



A Portrait *of How the* Azusa Doctrine of Spirit Baptism *Shaped* American Pentecostalism

BY HAROLD D. HUNTER

The 20th century witnessed the birth and phenomenal growth of what is known in North America as the classical Pentecostal movement. During the first half of the century the reactions of traditional church leaders, theologians, psychologists, and sociologists were almost unanimously negative. Many believed Pentecostals were emotionally disturbed, mentally limited, inherently sociologically deprived, and concluded that the pneumatic unction claimed by Pentecostals was not genuine. Many today hold these same views, yet the ecclesiastical landscape has been so sufficiently rearranged many traditions have reevaluated their opposition to the Pentecostal movement.

This is due largely to the metamorphosis of the Movement itself and the fact its influence has spread to much of Christianity around the world. The surprise for many in the 1960s was that this expanse included the mainline Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic Church.

The wider Christian community has also had to reckon more seriously with Pentecostalism because of the dramatic increase in the size of the Movement. Some were startled when David Barrett's 1982 *World Christian Encyclopedia* named classical Pentecostalism as the largest group in the Protestant family. Most impressive has been the impact on theological inquiry. Although studies in pneumatology preceded the 20th century, some periods have been characterized by *benign neglect*. Today the trickle of research in pneumatology has turned into a flood. There are now lengthy bibliographies devoted solely to the Holy Spirit. Pentecostal studies were added to the curriculum of universities — Harvard, Cambridge, the University of



G.B. Cashwell

SPIRIT BAPTISM AND XENOLALIA

When Agnes Ozman (see photo) spoke in tongues at the opening of the 20th century in Charles Fox Parham's Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas, she helped build the framework of the first version of the initial-evidence doctrine propagated

instantly given the language needed for their missionary endeavor.

Although it was reported that Ozman spoke and wrote Chinese for days in 1901, she would later write that at the time she did not consider tongues-speech the exclusive evidence of Spirit baptism.

Ozman did not immediately join a Pentecostal denomination. In 1911, she and her husband Philemon LaBerge joined the Oklahoma Conference of the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church. Ozman had been exposed to Fire-Baptized adherents prior to having spoken in tongues in Topeka. Parham met Fire-Baptized enthusiasts in Topeka on his arrival in 1898 and encountered FBHC founder B.H. Irwin sometime before 1901.

Xenolalic Spirit baptism was taught at the Azusa Street revival and then spread around the globe. Pentecostal Holiness Church leaders such as G.B. Cashwell (above photo) and G.F. Taylor encouraged potential missionaries to trust God to provide the necessary languages. Cashwell believed learning foreign languages in colleges would take too long and Jesus would come soon. Taylor ridiculed

When Agnes Ozman spoke in tongues at the opening of the 20th century in Charles Fox Parham's Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas, she helped build the framework of the first version of the initial-evidence doctrine propagated in North America.

Amsterdam, the University of South Africa, and Trinity College (Singapore) — where previously such courses were unheard of. Increasingly clear that informed theologians can no longer make the Holy Spirit a mere addendum to their systems.

The following analysis shows how the teaching of initial evidence Spirit baptism spread by the Azusa Street revival changed North American Christianity. This change is well illustrated by groups in the South, especially those identified with the Wesleyan wing of the Holiness movement.

in North America. Parham taught that subsequent to salvation a person must be sanctified and made free from all sin. Those sanctified were candidates for the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the invariable sign of speaking in tongues. These tongues were defined as known human languages, which gave rise to the technical term *xenolalia*. The idea that initial-evidence tongues were *xenolalic* was not only an irrefutable evidence of a divine act, but many also believed this meant missionaries had no need to learn new languages because they would be



Agnes Ozman LaBerge

"scholarly clergymen and high-steeple officials" who wondered how to spread the gospel as being "19 centuries behind the times." So, while Pentecostal churches and periodicals struggled to spread their message throughout the Southeast, they also solicited collections for foreign missions.

Shortly after Cashwell's 1907 revival at Dunn, North Carolina, laypeople and leaders set out to places such as China, Japan, and India. Among those was PHC minister T.J. McIntosh.

McIntosh, who apparently was the first Pentecostal missionary to reach China, was the test case that revised a critical piece of this emerging formula. McIntosh was one of many who believed his *xenolatol* tongues were Chinese. Once in China he lamented in the *Bridegroom's Messenger*, "Oh! How we would love to

speak to these poor people. Of course, God speaks with our tongues, but not their language." Reports that McIntosh and other missionaries were unable to communicate with people because God did not miraculously provide them with a foreign language caused considerable discomfort for Pentecostals. This news also elicited further criticism from their opponents.

The teaching on Spirit baptism was modified in Cashwell's inaugural issue of *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 1:1 (1 October 1907). Here he specifically contrasted *xenolatol* with languages learned at colleges for evangelizing the world. He called the "gift of tongues" (1 Corinthians 12) *xenolatol* in contrast with initial-evidence tongues or *glossolatol*. Cashwell argued that McIntosh and others who thought they had the gift of tongues were pure



Charles H. Mason

THE INVARIABLE SIGN

As various Holiness denominations were introduced to the fledgling Pentecostal movement through accounts of the Azusa Street revival or by their own members who went to Los Angeles, they uniformly grappled with the doctrinal consequences of this new spiritual dynamic. Many realized they must abandon the idea that they had been baptized in the Spirit when they were sanctified. This transition was met with strong resistance by some, yet many were willing to seek the Pentecostal baptism in the Spirit.

Holiness Pentecostals were extremely interested in how Spirit baptism could enhance their ministry. When one considers their long-standing emphasis on the practical outworkings of Holiness theology, their fixation on Holy Spirit empowerment seems natural.

For African-American Holiness Pentecostals such as W.J. Seymour and C.H. Mason (*above photo*), emphasis was also placed on racial reconciliation. After the temple is cleansed, reasoned these warriors, it must be filled. Here *glossolatol* was the initial physical evidence and empowerment was the prize. Also, the congregation was expected to accept public manifestations of tongues-speech, particularly the *charism* of tongues.

What did not remain without controversy, however, was the belief that Pentecostal baptism in the Spirit was

THE BRIDGROOM'S MESSENGER

While the *Bridegroom's Messenger*, they all mentioned and kept. And at multiple times were a very made. Initially, the *Bridegroom's Messenger* is a very good book.

Vol. 1, No. 1, Atlanta, Georgia, October 1, 1907.

EDITORIALS

On the subject of the *Bridegroom's Messenger*, we have received many letters from our readers. Some of them are of a very interesting nature, and we are glad to hear from you. We are glad to hear from you, and we are glad to hear from you.

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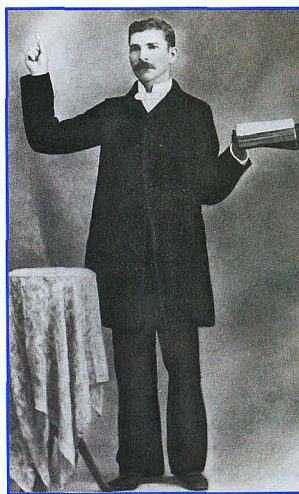
The *Bridegroom's Messenger*, Atlanta, Georgia, October 1, 1907

By the Editor

PHC

always evidenced by speaking in tongues. When Taylor of the PHC adopted the new teaching, he judged that tongues as initial evidence was scripturally sound. He believed that when groups refused to accept this position, it was grounds for division in the Holiness movement. And Taylor was not disappointed when his own church and other like bodies suffered losses due to including the new Pentecostal dimension of spirituality to their strict Holiness statement of faith.

A.B. Crumpler embraced the name Pentecostal Holiness Church as early as 1898. Apparently, Crumpler appropriated this name from a series of books devoted to the Holiness Movement. Published in Cincinnati, Ohio, by Martin Wells Knapp, the books were known as the Pentecostal Holiness Library.



A.B. Crumpler

The convention of the PHC, which met in Magnolia, North Carolina, in 1901, decided to change the name of the church. Many members, wishing to avoid social embarrassment, did not include the word *holiness* when referring to their church. Instead they claimed to be members of the Pentecostal church. The official deletion of the word *Pentecostal* — which was opposed by Crumpler — was designed to force adherents to be more straightforward about their commitment to holiness. After that convention the official name was The Holiness Church of North Carolina. After many members received the baptism in the Spirit according to Acts 2:4, the word *Pentecostal* was restored to the church's name on November 25, 1909, at Falcon, North Carolina. The church then returned to its original name, the

AZUSA STREET, THE ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, AND SPIRIT BAPTISM

The Azusa Street revival was not the only source of influence for Pentecostal believers and leaders who founded the Assemblies of God, yet it was a significant source. Foremost among our leaders who received the baptism in the Holy Spirit at the Azusa Street Mission was Ernest S. Williams, the second longest serving general superintendent of the General Council of the Assemblies of God (1929–49).

The Assemblies of God's first general chairman was indirectly a product of the Azusa revival. E.N. Bell received the baptism in the Holy Spirit under the ministry of William Durham. Durham was pastor of the Northside Mission in Chicago. He had been baptized in the Spirit at the Azusa Mission. It was Durham's teaching on the finished work of Calvary that influenced the Assemblies of God doctrinal statement on sanctification.

Many of our Fellowship's founders came from the Apostolic Faith Movement, Zion, and the Christian and Missionary Alliance. But the Pentecostal impact of Spirit baptism — as a distinct, separate, subsequent experience from salvation with the initial physical evidence of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance — made by the Azusa revival on the Assemblies of God and other traditional Pentecostal churches is a legacy for which we are grateful and for which we must earnestly contend.

Charles H. Mason, founder and presiding bishop of the Church of God in Christ, had also received the baptism in the Holy Spirit at the Azusa Mission. Mason was present at the founding meeting of the Assemblies of God in Hot Springs, Arkansas, to give his blessing to the newly formed Pentecostal organization. Seymour

chose not to attend. One can only surmise as to why. In earlier years, an unfortunate incident occurred. Florence Crawford separated her ministry from Seymour's and the Azusa Mission and moved to Portland to begin her own mission. Because Seymour felt this separation was done in an unethical manner, he altered the bylaws of the Mission to prohibit white leadership.

The doctrinal change that resulted is most critical to Pentecostal believers. Seymour moved away from tongues as the initial physical evidence and began to teach that love was the first and major evidence of Spirit baptism. While he did not reject tongues, he did reject the Pentecostal distinctive he had learned under Charles Parham while attending the Apostolic Faith Bible School in Houston, Texas. He apparently held to this altered doctrinal position for the rest of his ministry.

The Assemblies of God, and other traditional Pentecostal churches, have held to the Pentecostal distinctive that tongues speaking is the initial physical evidence of Holy Spirit baptism. This is critical to maintaining the biblical integrity of the experience. When one looks at revival and church growth around the world, it is largely Pentecostal revival with a strong emphasis on Spirit baptism with tongues speaking as the initial evidence. May the Assemblies of God and other traditional Pentecostal churches cherish this legacy of Azusa until Jesus comes.



JAMES K. BRIDGES is general treasurer of the Assemblies of God, Springfield, Missouri.

Pentecostal Holiness Church.

Another example is the Nazarene Church founded by Phineas F. Bresee. It was first known as the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. The term *Pentecostal*, however, was dropped after the Azusa Street revival.

The commitment to the emerging, initial-evidence teachings can be measured by what was written at the time about the Spirit baptism of persons who could not hear or speak. The first issue of *The Apostolic Faith* 1:1 (September 1906) refers to *Esquimaux* as a language for the hearing and speech impaired. (See clip on page 74 in this issue.) By contrast, the early PHC paper, *The Holiness Advocate*, 15 May 1906, (*below*) reported on the hearing and speech impaired who were



Photo: Nazarene Archives, Kansas City, Missouri

Phineas F. Bresee

Spirit baptized but did not speak in tongues. Yet, Taylor firmly stated in *The Spirit and the Bride* that hearing- and

Holiness Advocate.

In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity."

Vol. VI.

CLINTON, N. C., MAY 15, 1906.

No. 3.

FAITH
 Faith is the hand that
 Whate'er the Lord
 And grips the promise
 Our keeping it dep

With is the foot that loves to sleep
Into the dark with God,
Went to walk alone with Him
Where'er His Son hath trod.

With is the eye that sees the low
Set in darkest sky,
That looks to Christ with thankful
Heart,

With is the human spirit's ear
So questioned from the fall
To discern the Shepherd's voice
From every hireling's call.

with its that quickened touch of soul
That knows the Rapture's power,
And lifts, to meet the heavenly touch
It is the heart of prayer.

with it the scent of Yumide Street
filled with perfect love,
and it came to cover all,
beneath or from above.

air

WILLIAM T. HUDSON, D. D., in *The Methodist*
Editorial

"Baptism is that work of God's grace by which we are renewed after the image of God, set apart for his service, and enabled to die unto sin."

live unto righteousness. It can rebuke the graces of knowledge, faith, repentance, love, humility, zeal, and piety; and the exercise of them toward God and man.—R. Watson, *sermon*. "The very end of piety itself you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless."—3 Thim. 5:22. "This is the will of God, over our sanctification"—1 Thim. 4:8. As he who hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation.—1 Peter 1:15. "Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works"—Tit. 2:14. "We are justified through the offering of the life of Jesus Christ"—Heb. 10:10. "Mercy is our love made perfect."—John 4:17.

The Nature of Holiness.—It is the consecration of the heart and life to the law of God. The casting out of all ungodly and unclean sins, the purification of the moral nature and the restoration of the image of God, so that the individual is glorious within, having the fruit of the Spirit—"love, joy, peace, gentleness, gentleness, meekness,

lect. Satisfaction brings the lost of the Christian into captivity; Christ, so that he thinks for him; the love of God in his heart, the law of God in his mind, the righteousness into his conscience so that the law of right is his rule, the life of obedience into his will, the grace of God and His will of the Father.

2. When Is It Attainable?—It is work commencing in and carried off after conversion. It is a process which is in harmony with, yet separate from and unobscured by, the work of conversion. There may be rare instances where it is accomplished at once, but the church teaches that sanctification with some is attained after death through the fires of purgatory; therefore, if it can be attained in this life, it must be by the means of the sacrament of Holy Communion. The doctrine of satisfaction is a principle which is absolutely necessary as a qualification for heaven. The difference is in the time of its attainment.

The sacrament of Holy Communion is rooted and scriptural, our daily heavenly elevation the plane of Christianity transcends no higher.

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If that is the case of *Yalden*,
The Colonel is there, but on a
cultural foundation. There is no
in the mere act of dying to save
the end.

3. That sanctification is attain-
during life will be seen: (1) Because
God wills it, "For this is the will
of God, even your sanctification,"
with our sanctification just as

and shatterer as he wills the altar of sinners, or any other thing. There can be no higher than the will of God. (2) But God commands it. "Be ye then perfect, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect." The perfect— in knowledge or power as God, in love and holiness. Be perfect— in degree as God, but in quality like Him. (3) Because this great love is promised: "Then will I meet clean when you see, and be clean, from all your iniquities, from all your iniquities with clean heart, with clean eye, from all your iniquities." (Zech. 13:1-2). "If we confess our sin, he is faithful and true to forgive our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness."—1 John 1:9. — your God of peace instruct you well." Does not this passage under fire sanctification? Do we have

does the apostle pray that your "be-
lieve preserved blameless" (1)
cause the possession of holiness
eternally desirable. Holiness
make like God. It enables us to
much of heaven while on earth.
makes us more useful. It gives
access to heaven. The Neighbors

bring the Bible alive. For the gospel is preached. For this the world stands, the sun shines, the earth yields her increase, and judgment day is delayed. For this God employs the various agencies of the church. "For he gave some apostles and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints."

4. How is this Blessed State to Be Attained? (1) It is manifest that there must be a deep and abiding conviction of the need. No one will seek it until he feels his need. He needs great blessing, great good, upon the reasonableness and glory of such a state. Can anything less than the whole heart satisfy God? Supreme love of Him is the glory of man. (2) There must be a dedication and sacrifice to seek it devoutly, and

[illegible]

WHY SAMUEL IS LOVED.

"I know," piped a little voice. "It 'cause Sam loves everybody!"

"How do you know Sam loves everybody?"

"Cause I make he cheer. Now there's little Jim Black. His father drinks and sometimes Jim does not bring any much to school. When Sam divides his lunch with little Jim again, and when the boys make fun of Sam about becoming his shadow were out, Sam gives them a look that they won't forget it a hurry."

"A look? What would boys care for a look?"

"Well, sir, if you'd seen Sam look like that, you'd understand. It was just like that look 'Nore, say I'd saved of yourselves, making fun of a poor little fellow who wears the best he's got."

"Doesn't that look of Sam's make the boys angry?"

think for somebody. "That day I was sick," Dick Mills got hurt, Sam carried him all the way home in his arms, all the way. Just gave Sam. When Bartley Dwyer broke his leg, Sam went to see him every day, and when Billy Chubb was sick you ought to've seen the night things Sam took him."

"That what has Sam Darrow done for you?"

"The little fellow's face flushed, and then he told in a low voice, looking up deprecatingly: "You wouldn't think I came near being a thief and liar once, but I found something wanted and no one knew but Sam. "I'm going to keep it," I told him, "they won't know who's got it." So I gave him that look, then he said: "If you will know, and so will God, I took it from the owner."—New York Observer.

[illegible]

formed in you." Again I say, it is on the order of a stronger word, "He who sees the travail of his soul and shall be satisfied." Are we in the success? Is intercourse with us a re-

If ye be remeached for the name Christ, happy are ye; for the Spirit glory and of God resteth upon you; their part be in evil spoken of, but your part be be glorified.—A Peter's

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speech-impaired believers must speak in tongues to be certifiably baptized in the Spirit. King's *The Apostolic Evangel* 1:1 (15 February 1909) reprinted a report from *Confidence* claiming a hearing- and speech-impaired woman "began to speak under the power of the Spirit. She began to speak in Hindustani and testified to Mohammedans. Afterwards she lost Hindustani and got the Telegu, her native language."

More potent illustrations of the reactions to Spirit baptism dogma arising from the Azusa Street revival can be found among well-known Holiness groups in the South including the Church of God in Christ, the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), the PHC, and the FBHC.

FORGOTTEN ROOTS OF THE AZUSA STREET REVIVAL

Writing during the glow of the Azusa Street revival, V.P. Simmons claimed to have 42 years of personal exposure to those who spoke in tongues. Published in 1907 by *Bridegroom's Messenger* and circulated as a tract, Simmons chronicled the history of Spirit baptism from Irenaeus (2nd century) up to and including a group from New England whom he personally observed manifesting tongues-speech as they continually partook of a spiritual baptism.¹ Identified as Gift People or Gift Adventists, they were widely known for their involvement with spectacular *charisms*. Early Pentecostal periodicals reported that tongues-speech was known among these groups since the latter part of the 19th century. Some groups were said to number in the thousands.²

William H. Doughty, who, by 1855, had spoken in tongues while in Maine, was counted among that number. Elder Doughty moved to Providence, Rhode Island, in 1873 and assumed leadership among those exercising the gifts of the Spirit.³ Doughty's mantle was passed on to Elder R.B. Swan who, reacting to the Azusa Street revival, wrote a letter

explaining that the Gift People in Rhode Island had experienced speaking in tongues as early as 1874-75. (See below, "The Work of the Spirit in Rhode Island.") B.F. Lawrence followed Swan's letter describing an independent account of a woman who spoke in tongues in New York, perhaps prior to 1874, a result of her contact with the Gift People.¹ (See below

right, "A Wonderful Healing Among the Gift People.")

Stanley H. Frodsham quotes Pastor Swan's claim to having spoken in tongues in 1875. Swan speaks of great crowds drawn from five states and specifically mentions his wife — along with Amanda Doughty and an invalid hunchback who was instantly healed — among those who spoke in tongues during this time.⁵

Simmons said that Swan's group adopted the name "The Latter Rain" after the advent of the Pentecostal movement. Their activities extended throughout New England states, especially Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Connecticut, with the 1910 Latter Rain Convention held October 14-16 in Quakertown, Connecticut.⁶ Frank Bartleman frequently referred to joint speaking engagements with Swan, specifically recounting a 1907 tour that included a convention in Providence, Rhode Island, where he spoke 18 times.⁷

Previously overlooked in related investigations is whether the Doughty family counted among the Gift People overlap with the Doughty who traveled with Frank Sandford (*photo opposite page*). Lawrence attests that Swan's circle included William H. Doughty's daughter-in-law, Amanda Doughty, and her unnamed husband, an elder in the Providence congregation.⁸ Simmons says that William H. Doughty had two sons, the oldest, Frank, who was ordained. Could the unnamed brother of Frank be Edward Doughty, who at the end of the 19th century was part of Sandford's entourage?⁹ So it seems.

Most of the groups named here have similar stories. For example, among the Fire-Baptized Holiness ranks was Daniel Awrey (*photo opposite page*) who had spoken in tongues in 1890 in Ohio. His residence was in Beniah, Tennessee, where an outbreak of speaking in tongues was reported in 1899. F.M. Britton (*photo opposite page*) wrote about people speaking in tongues in his Fire-Baptized

revivals that predated the Azusa Street revival. Also, a revival in Cherokee County, North Carolina, in 1896, that gave the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) many of its early leaders reported an outburst of speaking in tongues among several of the adherents.

Given the above accounts, there is some debate as to whether Parham first heard speaking in tongues while at Sandford's

THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT IN RHODE ISLAND

A POSTOLIC FAITH RESTORED

A History of the Present Latter Rain Outpouring of the Holy Spirit Known as the Apostolic or Pentecostal Movement.
By B.F. Lawrence

Article IV.—The Work of the Spirit in Rhode Island.

In this chapter we will satisfy ourselves with presenting an account of the work of God beginning in 1874. It is written for us by a present minister of the movement, R. B. Swan, Pastor of the Assembly meeting at 7 Winter St. Providence, R. I.

My own heart was made to burn within me as I read the following. It is so very like the present work of God. I want you to notice especially the dates. There is a mistaken impression that this Movement is of much-room growth, originating in America in 1906. This is not the case. God, Who in sundry places, at diverse times poured out His Spirit with the sign of tongues, sent the outpouring at Los Angeles after He had prepared for it by smaller, but by no means less genuine, works in other places.

It shall be our endeavor to show something of these preparatory works in the next few articles. Observe, also, how many of our present ministry received the baptism prior to that outpouring.

The letter from Brother Swan follows:

"I was converted and joined the Stewart Street Baptist Church in Providence, R. I. in 1864, and remained a member for several years; after which I left them under the following circumstances:—I providentially came in contact with a small company of believers who were looking for the soon coming of Jesus, and who were teaching the receiving of the Holy Spirit and the gifts as taught in 1 Cor. 12th Chapter. This appealed to myself and wife, and we, with them, became earnest seekers for the baptism of the Spirit.

"In the year 1875 our Lord began to pour upon us His Spirit; and wife and I, with a few others, began to utter a few words in the 'unknown tongue.' I recall one incident at that time, in connection with this gift, of a sister (who at present is a member of my assembly) who was wrought upon by the Spirit to speak. She did not want this gift and refused to do so. One evening at a gathering held at my home, she was again wrought upon, but she kept her lips closed. We labored with her to yield to the Spirit, and when she did, she broke forth in a volume of words in the unknown tongue which continued for quite a time. Her name is Amanda Doughty. Her husband is an Elder in my assembly. They live at 1104 S. Broadway, East Providence, R. I.

"In the year 1874-5 while we were seeking the baptism, there came among us several who had received the baptism and the gift of tongues a number of years before this and they were very helpful to us. They are now sleeping in Jesus, but at your request for names I will append them as follows: Wm. H. Doughty, of Maine, father-in-law of Amanda Doughty above noted; Zina Ford of Concord, N. H.; Wm. Hawley, of Boston, Mass.; Eliza Libby of Lawrence, Mass.; Rose Jenkins of Vermont; Rosa Childs of Hartford, Conn. (By the location here given, it is evident that there was considerable territory reached with this light at that early day. Ed. Note.)

From B.F. Lawrence, "A History of the Present Latter Rain Outpouring of the Holy Spirit Known as the Apostolic or Pentecostal Movement," The Weekly Evangel, 22 January 1916.

A WONDERFUL HEALING AMONG THE GIFT PEOPLE

A POSTOLIC FAITH RESTORED

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By B.F. Lawrence

Article VI.—Incidents of the Spirit's Work from 1901 to 1904.

A WONDERFUL HEALING AMONG THE GIFT PEOPLE.

We have seen that in divers places and at diverse times, God had poured out His Spirit in the time between 1875 and 1900. Indeed, we have had arguments indicating that the speaking in tongues was known prior to 1875 in a quite wide degree.

The gift people, of whom Brother Swan wrote in his account of the work in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, were a well known body before his time, as he admits. In the state of New York lived a woman who told the following story regarding her association with them; the story is vouched for by good authority.

She said that, in her youth, a body of them worshipped in her neighborhood and were despised and hated by the professors about them. It was regarded as a disgrace to attend their meetings, and the better class of persons generally refused to do so.

Her sister was at that time a confirmed invalid—a hunchback. Hearing of the healings reported to be performed by the Gift People, she desired her father to take her to one of their meetings in the hope that she might find help. This she refused to do. The woman who told the story was then a wild, high-spirited girl, on the lookout for a chance to have a lar. When her father refused to take her sister to the meeting, she promised her that she would herself take her at the first opportunity.

One Sunday morning, therefore, when the old folks went to their regular place of worship, she went out and got a rig ready, carried her sister out to it and drove her to the Gift meeting. When they arrived, they saw a man who had his limb broken who was carried into the meeting. The people went to prayer, and presently one from among them arose, went to the man with the broken limb, laid hands on him, and in the name of Jesus bade him arise and walk. He did so, much to the astonishment of the visitors. (I, myself, have seen such things done in the last four years.) Then, turning to the invalid sister, he laid hands upon her bidding her to be straight in the name of Jesus. She was instantly healed. This wrought such conviction upon the heart of the girl who had brought her there that she fell prostrate under the convicting hand of God, and when she arose she had yielded her heart to God. It was the custom of these people to pray over the new converts, and after prayer, to decide which gift they should receive. They did so with her and decided that she should have the gift of tongues. They laid hands on her according to the scripture and she spoke in other tongues. This account was given to a minister in New York State by the woman herself a few years ago, and is doubtless true.

From B.F. Lawrence, "A History of the Present Latter Rain Outpouring of the Holy Spirit Known as the Apostolic or Pentecostal Movement," The Weekly Evangel, 12 February 1916.



Frank Sanford

Shiloh in Maine or while he was among Fire-Baptized enthusiasts.

CASHWELL STORMS THE SOUTH WITH THE MESSAGE OF AZUSA Pentecostal Holiness Church

Crumpler, founder of the PHC, learned of the Pentecostal mission from Bartleman's reports of the Azusa Street revival that were published in 1906 in J.M. Pike's *Way of Faith*. Cashwell, a North Carolina

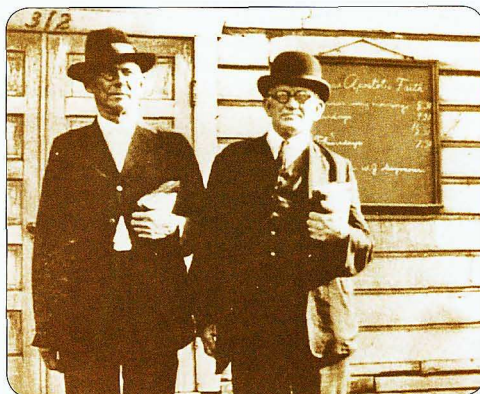
plans for a New Year's Eve revival. Along with many laypeople, most of the ministers of the PHC, the FBHC, and the

Free-Will Baptist Churches sought and accepted the Pentecostal experience.

Cashwell preached Seymour's doctrine. Crumpler made his opposition to Cashwell clear. Although Crumpler was willing to



Daniel Awrey and family



S.D. Page and F.M. Britton (right)

It has become increasingly clear that informed theologians can no longer make the Holy Spirit a mere addendum to their systems.

preacher in Crumpler's church, traveled to Los Angeles and obtained the Pentecostal experience firsthand.

After a hasty return to his hometown of Dunn, North Carolina, Cashwell rented a large tobacco warehouse and announced

accept speaking in tongues, he did not accept the fact it was the initial evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Through his paper, Crumpler insisted that tongues-speech was only one of many gifts of the Spirit that could accompany a spiritual

Baptism. Crumpler was fighting a losing battle. In the same 15 May 1906 issue of the *Holiness Advocate* in which he unconditionally attacked the new doctrine, more than a dozen testimonies from Holiness people who had obtained or hoped soon to receive the tongues experience appeared, including one that scolded Crumpler for helping Satan and hurting God's work by denying the essentiality of tongues.

Two parties developed in the PHC: Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal. An issue developed in the 1907 annual meeting with Crumpler, the president, leading the attack against the Pentecostal faction, and Vice President A.H. Butler defending them. Crumpler and Butler were both re-elected

and the issue was put off for another year. The climatic battle occurred at the 1908 convention that met in the Holiness

pastor for several years. The convention ended with Butler as president. Under Butler's leadership, a Pentecostal view

The commitment to the emerging, initial-evidence teachings can be measured by what was written at the time about the Spirit baptism of persons who could not hear or speak.

Tabernacle at Dunn, North Carolina, on November 26, 1908. Crumpler, who was unanimously re-elected, finally brought the matter to a head by walking out of the convention. Only a small portion of the church supported him. He soon returned to the Methodist Church in Clinton, North Carolina, where his ministerial license was restored in 1913, and he served as a supply

of Spirit baptism was incorporated into the PHC Articles of Faith in 1908.

Fire-Baptized Holiness Church

While visiting Canada, J.H. King, general overseer of the FBHC, learned about the Azusa Street revival from a friend, A.H. Argue. Argue told him about the revival and gave him a copy of Seymour's *The Apostolic Faith*. King put it away for later reading.

The reaction to Cashwell's message among Fire-Baptized members was mixed. Many Fire-Baptized members were excited to hear Cashwell. Several members from King's Toccoa, Georgia, congregation went to Dunn, North

Carolina, where they, along with several more Fire-Baptized people, received the Pentecostal experience.

King did not go to the meeting, but in January he spent 10 days fasting for divine guidance. Apparently, some in King's congregation accepted the initial-evidence doctrine before he returned to his church after his fast or had ever spoken favorably of it. It was not tongues-speech itself, but the initial-evidence doctrine that troubled him. King withstood Cashwell, in private as well as in public, during his first 3 days at Toccoa. King felt he had bested the new doctrine at each confrontation.

King put together an issue of *Live Coals* (13 February 1907) prior to Cashwell's arrival at Toccoa. The issue included an article written by J. Hudson Ballard that refuted the initial-evidence doctrine. Attention was drawn to the Book of Acts to support the argument that some passages refer to tongues in connection with Spirit baptism while other passages do not. Further, the article noted that tongues are not mentioned as an evidence in the Epistles. Also, tongues could not be



A.H. Butler



J.H. King



A.H. Argue

the exclusive evidence since this would exclude an untold number of Christians throughout Church history from the blessing. The article pointed out that the group mentioned most in connection with tongues, the Corinthians, were barely saved, and certainly unsanctified. Last, if the gift were for all Christians, it would have been included in the lists of spiritual gifts in Romans 12:6-8 and Ephesians 4:11-13. The study concluded that tongues should be used privately, that the church needs unction for evangelism instead of tongues, and that love is the chief evidence of the grace of God.

On February 14, though, King made a study of key New Testament Greek words. To his surprise, he found that neither Acts nor the best commentators available to him — Dean Alford's *Critical Notes on the New Testament* and Adam Clarke's *Commentary* — supported his anti-initial-evidence arguments. He was particularly impressed with Acts 8:18 that says Simon Magus "saw." The Greek term *idon* translated "saw" can also mean "hear." So, Simon Magus must have heard speaking in tongues. Although Alford's work did not support the idea of initial-evidence Spirit baptism (especially involving permanent *xenotolia*), he did argue that both the Ephesian Pentecost and this episode in Samaria included speaking in tongues. With his arguments now refuted, King, that night, sought for the Pentecostal baptism. On February 15, 1907, King received the baptism and spoke with other tongues.

In the April 1908, Anderson, South Carolina, meeting of the FBHC, the denomination changed the Basis of Union to incorporate the doctrine of Pentecost "according to its scriptural aspect."

Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee)

A.J. Tomlinson, (photo next page) the first general overseer of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), faithfully recorded in his 1913 *The Last Great Conflict*, how he became enlightened

Holiness bodies that became Pentecostal adopted other Pentecostal tenets of faith that made them uniquely Pentecostal.

Eyewitness Account

Came 3,000 Miles for His Pentecost

About two months ago, I began to read in the *Way of Faith* the reports of the meetings in Azusa Mission, Los Angeles. I had been preaching holiness for nine years, but my soul began to hunger and thirst for the fullness of God. The Spirit led me more and more to seek my Pentecost. After praying and weeping before God for many days, He put it into my heart to go to Los Angeles to seek the baptism with the Holy Ghost. My wife



G.B. Cashwell

prayed and wept with me till we both got the witness that it was the will of God for me to go. The devil fought me and laid the hand of affliction on my wife, and I felt it almost impossible for me to come. The night I left home, wife and I prayed and wept before the Lord and God gave the victory, and we both consented on our knees that if we died we would be in the order of the Lord and that God would take us home. I immediately rose and took my valise in hand, went to the depot, and started for Los Angeles. Glory to God. I was six days on the road, was fasting and praying to the Lord continually. As soon as I reached Azusa Mission, a new crucifixion began in my life and I had to die to many things, but God gave me the victory.

"The first altar call I went forward in earnest for my Pentecost. I struggled from Sunday till Thursday. While seeking in an upstairs room in the Mission, the Lord opened up the windows of heaven and the light of God began to flow over me in such power as never before. I then went into the room where the service was held, and while Sister Lum was reading of how the Holy Ghost was falling in other places, before I knew it, I began to speak in tongues and praise God. A brother interpreted some of the words to be, "I love God with all my soul." He filled

me with His Spirit and love, and I am now feasting and drinking at the fountain continually and speak as the Spirit gives utterance, both in my own language and in the unknown language. I find that all has to be surrendered to God, our own language and all, and He speaks through us English, German, Greek or any other tongue in His own will and way.

"The Lord also healed my body. I had been afflicted with rheumatism for years, and at a healing service held here, I was anointed and prayed for and was immediately healed of rheumatism and catarrh, and have a sound body and clothed in my right mind."

G.B. CASHWELL

The Apostolic Faith, December 1906

THE LAST GREAT CONFLICT.

BY
A. J. TOMLINSON,
Editor of "The Church of God Evangel."

"And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he did judge and make war. . . . And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, with which he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them."—Rev. 19:11, 14, 15.

CLEVELAND, TENN.
PRESS OF WALTER E. RODGERS.
1913.



A.J. Tomlinson, first general overseer of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee)

on Spirit baptism theology in January 1907. No source is given, but the papers by Seymour and Pike that influenced other Holiness leaders in the South are the likely source.

According to *The Last Great Conflict* and B.F. Lawrence's *The Apostolic Faith*,

in June 1907, Tomlinson and M.S. Lemons met with M.M. Pinson who was then under Cashwell, in Birmingham, Alabama. Cashwell came to Cleveland, Tennessee, in January 1908, and it was there that Tomlinson spoke in tongues, which he described as 10 different languages. Tomlinson had already begun to preach on the Azusa version of Spirit baptism, but after the Cleveland meeting he had experienced it himself. He combined his typical picturesque manner of expression and his interest in ecclesiology to suggest that Seymour was the recent originator of this crucial doctrine. He stated:

"Where did Martin Luther get the doctrine of justification by faith? From the Church of God. Where did John Wesley get the doctrine of sanctification

blue sea, yea, and many parts of the world. Where did he get the doctrine — the baptism in the Holy Spirit and the speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance as the evidence? From the Church of God."

An incident in 1909 further reflects resistance to the Azusa version of the Spirit baptism theology in Cleveland, Tennessee. In 1909, Tomlinson, the pastor of a local Church of God in Cleveland, left the congregation in the care of John B. Goins while he traveled overseas. Goins began preaching that tongues should not be singled out as the only evidence of Spirit baptism. In his absence, Tomlinson was excommunicated and a fight ensued in the congregation. Tomlinson's return to Cleveland led to court action, and Goins was able to keep many of the people for some time.

In 1910, Tomlinson was serving as general moderator of the Church of God when on 1 March 1910 he began publishing a periodical entitled *The Evening Light and Church of God Evangel*. The heading of the first issue quotes Act 2:1,4; 10:46. This issue and

As various Holiness denominations were introduced to the fledgling Pentecostal movement through accounts of the Azusa Street revival or by their own members who went to Los Angeles, they uniformly grappled with the doctrinal consequences of this new spiritual dynamic.

as a definite and instantaneous experience subject to justification? From the Church of God. Where did Dr. Simpson get the doctrine of divine healing? The Church of God. Where did Dr. Seamore [sic] get the doctrine he preached in Los Angeles, California, a few years ago, that not only stirred that city and our own beloved America, but also the countries across the deep

the one following dated 15 March 1910, contain accounts of people speaking in tongues due to their Spirit baptism. More than once these issues and many that follow refer to tongues as the Bible evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. This Pentecostal emphasis is in stark contrast to Tomlinson's previous paper known as *The Way* (1904–05).

AZUSA PITS MASON VERSUS JONES OVER THE FUTURE OF THE CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST

In early 1907, the news of the Azusa Street revival came to C.H. Mason and C.P. Jones, founders of the Church of God in Christ. They reacted differently. Mason, convinced from an early age that "God endowed him with supernatural characteristics, which were manifested in dreams and visions," felt strangely drawn to investigate the Pentecostal services in Azusa.

Mason says these supernatural phenomena ended after his Spirit baptism.



C.P. Jones

The 20th century witnessed the birth and phenomenal growth of what is known in North America as the classical Pentecostal movement.

Jones — who may have known Seymour personally — was cool to the idea of going to California, but two other men went along with Mason.

Mason said, "The first day in the meeting I sat to myself. I saw and heard some things that did not seem scriptural to me ... when I heard some speak in tongues I knew it was right."

Five weeks later, Mason and his party left California having all spoken in tongues. Mason's friendship with Seymour may have begun prior to the Azusa Street revival, but after Azusa Street, Mason and Seymour remained lifelong friends. Clearly, they both affirmed racial inclusivism.

On their return to Memphis, Tennessee, Mason and his followers found that another Azusa Street veteran, Glenn A. Cook, a native white of Los Angeles, had preceded them with the Pentecostal message. The intrusion of Pentecostal doctrine under Cook's and Mason's leadership alienated Jones, who was then general overseer and presiding elder.

In 1907, the General Assembly of the

Church of God in Christ was preoccupied with the Pentecostal issue. After a lengthy discussion, the Assembly withdrew from Mason. Those who promulgated the doctrine of speaking with tongues were denied the right hand of fellowship. Thereupon, Mason and most of the preachers and membership of the church withdrew from the Assembly. Jones remained in control of the non-Pentecostal faction. The name of his group was changed to The Church of Christ (Holiness) USA. Jones' group never did achieve great size, especially compared to Mason's group. However, some of the songs he wrote such as "All I Need" are still sung in Pentecostal churches.

Later in 1907, the Pentecostal faction met with Mason for their reorganization. The name Church of God in Christ was retained and the Pentecostal distinctive was incorporated into the articles of faith.

PENTECOSTAL TENETS ACCOUNT FOR BOTH UNITY AND DIVISION

Holiness bodies that became Pentecostal

adopted other Pentecostal tenets of faith that made them uniquely Pentecostal. Prominent among them were teachings such as healing was provided in the Atonement, the soon return of the Lord, some added feet washing to Communion services, constant praying and much fasting, daily extended study and memorization of Scripture, mutual accountability, several days and nights spent in regular worship services, revivals, conventions, retreats, camp meetings, witnessing, evangelism, world missions (including the legendary one-way ticket missionaries), visiting those in prison, and helping the poor.

Influential ecumenists are quick to point to the four classic marks of the Church, but in ecumenical dialogue the greatest emphasis lies on unity and catholicity. Pentecostals who are true to their Azusa roots ask why there is a tendency to play down the marks of holiness and apostolicity. Talk about apostolic tradition among conciliar ecumenists usually excludes *charismatic* gifts. The Pentecostal movement has clearly released some *charisms* that were repressed. This is the result of life-transforming encounters with the Holy Spirit that engender a passion for truth and a willingness to break barriers of class, race, gender, and age. Some Pentecostals even propose evangelization as a fifth mark of the Church. This kind of emphasis left the pioneers open to tying permanent *xenotolia* to Spirit baptism. At all times, however, Scripture was the ultimate authority.

For generations Holiness Pentecostals were known for the fervency of their faith, and their complete resolve to hold tenaciously to common beliefs in the face of opposition. Frequently they were victims of verbal and even physical persecution.

On one hand, the in-breaking of Pentecostal spirituality into Holiness groups brought new organizations into existence. Such was the case with



Bishop W.E. Fuller, Sr.

Photo: IPHC

The message of racial reconciliation that accompanied Spirit baptism, and that rang out loud and clear from the Azusa Street Mission, is still heard in Pentecostal circles today.

Free-Will Baptists who were exposed to the Azusa Street revival through the preaching of Cashwell in Dunn, North Carolina, and elsewhere. Free-Will Baptist conferences such as Cape Fear (incorporated in 1855) that later accepted the Pentecostal message evolved into the Pentecostal Free-Will Baptist Church headquartered in Dunn, North Carolina.

On the other hand, division would not be absent among Holiness Pentecostals. By 1918, a group of whites in the PHC who were originally part of the FBHC prior to its merger with the PHC in 1911 resisted the idea of wearing ties and eating pork. They withdrew and reorganized themselves as the Pentecostal Fire-Baptized Holiness Church. This group exists today, but its numbers have steadily declined through the years.

In 1908, the FBHC suffered a division along racial lines as Jim Crow laws, court decisions such as those resulting from

met in Anderson, South Carolina, on 1 May 1908 and adopted the name Colored Fire-Baptized Holiness Church. The church is now led by Bishop W.E. Fuller, Jr., and has been known as the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church of God of the Americas since 1926. Bishop Fuller, Jr., has warmly embraced the current IPHC general superintendent James D. Leggett. So, the message of racial reconciliation that accompanied Spirit baptism, and that rang out loud and clear from the Azusa Street Mission, is still heard in Pentecostal circles today. ■



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ENDNOTES

1. V.P. Simmons, "History of Tongues," *Bridegroom's Messenger*, 1:3 (December 1907): 2; idem, *Bridegroom's Messenger*, 34 (15 March 1902): 2; idem, *Bridegroom's*

- Messenger*, 46 (15 September 1909): 2.
2. *The Apostolic Faith* [Los Angeles], 1:4 (1906): 3; V.P. Simmons, "History of Tongues," *Bridegroom's Messenger*, 1:3 (December 1907): 2; *Bridegroom's Messenger*, 34 (15 March 1909): 2; *Bridegroom's Messenger*, 46 (15 September 1909): 2; B.F. Lawrence, *The Apostolic Faith Restored* (St. Louis: Gospel Publishing House, 1916), 39-43; Charles Shumway, "A Critical History of Glossolalia," (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1919), 109; *The Apostolic Faith* [Baxter Springs], 2:6 (June 1926): 1-7.
3. V.P. Simmons in *Bridegroom's Messenger*, 24 (15 March 1909): 2. V.P. Simmons, "Forbidden Not To Speak With Tongues," *Bridegroom's Messenger*, 3:51 (1 December 1909): 3, refers to a Rhode Island camp meeting run by Elder W.H. Doughty "many years ago" that featured "much talking in tongues."
4. The letter, reproduced in Lawrence, *Apostolic Faith Restored*, 38ff, concluded: A large number have [already] received their baptism and fillings, and on 9 April 1906, when the Holy Spirit fell at Los Angeles, we were holding a convention on the same day and God's blessing was present, one assembly was on the Pacific coast and the other on the Atlantic coast.
5. Stanley H. Frodsham, *With Signs Following* (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1946), 10f.
6. V.P. Simmons in *The Bridegroom's Messenger*, 34 (15 March 1909): 2; *Word and Work*, 32:11 (November 1910): 338f; Lawrence, 39. It was specifically noted that the group in Rhode Island included African Caribbeans.
7. Frank Bartleman, *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles*, 2d ed. (Los Angeles, 1925), 126, 101, 105f.
8. Lawrence, 39.
9. See: *Tongues of Fire*, 4:21 (1 November 1898): 168; Frank S. Murray, *The Sublimity of Faith* (Amherst: Kingdom Press, 1981), 232, 247; William Hiss, "Shiloh, Frank W. Sandford, and the Kingdom," (Ph.D. diss., Tufts University, 1978), 247; James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 1986), 57. Murray counts Edward Doughty among "the seventy."