History Interviews

Alman, Shirley. Interview by Allison Kach-Yawnghe, August 24, 2022, video recording & transcript, Allison Kach-Yawnghe's Personal Collection.

Al Akimoff and Carolyn Akimoff. Interview #1, by Allison Kach, April 10, 2020, video recording & transcript, Allison Kach-Yawnghe's Personal Collection.

———. Interview #2, Allison Kach, April 17, 2020, video recording & transcript, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection.

———. Interview #3 by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, July 25, 2024, video recording, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection.

Boyd, David. Interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, May 2, 2024, video recording.

Breitkreuz, Heidi. Interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, January 19, 2024, telephone.

———. Interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, May 27, 2024, Edmonton, Alberta, in-person.

Cunningham, Loren. Interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, May 13, 2022, Kailua-Kona, HI, recording, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection.

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Gunderson, Denny. Interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, May 20, 2022, Seattle, WA, in-person, transcribed notes, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection.

Green, Marti. Interview by Allison Kach, November 27, 2020, video recording, notes, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection.

Kiffiak, Dennis. Interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, March 28, 2024, video recording, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection.

Korsch, Uli. Interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, November 9, 2022, video recording, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection.

McDonald, Jannelle. Interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, February 26, 2024, telephone, transcribed notes, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection.

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- Seregow, James. Interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, May 1, 2023, telephone, transcribed notes, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection.
- Shires, Dee. Interview with Allison Kach-Yawngwe, February 22, 2024, telephone, transcribed notes, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection.
- Sparks, Candy and Doug Sparks. Interview by Allison Kach, September 20, 2020, Colorado Springs, CO, in-person, transcribed notes, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection.
- Theetge, Richard. Interview by Allison Kach-Yawngwe, May 4, 2023, telephone, transcribed notes, Allison Kach-Yawngwe's Personal Collection.
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