

“Baptism in the Holy Ghost Should Make us World-Wide”:
Pentecostal Missions and the Changing Character of Global Christianity^{*†}

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As American delegates to the World Missionary Conference were preparing to sail for Edinburgh in the late spring of 1910, another gathering devoted to “the great subject of world-wide missions” was taking place in Chicago. For “fifteen glorious days,” from May 15-29, a group of “God’s dear children” assembled morning, afternoon and evening for worship and praise meetings that pressed “the claims of the world field upon young and old for prayer, for giving, and for going.” The semi-annual Pentecostal Convention at the Stone Church was, by comparison with the World Missionary Conference about to open at Edinburgh, a humble affair. Participants numbered in at most the hundreds rather than the thousands. Publicity for the event consisted of a few notices posted in *The Latter Rain Evangel*, a periodical headquartered at the Stone Church, and a “large sign bearing the striking head-line, ‘A Glorious Convention’” hung on the outside of the building. Planning was minimal: “the only definite date we have fixed upon is the opening day,” the organizers declared; the duration of the convocation would depend on the “Lord’s leading.” This reliance on the Holy Spirit was, according to many attendees, the distinguishing feature of the Pentecostal Convention. Convinced that “God was working all through the Convention to bring things to pass for foreign fields,” participants were confident that the gathering would “mean much for His work all over the world.” “The ends of the earth and the courts of heaven are going to hear from this blessed Convention,” one chronicler

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proclaimed. “India is going to feel it; China is going to feel it; schools, homes, and other lives touched by these deepened ones are going to feel it.”¹

A month after the Stone Church Convention drew to a close, delegates assembled at Edinburg were expressing similar expectations about the outcomes of their well-attended, widely-advertised, meticulously-planned and methodically-orchestrated World Missionary Conference. In his concluding address, chairman and missionary statesman John R. Mott reiterated the prevailing conviction that “carrying the Gospel to all the non-Christian world” was the urgent task for which God had been empowering the western, Protestant churches. “The end of the Conference is the beginning of the conquest,” he decreed. “Though there have been no signs and sounds and wonders as of the rushing wind, God has been silently and peacefully doing His work. . . It is not His will that the influences set forth by Him shall cease this night. Rather shall they course out through us to the very ends of the earth.”²

Participants in the Pentecostal Convention and the World Missionary Conference of 1910 both believed that “Christianity stood on the threshold of a global expansion of millennial dimensions” and that God would continue to work through evangelical messengers to spread the gospel to the nations.³ Underlying these shared convictions, however, were subtle differences in emphasis and significant divergences in theological perspective that set these two groups apart. By analyzing these contrasts and their consequences for Protestant missions, this paper aims to shed light on the changing character of global Christianity in the twentieth century.

One of the most salient disparities between the architects of the World Missionary Conference and the leaders of the Pentecostal Convention centered on the place and prominence of Holy Spirit. While Edinburgh spokespersons like John Mott certainly acknowledged the Spirit’s role in the evangelistic enterprise, they downplayed “signs and sounds and wonders,” stressing instead the “application of the rigorous methods of modern social science to the challenges and problems which missionaries faced on the field.”⁴ Organizers of the Stone Church Convention did just the opposite. Rather than systematically collecting data and presenting their findings in carefully crafted reports on practical policy, they insisted that “the Holy Spirit was controlling the meeting” and implied that mighty manifestations of supernatural power were precisely what was needed “for witnessing first at home, then in the regions round about and on to the ends of the earth.”⁵

Scholars of twentieth-century Protestant missions have argued that Edinburgh delegates fundamentally misread "the signs of the future of Christianity," including the robust expansion of Pentecostal movements that have transformed the shape of Christian faith around the globe since 1910. "One by one all of their assumptions about how the evangelization of the world could be effected crumbled away," historian Andrew Walls had noted. Christianity was "indeed to be transfigured over the next century," Brian Stanley has contended in his definitive study of the Edinburgh conference, "but not in the way or through the mechanisms that they imagined." Instead, Stanley suggests, "the most effective instrument of that transfiguration" was a diverse "miscellany of indigenous pastors, prophets, catechists and evangelists, men and women" who stood outside of the mainstream missions agencies represented at Edinburgh and "professed to rely on the simple transforming power of the Spirit and the Word." The story of the Stone Church convention offers a starting point for assessing the profound changes that early Pentecostal missionaries helped to initiate.⁶

Arousing "Enthusiasm for the Foreign Field": Pentecostal Depictions of "Heathen Darkness"

One of the featured speakers at the Stone Church Convention was Minnie Florence Abrams, a veteran missionary who first went "to India to preach the Gospel" in 1887 under the auspices of the American Methodist Women's Foreign Missionary Society. After ten years in Bombay and its environs, Abrams began "working under an East Indian woman, Pandita Ramabai," a Brahmin widow, Sanskrit scholar, and Christian convert who founded and oversaw the Mukti Mission – an "undenominational, evangelical, Christian Mission, designed to reach and help high caste Hindu widows, deserted wives, and orphans from all parts of India." Through her affiliation with Ramabai, Abrams became an independent faith missionary – without any pledged financial support from a formal missions society, but closely linked with the interdenominational and transnational Holiness and "radical evangelical" networks that emphasized the "baptism of the Holy Spirit" as a necessary endowment of power for Christian service and eagerly anticipated the advent of a worldwide revival.⁷

When several children at the Mukti Mission experienced the "outpouring of the Holy Ghost in Pentecostal power" in June of 1905, the news traveled rapidly, fueling the fires of the fledgling Pentecostal movement that had begun to simmer in Korea, Wales and Australia, and

quickly caught flame in China, Africa, Latin America, Europe and the United States. Over the next several years, Mukti remained a hub of an expanding international Pentecostal network, hosting missionaries from around the world who were anxious to observe firsthand the “baptism of the Holy Ghost” taking place at this center of Christian compassion. Abrams chronicled the revival in her influential text, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire*. First published in book form in 1906, this work connected the “wonderful visitation of the Holy Spirit” with the task of evangelizing the nations. In 1908, Abrams returned to the United States aiming to promote Ramabai’s Mission among Pentecostal communities and to recruit “consecrated, experienced women, missionary laborers” to partner with Mukti’s “Spirit-filled” preachers in a “pioneer” work of village evangelism.⁸

During her preaching tour around the United States, Abrams stopped over at the Stone Church several times, first in May of 1909 and then again for the 1910 Pentecostal Convention. On both of these occasions, Abrams delivered sermons that reveal in both substance and style some of the distinguishing factors that differentiated Pentecostal approaches to missions from the policies promoted at the Edinburg Conference. First, in all of her addresses, Abrams attempted to arouse interest in India through passionate appeals on behalf of “those teeming millions in darkness and degradation.” In a sermon entitled “The Midnight Darkness of India’s Superstition: Some Appalling Facts and Some Personal Experiences,” for example, Abrams recounted harrowing stories of the opium addiction, infanticide, idolatry, child prostitution and poverty she encountered as a young missionary in Bombay. Pleading with Pentecostal people to participate in the “great battle” against “heathenism,” Abrams begged her audience to pray and to give, if not to go. “Will you hold the ropes while we go down over the precipice and seek to liberate those who are bound by Satan?” she asked in another address.⁹

While Abrams’ rhetorical strategy in these sermons was by no means unique – cataloging “heathen atrocities” was typical of “evangelical ethnology” in general and of the women’s foreign missionary crusade in particular during this period¹⁰ – graphic and formulaic portrayals of heathen depravity were precisely the kind of tactic that “the Grand Council for the Advancement of Missionary Science” at Edinburgh sought to surmount. “The call to urgent evangelistic action which would issue from Edinburgh must be based, not on emotional and stereotypical depictions of the plight of the ‘heathen world,’” Brian Stanley has observed, “but on the ‘ascertained and sifted facts,’ minutely analyzed in the weighty reports of the eight

preparatory study Commissions presented to the conference."¹¹ Abrams and her Pentecostal associates eschewed this more technical approach. "It isn't in my thought to go into the matter of statistics," declared missionary "stalwart" Levi Lupton at the 1910 Stone Church convention. Instead, he and other speakers stuck with the tried-and-true method of stirring up sympathy for the "lost" by describing spectacles of suffering and Satanic subjugation.¹²

For some participants in the Pentecostal Convention, these fervent entreaties proved extremely moving. Minnie Houck was "bubbling over with enthusiasm for the foreign field" by the conclusion of the 1910 conference, and "told how God had called her to India, and that she hoped to go with Miss Abrams in the fall."¹³ In fact, Houck did sail for India on October 22 along with Abrams and five other female missionaries who together formed the "only known Pentecostal women's missionary society": the Bezaleel Evangelistic Mission. After a brief stop at Mukti, where two of the new missionaries remained to help in Ramabai's work, Houck and the rest of the group traveled north to "open up a work in a wholly unevangelized field."¹⁴ Writing back to the Stone Church a year later, Houck recalled how hearing sorrowful stories of heathen suffering, and especially of Ramabai's efforts to save child widows and orphans, had inspired her to become a missionary. "I remembered when I was working for the Lord in America how my heart was first drawn toward India by reading of the rescue work which this noble Indian sister was doing for her people; how hundreds had been saved from a life of shame and how, in famine times, many others had been brought into this large institution, trained and educated for a life of usefulness," Houck reported.¹⁵ Experiences like Houck's encouraged Pentecostals to employ vivid and poignant descriptions of helpless heathen designed to appeal to the emotions and evoke a resolute response. Rather than abandoning the sensational approach in favor of a more "scientific" method of missionary recruitment, speakers at Pentecostal conferences and periodicals such as *The Latter Rain Evangel* continued to stress the "superstition," "blackness," and "cruelty" that missionaries encountered in their work for decades after 1910.

"They Need the Simple Gospel": Pentecostal Qualms about Christian Civilization"

While Pentecostals were clear about the contrast between "heathen darkness" and "gospel light," they seemed less certain than their Edinburgh counterparts that these categories clearly corresponded with the "civilized Christian West" and "the Non-Christian world." Depravity,

they believed, was not necessarily determined by geography, nationality, or race; in fact, the “Occidental” could be just as susceptible to sin as the “Oriental.” Preaching in the Stone Church on March 3, 1910, evangelist Charles F. Hettiaratchy, “a native of Ceylon” who “had a very deep baptism in the Holy Spirit,” challenged potential missionaries who wanted “to go and convert the heathen” to ask: “have you been used in this country to convert the heathen here?” Heathenism, he contended, was not only abroad but within. “There are many heathen here and you have to prove yourself; if you are of no use here, you will be of no use there.”¹⁶

Several months later at the Pentecostal Convention, participants affirmed Hettiaratchy’s sentiment in principle and in practice. “The Holy Spirit is given in power for witnessing first at home,” one leader wrote, “then in the regions round about and on to the ends of the earth. Praise God!” In keeping with this conviction, convention organizers arranged “street meetings” prior to every evening service, hoping to draw sinners and seekers into the Stone Church that some might be saved.¹⁷ “There are many in this city going down to perdition every day,” declared American Rachel Doney at another Stone Church missionary event in 1913, “and there is much missionary work to be done all around us. . . . Oh that God might open your eyes that you may be able to save these souls going down by the thousands, and hear the voice of God from heaven saying, ‘Chicago’s Slums!’ . . . May God help you to be faithful in the homeland.”¹⁸

The conviction that evil and vice existed in near-by neighborhoods, not just in “the regions beyond,” did not negate the tendency to highlight the “intensity of the darkness in the foreign field.” Indeed, Rachel Doney prefaced her comments about the need for missionaries in the homeland with a reaffirmation of her own call to go “off among the heathen.” In her eyes, however, Chicago’s slums could be just as “sunk in degradation” as the “sands of Egypt” were steeped in sin. If God was “no respecter of persons” (a point we will return to shortly), Satan was not restricted to particular locations. The devil was active everywhere Pentecostals believed; therefore, even “Christian” lands and institutions were susceptible to corruption.¹⁹

In fact, many Pentecostals criticized American culture and questioned the supposed superiority of western civilization. Evangelist D. Wesley Myland, a regular speaker at the Stone Church and the author of an influential series of lectures on “The Latter Rain,” complained that American culture was “rotten to the core” at all levels. “Sin and sensuality do not confine themselves to the slums,” he declared, “but are found just in the same degree, but more under cover, in the palaces of what is called ‘high society.’”²⁰ Unlike Edinburgh delegates who were

"certain that Christianity and civilization were divinely ordained to proceed from the West to the world," Pentecostals worried that western Christians had abandoned biblical authority and turned away from God.²¹ "As one has said, 'Christianity in the sense of its Founder has as little in common with Europe' (and he might have added America) 'as with Asia,' and that 'if He were to appear in the flesh, He could not call Himself a Christian,'" Pentecostal missionary Albert Norton proclaimed. "Thus we have entered the dark shadow of the greatest national apostasy in all the history of mankind."²²

Faith missionaries like Norton who had spent significant time in foreign fields frequently condemned the long-standing conviction that "those two pioneers of civilization – Christianity and commerce – should be ever inseparable" in the effort to evangelize "heathen" nations.²³ In a 1909 address delivered at the Stone Church, for example, veteran missionary Archibald Forder insisted that the Arab people among whom he worked did not "need civilization." In fact, Forder argued, an increase in trade and the introduction of western ways would undermine exemplary aspects of Arabian society – particularly the prohibition against destructive "intoxicants" such as alcohol and opium. "I am anxious for only one thing," Forder proclaimed, "that they get Jesus Christ. As sure as civilization gets in, they will become contaminated with the curses of civilization. Let them live the life that Abraham did,; they do not need electric cars, railroads, and all these things we think are necessary. . . They need the simple Gospel."²⁴

Pentecostals were not the only missionaries who expressed ambivalence about how certain features of western civilization would affect indigenous cultures. For decades prior to the 1910 World Missionary Conference, in fact, missionaries from a variety of denominations had protested against the opium trade in China, the liquor traffic in Africa, and the legalization of prostitution in India. Each of these "evils," missionaries argued, were exacerbated if not caused by western agents and impeded efforts to Christianize local societies. In their responses to questionnaires sent out by Edinburg's organizers, some missionaries complained that the immoral (and imperial) behavior of European traders and officials also constituted "a great barrier to the spread of the Gospel." The official report of Commission I: "Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World" additionally warned that "the spread of infidel and rationalistic ideas and materialistic views . . . traceable to western sources" threatened "the extension of Christ's Kingdom." Despite these concerns, however, most delegates at Edinburg remained convinced that the "pure and hopeful influences of western civilization" would triumph over

“antagonistic” pressures so long as the Church mustered “all its powers on behalf of the world without Christ.” “The voice most audible in the public sessions of the conference,” Brian Stanley has asserted, “was one of boundless optimism and unsullied confidence in the ideological and financial power of western Christendom.”²⁵

For both theological and social reasons, Pentecostals simply did not share this sanguine outlook. By the early twentieth century, most radical evangelicals had embraced a pre-millennial eschatology that predicted Christ’s imminent return after a period of pervasive and rapid decay. In contrast to their counterparts at the World Missionary Conference, the majority of whom still subscribed to the more optimistic post-millennial view which held that the world was progressing toward a period of peace and righteousness culminating in Christ’s second coming, participants at the Stone Church believed that “the world to-day is wobbling in its orbit, madly plunging towards despair and destruction.”²⁶ As Albert Norton put it, “the signs are multiplying that the world is out of joint on a scale that it never was before. . . . What does this portend, what can it portend, but the greatest national overthrow, ruin and disaster, that the world has ever seen. God is giving now a little space for repentance ere the storm of His well-merited wrath breaks upon us.” Civilization, from this perspective, was a slender reed upon which to rest one’s hopes.²⁷

“We Are Made One”: Pentecostals & the Pursuit of a Global Christian Community

As historians have pointed out, pre-millennial pessimism about the prospects of contemporary society and western civilization did not preclude Pentecostals from making full use of modern technologies for missionary purposes.²⁸ While they interpreted the “increased modes and rapidity of travel, evidenced by railways, steam ships, electrical devices, liquid air, telephone, telegraph, wireless telegraphy . . . within the past one hundred years” as “signs of the imminence of our Lord’s return,” participants in the holiness and Pentecostal movements eagerly employed these resources as they worked to cultivate a universal Christian fellowship.²⁹ Communication tools were especially instrumental in helping Pentecostals (and other Christians) to nurture a sense of worldwide community that transcended territorial borders, cultural boundaries, and social barriers. Periodicals such as *The Latter Rain Evangel* explicitly sought to forge bonds among like-minded believers across the globe. “This paper shall . . . contain news

of His dealings with His children throughout the world," the editor declared in the very first issue. "To this end, both men and women of consecrated, godly lives, who are being used in the Latter Rain Movement in various parts of the world, will be sought to act as correspondents to keep the readers of the EVANGEL in touch with God's work everywhere."³⁰ On the periodical's two year anniversary, the editor rejoiced that that the paper had fostered "a blessed fellowship with God's dear children all over the world. . . . Through its pages God has brought us in contact with hungry, suffering, heartbroken humanity, and we have had joy in ministering to them, as well as building up His saints in the most holy faith." The publication's strategic location at the Stone Church contributed to its success as a community-building instrument: "Chicago is a great railroad center and as God's ministering servants travel across the continent He has brought us in touch with them and enabled us to get the best."³¹

By embracing communication and travel technologies in order to create trans-local connections, Pentecostals participated in broader patterns characteristic of many social and religious movements in an increasingly international era.³² Gatherings like the Stone Church Convention and the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910 both reflected and contributed to the globalization of Christianity during this period. Convinced that they were involved in world transforming enterprises, leaders of these missionary assemblies drew on the Bible to interpret and encourage the escalating inter-connectedness of geographically dispersed, theologically distinctive, and racially diverse Christian communities. Passages such as Romans 10:12, Galatians 3:28 and Colossians 3:11 which affirmed the erasure of cultural, ethnic and gender differences in the unity of Christ, were favorites among attendees at both conventions.³³

While all insisted that "there is neither Jew nor Greek . . . in Christ Jesus," Pentecostals put particular emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit to bridge divides and create attachments. "This is the intent of Pentecost, that my heart might be bound with men and women in Africa, in Japan, in the fastness of Tibet;" declared D. Wesley Myland. "That my spirit might be bound with men and women in India and we are made one in working out the purposes of God."³⁴

William Piper, pastor of the Stone Church, contended that Holy Spirit baptism was not only drawing together believers of different nations, but also uniting Christians across doctrinal and class lines. "In this, His Pentecostal sweep of the earth, . . . God is doing a marvelous thing in reaching down into every denomination, and reaching down into the slums where there is no denomination, and baptizing His disciples," Piper proclaimed. "What else could so effectually

break down bigotry than the fact that God is bigger than our denominational difference? Thus there is left little or no room for one set of people to exalt themselves over another.”³⁵

According to Piper, the experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit leveled hierarchies in ways that enabled Pentecostal missionaries to surmount spatial, social and theological divides in pursuit of a global fellowship. Many speakers at subsequent Stone Church conventions confirmed this conviction. The “fullness of the Holy Ghost,” Minnie Abrams declared, gave Pentecostal people the “overcoming power” to preach the Gospel with humility. “We need that feeling of ‘I am better than thou’ taken out of us,” she asserted, “and we want to be brought down to see what it is in this old fallen nature of ours that makes us like the drunkard and makes us like the one who is in the pit.” For Abrams, the “Pentecostal outpouring” at Mukti offered proof that “God is no respecter of persons”; the Holy Spirit empowered individuals for service regardless of their age, social status, intellectual sophistication, or even theological acumen. Recounting the “how the recent revival was brought about in India” during a 1909 Stone Church convention, Abrams attributed the “out-pouring of the Holy Spirit” to a “praying band” of young Mukti girls. “Now they were not such very advanced Christians . . . I am not sure that all of them were really converted.” Nevertheless, Abrams maintained, God honored their prayers. In fact, the first to receive “the baptism of the Holy Ghost” was “the most ignorant of those young woman” – a “little mite” named Jeejee. Within days, Jeejee was leading revival meetings and even played a primary role in the main Sunday worship service at Mukti. Although Abrams was preaching that morning, God instructed her to step aside for Jeejee. “He said to me, ‘When she begins, I want you to keep still.’” Abrams obeyed, and Jeejee went on to lead the congregation of fifteen hundred in prayer for forty-five minutes.³⁶

Observers of the Pentecostal revival in India reported that Abrams’ experience at Mukti was typical. “Missionaries . . . have, under the mighty hand of God, had to humble themselves before their Indian brethren,” one missionary remarked. Another wrote that “the youngest, the most ignorant, are often the first to be signally blessed, because they are humbled, and we missionaries have had to learn . . . that we must let God search our hearts very deeply, must humble ourselves in the dust . . . and take our place with the lowest, if we would be sharers in this wondrous outpouring of the spirit.” According to accounts like these, theological prejudices and assumptions of western superiority served as impediments to spiritual renewal. Participating in the Pentecostal revival required missionaries to overcome these obstacles.³⁷

Some even suggested that the outpouring of the Holy Spirit had initiated a great reversal – not only collapsing hierarchical distinctions between western missionaries and local believers, but beginning to re-center Christian leadership in “heathen” lands. “The time has come when those from Christian nations going to that country can receive spiritual blessings from the Indians. There is no monopoly on the grace of God,” declared Agnes Hill during a sermon she delivered at the Stone Church in November 1912. During her tenure as the National Secretary for the Y.W.C.A. in India, Hill had visited “a place where a great many receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit” – an orphanage run by two Indian Christians, Shorat Chuckerbutty and Dorothea Chandra, at Allahabad. There, she and her friend Alice Eveline Luce of the Anglican Church Missionary Society both “received the baptism in the Holy Spirit through the prayers of an Indian woman, glory to God for the great sisterhood there is!”³⁸

“Bridging the Gulf between East and West”: Pentecostals as Missionary Partners

Like Abrams, Hill and Luce associated with the Pentecostal movement after years of working in India under the sponsorship of western missionary societies. Although Abrams had become independent of her agency by 1897, both Hill and Luce remained affiliated with their respective organizations for several years after receiving Holy Spirit baptism. In fact, these two friends served as correspondents for the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference. Their responses to the questionnaire distributed by Commission I reveal several reasons why Pentecostal revivals appealed so strongly to some veteran missionaries (while aggravating others), and suggest how social and theological factors have worked together to abet the vigorous expansion of Spirit-filled forms of Christianity over the course of the twentieth century.

In keeping with a number of Edinburgh’s correspondents, Hill and Luce both identified social distance and unequal partnerships between western missionaries and the people with whom they worked as major challenges to spreading the Gospel. The “different economic circumstances of missionary and people . . . is one of the most difficult problems in our missionary work,” Luce lamented. “We long to get near the people among whom we work, and we mourn the fact that a great gulf seems to separate us from them as we live in such a different style and with so much more of what to them is luxury.” Hill concurred with this assessment. “This difference is a great stumbling block,” she wrote. Both women acknowledged that social

and economic disparities often reflected and exacerbated relational rifts between missionaries and local communities. The perception that Indians – even those who embraced Christianity – were inferior to westerners rankled indigenous believers and frustrated cooperative efforts. “Many in the native church resent the call to work under the missionary,” Hill admitted. Luce agreed, blaming a hierarchical and inequitable pay structure for perpetuating interactions that mirrored the dynamics of imperial rule. If “we & they all received our pay from a common source of supply,” Luce contended, “it would be easier for them to treat us as fellow-workers, as elder brothers or sisters, instead of as masters.”³⁹

The Reverend V. S. Azariah, an Anglican clergyman from south India and Secretary of the Indian National Missionary Society argued this same point in an address entitled “The Problem of Co-operation between Foreign and Native Workers,” which he delivered at the World Missionary Conference on the evening of June 20th. “The official relationship generally prevalent at present between the missionary and the Indian worker is that between a master and servant,” he declared. “The missionary is the paymaster, the worker his servant. As long as this relationship exists, we must admit that no sense of self-respect and individuality can grow in the Indian church.” Taking the “problem of race relationships” head-on, Azariah asserted that “bridging the gulf between East and West, and the attainment of a greater unity and common ground in Christ” was “one of the deepest needs of our time.” If the Indian church was ever to become self-governing, and the global Christian community to realize “the exceeding richness of the glory of Christ,” he contended, missionaries and native workers would have to overcome “a certain aloofness, a lack of mutual understanding and openness, a great lack of frank intercourse and friendliness” that characterized their relationship. Although he conceded that both sides were to blame, Azariah challenged “the foreign missionary” to show more than “condescending love” to his fellow-workers; to offer “proofs of a real willingness . . . to show that he is in the midst of the people, to be to them, not a lord or a master, but a brother and a friend.”⁴⁰

Had they attended the World Missionary Conference as delegates, Hill and Luce would probably have applauded Azariah’s speech, which according to observers went off “like a bomb” in the “electric silence” of Edinburgh’s Assembly Hall. While a few attendees appreciated Azariah’s challenge, others protested and some argued that he ought to be publicly censured. According to conference historian Brian Stanley, “Most of the Christian press either ignored his

address or took exception to it. . . . hardly anyone in the western churches in 1910 seemed ready to listen."⁴¹

If Azariah's admonitions fell on deaf ears in Edinburgh, his sentiments resonated with partisans of the Pentecostal movement who were making similar proposals. In her correspondence with Commission I, Agnes Hill argued that bridging "the gulf between the missionary and the native helper" depended on "the open and loving heart and manners of the missionary." In fact, Hill's recommendations for fostering reciprocal relationships were more radical than Azariah's proposals. Where he called for an increase in missionary hospitality – encouraging Europeans to shake hands with their Indian workers and to invite them to dinner – Hill exhorted missionaries to adopt a "simpler life" and even challenged unmarried workers to cohabit with their "native helpers, taking them all into his bungalow as brothers or in the case of the woman as sisters." Hill also suggested that missionaries ought to accept expressions of Christian faith that did not conform to their expectations. "There is at present in India a great opportunity to de-westernize all mission work and make it more Indian, i.e. more in sympathy with the national spirit now a-rising," she reported. "There is a great sentiment toward accepting Christ but not Church-ianity. Even at the cost of many things *we* hold dear - still young India should be given Christ."⁴²

Although her proposals for missionary living arrangements were more modest than Hill's, Luce agreed that missionaries should strive to live more simply "in small tents" or "rest-houses . . . thus getting as near to the daily lives of the people as possible, and living in their presence, as it were, seeking to shew [sic] them that Christ is not merely the Savior of the West, but that He is an Oriental Saviour, and His salvation comes down to the little details of everyday life." Like Hill, Luce believed proximity and humility were essential for cultivating mutual affection and for revising presumptions about the superiority of western Christianity. "This getting nearer to the Indian workers, the missionary living with them as a brother or sister, sharing their joys and sorrows, letting them enter into his or her hopes, fears, desires and aspirations would surely have a tremendous effect in improving the methods of evangelization," she asserted.⁴³

For both Luce and Hill, the most significant factor in spreading the gospel and creating multi-racial, inter-cultural, egalitarian friendships among Christians was the Holy Spirit. In keeping with William Piper's conviction that the baptism in the Spirit was essential for

vanquishing social and theological chauvinism, Hill contended that “what the whole missionary body yes and the Indian Church and the Church at home need most is a special equipment of power from on High to put things into proper perspective and to make the message effective as the Master intended it to be.” Luce was even more adamant. “I cannot express strongly enough my deep conviction that nothing but a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit of God will meet the needs of India in these difficult days,” she declared. Describing the revival that had spread through India in recent years, Luce recounted how the Holy Spirit had surmounted seemingly insuperable divides. “We have seen . . . how He takes up the poor and illiterate and does wondrous works through them, how His presence is like a Fire, melting down all barriers, uniting the whole church (native and foreign) and melting them together as one in the love of Jesus, and how He sets them on fire with love and zeal for the salvation of souls.” Given this evidence, Luce told the organizers of the Edinburgh Conference, it only made sense to conclude that “the answer to all these difficult questions” of missionary endeavor, “the one all-important need” was “a mighty outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the Christian Church in every land.”⁴⁴

The women of the Bezaleel Evangelistic Mission who set sail for India in the fall of 1910 shared the belief that baptism in the Holy Ghost was indispensable for the evangelization of the nations and the unity of the Christian church. As faith missionaries relying on God rather than an established organization for their financial support, they were also poised to practice the propinquity with local people that experienced missionaries like Luce, Hill and Azariah were advocating. With little advanced training, no language skills, and limited monetary resources, Abrams’ recruits were compelled to live simply in close proximity with the native population, and to partner with the Indian Christians upon whom they were in many ways dependent.

Moving out into the “regions beyond” where few missionaries had gone before meant that Bezaleel workers were often the only westerners in the area. Writing back to her Stone Church supporters in the United States one year after sailing with Abrams, Blanche Cunningham described the “pioneer work” she and Lillian Doll had undertaken in Basti, North India. “Outside of one or two officials there is no one here but Indian people,” she wrote. Nor was there any European-style housing. When they eventually procured facilities abandoned by a British mission, Doll “moved in at once, even before it was fit to live in, and slept on the floor with the rats and moles crawling around.” Cunningham lived in another building “with the Indian girls” who were to be her partners in village evangelism. “My room has three small

windows with wooden bars to keep out thieves," she wrote. Explaining that "these houses are very old and when it rains, it leaks in almost every room," Cunningham entreated her readers to "pray much that the Lord will keep the dashing rains from bringing down the roof on us, for in some places the rain has caused great pieces of mud to drop in the middle of the floor." By foregoing the comforts typical of most missionary compounds, eating "chapaties" and other Indian food, and sharing a home with their Indian co-workers, Doll and Cunningham practiced what Edinburg correspondents such as Hill and Luce preached. As a result, the "gulf" that separated these western women from their "native helpers" was narrower, and reciprocal relationships that encouraged mutual esteem developed more readily.⁴⁵

"I Will Pour Out My Spirit on All Flesh": Pentecostal Missionaries & Indigenous Leadership

From their arrival in India, the Bezaleel novices worked closely with bible women and young men "trained and converted" at Ramabai's Mukti mission and at Dhond, the orphanage established by Albert and Mary Norton. In letters sent back to the Stone Church, missionaries praised their Indian associates, presenting them as fellow workers and exemplary Christian evangelists to the home audience. "Nannu was a carpenter," Abrams wrote of one Mukti convert who joined their mission in North India. "He can hardly read and make up his accounts, but does most of my business and is a leader among the others. His wife . . . is the 'mother in Israel' at Uska Bazar."⁴⁶ Edith Baugh reported that "the young women (natives) are doing splendid work in the villages, they go out every day and often walk ten and twelve miles preaching."⁴⁷

According to these Pentecostal missionaries, Spirit-baptism was the most important criteria for carrying out an effective evangelistic ministry. Although they did value basic Christian training and the ability to read the Bible, missionaries like Abrams could overlook a lack of literacy as irrelevant if the Holy Spirit anointed workers such as Nannu to preach the gospel. Believing that the Pentecostal revival which began in 1905 had inaugurated a new era in Indian Christianity, Abrams exhorted American believers to come alongside the "spirit-filled young people" at Mukti who were ready to "go out to evangelize their own people." Having "seen the Holy Spirit poured out in marvelous power upon the Indian Christian church," Abrams was certain that the evangelization of India would proceed primarily through native converts in partnership with western Pentecostals who could serve as helpmeets to their "yokefellows"

through both intercessory prayer and physical presence. Luce expressed a similar conviction in her correspondence with the Edinburgh Commission. Indian workers “are the ones to do the work of evangelization most effectively,” she wrote. “They can bear the climate, know the language and customs of the people, and can present the Gospel from an oriental point of view in a way we never can: surely it is well worth laying down our lives in order to make a band of earnest, Spirit-filled Indian evangelists; and can we ask the Church at home to pray for anything more earnestly than for this?”⁴⁸

Most delegates at the World Missionary Conference agreed that “the progress of Christianity in India” and elsewhere depended largely on “the native church.”⁴⁹ Edinburgh, Brian Stanley has argued, endorsed “the formation, growth, and nurture” of self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating national churches as “the central goal of all foreign missionary activity.”⁵⁰ In contrast to their Pentecostal peers, however, participants at the World Missionary Conference were less confident that “filled with the Holy Spirit, the Indian is definitely qualified to lead his own to Christ,” as one Bezaleel worker put it.⁵¹ Although Commission I did acknowledge that “it seems evident that the Indian Church must ultimately be under the guidance and control of Indian Christians,” the final report suggested that a such a transfer of power could only take place after proper “development and education of the native church.”⁵²

For Pentecostals eagerly anticipating Christ’s imminent return, such a gradual approach seemed impractical. Time was short, the task was urgent, and the Holy Spirit was anointing workers all over the world to spread the message of repentance and salvation. Drawing on biblical passages such as Joel 2:28 and Acts 2:17, which promised that “in the last days, saith the Lord, I will pour out of My Spirit on all flesh,” participants in the Stone Church convention claimed that this long-awaited prophecy was being fulfilled in the present. The Holy Spirit, William Piper asserted, was “picking people up everywhere, out of all nations and out of all denominations” to preach the gospel.⁵³ Indian Christians touched by the Pentecostal revivals concurred with Piper’s assessment. “I believe that the time has come or is at hand when God is going to gather unto Himself a peculiar people out of every nation to prepare the elect Bride to meet the Lord Jesus Christ when he comes for her,” Pandita Ramabai wrote in her correspondence with the Edinburgh commission.⁵⁴ “India is awakening. God is speaking to our age and to our land in the mighty reviving work of His Spirit . . . The spirit of Pentecost is arousing the Church today,” declared the founders of the Indian National Missionary Society in

December of 1905. Organized by V. Samuel Azariah and other Indian church leaders, the interdenominational association urged Indian Christians to recognize "the solemn obligation alike of ownership and of opportunity, of sacrifice and responsibility."⁵⁵ According to historian Gary McGee, this "'Appeal to Indian Christians' to evangelize their own nation" was an outgrowth of the "greater indigenization of the faith" that resulted from India's Pentecostal awakening. "The Spirit's outpouring," McGee has argued, "signaled that the hour for indigenous leadership had arrived."⁵⁶

When Minnie Abrams and her American apprentices arrived in Bombay in October of 1910, self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating Indian churches of any theological persuasion were still more of a future hope than a present reality. Despite their affirmation of the "three-self" principle, most denominational missionaries postponed the process of transferring power to indigenous leaders for decades after the Edinburgh conference. Although they were more apt to acknowledge the authority of Spirit-filled evangelists, to see their "native helpers" as equal partners in the task of spreading the gospel, and even to live in intimate proximity with their non-western associates, Pentecostals also sometimes "struggled to turn over the reins of control." Once the floodwaters of revival receded and Christ had not yet returned, some Pentecostal missionaries followed in the footsteps of their denominational predecessors: establishing missions stations, maintaining a distance from Indian partners, and, as Gary McGee has put it, "retaining tight control over local pastors and evangelists by paying them with funds raised in North America."⁵⁷

In his recent comprehensive survey of Pentecostal missions, McGee also asserts that Pentecostals were not immune to the "cultural prejudices" and anxieties that came along with their privileged status as westerners in an imperial setting. "Like most Westerners who lived abroad," he contends, "Pentecostal missionaries accepted their racial and cultural superiority as a given."⁵⁸ McGee's observations suggest that the Spirit-filled women and men who resisted the rhetoric of civilization and insisted that "the Gospel of Jesus Christ makes us all one, no matter of what race or color we are," were somewhat unusual.⁵⁹ In fact, leaders of the Stone Church do seem to have been more committed to pursuing what they termed "cosmopolitan" interests and sympathies than some of their Pentecostal peers.⁶⁰ They were also less inclined to engage in doctrinal hair-splitting or heresy-hunting. From the first issue in 1908, contributors to the *Latter Rain Evangel* condemned the rampant theological controversies that were undermining unity in

the Holy Spirit and distracted believers from the primary task of cultivating a universal Christian community.⁶¹ As the Pentecostal movement developed more structure through the establishment of denominations such as the Assemblies of God in 1914, however, the doctrinal fluidity and irenic posture to which Stone Church leaders were dedicated in the early years became increasingly difficult to maintain. On the “mission field,” the drive for greater organization and standardization pushed some Pentecostals to adopt “paternalistic practices” that impeded the expansion of indigenous leadership and mutuality. Within several years, the Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God was wrestling with many of the same strategic dilemmas that dominated the agenda at Edinburgh: what methods of evangelism were most effective, whether charitable or humanitarian efforts “paid” or fostered dependency, how to promote a self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating church.⁶²

“The Baptism in the Holy Ghost Should Make us World-Wide”: Conclusion

Despite the obstacles that increasing organization erected between Pentecostal missionaries and their indigenous associates, many of the subtle tendencies that distinguished participants in the Stone Church Convention from delegates at the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910 continued to shape how Spirit-filled Christians envisioned and enacted the creation of a global fellowship in years to come. “The baptism in the Holy Ghost should make us world-wide. It should enlarge us,” Minnie Abrams proclaimed in 1911.⁶³ When she and the American women of the Bezaleel Evangelistic Mission partnered with Indian evangelists and bible women to spread the gospel in small villages like Basti and Uska Bazaar, they acted on a set of assumptions that would become increasingly influential among Christian communities over the course of the twentieth century. First, emotional appeals were more effective than statistical surveys in evoking empathy for “our brothers and sisters in the uttermost parts of the earth.”⁶⁴ Second, western civilization was not equivalent with the kingdom of God and missionaries had no monopoly on God’s grace. While Christians might use all available means – including the improved methods of travel and communication – to spread the gospel, their success hinged on the Holy Spirit not on a supposed technological or cultural superiority. Third, in these “last days” the love of Christ was eliminating “all distinctions of race or color,” binding people of “all color, caste and nationality” into “one unified, sympathetic body.”⁶⁵ Within this

context, the "latter rain" of God's Holy Spirit was anointing individuals of every age, economic background, economic class, and ethnic origin to serve as leaders of the Pentecostal revival. Because God was "no respecter of persons," missionaries needed to acknowledge the authority of Spirit-filled native workers, working in close proximity and partnership with their fellow evangelists to "convert the heathen" of *all* nations.

At the close of both the Stone Church Convention and the Edinburgh Conference, hopes were high that this goal of world evangelization would soon be accomplished. Participants at each gathering believed that a "new era in missions had dawned."⁶⁶ While these two groups shared many suppositions about the universal character of Christian community and the possibilities of the present historical moment, they differed in their perspective on the Holy Spirit. Although leaders of the Edinburgh Conference acknowledged "the Superhuman Factor in Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World" and mentioned the "recent wonderful revivals" in various nations in a small section of their published report, the conference as a whole "paid very little attention to the Pentecostal dimension of Christian theology."⁶⁷ Because most Pentecostals were faith missionaries, their representation at Edinburgh – which only invited envoys from formal missionary societies of a significant size as official delegates – was minimal, if not entirely non-existent: one prominent figure in the Pentecostal revival in China, Presbyterian missionary Jonathan Goforth, did attend. Reflecting on the experience two years later, Goforth remembered the excitement the World Missions Conference evoked. "There has been no Church gathering in modern times around which such expectations have centered," he recalled. "It provoked visions of endless possibilities" and the hope of "a mighty Holy Ghost Revival." The event itself, however, proved deeply discouraging. "Never have I experienced such keen pain and disappointment," Goforth wrote. "Of the many who addressed that great missionary gathering, not more than three emphasized God the Holy Spirit as the one essential factor in world evangelization. Listening to the addresses . . . one could not but conclude that the giving of the Gospel to lost mankind was largely a matter of better organization, better equipment, more men and women."⁶⁸

Despite his disillusionment at Edinburgh, Goforth refused to give up the "dream" of "a mighty, globe-encircling Holy Spirit revival." Writing several years later, he exhorted his readers to cease relying on "human schemes" and to "face the unchangeable truth" that a worldwide expansion of Christianity would not result from "ecclesiastical self-sufficiency" but

only by “baptism with the Holy Ghost and with fire.” Leaders of the World Missionary Conference had missed an “incomparable opportunity,” Goforth lamented, but all was not lost. “Brethren, the Spirit of God is still with us,” he proclaimed. “Pentecost is yet within our grasp.”⁶⁹ The Spirit-filled women and men who gathered at the Stone Church Convention shared Goforth’s conviction. “As to ‘building up a science of Missions,’ God has revealed his own divine plan of propagating the Gospel,” Albert Norton wrote in an article assessing the Edinburgh Conference. “And as His servants go forward in simple, childlike faith, preaching the glad tidings, with the Holy Spirit sent down from heaven, souls will be converted and Christ’s kingdom extended. . . . What we need now is not any new Science of Missions, but a return to the old paths, as laid down in the Word of God.”⁷⁰ During the ensuing century, Pentecostal evangelists from all nations “and kindreds and tongues” adopted this approach, spreading Spirit-filled faith “to the uttermost parts of the earth,” and in so doing transforming both the nature of the Protestant missionary enterprise and the shape of global Christianity.⁷¹

¹ W. H. Cossum, “A Glorious Convention,” *Latter Rain Evangel (LRE)* (June 1910): 2-5; and “Notes,” *LRE* (April 1910): 12-13.

² World Missionary Conference, 1910, *History and Records of the Conference Together with Addresses Delivered at the Evening Meetings* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier; and New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co., n.d. [1910]), 247. The definitive history of the World Missionary Conference is Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2009).

³ Stanley, *World Missionary Conference*, 2.

⁴ *History and Records of the Conference*, 247; and Stanley, *World Missionary Conference*, 4.

⁵ Cossum, “A Glorious Convention,” 2-5.

⁶ Andrew F. Walls, “From Christendom to World Christianity: Missions and the Demographic Transformation of the Church,” *Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 22, no.3 (2001): 306-330; and Stanley, *World Missionary Conference*, 17.

⁷ Minnie Abrams, “The Object of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit,” *LRE* (May 1911): 8-11; Minnie Abrams, “The Battles of a Faith Missionary,” *LRE* (Mar 1910): 13-18; “Mukti Mission,” *Mukti Prayer Bell* (September 1907). On Abrams, Ramabai, and their work at Mukti, see for example, Edith Blumhofer, “‘From India’s Coral Strand’: Pandita Ramabai and the U.S. Support for Foreign Missions,” in *The Foreign Mission Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History*, ed. Daniel H. Bays and Grant Wacker (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 152–70; and Gary B. McGee, “Minnie F. Abrams: Another Context, Another Founder,” in *Portraits of a Generation: Early Pentecostal Leaders*, ed. James R. Goff, Jr., and Grant Wacker, (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2002), 86-104.

⁸ Minnie Abrams, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire* (Kedgaon, India: Mukti Mission Press, 1906), especially 1-4; Minnie Abrams, “‘The Midnight Darkness of India’s Superstition,’” *LRE* (August 1910): 6-12; and Minnie

Abrams, "How the Recent Revival Was Brought About in India," *LRE* (July 1909): 6-13. Recent studies on the emergence of global Pentecostalism have highlighted Abram's contribution as well as the importance of the Indian revival at Mukti and elsewhere. See, for example, Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (New York: Orbis Books, 2007), especially pages 75-102; Edith L. Blumhofer, "Consuming Fire: Pandita Ramabai and the Global Pentecostal Impulse," in Ogbu Kalu and Alaine Low, eds. *Interpreting Contemporary Christianity: Global Processes and Local Identities* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 207-237; Jay R. Case, "And Ever the Twain Shall Meet: The Holiness Missionary Movement and the Birth of World Pentecostalism, 1870-1920," *Religion & American Culture* 16:2 (2006): 125-159; Gary B. McGee, *Miracles, Missions and American Pentecostalism* (New York: Orbis Books, 2010), especially pages 135-139; and Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1996), 244-54.

⁹ Abrams, "Recent Revival," 12; Abrams, "Midnight Darkness," 6-12; and Abrams, "Battles of a Faith Missionary," 18.

¹⁰ On this point, see Joan Jacobs Brumberg, "Zenanas and Girlless Villages: The Ethnology of American Evangelical Women, 1870-1910," *Journal of American History* 69, no.2 (1982): 347-371.

¹¹ Stanley, *World Missionary Conference*, 4-5.

¹² Levi R. Lupton, "'Wilt Thou Go with This Man?' A Strong Plea for Heathen Evangelization," *LRE* (June 1910): 18.

¹³ "Notes," *LRE* (June 1910): 11

¹⁴ Minnie Abrams, "A Note of Praise," *LRE* (October 1910): 11; and McGee, *Miracles*, 137-138.

¹⁵ Minnie L. Houck, "One Year in India," *LRE* (Mar 1912): 18-20.

¹⁶ Charles F. Hettiaratchy, "But the Greatest of These is Love," *LRE* (May 1910): 9-13. For an astute analysis of early Pentecostal views on civilization, see Case, "Ever the Twain Shall Meet," especially page 33.

¹⁷ Cossum, "A Glorious Convention," 2-5; and "Notes," *LRE* (Apr 1910): 12-13.

¹⁸ Mrs. C. W. [Rachel] Doney, "Called to the Mission Field at Five," *LRE* (September 1913): 8-10.

¹⁹ S. H. Auernheimer, "Go, Let Go, Help Go: A Plea for the Millions of India," *LRE* (April 1913): 16; and Doney, "Called to the Mission Field," 8-10.

²⁰ D. Wesley Myland, "The Latter Rain: Its Design and Operation," *LRE* (August 1909): 11-18.

²¹ Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals, "Saving the World? The Changing Terrain of American Protestant Missions," <http://isae.wheaton.edu/projects/missions> (accessed June 10, 2010).

²² Albert Norton, "Does God Still Answer Prayer," *LRE* (October 1911): 23-24.

²³ David Livingstone, *D. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures*, ed. William Monk (London: Deighton, Bell & Co, 1860), 165.

²⁴ A. Forder, "And Ishmael Will Be a Wild Man: Thrilling Experiences in the Land of Sand and Sun," *LRE* (August 1909): 2-7.

- ²⁵ World Missionary Conference, 1910, *Report of Commission I: Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier; and New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co., n.d. [1910]), 21-25; and Stanley, *World Missionary Conference*, 16.
- ²⁶ George P. Pardington, *Twenty-Five Wonderful Years, 1889-1914: A Popular Sketch of the Christian and Missionary Alliance* (1914; reprint, New York: Garland Publishing, 1984), 61-64, and 103. See Stanley, *World Missionary Conference*, 1-3 for a discussion of the eschatological views on display at Edinburgh. Studies of the development of premillennial eschatology include James H. Moorhead, *World Without End: Mainstream American Protestant Visions of the Last Things, 1880-1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999); Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); and Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1982: with a new preface* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
- ²⁷ Albert Norton, "Does God Still Answer Prayer?" *LRE* (October 1911): 23-24.
- ²⁸ On this point, see especially Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); and Case, "Ever the Twain Shall Meet," 136-137.
- ²⁹ "Some of the Signs of the Imminence of Our Lord's Return," *Triumphs of Faith (TOF)* (October 1900): 246.
- ³⁰ "Notes," *LRE* (October 1908): 14.
- ³¹ "We Are Two Years Old," *LRE* (September 1909): 2-3.
- ³² As Benedict Anderson has persuasively argued in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1983), the use of new communication technologies was a key factor in the development of both national and transnational affiliations in the modern era.
- ³³ Romans 10:12: "For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the same Lord is Lord of all and bestows his riches upon all who call upon him"; Galatians 3:28: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus"; and Colossians 3:11: "Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all" (Revised Standard Version).
- ³⁴ D. Wesley Myland, "The Fifth Latter Rain Lecture," *LRE* (September 1909): 16.
- ³⁵ William Piper, "The Lord Reigneth! He is Clothed With Majesty: God's Sovereignty Displayed in the Latter Rain," *LRE* (December 1909): 7-11.
- ³⁶ Abrams, "Recent Revival," 6-13; and Abrams, *Baptism of the Holy Ghost & Fire*, v.
- ³⁷ Helen S. Dyer, *Revival in India: Years of the Right Hand of the Most High* (New York: Gospel Publishing House, 1907), 68 and 77.
- ³⁸ Agnes Hill, "Do Foreign Missions Pay? The Transition of India," *LRE* (January 1913): 7-12.
- ³⁹ "Report to the Commission by Miss Agnes Hill Gale," World Missionary Conference (WMC) papers, series 1, box 3, folder 6, Missionary Research Library (MRL) Series 12, the Burke Library Archives (Columbia University Archives) at Union Theological Seminary (UTS), New York; and "Report to the Commission by Miss Eveline A. Luce," WMC papers, series 1, box 3, folder 9, MRL Series 12, UTS, New York.
- ⁴⁰ *History and Records of the Conference*, 306-315.
- ⁴¹ Stanley, *World Missionary Conference*, 126-8.

⁴² "Report by Agnes Hill Gale."

⁴³ "Report by Eveline A. Luce."

⁴⁴ "Report by Agnes Hill Gale," and "Report by Eveline A. Luce."

⁴⁵ Blanche Cunningham, "Through Death to Life: Some of the Trials of Young Missionaries," *LRE* (November 1911): 17-19.

⁴⁶ Minnie Abrams, "Prayer Answered in North India," *LRE* (August 1911): 14-16.

⁴⁷ "Notes: Entered into Rest," *LRE* (January 1913): 14-15.

⁴⁸ Abrams, "Recent Revival," 12; Abrams, "Midnight Darkness," 10; Abrams, "Recent Revival," 7; and "Report by Eveline A. Luce."

⁴⁹ *Report of Commission I*, 308.

⁵⁰ Stanley, *World Missionary Conference*, 132.

⁵¹ Jennie Kirkland, "India's Women Can Be Reached Only thro' Women," *LRE* (January 1921): 17-21.

⁵² *Report of Commission I*, 308.

⁵³ Piper, "The Lord Reigneth!" 9.

⁵⁴ "Report to the Commission by Pandita Ramabai," WMC papers, series 1, box 3, folder 10, MRL 12, UTS, New York.

⁵⁵ "An Appeal to Indian Christians by the Founders of the National Missionary Society" (1905), in *History of Christianity in India*, ed. M. K. Kuriakose (Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1982), 292-93; quoted in McGee, *Miracles*, 85.

⁵⁶ McGee, *Miracles*, 85.

⁵⁷ McGee, *Miracles*, 167; and Gary B. McGee, "Missions, Overseas (N. American Pentecostal)" in *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* Rev. Exp. Ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 896.

⁵⁸ McGee, *Miracles*, 165-167.

⁵⁹ Auernheimer, "Go, Let Go, Help Go," 17.

⁶⁰ "Fifteen Days with God: Seasons of Refreshing at the Stone Church Convention," *LRE* (June 1915): 16.

⁶¹ See, for example, "Manifestations and 'Demonstrations' of the Spirit," *LRE* (October 1908): 16-20; Minnie F. Abrams, "His Visage Was So Marred More Than Any Man: Our Acts of Unkindness Mar the Face of Jesus," *LRE* (June 1909): 10-13; William H. Piper, "The Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace," *LRE* (June 1911): 14-17; and Lydia M. Piper "The Unity of the Spirit," *LRE* (February 1912): 16-19.

⁶² For a discussion of how greater organization within the Assemblies of God affected Pentecostal missions, see McGee, "Missions, Overseas," 896; and *Miracles*, especially chapters 7 and 8.

⁶³ Abrams, "Object of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit," 8.

⁶⁴ Hill, "Do Foreign Missions Pay?" 7.

⁶⁵ "Fifteen Days with God," 16; Maude Delaney, "Witnessing for Jesus in the Southland," *LRE* (April 1912): 6; and Piper, "The Lord Reigneth!" 9.

⁶⁶ Jonathan Goforth, *By My Spirit* (1910s; reprint, Nappanee, IN: Evangel Publishing House, 1983), 137.

⁶⁷ *Report of Commission I*, 351-361; and Stanley, *World Missionary Conference*, 324.

⁶⁸ Goforth, *By My Spirit*, 137; I am indebted to McGee, *Miracles*, 90-91 for this reference.

⁶⁹ Goforth, *By My Spirit*, 138 and 11.

⁷⁰ Albert Norton, "The Science of Missions," *Jehovah-Jireh: A Witness to God's Faithfulness* (Dec 1913): 16-18.

⁷¹ "Fifteen days with God," 16; and Hill, "Do foreign missions pay?" 7.