

Continental Theological Seminary

“NOSTALGIA FOR THE
ABSOLUTE”

the quest for empirical measurement
of the baptism in the holy spirit

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this paper to my wife Johanna who has walked with me as I thought about doing this research, talked about it, prepared to do it, started it, stalled and, now, finally have finished it and submitted it. Thanks for years of patience and encouragement. I couldn't have done it without you!

Preface

As a young third generation Pentecostal Christian¹ seeking to know God and live for Him, one of the main questions I found myself asking was, “How do I know I am filled with the Holy Spirit?” As it had been presented to me during my childhood years, because I grew up in Pentecostal churches, it seemed that the doctrines and practices of my church had been received as a complete and finished product directly from God at some earlier point in time. It was assumed by all that everyone needed to be and would be “filled with the Holy Spirit.” The question of knowing when and how that could be known became one that followed me for most of the early years of my Christian life. In searching for an answer, I found myself also asking, “Where did this understanding come from that the *tongues* which are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles was the evidence that indicated that one was, indeed, filled with the Holy Spirit of God?” This was part of the problem I faced as a young man in the Pentecostal Movement – answers to my questions were not forthcoming because, to a large degree, no one could even imagine asking them. In fact, it seems to me that, in respect to today’s understanding of what constitutes so much of “Pentecostal” doctrine and practice, a great deal is taken for granted because ideas have seeped below the level of our classical Pentecostal consciousness and are therefore no longer being examined: they are simply being assumed.

At this beginning point the fact needs to be underlined that this paper is not dealing here with the validity of *tongues* per se, nor of the desirability or acceptability of their manifestation. Our orientation is to understand how the language used by the earliest Wesleyans and, later, their heirs in the Holiness Movement changed in its generally accepted meaning to such a degree that it was deemed to meet the perceived need that *there should be* concrete evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit: “Why do we understand that the *tongues* which are mentioned in *Acts* is the evidence that indicates that we are filled with the Holy Spirit of God?”

Glossary

The subject which this paper deals with will cause a number of terms to be used, which, within the context of the discussion, bear meanings somewhat different from their common usage in the language of our day. These need to be defined at the outset:

Assurance. Refers to having certain knowledge that, in this case, the Holy Spirit has come to reside in a permanent way in the life and experience of the Christian.

Baptism in the Holy Spirit, or filling of the Holy Spirit. That spiritual experience in which the believer allows the Holy Spirit to enter his life, his being, with resultant ability to live according to the tenets of Christianity as a witness to the Person and work of Jesus Christ in the world.

Charismatics, charismatic movement. Designates those who accept the occurrence of distinctively Pentecostal blessings and phenomena, baptism in the Holy Spirit with the spiritual gifts of 1 Corinthians 12:8-10, from a denominational and/or confessional framework outside of a classical Pentecostal context.²

Classical Pentecostals. Their origins were in the U.S.A. at the beginning of the 20th century. They have grown to be the largest family of Protestant Christians in the world. Known at first simply as “Pentecostal” churches, they were given the added designation “classical” about 1970 to distinguish them from the “Neo-” Pentecostals in the mainline churches and the “charismatic” Pentecostals in the Roman Catholic church.³

Conversion. A spiritual experience of a nature similar to the baptism in the Holy Spirit, but referring to the question of salvation from both one’s sins and the consequences of those sins.

Holiness. Refers to both a movement and a personal state which that movement seeks to inspire and which is observed by the onlooker in the manner in which those who participate in the movement live their lives in the world – showing honesty, purity, respect for others and piety, among other things.

Initial evidence. Refers to that distinctive position of the classical

Pentecostal Movement that holds that unless the phenomenon of speaking in tongues is objectively noted, the person in question is not yet filled with the Holy Spirit although he may manifest every indication of the life-changing activity of the Holy Spirit in his life.

Sanctification. Related to the concept of holiness; it is that state to which Christians following in the current of the Holiness Movement aspired. A state of spirit or soul that should give rise to the characteristics already mentioned (Holiness) in the manner in which these followers lived in the world.

Speaking in tongues and tongues. Refer to that phenomenon known technically as glossolalia, the ability to speak in tongues not learned or known by the speaker (also sometimes thought of as a heavenly language).

Spiritual experience. Indicates a type of experience with a member of the Godhead — in the thinking of the common Christian, the Holy Spirit or Jesus Christ — which is not necessarily susceptible to logical proofs but which is ultimately logical in its results.

Witness. Expresses the desire for concrete, physical, empirical evidence of something: in this case the presence of the Holy Spirit residing in the life of the Christian.

Introduction

In 1900, the Pentecostal movement did not exist. At the end of the [20th] century, if one includes Charismatics along with Pentecostals, the collective movement embraces a larger number of people than all the Reformation bodies together and is surpassed only by the Roman Catholic Church in sheer magnitude among the church families of Christendom.⁴

To this comment by William and Robert Menzies, may also be added that of Randall Stephens who says that the Pentecostal Movement is in all likelihood the most important mass religious movement of the last century. At the beginning of the 21st century, it has over 30 million American adherents and a worldwide following of 430 million.⁵

In spite of this fact, the two Menzies contend: "... the future of the movement is uncertain. This is largely due to the fact," they tell us, "that theology gives direction to our experience and praxis, and the theological legacy of Pentecostalism is ambiguous ... history tells us that without a strong theological base, enthusiastic movements dissipate or evolve in other directions."⁶

The goal of this work is to contribute a little more to our understanding of the historical antecedents of the Pentecostal Movement in order that, in the long run, the Movement might come to a resolution of this ambiguity. It is generally accepted that knowing the details of our origins supplies us with more upon which to build understanding of our theological positions in the future, which thereby reduces the ambiguity of which the Menzies speak. Supplying more such understanding will continue to affirm and establish the Movement as the primary agency which the Master of History is using in these times for progress of the Church.

Assumptions and Delimitations

Certain basic assumptions have been taken into account in the thinking leading to the development of this thesis. First, that the human psyche is such that it seeks some evidence of spiritual experience. Secondly, that a spiritual experience such as the baptism in the Holy Spirit requires concrete facts as evidence in order that both the participant and the observer be satisfied as to the authenticity of the experience. Thirdly, that the biblical evidence of spiritual experiences indicates that God is willing

to satisfy this need of His creature. The Pentecostal Movement is knowingly and resolutely subjective and experience oriented while, at the same time, maintaining itself in a position of accountability to Scripture. This instance of someone who is not, in fact, a Pentecostal himself demonstrates this fact: "Brad Cecil, 43, associate pastor of Pantego Bible Church in Arlington, Texas, said 'people don't just learn through teaching. There's too much information for people to know. *So what you really know is your experience and who you relate to*.'" ⁷ The editor of one of our contemporary Pentecostal publications put it this way: "Being pentecostal is more than agreeing with a doctrinal distinctive or espousing a creed ... *Pentecostalism is about experience, not just creed* ... it symbolizes the church's historic need to revive and revitalize itself."⁸ While it is this researcher's opinion that the first assumption drives the other two, all of them will be taken into account.

While researching the preliminary literature review with these assumptions clearly in mind, it became obvious that there are three areas of investigation which might be considered: (1) Exegetical analysis of biblical evidence concerning the phenomenon of speaking in tongues as it relates to the Baptism in the Holy Spirit; (2) Historical investigation drawn from the history of the Church, notably from among the revivalist, pietist and holiness movements, with emphasis on the holiness area; (3) Research in the psychological literature to determine what needs the human psyche has in relation to spiritual experience. This paper's scope will be limited primarily to the historical records of the 19th century in the Church, searching for indicators of the evolution of the idea of the need of an initial, physical evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. There are ramifications that come out of this research having to do with the psychological make-up of the human psyche; some references will therefore be made to that area of research. Detailed research in the first and the third areas is, however, beyond the possibilities and scope of this paper.

"Nostalgia for the Absolute"

The human psyche is so constructed that in every area of life it demonstrates, as George Steiner so evocatively puts it, "...a deep-seated nostalgia for the absolute ... [that] we are starving for guaranteed prophecy."⁹ This is the case in the emotional areas of life for, as it has been often noted, "love begs for a demonstration." My contention is that this is so, as well, in regard to the spiritual areas of life and, therefore, to the question of initial evidence. Therefore, in agreement with the conclusion at which the forefathers of the modern Pentecostal Movement arrived, it is the position of this paper that a phenomenon such as tongues is a requirement of

the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Further, tongues as the acceptable initial evidence of such a spiritual experience is ultimately suitable.

The purpose of this paper is to partially reconstruct the complex historical and semantic background which led the Holiness preacher, Charles F. Parham and the students at his College of Bethel¹⁰ bible school in Topeka, Kansas, to the conclusion that the indisputable witness for which they were searching as being indicative of the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit was that of speaking in a tongue which they had never studied and did not understand.

Chapter 1 – So Many Questions:

The modern Pentecostal Movement is generally considered to have properly begun when on January 1, 1901, in the city of Topeka, Kansas, in the United States, a young lady named Agnes Ozman experienced what many were seeking at that time, the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Her experience was accompanied by the phenomenon of speaking in tongues. While she was certainly not the first to have experienced this phenomenon – it having been chronicled repeatedly throughout Church history – what was unique in her case was that “her experience occurred within a conscious theological understanding that baptism in the Spirit, an empowering of the Spirit for ministry, an experience subsequent to new birth, is *marked by the accompanying sign of speaking in other tongues.*”¹¹

How Will We Know?

While much has been written to justify that tongues was the measurable indicator that is witness to the filling of a life by the Holy Spirit in the 150 years or so since this awareness began to be discussed in the modern church, even a cursory reading of the literature on the subject shows that there was a long and sometimes arduous evolution to the point where the conclusion was accepted.¹²

Donald W. Dayton puts forward the idea that while much historical work has been done in relation to the Pentecostal Movement to demonstrate the continuity of glossolalia, little has been done to show the development of this “complex of theological and religious ideas” which became Pentecostalism.¹³ He asserts that much of the work done to date, based on the assumption that the Holiness Movement is an immediate antecedent of Pentecostalism, needs to be done again asking new questions. Randall Stephens states that the Pentecostal Movement grew out of the Holiness Movement in the late 19th century. This Movement has been seen to be an expression of both social and theological discontent among the lower and middle class groups. Holiness preachers did not approve of what they considered to be a lack of piety in the mainline Protestant churches and felt increasingly alienated by the growing wealth and elaborateness of their church buildings. Not being content, therefore, to stay in the mainline churches, they formed new religious communities seeking what is referred to theologically as perfectionism.¹⁴

These former Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists believed they were experiencing a renewed outpouring of the Holy Spirit

much like the early church experienced in the book of Acts. The holiness revival spawned zeal for “Spirit Baptism” (a divine empowerment of believers) and for other gifts of the New Testament church such as healing and prophecy ... They believed a new, miraculous era of the [S]pirit was occurring which would end in the second coming of Christ.¹⁵

While thinking about this I came across another statement that caused me to begin asking some of those “new questions”:

Mrs. [Phoebe] Palmer ... tended to make the experience [of the second blessing] “the beginning of days” for the Christian. The definiteness of her urgent revivalism called upon every believer to recognize the biblical promise of the fullness of the Spirit and to receive the experience by consecration and faith — now. The result was that the American holiness revival came to emphasize crisis states of salvation at the expense of an emphasis on growth in grace. Dramatic and even revolutionary experience frequently became the hallmark of Christian life and witness.¹⁶

It should be noted that Mrs. Palmer and her husband were active as evangelists and Bible teachers beginning early in the 19th century. The questions put forward, then, by third generation Pentecostals were not new ones, simply those of the children of Pentecostal heritage wondering how we had arrived at where we were in our practice and doctrine. Melvin Dieter, the author of the above statement, then goes on to make his comment more precise:

As a result of [Palmer’s] strong emphasis upon [a] crisis experience, the verification of the authenticity of the experiences became critical. They were the touchstone of one’s standing before God; one had to have a firm witness to their reality ... The meaning and place of “the witness” consequently created considerable controversy in the movement.¹⁷

Hannah Whitall Smith, Quaker author of several Holiness devotional classics, anguished over what she considered her lack of a dramatic emotional witness to her sanctification experience. She speaks of her “hunger and thirst for some tangible Baptism that would give ... the enrapturing thrills of bliss others seemed to enjoy, and would assure me that I had really received the Baptism in the Holy Spirit.”¹⁸ It was our identification, in the early years of Christian life, with Mrs. Smith’s anguish which has pushed us to seek to understand why the witness

of tongues is so important to the existence — past, present and future — of this expansive force in the Church which is known as the Pentecostal Movement.

An Answer to the Questions

In December of 1900, a series of events took place in the city of Topeka, Kansas, under the leadership of Charles F. Parham that ever since has caused tongues as the initial evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit to be considered a central tenet of the Pentecostal Movement. That tenet has, in recent years, been increasingly called into question. Dieter demonstrates that such questioning has been, from the very beginnings of the developing thinking process leading up to the end of 1900, one of the more divisive points of discussion both within and outside that Movement:

Ambivalence on the witness questions ... indicates the kind of climate which persisted and continued to prevail in the movement worldwide when the pentecostal revival sprang up with its distinguishing witness of tongues ... For some, the tensions between [the teaching of] Mr. Wesley and Mrs. Palmer were erased in the new and fully evident witness of tongues. The acceptance or rejection of “the sign” quickly became the “watershed” which gave identity to the pentecostal movement as a whole and just as quickly set into two distinct camps those who claimed to be Wesleyans and yet stood on either side of that watershed.¹⁹

Reasons for the Questions

The tenet of tongues as the initial evidence of Holy Spirit Baptism has become an issue of discussion in our day within the classical Pentecostal Movement, as a result of two factors: 1) The aging of the classical Pentecostal Movement which is now into its fifth generation; and 2) The large number of charismatics from different theological persuasions than those which were originally represented at the birth of the Pentecostal Movement and who are now entering the arena of Pentecostal theology. These new Pentecostals do not share the history, the theological roots or the experiences of the pioneers of Pentecostalism and are therefore not necessarily ready to accept the established classical Pentecostal positions without questioning them profoundly.

Resolution of the Questions

The historical background to Parham’s arriving at the position of initial evidence and of this position becoming that of the greater Pentecostal Movement is complex. It is my contention that this came about as the

result of a developmental process of doctrine that culminated in Parham's precision²⁰ that tongues were indeed the evidence that had so long been sought after and discussed.²¹ This process began, in the modern era – although it seems to have always been present to some degree throughout Church history – in the Holiness Movement of the 1800's in the United States of America with a lengthy ongoing debate concerning the essential meaning of "sanctification." This debate led to a search for some sort of indicator as to the sanctified "state" of the believer: was it a question of the way a Christian lived, the attitudes he displayed or, perhaps, of the experience(s) he may or may not have had? This led, in turn, to a further discussion concerning the role of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer as well as to a debate about being "baptized in the Holy Spirit," this mysterious term which is used in all four Gospels and in the book of Acts. This was the spiritual atmosphere in which Parham, at the time head of a Bible school in Topeka, Kansas, laid out a Bible study assignment for his students:

In December of 1900...I set the students at work studying out diligently what was the Bible evidence of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, that we may go before the world with something that was indisputable because it tallied absolutely with the Word. At about 10 o'clock in the morning I rang the bell calling all the students into the chapel to get their report on the matter in hand. To my astonishment they all had the same story that while different things occurred when the Pentecostal blessing fell, that the indisputable proof on each occasion was, that they spake in other tongues.²²

Chapter 2: A Basic Principle

Early Signs

In relation to our human “nostalgia for the absolute,” we note that the use of pentecostal terminology – tongues, tongues of fire, baptism of fire, etc. – begins early in the Holiness Movement. Dayton writes:

[The] mid and late-19th century saw an increasing crescendo of books on the Holy Spirit and the imagery of Pentecost. One can trace the rise of these themes in both Britain and America during the 1850’s – though for the most part the longing is for a “new Pentecost” as a general “baptism” of the Spirit and not for an individual Pentecost ... British Methodist [William] Arthur concluded his *The Tongue of Fire* ... with a prayer: And now, adorable Spirit ... renew the Pentecost in this our age, and baptize thy people generally – O, baptize them yet again with tongues of fire! Crown this nineteenth century with a revival of “pure and undefiled religion” greater than that of the last century, greater than that of the first, greater than any “demonstration of the Spirit” ever yet vouchsafed to men.²³

Arthur did not know it, but within a relatively few years his prayer was to be answered in ways that he could not even conceive!

Tfihs Mgidarap

The question which is before us and which begs an answer is this: what moves men to change their use of language from the generalized and seemingly ambiguous and accepted terminology of sanctification – the baptism of fire, baptism in the Holy Spirit, etc. – to the place where the true experience, according to Parham’s precision, of a personal experience of the *infilling* or *baptism* in the Holy Spirit is underlined by clearly observable empirical evidence? In his paper on the striving within the Pentecostal Movement to become a truly global witness to the salvation of Jesus Christ, Frank Macchia says, “Pentecostalism began as a *paradigm shift* from an exclusive focus on holiness to an outward thrust that involved a dynamic filling and an empowerment for global witness.”²⁴ Of interest, for this paper, is his concept of change: a “paradigm shift” is a fundamental and wrenching change from one way of thinking to another. In a sense it is a revolution, a transformation, a metamorphosis. It does not just happen, but is driven by various forces that serve as agents of change.

To understand the concept of a paradigm shift, we must first understand what a paradigm is. In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn argued that a paradigm is a set of beliefs or theories, a worldview that is accepted unquestioningly. It is a way of seeing the world that has become established as “truth.”²⁵

An accepted paradigm works as long as all the observable elements fit into it. But it so happens, from time to time, that something comes along which does not fit – an anomaly, an inconsistency. When this happens, there are three possible ways to react: 1) One can ignore the inconsistency, which effectively tends to put the apparent contradictions out of sight; 2) One can try to adjust the paradigm in order to accommodate the inconsistency, or 3) One can set the old paradigm aside and begin the building of a new one in order to address the new realities. It is this third option which Kuhn labelled a “paradigm shift.”²⁶

Such a “paradigm shift” of meaning in terminology is demonstrated in the Scriptures by referring to the baptism which John practiced (for repentance) as it related to the baptism which Jesus would later practice (in the Holy Spirit). Robert Mattke comments on these terms:

John the Baptist made it explicitly clear that his baptism was but an initial or introductory rite ... a prelude to the baptism which was to be administered by Jesus Christ. In the terminology of Paul, John’s baptism might be spoken of as “the earnest of the Spirit” (II Cor. 1:22; 5:5; Eph. 1:14). Luke expresses this forward thrust of John’s baptism when he describes the Day of Pentecost as a day “fully come” (Acts 2:1).²⁷

In terms of the question at hand, such a shift took place in the transition, first of all, from traditional Methodism to the Holiness Movement and then, later, from the Holiness Movement to the Pentecostal Movement. It is to be expected, too, that such transition from one theological/spiritual position to another would happen through experiences that are observable both internally and externally. It seems entirely likely that, due to Wesley’s own “slow and painful conversion from sacramental Anglicanism to evangelical Methodist Christianity,”²⁸ it should be anticipated that the expectation of a developmental process was built into early Methodism and became an essential part of the whole Wesleyan psychological construct. W. J. Hollenweger indicates that this type of expectation was not even necessarily surprising, given that it had already enjoyed a long and venerable history in the Church:

In Catholic piety there are famous works of edification which iden-

tify the progress from the stage of the ordinary Christian to that of the more spiritual Christian with particular experiences. This devotional pattern, together with similar currents in the Anglican Church, influenced Wesley. They have found their way into European Protestantism through the Anglo-Saxon Holiness movement.²⁹

There should be no surprise, therefore, in realizing that when God works in His Church, from time to time in history, He causes it to move in what is seen from the purely human perspective as being a totally new direction. It is not that He is doing a “new” thing, necessarily, but that He is moving His people more closely towards His ultimate design for them.

Spirituality Empirically Measured

Another question now presents itself, however: is it, indeed, possible to require empirical proof of such an obviously spiritual experience as the indwelling of a life by the Holy Spirit? It was earlier stated that the experiences of transition would be observable both internally and externally, both of which fall into the category of empirical measurement. Francis Touchet puts the question in these terms: “Inasmuch as we insist on all therapy being scientific, we may be creating a situation in which we unknowingly turn the espousal of science into its opposite. Can all human experience be quantitatively measured as one would a sack of flour?”³⁰ Can human spiritual experience be measured in some empirical way? The forefathers of the Pentecostal Movement evidently thought so and intensely sought the means of measurement.

Chapter 3: The Use of “Baptism” Language

Early “Baptism” Language

In order to adequately grasp what happened under the guiding hand of Charles Parham in December, 1900, it is necessary to have an overview of the events and movements during the century and a half preceding Parham in that growing phenomenon known as the Holiness Movement, from the founding of Methodism by John Wesley until Parham’s momentous conclusion. As early as Wesley himself the terminology that would later come to be so closely associated with the modern Pentecostal Movement was in use and, as early as the turn of the 19th century, physical phenomena — tongues being one of them — were already noted.

While never addressed directly by Wesley or by John Fletcher,³¹ another of the early leaders of the Movement, there seems to have been an unstated wariness of becoming too precise in the use of certain terms even though “Wesley ... had already made a distinction between the sanctified, or those who had been baptized in the Spirit, and ordinary Christians.”³² Mattke gives a more thorough look at Wesley’s language:

The Wesley brothers and John Fletcher refer to baptism rather sparingly. Worthy of consideration is the suggestion that Wesley did not want to enter the controversies associated with this terminology. As he charted a course between Pietism on the one hand and Anglicanism on the other, the use of such a vocabulary did not suit his purpose of stressing the practical aspects of perfect love in the life of a Christian ... Wesley appears to be cautious about labelling any experience the baptism of the Holy Spirit by the use of this particular expression. Dr. Mildred Wynkoop offers the following word of explanation: “Among the very many terms he used for entire sanctification, never did he call it the baptism of the Holy Spirit or any like term because of the danger of seeking the Holy Spirit for some accompanying gift or emotion instead of seeking Christ and His will.”³³

Further, “apparently Wesley feared that using the term *receiving the Holy Spirit* exclusively for the second experience would lessen its meaning for regeneration. Never did Wesley want to lower the content of regeneration to make room for entire sanctification.”³⁴ Not all commentators agree with this analysis, however.³⁵

Wesley did, however — and deliberately so! — Emphasize the element

of crisis in the regeneration experience:

If the Calvinist could never be certain that he was in the elect circle, the Methodist could know from a crisis experience of conversion that he was saved. From the beginning, Methodist theology placed great emphasis on this conscious religious experience. This empirical evidence of salvation is what Wesley and his followers have since offered to the world ...³⁶

Synan further points out that

By 1740, Wesley's ideas on theology were fairly well cast in the permanent mold that would shape the Methodist movement. Succinctly stated, they involved two separate phases of experience for the believer, the first conversion, or justification, and the second, Christian perfection,³⁷ or sanctification. In the first experience the penitent was forgiven for his actual sins of commission, becoming a Christian but retaining a "residue of sin within." This remaining "inbred sin" was the result of Adam's fall and had to be eradicated by a "second blessing, properly so-called." This experience purified the believer of inward sin and gave him "perfect love" toward God and man.³⁸

Transfer to America

Methodism was transplanted relatively quickly from England to America, not only because of Wesley's own prior interest in the American colonies but also by the strong missionary zeal exhibited by those who were converted to Wesley's understanding of personal Christianity. In 1766, in the first documented Methodist sermon preached in America, Captain Thomas Webb is noted to have made a clear declaration of the doctrine of entire sanctification. In his comments, he makes this statement: "The words of the text were written by the Apostles after the act of justification had passed on them. But you see, my friends, this was not enough for them. They must receive the Holy Ghost after this. So must you. You must be sanctified ..."³⁹ In other words, one of the earliest missionary Methodists is here making a clear correlation between the reception of the Holy Spirit in the life of the disciples of Jesus and, by inference, in the life of every believer, and relating that receiving of the Holy Spirit to the concept of sanctification or Christian perfection.

Nostalgia for the Absolute

"No Atheists in Foxholes"

Between this event, which is a part of the recorded history of Methodist expansion, and the beginning of the 19th century, America became involved in its war of independence with England. While the actual fighting was limited, the war and the events leading up to it were trying and traumatic times in the colonies as well as in England: beginning in 1763 and culminating in the Boston tea party in 1773; the Declaration of Independence in 1776; right up to the final Treaty of Paris in 1783. As so often happens in such times, the unsettled political atmosphere was used by the Spirit of God to awaken many to their spiritual need. Growth and expansion of the Methodist Movement in America continued during the Revolution.⁴⁰ As a much later observer of this spiritual phenomenon was to note, "There are no atheists in foxholes."⁴¹ It was one contributing factor, along with the "centenary fever" which accompanies monumental changes in our understanding of the passage of time, which led to the spiritual awakening that took place in the former colonies, the new United States of America, at the turn of the 19th century. Vinson Synan has noted for us the following documented experience which took place just a few years later:

In some areas another manifestation was reported ... In the revival that hit the University of Georgia in 1800-1801, students visited nearby camp grounds and were themselves smitten with the "jerks" and "talking in unknown tongues": "They swooned away and lay for hours in the straw prepared for those 'smitten of the Lord,' or they started suddenly to flee away and fell prostrate as if shot down by a sniper, or they took suddenly to jerking with apparently every muscle in their body until it seemed they would be torn to pieces or converted into marble, or they shouted and talked in unknown tongues."⁴²

Reflecting on this occurrence of spiritual phenomena, he makes this further comment:

Throughout the nineteenth century speaking in unknown tongues occurred in the revivals and camp meetings that dotted the Southern countryside. This phenomenon was considered just another of the many evidences that one had been saved or sanctified. This is of special interest to the historian of the Pentecostal Movement, since this is the key doctrine of all the modern Pentecostal churches.⁴³

Meanwhile, Back In England

In England, as an exception to the understanding current in America that this was "just another of the many evidences that one had been

saved or sanctified,” Synan notes that the phenomenon of tongues was being reported in a very purposeful way to have occurred repeatedly in the services led by Edward Irving, “... at the Presbyterian Church on Regent’s Square, London, in 1831. Although he never spoke in tongues himself, Irving saw many of his parishioners, including a member of Parliament named Henry Drummond, display this evidence of ‘receiving the Holy Ghost’.”⁴⁴

Coming Into Grace

The principal preoccupation and concern of the Holiness Movement at this time was that of coming into what was clearly conceived to be, following the teaching of Wesley himself, a second experience of grace after that of salvation. Now it became a concern to know how, indeed, a person could know that he had come into that state. Like Irving and his followers in England who seemed to be more and more concerned with manifestations as the proof of the state of entire sanctification, the North Americans sought a more experiential proof, a “shorter way.” Witness this observation:

Among the leading proponents of the [perfectionist] emphasis in Methodism were Mrs. Phoebe Palmer and her husband, Dr. Walter Palmer, members of the Allen Street Methodist Church in New York City. In order to lead seekers into the “second blessing,” Mrs. Palmer organized the “Tuesday meetings for the promotion of Holiness” in the parlor of her home in 1839. Hundreds of preachers from all denominations flocked to her home to hear of the “shorter way” of achieving the perfection and ecstasy that early Christian saints had taken entire lifetimes to acquire. By placing “all on the altar,” she taught, one could be instantly sanctified through the Baptism of the Holy Ghost ... For the next thirty years the Palmers were the national leaders of the movement, traversing the United States and Canada numerous times, and addressing camp meetings and leading churches on their theme of Holiness and perfect love.⁴⁵

This emphasis on a more experiential sign of achieving holiness continued to be the overriding understanding of the way in which the Church was to live in the world. It contributed to a generalized feeling that the battle for the souls of men and of the primacy of the Church in the world was once more on the upswing. In fact, it could be observed that the Holiness Movement as a whole was a new form of naïveté that, while it contributed to the appeal of the Christian way for many people — this was, after all, the period immediately following the period of time from

about the beginning of the 19th century to approximately 1830 that has been called the Second Great Awakening! — it served to mask some of the more sombre events taking place in America and in the world. “When the guns of Fort Sumter opened fire in April, 1861, they signalled the end of the early holiness movement in the United States and proved that the perfection that so many had sought, through the double cure of conversion and sanctification, had failed to avert the imperfection of war.”⁴⁶

The Aftermath of War: Increasing Inwardness

The general sense of defeat and the dismay which followed the cessation of the hostilities of the American Civil War were indicative of an entirely different atmosphere in the churches in general and in the Holiness Movement in particular in America in the years following 1865, which saw the assassination of President Lincoln in the closing days of the War.

Many features of the American church world came out of the war changed. For example, American evangelicalism had been greatly shaped by the Second Great Awakening. This movement, characterized by a dynamic form of evangelical activism led by such men as Charles Finney, Lyman Beecher and Francis Asbury, was the particular ambiance of mid 19th century evangelical Christianity in North America.⁴⁷ To have suffered the spiritually unanticipated events of the Civil War and the consequent disillusionment and disappointment of their former idealistic belief in what Donald Scott has called “an unshakable practical belief in the capacity of humans for moral action, in the ability of humans to turn away from sinful behavior and embrace moral action,”⁴⁸ took the heart out of many Christians and churches. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Holiness movement now began to turn increasingly inward to personal examination and a seeking for individual holiness and power to live the Christian life in the devastated world around them. This interiorisation of spirituality was even more evident — and was intensified in its results — in the southern States, which now felt an even greater separateness from the northern States, as a result of the defeat of the Confederacy and the consequent “occupation” by the North. The influence of the American movement around the world insured that this tendency to inwardness became widespread, even though the underlying reasons for it had not been experienced directly by the Evangelical church in other parts of the world.

The earliest modern holiness denominations began forming as early as 1880, out of this whole period when the doctrine of sanctification became controversial. However, a great impetus was given to this direction by the events of the 1894 General Conference of the Southern Methodist Church.

A fragmentation of the Wesleyan-Holiness world began at that Conference and accelerated from that point on:

Most of the [modern] holiness groups began in the decade after 1894, although a few began earlier and some as late as 1917. The quadrennium following the 1894 General Conference of the Southern Methodist Church saw the greatest number of new churches organized, many of them in the South. Of the score or more of major holiness groups with beginnings during this period, only four later became pentecostal, and all of these were in the South.⁴⁹

Chapter 4: Semantic Evolution

People Talking

Throughout the entire 19th century, as the Holiness Movement was growing in numbers and expanding its influence, and while the assumptions about what the second blessing was and how it was to be quantified were rife, there was discussion going on as to the meanings of the various terms used by the leaders and thinkers of the Movement. The shift in emphasis in language is pointed out by Dayton:

Comparison with Mahan's⁵⁰ earlier work on Christian Perfection (1839) indicates how radical a theological transformation has taken place with the adoption of the "Pentecostal" language. The former is radically Christocentric. The latter [Mahan's *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*, 1870] tends to subordinate the work of Christ to the Holy Spirit. In the earlier book the Heilsgeschichte is divided into two "covenants" separated by the Atonement of Christ. In the later book the division is into "dispensations" – and history climaxes in the Spirit whose age is inaugurated by Pentecost. There is a nearly complete shift in exegetical foundations: the first book rarely refers to the book of Acts, but the second is given its character by a series of texts from Acts.⁵¹

Mrs. Phoebe Palmer's influence helped prepare the stage for the rise of the Pentecostal mind by popularizing new terms for describing the Holiness Revival and the experiences it promoted:

Her 1857 reports are filled with language and expressions which heralded a major change in the semantics and maybe even the theology [italics added] of the American holiness movement. An account of a talk on holiness which she gave at the Millbrook, ON, Canada, Methodist camp meeting ... clearly illustrates this shift. "We live," she said, "under the dispensation of the Spirit. If the ushering in of the dispensation of the spirit [at Pentecost] was so glorious, what ought we to expect now? – Surely not a decrease in power." [Italics hers] Similar language permeates her reports of her wartime ministry in the British Isles. Amazed at what she saw happening there, she concluded, "Surely now as in the early days of the Spirit's dispensation, Pentecostal blessings bring Pentecostal power." Again, she reports that a young local

preacher who received “the tongue of fire,” testified “as the Spirit gave utterance.”⁵²

The place of the Pentecost experience — a global kind of concept invoking the events of the Day of Pentecost as recorded in Acts 2 — in the preaching, thinking and experience of the Holiness Movement began to move to a place of prominence that it had never before enjoyed in Protestantism. As well as the incidences reported by the Palmers, there were others that occurred and were reported by other tendencies within the Movement, notably related to leaders of prominence coming out of the Oberlin Movement.⁵³ “[This] resulted in a strong belief that the coming of a new age of the Spirit would restore primitive Christianity to the churches ...”⁵⁴

Mrs. Palmer’s teaching on the doctrine of entire sanctification, as opposed to that of Wesley, tended to increase the understanding of the distinctiveness of the second blessing from that of the initial experience of regeneration. Wesley thought of entire sanctification as a definite experience, but nevertheless one point in an extended process of growth, a gradualism, and therefore an accomplished maturity following long experience in the Christian life. Mrs. Palmer, though, tended to make the experience the point of beginning for the Christian.⁵⁵

The definiteness of her urgent revivalism called upon every believer to recognize the biblical promise of the fullness of the Spirit and to receive the experience by consecration and faith — now. The result was that the American holiness revival came to emphasize crisis states of salvation at the expense of an emphasis on growth in grace. Dramatic and even revolutionary experience frequently became the hallmark of Christian life and witness.⁵⁶

The Need to Measure

An element crucial to the principal question under consideration in this paper needs to be underscored at this point: it became increasingly apparent in the Movement that a means of measurement was needed in order to verify that someone was indeed baptized in the Holy Spirit; a conscious⁵⁷ baptism of the Spirit was required. Because of Mrs. Palmer’s influential emphasis on a crisis type of experience, the need for authentication of the crisis experience became acute. Such experiences were the reference point of an individual Christian’s condition before God: there had to be a reliable witness to their reality, i.e., there needed to be an assurance that they really came from God. The significance and place of

the witness consequently caused considerable debate in the Movement. The persistence of the issue and its importance to an experience-centred Movement undoubtedly raised interest in alternate definitions of the nature of such a witness.⁵⁸ As a result, “the philosophical, political and social endeavours of the Holiness evangelists were forgotten. Their theory of the two distinct turning points in Christian experience remained. The difficulty was to find the witness for the second crisis experience.”⁵⁹ Even though different evidences were proposed as being able to fulfil the verification role, it would eventually be that of tongues which would be best defended and accepted. As early as 1856, William Arthur had called for a Pentecostal effusion that would be followed with “miraculous effects.” Among these effects he listed, as possibilities, a “baptism with purifying flames of fire” and the possibility of “a real speaking with other tongues.”⁶⁰ It is not clear whether he expected the literal appearance of tongues of fire or not although his inclusion of “a real speaking” with other tongues may have been instrumental in putting that concept into the general thinking of those participating in the Movement.

Chapter 5: Seeking a Discernible Baptism

A Concept Takes Form

Even though occurrences of phenomena such as tongues were noted very early in Methodism and in the beginnings of the Holiness Movement, the first real development of the new language and the consequent concern for a conscious baptism seem to begin to take shape no earlier than 1840 in the thinking and writing of two minor figures of Oberlin perfectionism, Henry Cowles and John Morgan.⁶¹

By referring to the writings of Asa Mahan, connected early on with the Oberlin perfection movement, and of other writers of the time, it is possible to illustrate a major shift that took place during the 19th century in the thinking and language of perfectionist and holiness groups. This will in turn shed light on the origins of the Pentecostal Movement:

Mahan was convinced that the Baptism in the Spirit would have a conscious and perhaps even a physical effect. "Where the Holy Ghost is received, such a change is wrought in the subject that he himself will become distinctly conscious of the change ... a change also observable to others around." (The Baptism of the Holy Ghost, 1870, p. 41.) Hannah Whitall Smith's posthumously published papers on religious fanaticism also report, from 1871 or so on, several cases of people desperately seeking a "conscious" baptism of the Holy Spirit that would even result in "physical thrills." It is easy to see how the gift of tongues would fill this longing.⁶²

Donald Dayton has done a detailed comparison of Mahan's two best-known books, *The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection*, first published in 1839, and *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*, first published in 1870, in reference to a shift in Mahan's use of Pentecostal terminology. His conclusion has been noted earlier in this paper.⁶³

The publishing of this second book of Mahan's sees it being accepted as a definitive explication of the Oberlin teaching first tentatively proposed by Cowles and then Morgan.⁶⁴ By the time this takes place, however, the language has begun to be adopted much more widely and an increasing interest in this doctrine has been aroused in the Holiness Movement, largely through the influence of Phoebe Palmer's *Guide to Holiness*, during the 1850's. Other published material now began to follow this

tendency in talking about “Pentecost.” William Arthur’s book, published in New York in 1856, called for a “new Pentecost,” as has earlier been noted. Much of the literature associated with the revival of 1857-58 spoke of “Pentecost” and the “baptism of the Holy Ghost” without clearly or directly identifying either with the experience of entire sanctification.⁶⁵

A New Language

In 1859, Phoebe Palmer published her book *The Promise of the Father* in which she argued principally for the right of women to preach, but — and this is the point of mentioning it here — she based her arguments on her interpretation of the Joel 2 prophecy. It was, however, more her letters telling of her revival meetings in Britain during the Civil War period — which she published in the *Guide to Holiness* of which she was now the editor — which show the extent to which she was now using the “new” language. Her report from Newcastle indicates that she had there preached “the endowment of power, the full baptism of the Holy Ghost, as the indispensable, ay, absolute necessity of all the disciples of Jesus.” She notes, in that letter, that the importance of this way of describing the experience had just recently come to her attention.⁶⁶ Dayton further points out that:

Phoebe Palmer was using Pentecost now as the model of this experience and that it was to be explicitly identified with “holiness” ... [This] is made clear from another report from Newcastle: “At our afternoon meetings, ‘Holiness unto the Lord,’ or, in other words, the full baptism of the Holy Spirit, as received by the 120 disciples on the day of Pentecost, is set forth as the absolute necessity of all believers of every name.”⁶⁷

Dayton continues:

After 1870 one can trace an increasing crescendo of “Pentecostal” and “baptism of the Holy Ghost” language ... One can note in the *Guide to Holiness* an increasing tendency to use “Pentecostal” language. This climaxed in 1897 when the latter part of the title was changed to “and Pentecostal Life” in response to the “signs of the times, which indicate inquiry, research and ardent pursuit of the gifts, graces, and power of the Holy Spirit.”⁶⁸

By 1900, everything had become “Pentecostal” — The Pentecostal Pulpit, Pentecostal Womanhood, Pentecostal Testimonies, etc. “This adoption of [the new] language by holiness and related traditions involved much more than a mere shift in terminology. When ‘Christian

perfection’ becomes ‘baptism of the Holy Ghost,’ there is a major theological transformation.”⁶⁹ Paradigm shift! Dayton has developed a fairly detailed examination of several of the changes that are entailed in such a transformation, but as most of them are outside its scope this study will concentrate only on those that are relevant:

A heavy emphasis falls on “prophecy” which Mahan understands as “the power of utterance for the edification of the church and the conviction of sinners.” But this gift now becomes “the common privilege of all believers” and contributes to a concern for “testimony” and “speaking as the Spirit giveth utterance.”⁷⁰

Dayton signals another change: “In the shift from ‘Christian perfection’ to ‘baptism of the Holy Ghost’ there is also a shift from emphasis on the goal and nature of the ‘holy’ life to an event in which this change takes place.”⁷¹ He then goes on, referring to Mahan’s *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*, to point out that “greater emphasis [is now being placed] on personal ‘cleansing’ and ‘purity’ and concentrates on God’s *method* for achieving this. Explicating this in terms of the baptism of the Holy Spirit cannot but emphasize the ‘eventness’ of the experience of holiness ...”⁷²

There is finally [in Mahan’s *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*] a much stronger emphasis on the assurance that the Pentecostal baptism brings. “Where the Holy Ghost is received, such a change is wrought in the subject that he himself will become distinctly conscious of the change ... a change observable also to others around.” One can trace after 1870 a concern for a “conscious” baptism of the Spirit. It is easy to see how these sorts of concerns could raise the question of a “physical evidence” of this baptism and how the experience of “speaking in tongues” could provide an answer to this concern. Indeed, there seem to be several instances of this experience in holiness circles between 1870 and the outbreak of Pentecostalism in 1900.⁷³

It is my opinion that Phoebe Palmer was largely responsible for the widespread new use of the language as well as the expectation of an experiential event of empowerment in the life of the Christian. She seized upon and largely popularized the language that was coming into use in the Holiness Movement in general, notably so by the fact that she published Mahan’s *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost* and repeatedly made use of the language he introduced in her preaching and in her *Guide to Holiness*.

The Third Work

There also came into prominence in this period, around 1895 – with the founding of his “Fire-Baptized Holiness Church” – a man who, with the questions that he begins to emphasize, raised the general level of expectation for experiential phenomena in those participating in the Holiness Movement. That man was Benjamin Hardin Irwin. Irwin had trained for the law profession. But after some years of a mediocre practice, he was saved in a Baptist church and left law to enter the Baptist ministry. As an ordained minister, Irwin came into contact with Holiness teachings. Seeking and receiving the experience of sanctification, Irwin became a devout advocate of the doctrine, but being a studious man, he studied the Scriptures and the writings of John Wesley and John Fletcher.

Irwin was most influenced by the writings of Fletcher, who seemed to teach ... an experience following sanctification called “a baptism of burning love.” More often the terminology “Baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire” was used. Fletcher also taught that one could receive several “baptisms” ... [This] led Irwin to conclude that there was a third experience beyond sanctification called “the baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire” or simply “the fire.” Having already been “sanctified,” Irwin began to seek the “baptism of fire” for himself. Eventually he received the experience, which came to him with great ecstasy and demonstrations of joy. Afterward he began to preach this “third experience” ... Soon his services began to draw large crowds, a special attraction being the renewed exhibition of the emotional phenomena which had characterized the Cane Ridge revivals earlier in the century. Those receiving “the fire” would often shout, scream, speak in other tongues, fall into trances, and even get the jerks.⁷⁴

Most of the Holiness Movement rejected his message, having concluded and taught for some time that the second blessing of sanctification was also the Baptism in the Holy Spirit; that, in fact, these were merely aspects of one and the same experience.⁷⁵ In 1899, however, Irwin began editing and publishing a paper which he called “Live Coals of Fire.” It was the first publication that taught the baptism in the Holy Spirit and fire as following sanctification. As a result, a climate of inquiry and doctrinal interpretation began which would culminate in the Pentecostal Movement a few years later. Although Irwin did not teach that speaking with other tongues was the initial evidence of receiving the baptism in the Holy Spirit, tongues was quite common among those who received what was referred to by Irwin as “the fire.” Synan notes: “An interested observer of Irwin’s meetings was Charles Parham, the

patriarch of the Pentecostal Movement, who was repelled by the noise and emotion of the meetings, but who was impressed by his ‘third blessing’ doctrine.”⁷⁶

The church that Irwin founded became, therefore, a substantial link in the events that produced the modern Pentecostal Movement. By raising the question of the baptism in the Holy Spirit being separate from and following sanctification, as the Holiness Movement taught it, a basic doctrinal premise of the later Movement was brought to the fore for discussion. “In the social, doctrinal, and intellectual sense, the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church was a direct precursor of the modern Pentecostal Movement.”⁷⁷ That which the Holiness Movement referred to as the “third blessing heresy” was destined to become the orthodox position of the modern Pentecostal Movement with the single addition of speaking with other tongues as the evidence of having received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. By the time this latter emphasis entered strongly into the Holiness Movement, around 1906, the southern American segment had already been both psychologically and doctrinally prepared to accept it as a basic part of their beliefs.⁷⁸

Seeking Perfection

At this point it is perhaps good to pause and take a closer look at what we need to Understand about what was sought by all who prayed so earnestly for “sanctification” or “perfection.” Francis Touchet, a Christian psychotherapist, attempts to clarify the tension that such a search creates in our practice of spirituality. It is his opinion that “perfectionism is an enduring feature in both religion and psychology which must be reckoned with consciously. It will not be denied or ignored. It ... can either impale people on its sharp demanding thrusts or it can provide that prime energy that leads to a higher synthesis of forces.”⁷⁹ He sees perfectionism as a form of “enthusiasm,” a term used in psychology to describe behaviour which is considered to be outside of the norms of acceptable social activity although not necessarily dangerous or aberrant. In this respect he considers that perfectionists “like all enthusiasts thrive on ‘peak experiences’.” He observes that such experiences cannot sustain life in an ongoing, steady regulated way; the tension he sees, he expresses in these words: “Can these two currents (the traditional and the questing) intermingle so that the freshness of the swift stream can enrich the sluggish murky water of the main body? Or to put this in another form, can the church contain the sect so that it is constantly renewed and enriched?”⁸⁰ He further comments:

Without restraints and limits, the darker aspects of perfectionism take on strange costumes and enact and reenact pagan dreams of sacrifice and propitiation ... Perfectionism can be a creative force when it is contained within limits which give direction to its energies. What liturgical churchman has not, at some, time looked longingly at the emotional freedom of the pentecostal, and what evangelical has not, at some time, marvelled at the mystery and awe of liturgy? ... Perfectionism, like enthusiasm, is not a wrong tendency but a false [one] ... The question is not the tendency but the social forms the tendency takes.⁸¹

It is of particular interest for us to take note here of Touchet's assumption that the desire for Christian perfection will indeed "take a social form." We understand his terminology as demonstrating that, in men's hearts, there is a deep-seated desire for that which we have already referred to as a *conscious* baptism in the Holy Spirit, the desire for some objective evidence that one has really been touched and changed by contact with the ultimate Spirit, the Spirit of God.

Chapter 6: Parham's Precision

The Turning Point

As the "baptism" language was gradually introduced in the Holiness Movement and the understanding grew that there was more to salvation than simply the salvation experience which touches the emotions, a new question began to be asked, following the integration of these concepts into the thinking of the time: "How does one know one is baptized with the Holy Spirit?" Charles Fox Parham was seen to have answered that question with convincing evidence based on the Scriptures. Historians have seen the Azusa Street revival as God's means of sending Parham's precision to the world. It was time!

The historic happens in time and is conditioned by time. It is not outside or beyond it in some super-temporal twilight zone. It is part of history. The historic is that pregnant moment in time made possible by the maelstrom of past moments intersecting at a crucial point in which an event transpires that measures and conditions every subsequent interval of time. It is a moment of decisive importance by which history is made; it is the turning point.⁸²

Such a turning-point moment happened in Parham's life, as Vinson Synan explains it:

[Parham] instituted a school near Topeka which he named the "Bethel Bible School." This school began in October, 1900, in a large, rambling house ... It was here that forty holiness students gathered for the only year that the school was to exist. ... By December, 1900, Parham had led his students through a study of the major tenets of the holiness movement, including sanctification and divine healing. When they arrived at the second chapter of *Acts* they studied the events which transpired on the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem, including speaking with other tongues. At that juncture, Parham had to leave the school for three days for a speaking engagement. Before leaving, *he asked the students to study their Bibles in an effort to find the scriptural evidence for the reception of the Baptism with the Holy Spirit.* Upon returning he asked the students to state the conclusion of their study, and to his "astonishment" they all answered unanimously that the evidence was "speaking with other tongues." This they deduced from the four [*sic*]⁸³ recorded occasions in the Book of *Acts* when tongues accompanied the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁴

Parham did not arrive at the point of asking this question simply out of the blue. Were his spiritual travels studied in greater detail it would be seen that he had followed a gradual path of discovery in his search for holiness. This brought him by many small steps to the events of those months in his Bible school in Topeka. Synan notes, for example, that

Parham's theology by 1900 had come from many sources. Just prior to the opening of the Topeka school, he had travelled to Chicago to hear Alexander Dowie. From there he had gone to Nyack, New York, to hear A. B. Simpson of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and to Shiloh, Maine, to investigate Sandifer's "Holy Ghost and Us" Church. Returning to Topeka, he felt that there was still something beyond the experience of sanctification that would be needed "to meet the challenge of the new century."⁸⁵

Last But Not Least?

In point of fact, Parham was the last, not the first, of a long list to have come to the conclusion that tongues was the evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Larry Christenson draws our attention to a statement by Edward Irving, c. 1835, founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church: "*The unknown utterance (in tongues) is for us a convenient sign that the words addressed to our understanding are a message from God, a prophecy in the power of the Spirit, an utterance impelled by the Holy Ghost, and not the utterance of an enlightened and pious human intellect.*"⁸⁶ Christenson also points out in his paper that Pentecostalism put great emphasis on the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit as a second or third work of grace, after salvation. This had been the case in earlier revivals in Wesleyan-Holiness history. Pentecostalism linked this experience to palpable manifestations of the Holy Spirit, most notably that of speaking in tongues. In the case of Pentecostalism after Parham, the experiencing of charismatic phenomena formed a part of the central core of its proclamation and, therefore, was seen as the evidence of a new breakthrough of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church.⁸⁷

Killian McDonnell and George Montague demonstrate that "the essentials of what Pentecostals call the 'baptism in the Holy Spirit' was part of the public liturgy of the churches for at least eight centuries after the day of Pentecost." If this is true, then Parham, and those who followed him, simply have rediscovered for the modern church what the New Testament church experienced — and considered as normative — in the power and gifts of the Spirit.⁸⁸ Ralph Earle, in this same vein of thought, comments:

It is difficult to understand the almost universal neglect in the Christian Church of the baptism with the Holy Spirit. There was nothing particularly unique about John's method of water baptism. Judaism baptized new converts with water. Water baptism is thus not distinctively a Christian rite. *The only distinctive and utterly unique Christian baptism is the baptism with the Holy Spirit.* That cannot be duplicated by any other religion. It is peculiarly Christ's: "He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit."⁸⁹

It seems obvious that there is an underlying presupposition in Earle's thought that, because this baptism is so unique to Christianity, it demands some kind of accompanying phenomenon that shows that a "baptism" has taken place. Synan tells us that while most Holiness people had probably heard of speaking with tongues for the first time in connection with the events connected with the Azusa Street revival, beginning in 1906, the practice was already well known to students of both biblical and church history:

According to the records, there never was an era from St. Paul to Charles Parham that Christians in some part of the world had not experienced glossolalia. Examples of the phenomenon had been known among ... the Albigenses in 12th century France, and among the Waldensians in 13th century Italy. The Mormons and Shakers had also experienced [it] in 18th and 19th century America.⁹⁰

As well, as previously noted, the Irvingites had made it a cardinal doctrine of their Catholic Apostolic Church in England during the 1830's, while the Welsh Revival from 1904-05 was distinguished by notable examples of tongues-speaking:

Tongues were also prevalent in the Welsh revival of 1904 ... The *Yorkshire Post* reported that at the height of the revival under Roberts, young men and women who knew nothing of the Old Welsh would in their ecstasy speak in that tongue. It is quite probable that [Frank] Bartleman and [Joseph] Smale [another religious innovator in Los Angeles, former pastor of the First Baptist Church who had opened a mission called "First New Testament Church"] were aware of this aspect of the Wales revival when they began efforts to duplicate it in Los Angeles.⁹¹

When it became known through the events of Azusa Street in 1906, it was clearly a modern recurrence of a familiar phenomenon.

A Catalytic Event

The Azusa Street Revival was important in that it served as a catalyst to give international prominence to tongues speaking as a clearly defined practice. For years it had been recognized but not singled out as a *necessary* evidence of the baptism with the Holy Spirit. Because Parham made the precision that tongues were indispensable as the only *biblical* evidence of Holy Spirit baptism, a division was caused in the ranks of the Holiness Movement. This meant that those who adhered to the Pentecostal doctrine had agreed on one piece of incontrovertible evidence that was the same for all and was supported by biblical references.

In his first sermon on Pentecost in 1901, Parham offered tongues as a solution to the problem of evidence: "Now all Christians credit the fact that we are to be recipients of the Holy Spirit, but each have their own private interpretations as to his visible manifestations; some claim shouting, leaping, jumping, and falling in trances, while others put stress upon inspiration, unction and divine revelation ...How much more reasonable it would be for modern Holy Ghost teachers to first receive a Bible Evidence, such as the Disciples, instead of trying to get the world to take their word for it."⁹²

This precise statement, that tongues was the only initial evidence of the reception of the Holy Spirit, was the one thing that gave Pentecostalism its greatest push out into the world. In one blow it solved the problem of proving to oneself and to the world that one had received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. The Pentecostal Movement thereby succeeded in doing what the Holiness Movement had not been able to do in that it proposed to the believer a "repeatable and unmistakable motor expression which, in effect, guaranteed his possession of the Spirit."⁹³ "In addition to solving the problem of the evidence of the Baptism, the attaching of tongues to the Holy Ghost baptism had a strong Scriptural base in the New Testament, a fact which easily convinced many holiness people who interpreted the Bible literally."⁹⁴

Azusa Street came about as the result of a series of events that brought a young black Holiness preacher to the city of Los Angeles.

By the Fall of 1905, [Parham] moved his headquarters to Houston, Texas, at the request of friends there and in a short while had opened another Bible school for the propagation of his views. Housed in a large, three-storied house, this institution was called simply "The Bible Training School" and had an enrolment of about twenty-five students during the few months of its operation. It was

at this school that W. J. Seymour, the apostle of Azusa Street, received his theological training.⁹⁵

In Houston, Seymour had been taught that the Holiness Movement was wrong in asserting that sanctification was also the baptism in the Holy Spirit. This Baptism was, rather, a "third experience," separate in time and nature from the experience of sanctification, the "second blessing." Sanctification, it was understood, cleansed and purified the Christian, while the baptism in the Holy Spirit brought the enduement of power for service. The only biblical evidence that one had received the Baptism was the act of speaking with other tongues as the 120 disciples had done at Pentecost. No other "baptism," whether it was called sanctification or the "baptism of fire," was the true baptism of the New Testament. He should not be satisfied, then, until he had spoken with tongues as palpable evidence that he had received the Holy Ghost.⁹⁶

When the Azusa Street revival began in 1906, the theological and intellectual foundations of the Pentecostal Movement were already well laid. It is not surprising, therefore, that many holiness people who had prayed for and predicted a Pentecostal outbreak were ready to accept these events as the answer to their prayers. The fact that many Holiness leaders accepted the Pentecostal message shows how well the climate of the times favoured the new theology.⁹⁷

The spiritual manifestations that took place at Azusa Street, as Seymour and Bartleman described them, were nothing new to many southern Holiness people. Prior to 1906, Holiness authors often considered that tongues should be part of what was to be understood as a normal gospel meeting; most felt, though, that the term *other tongues* referred to the new language of new converts:

The "Fire-Baptized Way" was already known, especially in the South and also in the Middle West. All the holiness leaders had taught that some physical evidence would accompany one's sanctification to prove that he had "prayed through." Some thought that the best proof that one was "Baptized with the Holy Ghost" was that he would perform the "holy dance." Others taught that "hallelujah earthquakes" would be felt by the newly-baptized, while some thought that shouting in a drunken ecstasy like the Disciples on the day of Pentecost was the best evidence. Tongues had been experienced by many holiness people over the years, but they were considered to be only one of many "evidences" or "proofs" of sanctification.⁹⁸

In his Bible school in Topeka, Kansas, Parham taught that speaking in

tongues was to be recognized as a distinguishing characteristic of the baptism in the Spirit. This position made him one of the founders of the modern Pentecostal Movement. Although he was no more fortunate than most of the charismatic pioneers of the Pentecostal Movement, “it can safely be said that Parham and Seymour share roughly equal positions as founders of modern Pentecostalism. Parham laid the doctrinal and intellectual foundations of the movement, while Seymour served as the catalytic agent for its popularization.”⁹⁹ The following generation of Pentecostal preachers ignored Parham, never spoke of him, and secretly thought of him as a sectarian, even though the Movement as we know it would never have come into being without the “sectarianism” of its leaders.

From Azusa to the World

How the Movement developed from Azusa Street on has been abundantly described and dissected by many historical writers. It is not within the scope of this study to develop that evolution. We do need to note, however, a couple of assumptions which came out of the events we have been discussing and which remain as very real elements in the psyche of the modern Pentecostal-Charismatic Movement.

The first of these is the assumption that the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, with the accompanying sign of tongues, was freely available to all believers: “The early adherents believed that Pentecost was not only an event which inaugurated a new era, but a pattern to be repeated in the lives of Christians throughout history ... this pattern [the events of the day Pentecost] was normative, and [...] God had a faithful remnant in every generation who experience this kind of Christianity.”¹⁰⁰

The second is that a name evolved out of a plethora of possibilities — representative of the various tendencies from which the first Pentecostals came into the Movement.

The name which ultimately gained ascendancy over the others¹⁰¹ was the Pentecostal Movement. Pentecost was seen by the adherents as the inauguration of a new era accompanied by a display of God’s power and glory. Thus the covenant given at Mount Sinai was accompanied by clouds, darkness, fire, smoke, glory, and the personal manifestation of God’s presence and Israel was constituted as a nation under the Old Testament law. The Upper Room experience recorded in the Acts of the Apostles was accompanied by wind, fire, and speaking in foreign languages, and marked the establishment of the early church. The early Pentecostals believed that the Latter Rain

Revival would be inaugurated by a second Pentecost which would wrap up the church age and usher in the age to come.¹⁰²

Conclusion: Evidential Resolution

Donald Dayton provides a very concise overview of the whole period at which we have been looking in this paper:

The foundations had already been laid for the emergence of glossolalia. One cannot long contemplate Acts 2 and related passages on “the gifts of the Spirit” without at least raising questions about the practice. Phoebe Palmer had early placed a premium on the testimony to the experience of the “Pentecostal Baptism.” This was understood more and more as “speaking as the Spirit gave utterance.” ... Hannah Whitall Smith observed as well in the early 1870’s an intense longing for a physical manifestation that would accompany the “baptism” and give assurance of its reception ... The final emergence of the full expression of Pentecostalism required only that this practice be recognized and cultivated as the evidence of the reception of the “baptism of the Holy Ghost.” This final step in the development of Pentecostal doctrine took place near Topeka, Kansas, at Bethel Bible School under the leadership of holiness evangelist Charles Fox Parham. This addition to the complex of Pentecostal ideas provided the authenticating sign and the psychological dynamic that propelled the new movement into a well-prepared world with a force that is far from being spent.¹⁰³

The Watershed “Sign”

While it was only a small part of the Holiness Movement which had agonised over the question of a credible witness to the baptism in the Holy Spirit, however it was defined, it quickly became clear that the acceptance or refusal of “the sign” became the watershed which defined the Pentecostal Movement and which, just as quickly, set into two camps those who stood on either side whether from within or, increasingly, from outside the Holiness Movement.¹⁰⁴ This was due, in large part, to the fact that there had been more than one influence contributing to the formation of this desire for a sign: that of the “pure” Holiness tradition which emphasized perfection or the cleansing of the heart from all sin, and that which stressed the necessity of empowerment to serve God. These two emphases were indicated by the increasingly specialized use of terminology: “In those circles where the term ‘entire sanctification’ is used the

predominant emphasis is upon the cleansing of the heart from all sin. Where the baptism of the Holy Spirit is stressed, the result expected is largely that of power for service."¹⁰⁵

It was not so much that Parham introduced new revelation or new understanding as that he was able to crystallize the tendencies of language and desire which were being expressed both from within and from without the Holiness Movement into a comprehensive and comprehensible statement which satisfied the expectations of his time and which became the launching pad for a renewed drive towards pragmatic spirituality; a drive which continued well after he had himself disappeared from the active scene of the new Movement. Parham and, later, the early participants at Azusa Street, did not understand glossolalia as it is understood today – as, literally, unknown tongues, whether “of men or of angels;” they were thinking in terms of human languages which would be given by the Holy Spirit to those who were called to missionary evangelism.¹⁰⁶

Synan gives a slightly different explanation which, however, explains the phenomenon of tongues in much the same way.

The Pentecostal movement arose as a split in the Holiness Movement and can be viewed as the logical outcome of the Holiness crusade which had vexed American Protestantism for forty years, and in particular the Methodist Church. The repeated calls of the holiness leadership after 1894 for a “new Pentecost” inevitably produced the frame of mind and the intellectual foundations for just such a “Pentecost” to occur. In historical perspective the Pentecostal movement was the child of the holiness movement, which in turn was a child of Methodism. Practically all the early Pentecostal leaders were firm advocates of sanctification as a “second work of grace” and simply added the “Pentecostal Baptism” with the evidence of speaking in tongues as a “third blessing” superimposed on the other two.¹⁰⁷

By the beginning of the new century,¹⁰⁸ “Pentecost as past proof of God’s power, Pentecost as the present pattern for the renewal of the churches, and Pentecost as the portent of fulfilment of all things in the restoration of God’s kingdom among men became the pervading atmosphere of the holiness movement.”¹⁰⁹ Parham’s precision is understood in this historic moment as God empowering His Church with clear evidential proof at a significant moment in time. William Faupel emphasizes that it was the fact that glossolalia accompanied the revival which began under Parham – and that continued through the events of Azusa Street – which convinced many:

The single most important element which convinced these early Pentecostals that the Second Pentecost had occurred and that the Latter Rain era had begun was that the revival was accompanied by glossolalia. Susan Duncan asked rhetorically: “Why do I know this is the Latter Rain?” She responded that speaking in tongues distinguished this revival from all others in church history and linked it directly to the early rain [the first Pentecost]. While signs and wonders had occurred before and after Pentecost, speaking in tongues was the only sign “unique” to Pentecost. Its reappearance in the twentieth century, to them, could only signify the coming of the Latter Rain.¹¹⁰

Picking up on Duncan’s observation of this uniqueness, Faupel says that “What has remained of a ‘distinctively Pentecostal’ message, it seems ... is that ‘Pentecost’ is a repeatable spiritual experience to be enjoyed by every Christian believer, and that this experience is evidenced by speaking in an unknown tongue.”¹¹¹ In other words, it is not so much the glossolalia itself that is noteworthy, but the fact that it authenticates what God is doing. This was exactly the emphasis that Parham was making, only on a more individual level: the Holy Spirit coming to live and move in the life of an individual believer, evidencing His presence by the phenomenon of speaking in tongues. When enough individuals are involved with God in this way, revival naturally results. Parham, however, was most likely more interested in the individual’s experience of God. This would follow naturally out of his Holiness background with its driving desire for entire sanctification, perfection, and a sense of personal holiness.

Doctrinal Thinking

The fact of having concluded that this was observable evidence of the presence of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer gave birth to further evolution in the thinking of those who entered fully into the new Movement. This instigated further development in their ideas and, therefore, in a new conceptualization of the doctrines which developed. Firstly, Jesus is seen as being the Saviour, the Healer, the Baptizer in the Holy Spirit, and the Coming King. The doctrines of healing, pre-millennialism and glossolalia are the core of this “Four Fold Gospel” as it came to be called.¹¹² Secondly, a clear understanding developed that the baptism in the Holy Spirit was not being given to the Church for individual holiness alone, but primarily for the purpose of empowerment; the holiness that resulted was a secondary effect. Individual servants of the Lord were being empowered not only to live good, pure, holy lives, but

also to be witnesses in evangelistic power to the risen, ascended and soon-returning King. These doctrinal stances served to propel the Pentecostals out into the world in the greatest missions stimulus that the Church had known since the days of the New Testament.

It can be rightly concluded that William Arthur's prayer¹¹³ was indeed brought to pass by the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of that generation but, as is so often the case, not in precisely the manner that the servant of God intended when he offered that prayer!

Summing Up

Vinson Synan, in his overview of the new Movement, has rightly summed up its historic development for us.

In the development of this "second blessing" tradition, one may trace a clear line from the Catholic and Anglican mystical traditions, through John Wesley's second blessing sanctification experience, through the holiness and Keswick movements, to the appearance of modern Pentecostalism. All of these stressed a "deeper" or sometimes "higher" Christian life that went far beyond the level of nominalism that characterized the majority of Christians for most of the history of the church. Although theologians of these various historic streams would profoundly disagree with each other over the timing and content of the "second blessing," they all held tenaciously to the conviction that not all of Christian experience was received at the moment of conversion/initiation.¹¹⁴

The Pentecostal Movement, through the events in Topeka, Kansas, and at Azusa Street in Los Angeles, California, seized upon that fact. Following what the participants perceived as being the guidance of the Holy Spirit bringing them ever closer in relationship to the Lord Jesus Christ, the Movement concretized this understanding in an experience which could be empirically observed but subjectively experienced: the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the initial evidence of speaking in tongues.

Implications for the Future

As we have reviewed the development of this understanding of the necessity of an observable Baptism in the Holy Spirit, it has become obvious that there are some implications for the future which scholars within the Pentecostal Movement need to note. The first of these is that if the observations of this paper are indeed accurate, then the comments of the Menzies, father and son, that "... the future of the

[Pentecostal] movement is uncertain ... largely due to the fact that theology gives direction to our experience and praxis, and the theological legacy of Pentecostalism is ambiguous,"¹¹⁵ must be taken into account in further thinking on the Movement.

What this means is that Pentecostal exegetes, theologians and historians need to continue doing the necessary scholarly work in order to concretely establish the place and position of tongues in the Movement. If this is not done, the Movement will see a loss of the uniqueness that Parham's precision brought to the Church. In an article concerning the contributions of Charles F. Parham to the world-wide Pentecostal movement which appeared in a Canadian Pentecostal publication, the author, Randy Holm, summarizes the comments of James Goff, Jr.¹¹⁶ in this way: "Goff concludes that Parham leaves us with [a] foundational stone for the Pentecostal movement. [Parham] alone was responsible for the linking of tongues with Spirit Baptism as the distinguishing mark of Pentecostals."¹¹⁷ Since December of 1900, then, "tongues as the initial evidence of Holy Spirit baptism" has been a central tenet of the worldwide Pentecostal movement. Indeed it may be concluded that without the belief in tongues as the initial evidence of Baptism in the Holy Spirit, there would have been no Pentecostal Movement; and if Parham had not verbalized the linking of tongues with that Baptism, the concept of an objective evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit would not have been realized.

In that this tenet has in recent years been increasingly called into question, Parham's precision needs to be reiterated in ways that are convincing to a new generation. If this is not done the Pentecostal Movement risks sliding into that collection of past church movements which enjoyed a brief day of glory and then were left behind as the Church moved on to new enthusiasms, new emphases, for a new generation. As the Menzies so pointedly remind us: "history tells us that without a strong theological base, enthusiastic movements dissipate or evolve in other directions."¹¹⁸

That the Pentecostal Movement has for 100 years been able to avoid that fate is probably testimony to its inspiration by the Spirit of God as the element of strengthening to which He had brought His Church at that point in history. Maintaining the Movement in a forward movement in that same direction means that the current generation of thinkers and leaders in the Pentecostal Movement must continually return, as our fathers did, to the inspiration of the Church of New Testament times.

APPENDIX 1: Notable Exceptions

There were some notable exceptions among the early leaders of the Holiness and Pentecostal Movements to acceptance of Parham's precision that tongues was the initial evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit:

A. B. Simpson, head of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, rejected the Pentecostal contention that all must speak in tongues as the evidence of their Holy Ghost baptism. After a highly emotional revival in his Missionary Training Institute in Nyack, New York, in May, 1907, Simpson faced a doctrinal problem when many of his students and teachers began to speak with other tongues. After much thought, the president of the Institute decided that tongues was only "one of the evidences" of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Tongues would be allowed in Christian and Missionary Alliance services, but would not be encouraged. This eventually became known as the "Alliance position," a compromise unique in the early history of the movement.¹¹⁹

George Jeffreys ... demanded that any one of the 'supernatural gifts of the Spirit' should be recognized as a sufficient sign of the baptism of the Spirit. This opinion by Jeffreys did not appear in the official Swedish report of [the first European Pentecostal Conference in Stockholm in 1939], but it can be found in the monthly journal of the Swiss Pentecostal Mission. Jeffreys' view is held today by the Elim Pentecostal Churches, the Swiss Pentecostal Mission, the Chilean Pentecostal movement, and a number of other denominations. Similarly, the German Pentecostal movement has from the first resisted the theory that only one who speaks in tongues has received the baptism of the Spirit. To regard speaking in tongues as in general the sign of the baptism of the Spirit is regarded by Leonhard Steiner as 'a great mistake': "In our day the testimony of the whole gospel is constantly disturbed and deformed by movements of exaltation and of sectarianism within the Pentecostal Movement. The false doctrine of the baptism of the Spirit has played a large part in this ... The number of those which it has not helped is greater than is supposed ... One of the most urgent necessities at the moment is the correction of the doctrine of the baptism."¹²⁰

Hollenweger follows up these comments with the following statement: "In 1960, Leonhard Steiner wrote me a letter in which he sums up his studies of the baptism of the Spirit: 'My conclusion, then, is that one can no longer maintain the doctrine of stages of salvation. This inevitably leads to the rejection of the distinctive doctrines of Pentecostalism. This does not entail the rejection of the Pentecostal movement, that is, the *experience* of the Spirit that is to be found in it. There are numerous genuine examples of the *experience* of the Spirit, without there being present a correct *understanding* of the Spirit.'" Hollenweger finishes with this comment, "I agree with this view."¹²¹ He further adds a comment by Carl. F. Henry:

While tongues remain for most Pentecostals the decisive experience of a Spirit-centred life ... here and there a spokesman may be found who insists that the tongues-phenomenon of the first Pentecost ... ought not to be regarded as repetitive at all [i.e. present in every Baptism of the Spirit].¹²²

The question has been asked as to how this position by different groups has affected their growth, their influence in the Church world? Are they in some way diminished, lesser than those groups that retain an emphasis on tongues as the initial evidence of Spirit Baptism. This question, it seems, would be an adequate subject for further research in the area of the history of the 20th Century Church or, even, in the area of comparative church growth.

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Notes

- 1 Randall J. Stephens, "Assessing the Roots of Pentecostalism, A Historiographic Essay," (<http://are.as.wvu.edu/pentroot.htm>) Consulted, March 3, 2001; still available July 13, 2004: "Grant Wacker, a prominent historian of Pentecostalism, defines Pentecostals as believing in a post-conversion experience known as baptism in the Holy Spirit. Pentecostals, he says, believe that a person who has been baptized in the Holy Spirit will manifest one or more of the nine spiritual gifts described in 1 Corinthians 12 and 14."
- 2 Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, editors, *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 7th printing, 1995), 130.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 219-20.
- 4 William W. Menzies and Robert P. Menzies, *Spirit and Power, Foundations of Pentecostal Experience* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 2000), 15.
- 5 Stephens, "Assessing ..."
- 6 Menzies & Menzies, *Spirit and Power*, 9.
- 7 Charisma News Service, Friday, July 6, 2001, received from Ernest Pettry via email, July 8, 2001, "Some Grist for Your Mill". (*Italics, this author.*)
- 8 Rick Hiebert, "Pentecostal! What's That?" *The Pentecostal Testimony*, June, 2001, 5. (*Italics, this author.*) See also Frank D. Macchia, "The Struggle for Global Witness: Shifting Paradigms in Pentecostal Theology," *The Globalization of Pentecostalism, A Religion Made to Travel*, Murray W. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus & Douglas Petersen, [eds.] (Irvine, CA: Regnum Books International, 1999), 11.
- 9 George Steiner, *Nostalgia for the Absolute* (Toronto: CBC Publications, 1974), 5-6.
- 10 Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1979), 51.
- 11 Menzies & Menzies, *Spirit and Power*, 16. (*Italics, this author.*)
- 12 One commentator, at least, speaks of this as a "paradigm shift," that is, the whole way of thinking of the Holiness Movement of the time underwent a major shift in the definitions of some of the terms it used. Frank D. Macchia, "The Struggle for Global Witness," 16.
- 13 Donald W. Dayton, "From 'Christian Perfection' to the 'Baptism of the Holy Ghost'," *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, Vinson Synan, ed. (Plainfield: Logos International, 1975), 41.

- 14 Stephens, "Assessing ..."
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Melvin E. Dieter, "Wesleyan-Holiness Aspects of Pentecostal Origins: As Mediated through the Nineteenth-Century Holiness Revival," in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*. Vinson Synan, ed. (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975), 62. (Italics, this author.)
- 17 Ibid., 62-63.
- 18 Ibid., 64.
- 19 Ibid., 64-65. (Italics, this author.)
- 20 This term, Parham's precision, will be used throughout this paper to indicate the particular emphasis that came out of Parham's experiment with his students. That result was the understanding the "tongues" was the "initial evidence" of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. This name assumes that Parham's doctrine was the logical outcome of a developing doctrine rather than a spiritual revelation concerning the question of evidence.
- 21 Note though, by way of contrast, this observation by Randall Stephens: "The initial historical works on Pentecostalism came from within the movement. Pentecostal historians wrote within a 'providential' framework and focused on the role of God rather than human and natural causation. These histories, were apologetic and largely ahistorical. They depicted the Pentecostal revival as dropping from heaven like a sacred meteor." Stephens, "Assessing ..."
- 22 Charles Parham, *The Life of Charles F. Parham: Founder of the Apostolic Faith Movement* (Missouri: Hunter Printing Company, 1930), 30; Randy Holm, "Speaking in Other Tongues," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (Toronto, ON), (July, 1992), 10.
- 23 Donald W. Dayton, "The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism," *Pneuma, The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* (Spring, 1980, Vol. 2, No. 1), 11. Citing William Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire: Or, the True Power of Christianity* (New York, Harper & Bros., 1856).
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- 29 W. J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals, The Charismatic Movement in the*

- Churches* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), 336.
- 30 Francis H. Touchet, "Perfectionism in Religion and Psychotherapy or: On Discerning the Spirits," *Journal of Psychology and Theology* (Rosemead, CA), Vol. 4, No. 1 (Winter, 1976), 31. (Italics, this author.)
- 31 Jean-Guillaume de la Flechère, 1729-1785. Born in Nyon, Switzerland, John Fletcher immigrated to England where he was converted to Methodism. On the basis of his academic record from Switzerland, he was ordained by an Anglican bishop. Soon he was ministering with another Anglican, John Wesley, at West Street Chapel, as well as wherever French speaking Protestant refugees - Huguenots - congregated in London. He was soon appointed to the parish of Madeley, in Shropshire, where he ministered for 25 years, until his death. His single largest work, *Checks to Antinomianism*, expounded the theology of early Methodism and for years was a principal textbook in both England and America. "Fletcher's writings gave the Methodist Revival an intellectual and theological foundation which today is almost universally accepted as a matter of course. After he finished what he had to say on predestination, election, free will, good works, and Christian perfection, there was little left to be said - save for the perennial task of adapting to continuously changing cultural conditions." John A. Knight, "John Fletcher's Influence on the Development of Wesleyan Theology in America" (<http://wesley.nnu.edu/WesleyanTheology/theojrnl/11-15/13-2.html>), consulted, April 16, 2001.
- 32 Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 21.
- 33 Mattke, "Baptism of the Holy Spirit", 24.
- 34 Leo Cox, cited in Mattke, *ibid.*, 27.
- 35 Cf. Dayton: "Later holiness theologians, have been puzzled by Wesley's reticence to use this term (baptism of the Holy Spirit) with regard to entire sanctification., It appears to have been a deliberate and measured response to controversies and discussions that arose in the early years of the so-called 'Calvinistic Controversy' of the 1770's. John Fletcher, [was] much more inclined than Wesley to use this Pentecostal vocabulary. , Wesley had earlier objected to Benson's tendency to speak of sanctification as 'receiving the Holy Ghost' when they were justified. He apparently attributed the source of these ideas to Fletcher [who] on his part, was also clear about his differences from Wesley along this line., Wesley was not only reticent about identifying sanctification with Pentecost, but specifically repudiated at least some of the common themes associated with that position. In part this was apparently because he was fearful of undermining the classically Protestant asso-

- ciation of the 'baptism of the Holy Spirit' with Conversion. But it is also clear, however, that this identification was made in early Methodism, especially in the thought of John Fletcher ..." Donald W. Dayton, "The Doctrine of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit: Its Emergence and Significance," (<http://wesley.nnu.edu/WesleyanTheology/theojrnl/11-15/13-7.html>), consulted, April 16, 2001.
- 36 Synan, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 2.
- 37 On what is understood to be the eventual effect of Christian perfection or, more succinctly the simple word perfection, note the following: "The most important religious manifestation of perfectionism was found in the Methodist church. Perfectionism here was contained through rigid structure. Where perfectionist forces were strong they broke through the structure to create new forms in more perfect churches. [Ref: S. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1972.)], Methodism preached perfectionism to the individual ..." Touchet, "Perfectionism in Religion," 25."
- 38 Synan, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 8.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 10.
- 40 Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), 466-467.
- 41 Statement attributed to Boston's Daily News reports on the homecoming of U.S. Army Reserve Maj. Juan Borges, an army chaplain [at the conclusion of WW II]: He ... offered prayers, Bible readings and opportunities for worship. "There are no atheists in a foxhole," he said. "Soldiers have spiritual needs that have to be met. If there were no chaplains around, soldiers' morale would be worse off." <http://atheism.about.com/b/a/044066.htm>, consulted, July 6, 2004. Alternately attributed by some to Fr. William T. Cummings, M. M., *Sermons on Bataan* (n.a. March, 1942).
- 42 Synan, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 18, citing E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South* (New York, MacMillan, 1928), 194-195.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 18, citing Guion Griffis, "Camp Meetings in Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review* (January/April, 1933), 194-195.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 117.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 23-24.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 27. This refers, of course, to the beginning of hostilities during the American Civil War.
- 47 Donald Scott, "Evangelicalism, Revivalism, and the Second Great Awakening." National Humanities Center,

- <http://www.nhc.rtp.nc.us:8080/tserve/nineteen/nkeyinfo/nevanrev.htm>, consulted, March 14, 2006.
- 48 Synan, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 27.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 65.
- 50 Asa Mahan: The major architect of "Oberlin perfectionism," Mahan was successively president of Oberlin College, Cleveland University, and Adrian College and then retired to an active life in Britain as an editor and writer. Oberlin perfectionism was most clearly represented in his *Christian Perfection*, as well as in his two most popular books, *The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection*, (1839), and *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*, (1870). Both were originally published under Methodist holiness auspices. The first by D. S. King, who soon after became publisher and then editor of the *Guide to Christian Perfection*, the second by Phoebe Palmer after she, herself, became editor of the same journal which had by then been renamed the *Guide to Holiness*. Donald W. Dayton, "Asa Mahan and the Development of American Holiness Theology," (<http://wesley.nnu.edu/WesleyanTheology/theojrnl/06-10/09-7.htm>), consulted, April 16, 2001.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 13.
- 52 Walter and Phoebe Palmer, *Four Years in the Old World: Comprising the Travels, Incidents, and Evangelistic Labors of Dr. and Mrs. Palmer in England, Ireland, and Wales* (New York, W. C. Palmer, Jr., 1870), as cited in Dieter, "Wesleyan-Holiness Aspects," 65-66.
- 53 Synan, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 184-85. The Oberlin Movement, which owed its origins to Charles G. Finney prior to the American Civil War, assigned sanctification to the act of conversion based on "the finished work of Christ on Calvary." Denying Wesley's concept of a "residue of sin" in the believer, he taught that one was perfectly sanctified at conversion and had no need of a "second change" later.
- 54 Dieter, "Wesleyan-Holiness Aspects," 67.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 62, refers to these works: Charles E. Jones, *Perfectionist Movement within American Methodism, 1867-1936*, (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1968), 22-25; L. Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism* (New York: Abingdon, 1956), 112-13.
- 56 *Ibid.*
- 57 Dayton, "Asa Mahan,"
- 58 Dieter, "Wesleyan-Holiness Aspects,"
- 59 Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 21.
- 60 William Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire, or the True Power of Christianity* (Columbia, n. p., 1891), 43-79, 100, 164-167. Cited in Synan, *The*

- Pentecostal Movement, 175-76.
- 61 Dayton, "Asa Mahan,"
- 62 Dayton, "Christian Perfection," 51.
- 63 See p. 21.
- 64 Cowles in *Holiness of Christians in the Present Life* (1840) and, then, in some of his published sermons concludes that "the plan of salvation contemplates as its prime object, the sanctification of the Church and relies on the baptism of the Holy Spirit as the great efficient power for accomplishing the work." Morgan, in an essay entitled "The Gift of the Holy Spirit" argues the "the baptism of the Holy Ghost, then, in its Pentecostal fullness, was not to be confined to the Primitive church; but is the common privilege of all believers." This language opens up the possibility of the Holy Spirit's sanctifying being available to every person who believes in contrast to those who are differentiated as having or not having been wholly sanctified. Dayton, "Asa Mahan,"
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Synan, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 68-69.
- 75 Ibid., 70. Note, though, the comment which Synan makes later in his dissertation, which may help us to understand the origins of Irwin's thinking: "The English view, heavily influenced by the Keswick conventions, was that sanctification was in reality the 'baptism with the Holy Spirit'. Soon those with Keswick connections spoke of the second blessing as their 'baptism' rather than sanctification. While the English drifted toward a different terminology, the Americans continued to speak of the second work as 'sanctification' and continued to stress the Wesleyan doctrines of perfection, purity, and cleansing. Through a monthly paper entitled *The Christian's Pathway to Power* and numerous books and pamphlets as well, the Keswick view of 'Holy Ghost Power' came to be as widely known as Wesley's 'Christian perfection'. By the 1890's and the early part of the twentieth century, this 'Keswick terminology' had permeated the American holiness movement and exercised great influence on religious innovators such as Parham and Irwin." Ibid., 176-77.

- 76 Ibid., 72-73.
- 77 Ibid., 77.
- 78 Ibid., 89.
- 79 Touchet, "Perfectionism in Religion and Psychotherapy," 32.
- 80 Ibid., 30.
- 81 Ibid., 30-32.
- 82 R. C. Sproul, *Johnny Comes Home*, (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1984), 56-57. Sproul explains what he means by the historic: "Every moment in life is a suspension of the boundary between time and eternity. The moment is incapable of fixed definition, like the mathematical point that takes up space but has no definite extension, so the moment takes up time but has no definite duration. Yet it is the moment that creates the crucial difference between the historical and the historic. History flows along a steady stream of chronology, measured by hands sweeping around a dial or tiny grains of sand slipping through a glass. The minute and the hour may be timed by a delicate meshing of gears made by Swiss craftsmen or by pulsations from quartz crystals. But no gear has been invented nor crystalline substance discovered that can measure the historic."
- 83 There are only three such recorded instances: chapters 2, 10 and 19.
- 84 Synan, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 120-21. (Italics, this author.)
- 85 Ibid., 121. Also, Anderson, *Vision*, 54; Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 83-84.
- 86 Larry Christenson, "Pentecostalism's Forgotten Forerunner," *Aspects of Pentecostal Charismatic Origins* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975), 28. This is a quote from Edward Irving, "Baptism of the Holy Ghost" (New York, NY: W. C. Palmer, Jr., 1870. (Italics, this author.) Later 20th century Pentecostals make a distinction between "tongues" which are not to be understood and "prophecy" which is in a known language.
- 87 Ibid., 17.
- 88 Menzies & Menzies, *Spirit and Power*, ix, referring to McDonnell and Montague, *The Rites of Initiation and Baptism in the Holy Spirit: Evidence from the First Eight Centuries*.
- 89 Ralph Earle, *The Gospel According to Mark* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1957), 30; Mattke, "The Baptism of the Holy Spirit." (Italics, this author.)
- 90 Synan, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 146-7. See also: Eddie L. Hyatt, *2000 Years of Charismatic Christianity, a 21st Century Look at Church History from a Pentecostal/Charismatic Perspective* (Dallas, TX: Hyatt International Ministries, 1998.) Hyatt strongly supports this contention of Synan's with his research. Note, though, that not all scholars agree

- with Synan. Anderson, in *Vision of the Disinherited*: "As related, the whole episode at Bethel is too pat to be true," 54. Edith L. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God, a Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism*, vol. 1 - to 1941 (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1989): "The discrepancies in the various accounts of what occurred and what had been anticipated lend credence to the view that Parham had most likely concluded before December that speaking in tongues was 'Bible evidence' for the baptism with the Holy Spirit and that he had purposely created a setting in which others would reach the same conclusion under circumstances in which it would seem to be 'revealed'," 83-84; John Thomas Nichol, *Pentecostalism* (New York, Harper & Row, 1966), 21: "From the fifth century until the Reformation the manifestations which had been so prominent in early Christianity were virtually non-existent."
- 91 *Ibid.*, 118.
- 92 *Ibid.*, 149-50, citing: Parham, *Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 27.
- 93 *Ibid.*, 149-50, citing: James N. Lapsley and John H. Simpson, "Speaking in Tongues," *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin* (LVIII, Feb. 1965), 6-7.
- 94 *Ibid.*, 149-50.
- 95 *Ibid.*, 124.
- 96 *Ibid.*, 125.
- 97 *Ibid.*, 177.
- 98 *Ibid.*, 146.
- 99 Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 22.
- 100 William D. Faupel, "The Function of 'Models' in the Interpretation of Pentecostal Thought," *Pneuma, The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* (Vol. 1, No. 3, Spring, 1980), 59.
- 101 Some of these others were: *The Full Gospel, The Latter Rain, The Apostolic Faith*.
- 102 Faupel, "The Function of 'Models'..." 59.
- 103 Dayton, "Theological Roots," 19-21.
- 104 Dieter, "Aspects," 64-5.
- 105 Mattke, "The Baptism of the Holy Spirit," 28-29.
- 106 Gary B. McGee, "Shortcut to Language Preparation? Radical Evangelicals, Missions, and the Gift of Tongues," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (Vol. 25, No. 3, July 2001), 122.
- 107 Synan, "The Pentecostal Movement," 143.
- 108 As we at the entry of the 3rd millennium have just experienced being at a point in time at which we have become especially conscious both of what has been and what yet may be, so too was that generation.
- 109 Dieter, "Aspects," 67.

- 110 Faupel, "The Function of 'Models'," 68, referring to: Susan A. Duncan, "What Is It?" *Word and Work* (XXVII, August, 1910), 239.
- 111 *Ibid.*, 70.
- 112 Dayton, "Theological Roots," 16.
- 113 "Renew the Pentecost in this our age, and baptize thy people generally - O, baptize them yet again with tongues of fire! Crown this nineteenth century with a revival of 'pure and undefiled religion' greater than that of the last century, greater than that of the first, greater than any 'demonstration of the Spirit' ever yet vouchsafed to men." Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire*. (See p. 10.)
- 114 Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition, Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1997), x.
- 115 Menzies & Menzies, *Spirit and Power*, 9.
- 116 James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields White Unto Harvest* (Fayetteville, NC: The University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 164.
- 117 Holm, "Speaking in Other Tongues," 10.
- 118 Menzies & Menzies, *Spirit and Power*, 9.
- 119 Synan, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 180.
- 120 Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 335.
- 121 *Ibid.*
- 122 *Ibid.*, 336.