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THE CALCUTTA REVIVAL OF 1907 AND THE REFORMULATION
OF CHARLES F. PARHAM'S "BIBLE EVIDENCE" DOCTRINE¹

Gary B. McGee

1. Introduction

"God is solving the missionary problem," trumpeted the *Apostolic Faith* newspaper, published by the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles, California.² Indeed, "the Lord has given languages to the unlearned, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, Zulu and languages of Africa, Hindu and Bengali and dialects of India, Chippewa and other languages of the Indians, Esquimaux, the deaf mute language and...the Holy Ghost speaks all the languages of the world through His children."³ The best-known attempt to demonstrate this proficiency came when Alfred G. ("A. G.") Garr, pastor of the Metropolitan Holiness Church in the city, and his wife Lillian, left for the east coast in July 1906 to board ship for India, the first missionaries to leave Azusa for the "regions beyond."⁴

Unlike their Protestant missionary counterparts who often struggled to learn the necessary languages for mission work, the Garrs insisted they had already received the ones they needed directly from the Holy Spirit before they even left the shores of America. They could now avoid the time-consuming delay of formal language study—usually requiring several years—and begin preaching once they arrived. (For premillennialists like the Garrs, little time remained to evangelize before

¹ This essay has been prepared in honor of Dr. A. C. George, Dr. Ivan M. Satyavrata, and the faculty of Southern Asia Bible College in Bangalore, India.

² Untitled note, *Apostolic Faith*, November 1906, p. 2, col. 4.

³ Untitled note, *Apostolic Faith*, September 1906, p. 1, col. 4.

⁴ Others in the party of five included their infant daughter, her African-American nursemaid, Mariah Gardner, and another missionary, "Miss Gammon."

the imminent coming of Christ; bypassing language school would save valuable time.) Though a missionary to India visiting Los Angeles had challenged Alfred's ability to speak Bengali, he went still confident that he could not only speak the language, but Chinese as well.⁵ Lillian claimed Tibetan and Chinese.⁶

The notion of God bestowing unlearned languages on missionaries—the “gift of tongues”—just as he had on the disciples on the Day of Pentecost had been discussed in mission circles for at least a century before they embarked for India. It became a topic of conversation at a

⁵ Arthur S. Paynter, “Fanaticism,” *Moody Church News*, September 1923, p. 5. Referring to the notes in his diary, Paynter wrote: “I have always regarded it as providential that I was allowed to meet the first Pentecostal missionary who went to India from the United States. This was some 18 years ago. A mutual friend introduced me to the missionary and, in course of conversation, I inquired what Indian language he intended to learn. The friend, who had brought us together, replied that the missionary was going to Calcutta as he had received the gift of Bengali tongue, and thus it would not be necessary for him to study a language. This interested me greatly for I had only just learned from secular papers of the then-called “Tongue Movement” in California. After a while I took the brother aside and asked him if he would mind talking to me in Bengali. He at once agreed to do so and spoke perhaps for a minute. Twice over, after intervals and apologizing for seeming curiosity, I made the same request and, twice over, the brother talked to me in what he thought to be Bengali. I then told him that I knew Hindi, a sister language, that had he been speaking to me in Bengali, I must have understood at least a word, but did not do so and added it was impossible for me to believe that he was speaking Bengali at all. He replied he was quite certain he had received the gift of the Bengali language and had been told so by two Indian boys he had met in America. On reaching Calcutta he was quickly undeceived for no Bengale could understand him. His wife, who was present and who seemed quite a bright Christian woman had, both she and her husband assured me, received the gift of the Chinese language. I remember writing in my diary concerning the couple ‘earnest, sincere people, but undoubtedly fanatical.’”

Garr's confidence was based on the recognition of his Bengali by an Indian that he met in Los Angeles. The *Apostolic Faith* (L.A.) reported in September 1906, p. 4, col. 2: “Bro. Garr was able to pray a native of India ‘through’ in his own language, the Bengali.” In 1914, he recounted: “But after [the Lord] baptized me in the Holy Spirit, He sent me [to India]. When I received the baptism I was speaking in the Hindustani language. A Hindu was present and he said, ‘You are speaking my mother tongue,’ and he told me what I said, and the Lord showed me plainly I was to go to India”; “Divine Wisdom Given the Faithful Missionary,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, July 1914, p. 18.

⁶ A. G. Garr, et al., “Pentecost in Danville, Va.,” *Apostolic Faith*, October 1906, p. 2 col. 3.

gathering of the Northampton Baptist Association in 1792 where William Carey asked the leaders “whether the command given to the apostles to teach all nations was not binding on all succeeding ministers to the end of the world, seeing that the accompanying promise was of equal extent.” Probably most students of missions have heard about the sharp rebuke that followed: “Young man, sit down.... When God pleases to convert the heathen, He will do it without consulting you or me.” Unfortunately, the last part of the scolding got lost in the retelling of the story: “Besides, there must first be another pentecostal gift of tongues!”⁷ Learning the vernacular languages seemed an almost insurmountable hurdle for westerners. Thirty-eight years later, a woman in Scotland claimed to receive languages for overseas evangelism.⁸ Interest increased especially after 1880 as radical Evangelicals grew apprehensive about the slow pace of conversions in the mission lands and the nearness of Christ’s return.⁹

Though early Pentecostals did not originate the idea of receiving unlearned languages, their linkage of a foreign language to baptism in the Holy Spirit set them apart. Early in the Calcutta revival, A. G. Garr not only had to face his inability to speak Bengali, but also had to re-examine the actual meaning of speaking in tongues.

This study investigates the revival from a historical and theological perspective. It also shows why Garr, more than any other Pentecostal at the time, began the process of reformulating the “Bible evidence” doctrine that had been taught since the earliest days of the movement.

2. Pentecost at Calcutta

The Garrs felt divinely commissioned as the “first Pentecostal missionaries to cross the seas to tell to missionaries and natives of India and China that God had visited the earth and given the ‘Latter Rain.’” Among the first to see “God’s mighty power” at Azusa, they now formed the vanguard of Pentecostal missionaries.¹⁰ When leaders of the

⁷ S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey* (New York: George H. Doran, c.1923), p. 50.

⁸ Robert Herbert Story, *Memoir of the Life of the Rev. Robert Story* (London: Macmillan, 1862), pp. 202-3, 210.

⁹ Gary B. McGee, “Shortcut to Language Preparation? Radical Evangelicals, Missions, and the Gift of Tongues,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 25 (July 2001), pp. 118-23 (119).

¹⁰ B. F. Lawrence, *The Apostolic Faith Restored* (St. Louis: Gospel Publishing House, 1916), p. 96. The Garrs were unaware that the first Pentecostal missionary

Metropolitan Church Association (known also as the “Burning Bush”) to which their former congregation in Los Angeles belonged rejected their newfound understanding of Holy Spirit baptism, they no longer felt restrained by a “small fraction of the Holiness people,” nor even a single country. Echoing the sentiments of John Wesley, the world had become their parish.¹¹

Arriving in Calcutta, the capital of British India, in late December 1906, they prayed for three weeks for a door of ministry to open.¹² When invited to a prayer meeting of missionaries and Christian workers, they readily accepted. On the next day, Susan Easton, head of the Woman’s Union Missionary Society (WMUS) work in Calcutta, opened the doors of the Mission House on Dhurmatullah Street for the Garrs to report on “God’s visitation in America.” “With the exception of one or two,” they wrote, “we found the whole company very receptive, and when the Spirit spoke through us in other tongues, the reverence and deep hunger with which it was received proved to us that we had found the people to whom God [had] sent us.”¹³ At an evening service they again recounted the events of the outpouring of the Spirit in Los Angeles. Afterward, Pastor C. H. Hook of the historic Carey Baptist Chapel (built by Carey) at Lal Bazaar in the city asked them to begin preaching “this blessed ‘Truth’” at his church. Pentecostal meetings began there on January 13, 1907.

The meetings overlapped with the close of a missionary conference that had been in progress since December. Missionaries had come from across the subcontinent and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) to hear two well-known teachers: Otto Stockmayer, a Swiss pastor, advocate of divine healing, and featured speaker at the Keswick conferences in England,¹⁴

had preceded them by two years. Mary Johnson, along with her colleague Ida Andersson, who spoke in tongues several years later, were products of a Pentecostal revival among Swedish-Americans at Moorhead, Minnesota and Fargo, North Dakota and left for Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa in November 1904. See Darrin J. Rodgers, *Northern Harvest: Pentecostalism in North Dakota* (forthcoming).

¹¹ Lawrence, *The Apostolic Faith Restored*, p. 98.

¹² For their initial difficulties after arriving in Calcutta, see A. G. Garr, “Divine Wisdom Given the Faithful Missionary,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, July 1914, pp. 19-20.

¹³ Lawrence, *The Apostolic Faith Restored*, pp. 98-99.

¹⁴ For Stockmayer’s beliefs on divine healing, see Paul Gale Chappell, “The Divine Healing Movement in America” (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 1983), pp. 49-54.

and Robert J. Ward, director of the Missionary Training Home at Coonoor in South India and editor of the widely read *Prayer Circular*, a monthly periodical that promoted revival in India.¹⁵

With most of the missionaries staying over to attend the services at Carey Baptist, it seems obvious that for many the conference had not lived up to expectations. One participant, Max Wood Moorhead, the Presbyterian secretary of the YMCA in Ceylon, recalled, “At the close of those Waiting Days we were all about as hungry and dry as when we started.” Stockmayer had not been able “to bring to that little flock God’s message for the hour,” perhaps because they wanted an experience beyond the now predictable Keswickian call for the “overcoming life.”¹⁶ Missionary Etta Costellow remembered that her heart responded as Stockmayer spoke of the “Bride of the Lamb—of the Overcomers,” but wondered how she could become one.¹⁷

The meetings at the church stretched from January 13 to February and then afterward into March at a large house rented by Moorhead on Creek Row.¹⁸ The services usually began around 5 p.m. and lasted five or six hours. While the reports fail to cite the number that attended, the accommodations would have precluded a large gathering. The mixed company of Americans, Europeans, Eurasians and—presumably English-speaking—Bengalis, included missionaries, businessmen and British soldiers stationed in the city.

¹⁵ See “Rev. R. J. Ward, Congregational Minister, St. Helens,” *The Christian*, May 26, 1892, pp. 17-18.

¹⁶ Max Wood Moorhead, “The Latter Rain in Calcutta, India,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, April 17, 1920, p. 9.

¹⁷ Etta Costellow, “After Two Years,” *Cloud of Witnesses to Pentecost in India*, August 1909, p. 3.

¹⁸ It appears the meetings ended in March, due in no small part to the return of the missionaries to their places of ministry. Revival is also alleged to have occurred independently of Garr’s meetings at a Methodist orphanage for girls on Elliott Road directed by Fanny Simpson; see Maynard Ketcham and Wayne Warner, “When the Pentecostal Fire Fell in Calcutta,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 3 (Fall 1983), pp. 5-6; cf., Fanny A. Simpson, “Application for Appointment as Missionary by the Foreign Missions Department, General Council of the Assemblies of God,” August 11, 1931 (Editorial Office Files, Assemblies of God World Missions, Springfield, Mo.). Calcutta remained a center for Pentecostal revival as evident by the following article: “Some Impressions of the Calcutta Convention,” *Cloud of Witnesses to Pentecost in India*, July 1910, pp. 9-10.

In his messages, Garr stressed the importance of “tarrying” to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit, traditionally understood as the “second blessing” of sanctification in Wesleyan-holiness circles.¹⁹ But unlike his holiness tutors, Garr—and his mentors at Azusa Street—separated sanctification from Holy Spirit baptism, viewing the former as preparation for the spiritual empowerment of the latter.²⁰ Naturally, it proved to be no small task to convince some in his audience that their previous experience of Spirit baptism was not the Pentecostal baptism after all, because they had not spoken in tongues and neither had “signs and wonders” (Acts 5:12) followed in their ministries.²¹ “Of course the devil is going to make a hard fight on this as he has always done on every ‘new, old’ step the saints of God have determined to take, as he did with Luther, Wesley, and others,” he told his hearers. In fact, “the very first thing you must do in order to be able to receive it is to *find out that you have not got it.*”²²

His preaching on repentance struck a responsive chord and produced public confessions of sin, some of which were so “black” that a “sense of delicacy” prevented Moorhead from mentioning them in his earliest account of the revival. The deep sense of conviction of sin resulted in people falling to the floor, howling, shrieking, groaning “as if the judgment day had already come,” sobbing, writhing, shaking “as if realizing that they were sinners in the hands of an angry God,” and “wails of despair...so heart-rending that they might have come from the regions of the damned.”²³ Other features included the frequent reading of jubilant Psalms; vocal expressions such as “Praise the Lord,” “Glory to God,” “Hallelujah,” in addition to “holy laughter.” A unique form of praise came with a “Spirit inbreathed wordless song” that was occasionally chanted. Under the inspiration of the Spirit, different voices

¹⁹ Costellow, “After Two Years,” p. 3.

²⁰ A. G. Garr, “Tongues: The Bible Evidence to the Baptism with the Holy Ghost,” *Pentecostal Power*, March 1907, pp. 3-4, reprinted as “Tongues: The Bible Evidence,” *Cloud of Witnesses to Pentecost in India*, September 1907, pp. 40-47. For the purposes of this paper, I have used the original article, unless otherwise indicated.

²¹ Garr, “Divine Wisdom,” p. 20.

²² Garr, “Tongues,” p. 2.

²³ Max Wood Moorhead, “Pentecost at Calcutta,” *Cloud of Witnesses to Pentecost in India*, March 1908, p. 7. This article was reprinted from the first issue of the periodical published in early 1907.

blended creating “awe-inspiring” singing in tongues.²⁴ (Pentecostals in America and Europe referred to this phenomenon as the “heavenly chorus” and the “heavenly choir.”²⁵) In one instance, a person even wrote in an unknown language; when holding a pen, their hand “was moved rapidly by an unseen power across the sheet [of paper], line after line [writing] Spirit-given messages which wait for interpretation.”²⁶ Another time, a “strong current of wind” blew through a “seekers’ meeting” making it seem as if they were reliving the Day of Pentecost themselves.²⁷ Sometimes solemnity reigned as believers engaged in intercessory prayer with “groans that words cannot express” (Rom 8:26).

Moorhead noted the similarity of the physical manifestations with those that occurred in the meetings of John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards. By appealing to precedent, he endeavored to defend the legitimacy of the revival against the censure of its detractors.²⁸ Hardly novel to the Calcutta revival, such revival phenomena had marked the larger awakening among Indian believers that began in 1905 and continued into 1906.²⁹ The disapproval may

²⁴ Moorhead, “Pentecost at Calcutta,” p. 9.

²⁵ Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street: The Roots of Modern-Day Pentecost* (S. Plainfield, NJ: Bridge Publishing, 1980), pp. 56-57 described its occurrence at Azusa Street as the “heavenly chorus.” Also, Stanley H. Frodsham, *With Signs Following: The Story of the Latter Day Pentecostal Revival* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1926), p. 111. Reports of the phenomenon surfaced during the New Order of the Latter Rain where it was perceived as adding legitimacy to the revival; see Richard M. Riss, *Latter Rain: The Latter-Rain Movement of 1948 and the Mid-Twentieth Century Evangelical Awakening* (Mississauga, Ont.: Honeycomb Visual Productions, 1987), pp. 82-83.

²⁶ Moorhead, “Pentecost at Calcutta,” p. 10.

²⁷ Frodsham, *With Signs Following*, p. 128.

²⁸ This line of reasoning, however, still used by some revivalists to defend such phenomena, was sharply challenged by F. B. Price, “Manifestations Genuine and Counterfeit,” *Indian Witness*, April 18, 1907, p. 252. Though published a month after the revival ended, it accurately reflects the debate that occurred during the revival.

²⁹ For example, see T. Walker, “Present Religious Awakenings in the Church in India,” *Church Missionary Review* 58 (May 1907), pp. 280-90; J. Pengwern Jones, “The Revival in the Khassia Hills,” *Indian Witness*, June 7, 1906, p. 359; J. E. Robinson, “Days of Power and Blessing at Asansol,” *Indian Witness*, December 21, 1905, pp. 803-4. For a general survey of the 1905-6 revival, see J.

partially be explained by the fact that these were Euramericans and Eurasians (e.g., Anglo-Indians) engaged in such behavior. While Indian Christians might be excused for following indigenous modes of worship when the Spirit moved upon them, westerners needed to exercise more restraint.

3. Pentecostal Tongues

The move to Creek Row freed the meetings from the annoyance of curious and sometimes skeptical spectators at Carey Baptist Chapel. (On one occasion, a minister of the Church of England, alarmed that some of his flock had become interested in the “new teaching,” marched into the church and “peremptorily commanded the leader to bring the meetings to a close”).³⁰ In regard to the services, Moorhead reported, “Suddenly a seeker would burst out in prayer in an unknown tongue which would be followed by a chorus of praise and thanksgiving from the hearts of those that rejoiced that the Pentecostal sign of the Pentecostal gift had been given.” At other times “a single word or phrase in the new tongues would be given as an earnest of the language” or a “voice might be heard for the first time, singing God’s praises in the new tongue.”³¹

Those who received described the spiritual effects in several ways. Costellow said it brought “new life of the Spirit, which has increased in joy and sweetness as the days and months have passed,” as well as a “new illumination of the Word.”³² Moorhead said that Spirit baptism “brought one into the sphere of the supernatural, the sphere of the Holy Ghost Who can now work in and through one’s being much more effectually.”³³ Finally, Mary Chapman said that as the Spirit took control of the organs of speech, speaking in tongues “[gave] vent to the eternal

Edwin Orr, *The Flaming Tongue: Evangelical Awakenings, 1900-*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Moody Press, 1975), pp. 130-56.

³⁰ Moorhead, “Latter Rain,” p. 7.

³¹ Moorhead, “Pentecost at Calcutta,” pp. 9-10.

³² Costellow, “After Two Years,” p. 4.

³³ Max Wood Moorhouse, “A Personal Testimony,” *Cloud of Witnesses to Pentecost in India*, September 1907, p. 38.

weight of glory.”³⁴ No one, however, mentioned languages for missionary evangelism.

The Calcutta revival received coverage even though the city newspapers pointedly ignored it. Moorhead began publishing *Cloud of Witnesses to Pentecost in India*, a series of lengthy pamphlets that circulated across the subcontinent and were sent to Europe and North America; participants wrote letters to the editors of the *Apostolic Faith* in Los Angeles and other sympathetic periodicals; and the Garrs printed at least one issue of *Pentecostal Power*. Hostile press coverage, particularly from the Calcutta-based Methodist *Indian Witness*, also extended awareness. In its pages, Frederick Price dismissed the meetings as too small in attendance to be of any lasting importance, compared speaking in tongues to “barnyard cackle,” and concluded that the emotionalism sprang from nervous disorders. Worst of all, he grimaced, the “cornerstone” of the delusion rested on “the position that there is no baptism of the Holy Spirit without the sign of speaking in tongues.”³⁵

Significantly, the debate did not center on whether or not someone might speak in tongues under the inspiration of the Spirit, but on Garr’s insistence that it had to accompany Spirit baptism. This particularly aggravated the controversy, especially for those who had witnessed the recent awakening and considered it a genuine outpouring of the Spirit. An editorial in the *Indian Witness* pinpointed the core issue: “[There] are some [missionaries] who seem to think that there is of necessity loss of spiritual power where there is a loss of manifestation.” Furthermore, “this wrong idea found absurd illustration in the preaching and belief that the gift of tongues always accompanies the gift of the Holy Spirit, and that the incoherent babbling of someone unconscious on the floor was evidence of the gift of the Spirit; while all good people, no matter how devoted, spiritual and successful, from Pentecost unto now, who had not thus babbled or talked with tongues, known or unknown, had failed to receive the Holy Ghost!”³⁶

Condemnation also came from Arthur T. Pierson, editor of the influential *Missionary Review of the World*, published in New York and London. Most of those susceptible to the “emotional mania” in the meetings “have been *women* of the more emotional, hysterical type,” he

³⁴ “Three Calcutta Witnesses,” *Cloud of Witnesses to Pentecost in India*, September 1907, p. 36.

³⁵ Price, “Manifestations,” pp. 251-2.

³⁶ “Revival in India,” *Indian Witness*, July 11, 1907, p. 442.

charged, revealing the prevailing view of women as emotionally frail. Pierson also attributed the reported visions of Jesus (for example, the account of seeing “[Jesus] sitting beside the [person] in a tram-car”) to a “heated brain...common with insane patients or those whose nervous system is abnormally excited, quite apart from any devout habits.”³⁷ Criticisms of what appeared to be excessive emotionalism—“fanaticism” as people called it—and the probability of demonic influence in this behavior paralleled similar charges leveled against Pentecostals in America.³⁸ Growing fears about the broader movement certainly contributed to the misgivings about the happenings in Calcutta.³⁹

Not surprisingly, both camps dug trench lines. Amid the clamor, the Pentecostals compared themselves to the disciples who had also been mocked for speaking in tongues on the Day of Pentecost. In Moorhead’s estimation, “All who are stirred up to seek the baptism of the Holy Ghost should know that the path of the Pentecostal life is identical with the way of the Cross...for the life of one who has really received the Spirit’s baptism is inseparably connected with the shame and the reproach of the Cross.”⁴⁰ For his part, Garr roundly scolded the churches that refused the Pentecostal message. The *Indian Witness* took him to task for anathematizing a highly revered missionary evangelist in India as a “sneaking devil,” for giving “ranting predictions of impending doom,” and using “delusive methods.”⁴¹ It also referred to the notable defection

³⁷ Arthur T. Pierson, “Speaking with Tongues”—II, *Missionary Review of the World* 20 (September 1907), pp. 682-84 (683).

³⁸ Untitled article, *Indian Witness*, August 1, 1907, p. 494. See also, Grant A. Wacker, “Travail of a Broken Family: Radical Evangelical Responses to the Emergence of Pentecostalism in America, 1906-16,” in *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism*, ed. Edith L. Blumhofer, et al. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 23-49.

³⁹ Both the *Bombay Guardian* and the *Indian Witness* published a warning in March 1907 about the Pentecostal movement from the British writer Jessie Penn-Lewis in which she alluded to the happenings in Calcutta: J. Penn-Lewis, “Words of Caution Respecting the Manifestation of ‘Tongues,’” *Bombay Guardian*, March 30, 1907, pp. 8-9; “Mrs. Penn-Lewis on the True and False in the Revival,” *Indian Witness*, March 28, 1907, pp. 202-3.

⁴⁰ Moorhead, “Pentecost at Calcutta,” pp. 10-11.

⁴¹ Price, “Manifestations,” p. 251. The Pentecostal movement in India and Sri Lanka was later embarrassed by a prediction that Colombo, Ceylon would be destroyed by an earthquake before July 1908. Given by a Sri Lankan Christian woman, Moorhead endorsed it in his *Cloud of Witnesses to Pentecost in India*

of R. J. Ward from the new teaching early in the revival to point out that spiritually mature and responsible Christians would soon detect its error.⁴² No doubt, this proved to be an acute disappointment and embarrassment to Garr and his supporters.

Moorhead published the testimonies of “reputable” people who embraced the new message in his *Cloud of Witnesses*. Captain T. W. Angell Smith of the British Army, along with missionaries Mary Chapman; “Sister Nelson” and Mary Johnson from Ceylon; Susan Easton of the WUMS; Etta Costellow, director of a WUMS orphanage; and “Miss Salatti,” director of the Salvation Army Rescue Work,⁴³ and, of course, his own account.⁴⁴

(the issue [Pamphlet No. 3] was published either in late 1907 or early 1908). He later apologized and took responsibility for publicizing the prophecy; see “A Private Letter not Intended for Publication.” The Garrs later received a slight reprieve from J. Pengwern Jones, one of the best-known publicists of the recent awakening. Meeting with them in the summer, he affirmed them as “God’s servants,” prayerful and desirous of evangelizing non-Christians, but errant in their teaching of the “gift of tongues as a proof of the fullness of the Spirit”; see J. Pengwern Jones to Jessie Penn-Lewis, 4 July 1907. These sources are available at the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, Springfield, Mo. (Hereinafter FPHC.)

⁴² The *Indian Witness* refers to C. B. Ward as the defector (August 1, 1907, p. 494). However, this is unlikely since the article in the *Prayer Circular* was written by R. J. Ward (“The Prayer Circular and the Gift of Tongues,” April 1907; reprinted in the *Indian Witness*, April 18, 1907, p. 249). Ward’s earlier endorsement may be the anonymously printed “This Is That,” *Triumphs of Faith*, March 1908, pp. 100-4.

⁴³ For information on these individuals, see “Three Calcutta Witnesses,” pp. 34-36; Mary Johnson, “In Calcutta, India,” *Apostolic Faith*, February to March 1907, p. 1, cols. 2-3; Costellow, “After Two Years,” pp. 2-4; Lawrence, *Apostolic Faith*, p. 102; Sister A. G. [Lillian] Garr, “In Calcutta, India,” *Apostolic Faith*, April 1907, p. 1, col. 1; see also, Edith Waldvogel Blumhofer, “Woman to Woman: Susan Easton’s Missionary Vision,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 12 (Winter 1992-93), pp. 4-8, 26.

⁴⁴ Moorhead had served as editorial secretary for the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions; for his testimony of conversion, see Max Wood Moorhead, “A Bank Clerk’s Conversion: A Personal Testimony,” *Bombay Guardian*, December 28, 1912, pp. 6-7. He also played a later role when the issue of universalism arose in the Pentecostal movement through the publication of Charles Hamilton Pridgeon’s *Is Hell Eternal; or Will God’s Plan Fail?* (1918). The Assemblies of God (U.S.A.) and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) condemned the teaching. Moorhead wrote the rebuttal for the PAOC: “Pridgeonism,” *Pentecostal Testimony*, November 1923, pp. 7-8.

4. Calcutta in Pentecostal History

It remains unclear how much Alfred and Lillian Garr knew about the awakening of 1905-6 and how it had impacted the Methodist churches (“Our Jubilee Revival”) and other churches in the country.⁴⁵ Neither can it be ascertained whether they had heard about the Pentecostal activities in south India that began in July 1906. Some discovery obviously followed their arrival since Lillian reported that copies of the *Apostolic Faith* had preceded them, creating a spiritual hunger among those they met. But more importantly, she found that “the revival had already broken out among the natives, and some were speaking in tongues.”⁴⁶ Unfortunately, it cannot be determined if this refers to previous events in south India under the ministry of the well-known revivalist Minnie F. Abrams or elsewhere.⁴⁷ Thus, it seems strange—even ethnocentric—for the Garrs to announce that Captain Angell Smith was the first to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit in India.⁴⁸

To Moorhead and Garr, the Pentecostal movement in India arose exclusively from the Calcutta revival. Moorhead credited it as the “first general outpouring of the Spirit” in the country, a statement that hints of some doubt about its absolute uniqueness.⁴⁹ Accordingly, the end-times outpouring of the Spirit began in America and then spread around the world as “rivers of Living Water were flowing from Los Angeles as a

⁴⁵ For the influence on the Methodist churches of India, see Frank W. Warne, *The Revival in the Indian Church* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church, 1907); also Frederick B. Price, ed., *India Mission Jubilee of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Southern Asia* (Calcutta: Methodist Publishing House, 1907).

⁴⁶ Sister A. G. Garr, “In Calcutta, India,” p. 1, col. 1.

⁴⁷ See Gary B. McGee, “Minnie F. Abrams: Another Context, Another Founder,” in *Portraits of a Generation*, eds. James R. Goff, Jr., and Grant Wacker (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2002), pp. 87-104.

⁴⁸ Lawrence, *Apostolic Faith*, p. 100.

⁴⁹ Moorhead, “A Short History of the Pentecostal Movement,” *Cloud of Witnesses to Pentecost in India*, November 1908, p. 21.

center to the uttermost parts of the earth.”⁵⁰ Garr shared this view, but considering that the promise of Joel (2:28-9) referred to a worldwide outpouring, he seemed relieved to remark in March 1907: “Reports are coming in from all over the world about how people are speaking in tongues, even before they heard of the Los Angeles meeting. Word comes from Russia, Ontario, Canada...[the] United States, Burma, and India.”⁵¹ Nevertheless, the focus on Calcutta as the birthplace effectively removed the memory of the earlier movement.⁵² Ironically, by the time the revival ended in March 1907 and a total of thirteen or fourteen had spoken in tongues, scores—possibly hundreds—of believers in south India had already testified to the experience.⁵³ In view of the relatively small number of people who received the Pentecostal baptism in Calcutta, one can only wonder if Garr’s subsequent preaching tour across the subcontinent didn’t have more of an actual impact on the expansion of the movement.⁵⁴

Several reasons may have stood behind conferring the accolade of “first general outpouring of the Spirit” on Calcutta. First, the Garrs and

⁵⁰ Moorhead, “Latter Rain,” p. 9. Notice his contradiction in “Short History,” p. 22. This historical interpretation parallels that of Frank Bartleman who referred to Los Angeles as the “American Jerusalem,” in *Azusa Street*, p. 63.

⁵¹ Garr, “Tongues,” p. 4.

⁵² See Gary B. McGee, “‘Latter Rain’ Falling in the East: Early-Twentieth-Century Pentecostalism in India and the Debate over Speaking in Tongues,” *Church History* 68 (September 1999), pp. 648-65.

⁵³ Sister A. G. Garr, “In Calcutta, India,” p.1, col. 1; Moorhead counted “ten or more” in “Short History,” p. 22. As far as I can tell, all but three or four of the recipients included: T. W. Angell Smith, Blanche Burnham, Mary Chapman, Etta Costellow, Susan Easton, Mary Johnson, L. Magnussan, Max Wood Moorhead, “Sister Nelson,” “Miss Salatti.” I have not been able to determine if C. H. Hook received the Pentecostal baptism. Though I find the small number surprising, it does not diminish the fact that Calcutta had a ripple effect in other parts of India as missionaries returned home; see Lillian Garr, “Pentecost in India,” *Good Report*, June 1, 1913; H. Wise, “Pentecost in India,” n.d. (photocopy of unpublished mss.), pp. 1-2. Available at FPHC.

⁵⁴ Lawrence, *Apostolic Faith*, pp. 103-5. Even with Garr’s glowing reports about his travels, one must be careful not to exaggerate his impact on the expansion of Pentecostalism in India. There is much more to be learned about the revival in South India among the Indian Christians and also in the mission stations of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. A broad picture of Pentecostalism in India from 1906-10 has yet to be written.

Moorhead may not have been aware of other Pentecostals in India at the time of the Calcutta revival, though Lillian's statement that Indian Christians were already speaking in tongues makes this unlikely. Second, Abrams and Pandita Ramabai (director of the world famous Mukti Mission near Kedgaon) did not derive their view of tongues from the teachings of Parham. Hence, because they allowed that some might receive Spirit baptism without tongues, they could not be considered orthodox Pentecostals.⁵⁵ Third, the assumption that the outpouring had begun in Los Angeles may have led them to downplay any circumstances that failed to support their theory.⁵⁶

5. Reformulating the Doctrine

Alfred Garr learned the "Bible evidence" doctrine from William J. Seymour, who had studied under Parham, the originator of the teaching, at his Bible school in Houston, Texas in late 1905.⁵⁷ After Seymour arrived in Los Angeles and the revival began in April 1906, he taught the doctrine even before he had spoken in tongues himself. The doctrinal connection between the two men became evident when the *Apostolic Faith*, which Seymour helped produce, declared that Parham "was surely raised up of God to be an apostle of the doctrine of Pentecost."⁵⁸

To Parham, tongues-speech served several functions: it signified the "last days" outpouring of the Spirit; verified the reception of Holy Spirit

⁵⁵ Minnie Abrams, "A Message from Mukti," *Confidence*, September 15, 1908, p. 14.

⁵⁶ See Joe Creech, "Visions of Glory: The Place of the Azusa Street Revival in Pentecostal History," *Church History* 65 (September 1996), pp. 405-24. For an excellent contribution to the history of Pentecostalism in south India, see A. C. George, "Pentecostal Beginnings in Travancore, South India," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 4 (July 2001), pp. 215-37. Interestingly, when Minnie F. Abrams told the story of the Pentecostal movement in India, she excluded mention of the Calcutta revival: "How the Recent Revival Was Brought about in India," *Latter Rain Evangel*, July 1909, pp. 6-13.

⁵⁷ For Seymour's changing stance on the doctrine, see Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., "William J. Seymour and 'the Bible Evidence,'" in *Initial Evidence: Historical and Biblical Perspectives on the Pentecostal Doctrine of Spirit Baptism*, ed. Gary B. McGee (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), pp. 72-95.

⁵⁸ "The Pentecostal Baptism Restored," *Apostolic Faith*, October 1906, p. 1, col. 1.

baptism, which brought the fullness of the Spirit (often understood by early Pentecostals as the “sealing” of the Spirit [Eph. 1:13]); and provided linguistic expertise for God’s elite band of end-times missionaries.⁵⁹ “How much better it would be for our modern missionaries to obey the injunction of Jesus to tarry for the same power,” he contended, “instead of wasting thousands of dollars, and often their lives in the vain attempt to become conversant in almost impossible [languages] which the Holy Ghost could so freely speak.”⁶⁰ What purpose then did they serve on the home scene? Given the dead formality of the American churches, congregations needed to hear sermons preached in tongues. When interpreted, the jolted hearers would know they had received a message directly from God.⁶¹

From 1901 through 1908, his “Bible evidence” doctrine (later popularly called the “initial evidence”) reigned supreme among Pentecostals and formed the chief doctrinal distinctive of classical Pentecostalism.⁶² During these years, the *Apostolic Faith* and other periodicals continued to print testimonies of people receiving known languages. In the earliest book-length exposition of Pentecostal truths, published in 1907, the holiness-Pentecostal George F. Taylor strongly affirmed the missionary value of tongues.⁶³ Although Garr continued to maintain that he had received Bengali at Spirit baptism, his inability to use it in preaching was a disappointment. “I supposed [God] would let us talk to the natives of India in their own tongue, but He did not,” wrote Garr from Hong Kong in 1908. “As far as I can see, [He] will not use that means by which to convert the heathen, but will employ the gifts—such as wonderful signs of healing and other powers.” Furthermore, “I have

⁵⁹ For the development of Parham’s theology, see James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1988), pp. 62-86.

⁶⁰ Charles F. Parham, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 2nd ed. (Baxter Springs, Kan.: Apostolic Faith Bible College, n.d.), p. 28.

⁶¹ Parham, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, p. 31. This probably reflects his understanding of 1 Corinthians 14:22 where tongues serve as a sign to unbelievers.

⁶² Kilian McDonnell, O.S.B., coined the term “Classical Pentecostal” in “Holy Spirit and Pentecostalism,” *Commonweal*, November 1968, pp. 198-204.

⁶³ G. F. Taylor, *The Spirit and the Bride* (Falcon, NC: Falcon Printing, 1907), pp. 37, 50-51.

not seen any one who is able to preach to the natives in their own tongue with the languages given with the Holy Ghost.”⁶⁴

This left him with no alternative but to reexamine the doctrine, amid the swirl of controversy that engulfed it. Given the mission ethos of the Pentecostal movement, it should come as no surprise that the “flaw” in Parham’s doctrine—the theoretical belief that one could preach in tongues at will—would be corrected in a mission context in the actual practice of ministry. To present his views in print, Garr published the periodical *Pentecostal Power* in March 1907, with the byline taken from Jude 3: “Earnestly contending for the faith which was once delivered to the saints.”⁶⁵ In a lengthy article, “Tongues: The Bible Evidence to the Baptism with the Holy Ghost,” he explained his new understanding of tongues-speech, answered his critics in Calcutta, and those of the doctrine in America.⁶⁶

He first recounted how he arrived at the doctrine. Told at Azusa that he should not seek for the gift of tongues, but for the baptism of the Holy Spirit, he learned that the Spirit would then speak through him in the same way in which he spoke through the disciples at Pentecost. “This put a new thought in my head that I had never had before...that the baptism of the Holy Ghost was accompanied with the gift of tongues in every case, and that those who do not speak in tongues as the disciples did are not really baptized with the Holy Ghost.” In fact, “God had really sent the gift of tongues as the witness of our being fully baptized with the fullness of God.” He then appealed to the pattern of five narratives in the Acts of the Apostles that link tongues and Spirit baptism either explicitly or implicitly: the Day of Pentecost (2:4); the Samaritan Pentecost (8:17-8); Paul’s experience (9:17-8); the reception of the Spirit at the home of Cornelius (10:44); and the same with the Ephesian disciples (19:6).⁶⁷ Speaking in tongues is “bestowed immediately upon the reception of the

⁶⁴ A. G. Garr, “A letter from Bro. Garr,” *Confidence*, Special Supplement to *Confidence*, May 1908, p. 2. Boddy published letters in the supplement to specifically address the failure of Pentecostal missionaries to preach in the languages of their hearers.

⁶⁵ Only one known issue (March 1907) has survived; it may have been the only one. Available at FPHC.

⁶⁶ The article gained a far wider audience when Moorhead reprinted it with some changes and editorial improvements as “Tongues: The Bible Evidence,” *Cloud of Witnesses to Pentecost in India*, September 1907, pp. 40-7.

⁶⁷ Garr, “Tongues,” p. 2.

Holy Ghost...and not before.”⁶⁸ In fact, “when the Holy Ghost baptism comes on any one that one will in every case speak in new tongues.”⁶⁹

In a pivotal adjustment, he added, “the reason we speak so much about the gift of tongues is not so much on account of the tongues themselves, *but it is what the tongues stand for*; namely the precious fullness of the baptism of the Holy Ghost.” This substantially moved the focus away from preaching. Consistent with other North American Pentecostals like Parham, Seymour and Taylor, he saw tongues as the sign of the outpouring of the Spirit and the evidence of the Spirit’s fullness, but differed from them by setting aside the evangelistic function. The attention now centered on prayer in tongues as the source of spiritual empowerment, an approach that highlighted the mystical dimension of tongues-speech in the spirituality of the recipient.⁷⁰ “It is the sweetest joy and the greatest pleasure to the soul when God comes upon one in all one’s unworthiness and begins Himself to speak in His language,” he mused. “Oh! the blessedness of His presence when those foreign words flow from the Spirit of God through the soul and then are given back to Him in praise, in prophecy, or in worship.” Paul had experienced the same joy (1 Cor 14:18), but unfortunately had to correct the Corinthians because they had erred by looking just on the “pleasure of speaking those foreign words, and neglected the duties to the unsaved.”⁷¹

To explain what Paul meant when he said that one could speak “mysteries with his spirit” in tongues to God with no one present understanding them (1 Cor 14:2), he appealed to the languages of angels referred to in 1 Corinthians 13:1. Since the person “is not speaking an *earthly language*, therefore [they] cannot be understood by anyone on this earth unless the *interpretation* is received from God.”⁷² Thus, tongues-speech might be in known languages, as well as the unknown languages of the heavenly sphere. Garr undoubtedly hoped this would counter the criticisms of those who described tongues as “barnyard cackle” and “unintelligible gibberish.”⁷³

⁶⁸ Garr, “Tongues,” p. 3.

⁶⁹ Garr, “Tongues,” p. 4.

⁷⁰ Simon Chan, *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 57-62.

⁷¹ Garr, “Tongues: The Bible Evidence,” September 1907, p. 43.

⁷² Garr, “Tongues,” p. 3.

⁷³ H. Gulliford, “Speaking with Tongues,” *Harvest Field*, April 1907, p. 133.

Like other Pentecostals, he did not explore why God would have his people “speak with foreign lips and strange tongues,” as Pentecostals interpreted Isaiah 28:11, as the vehicle of empowerment. Neither did he examine the pneumatology of the Lucan corpus as later theologians would do or consider other questions that present-day Pentecostals sometimes raise.⁷⁴ As with the majority of Pentecostal writers throughout the history of the movement, he looked primarily at the effects of tongues-speech: personal spiritual edification (1 Cor 14:2, 4); an increase in love for Christ; new interest in Bible study; more desire to evangelize; and an enhanced awareness of the imminent return of Christ.⁷⁵

The “fullness” of the Spirit brought by Spirit baptism not only enhanced spiritual vigor, but also brought demonstrations of divine power. “Now friend,” he implored his readership, “don’t go on any longer with an old empty hull of a religion—saying you are baptized with the Holy Ghost when these signs are not following you and you know it.”⁷⁶ After all, Jesus had stated before his ascension, “These signs will accompany those who believe: In my name they will drive out demons; they will speak in new tongues; they will pick up snakes with their hands; and when they drink deadly poison, it will not hurt them at all; they will place their hands on sick people, and they will get well” (Mark 16:17-8). In this way, Garr directly countered the argument that a loss of manifestations did not necessarily denote a lack of spiritual power.⁷⁷ On the contrary, in the wake of Spirit baptism, signs and wonders should consistently appear in one’s ministry.⁷⁸ If tongues constituted the initial

⁷⁴ For example, Robert P. Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994); Anthony D. Palma, *The Holy Spirit: A Pentecostal Perspective* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 2001); Roger Stronstad, *The Prophethood of All Believers: A Study in Luke’s Charismatic Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

⁷⁵ A. A. Boddy, “Speaking in Tongues: What Is It?” *Confidence*, May 1910, p. 100.

⁷⁶ Garr, “Tongues,” p. 4.

⁷⁷ “Revival in India,” p. 442.

⁷⁸ It is significant that Garr’s reasoning on this point is somewhat inconsistent. While he emphasizes that signs and wonders will follow exclusively in the ministry of those who have received Spirit baptism with tongues, he also admits that healings and exorcisms have occurred among non-tongues speakers. Nevertheless, these demonstrations of spiritual power fail as proofs of Spirit baptism; see Garr, “Tongues,” p. 2.

evidence, then increased zeal and displays of God's power represented the "subsequent evidence."

6. Calcutta in the Development of Pentecostal Doctrine

In the history of Christianity, the blueprints of doctrinal development have not been left in the sole possession of the professional schools of theological architecture. The New Testament itself, far from including a systematic theology by modern criteria, contains gospels and letters, which address issues of faith and practice as they arose in the churches. Growth in doctrinal insight has characterized all Christian movements since the time of the early church and has been shaped by theological questions, new insights arising from revival movements, and a myriad of cultural and historical factors.⁷⁹ For example, after the death of Martin Luther in 1546, Lutheranism almost foundered from differences of opinion over the correct interpretation of his theology; eventually they were resolved and unity was restored.⁸⁰

Behind the discussion on Holy Spirit baptism and Pentecostal phenomena stood more than a century of biblical and theological reflection. From John Wesley, Joseph Fletcher, Phoebe Palmer, Asa Mahan, Charles Finney, to Reuben A. Torrey and A. B. Simpson, the notion of a subsequent experience of grace in the believer's life—dubbed the baptism in the Holy Spirit in the latter half of the nineteenth century—had been scrutinized.⁸¹ Charles Parham stood in a long line of holiness teachers who sought to better understand what occurred in Acts 2, 8, 9, 10, and 19.

With the disappointment in tongues for preaching, Pentecostals might have been tempted to discard the phenomenon altogether, but that did not happen due to the transforming nature of the experience. In the context of Bible study and seeking empowerment for world

⁷⁹ Peter Toon, *The Development of Doctrine in the Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), p. xi. For the impact of revivals on missions and doctrine, see Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions: From Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa* (Irvine, CA: Regnum Books, 1994), pp. 112-21.

⁸⁰ Eugene F. Klug and Otto F. Stahlke, *Getting into the Formula of Concord: A History and Digest of the Formula* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1977), pp. 9-15.

⁸¹ See Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987).

evangelization, Garr demonstrated the close relationship between the intense restorationism of the Pentecostal movement and pragmatism.⁸² Simply put, when the application of tongues for preaching failed, he went back to the New Testament to gain a more accurate understanding, but without questioning the fundamental integrity of the doctrine. In this respect, he took the lead among Pentecostals in reviewing the function of tongues and was the first to do so in print. Though copies of *Pentecostal Power* and Moorhead's *Cloud of Witnesses* containing his doctrinal exposition reached America and Europe, the full extent of his influence on other Pentecostals awaits further study.⁸³

The two Pentecostal movements in India reveal the breadth of the issues involved, with the earliest theological division among Pentecostals—tongues as required evidence—surfacing there first. The movement in south India influenced by Abrams shows how Wesleyan-holiness and Keswickian/Higher Life interest in the Holy Spirit could lead to occurrences of tongues-speech without people having heard about events in North America. Classical Pentecostalism in India ultimately survived the earlier movement because those baptized in the Spirit at Calcutta were convinced that the pattern of tongues in Acts established an indispensable spiritual standard; certain missionaries in south India affiliated with the Christian and Missionary Alliance embraced the doctrine (e.g., Kate Knight, Christian Schoonmaker);⁸⁴ and because Euramerican missionary reinforcements came and established institutionalized Pentecostalism in the country (e.g., Assemblies of God, Church of God [Cleveland, Tenn.]).

The life of Alice E. Luce, a missionary to India and later to Hispanics in North America, illustrates the spiritual pilgrimage of some early Pentecostals. A friend of Abrams, she was baptized in the Spirit somewhere in India in 1910. Upon her return to England, Luce met with

⁸² Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 10, 35-57.

⁸³ The Metropolitan Church Association's periodical, *Burning Bush*, published in Waukesha, Wisconsin, referred to the article by Garr in *Pentecostal Power* and strongly condemned it; see "God's Two Gifts of Tongues," *Burning Bush*, June 20, 1907, pp. 4-6.

⁸⁴ Charles W. Nienkirchen, *A. B. Simpson and the Pentecostal Movement* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992), p. 87. See the tract by Kate Knight, "The Baptism in the Holy Spirit" (Fredonia, NY: Pentecostal Home, n.d.), p. 9; and Christian Schoonmaker, "A Testimony from India," *Pentecostal Testimony* (Chicago), July 1, 1910, p. 5.

the Keswick mission committee that had sponsored her and was questioned about her sympathies with the “tongues movement.” Affirming that God still gave the gift of tongues, “she told the committee that she did not consider tongues an essential gift and she would not teach about the subject, but she had found spiritual blessing through occasionally receiving this gift in prayer.”⁸⁵ In 1915 she entered the United States and received missionary ordination from the Assemblies of God in the short period before it had a creedal statement. (At that time, the application for ministerial credentials simply asked, “Have you an experimental knowledge of salvation and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues?”⁸⁶) That Luce stayed in the denomination after it adopted a confession of faith in 1916 and then declared initial evidence to be its “distinctive testimony” two years later suggests that for her and others the phase of theological transition ended with embrace of the reformulated doctrine.⁸⁷ It is noteworthy that her *Pictures of Pentecost* (1930) carries a ringing endorsement of tongues as initial evidence.⁸⁸

The preaching of “this blessed Truth” at Carey Baptist Chapel set a process in motion that led to a more biblical and relevant understanding of the Pentecostal baptism. The charismatic experience of tongues-speech for every believer in the reception of the Spirit’s fullness became the hallmark of Classical Pentecostal doctrine and spirituality. It soon bore fruit in the worldwide expansion of the movement.

⁸⁵ Charles Price and Ian Randall, *Transforming Keswick* (Carlisle, Cumbria, U.K.: OM Publishing, 2000), p. 158.

⁸⁶ “Application Blank for Ordination Certificate” (General Council of the Assemblies of God, St. Louis, MO, 1915), p. 1.

⁸⁷ One of the most poignant reflections on the struggle that some early Pentecostals had with the doctrine of initial evidence is found in Bertha Pinkham Dixon’s *A Romance of Faith* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 71-6, 150-55. Available at FPHC. Unlike Luce, Dixon moved away from the doctrine and joined the Christian and Missionary Alliance where interest in speaking in tongues eventually withered.

⁸⁸ Alice Eveline Luce, *Pictures of Pentecost: In the Old Testament* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1930), pp. 8, 55-6.