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“When We are Going to Preach the Word, Jesus will Meet Us:”

Ernest and Phebe Ward and Pandita Ramabai

Abstract:

In the 19th century, holiness missions spread to various parts of the world, including India. Ernest and Phebe Ward were part of that movement. They went as faith missionaries, but were also recognized as the first missionaries of the Free Methodist Church. In the course of their mission work in Central India, their traditional radical form of holiness mission was transformed into orphanage work by a severe famine. Through their holiness connections and orphanage work, they became associated with the Pentecost Bands and with Albert Norton, a close partner with Pandita Ramabai. This paper raises the potential importance of these connections in terms of the influence of holiness connections on Ramabai and the Mukti Revival of 1905, which led to the growth of Pentecostalism in India.

Keywords: Ernest Ward, Phebe Ward, Pandita Ramabai, Free Methodist, missions, India

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Introduction

In January of 1881, Ernest Freemont Ward and his wife Phebe arrived in Bombay (Mumbai), India as the first missionaries of the Free Methodist Church.¹ With a radical view of Wesleyan-Holiness teachings, the Wards set off to evangelize Hindus and Muslims in Central India. By 1892, they were in Raj Nandgaon. In 1897 a major famine struck the area forcing the Wards to reevaluate their missionary goals and establish an orphanage to handle the crisis of abandoned children. In December 1897, a small band of Free Methodist workers arrived in Raj Nandgaon to form the first Pentecost Band in India. Bringing the same passion for Wesleyan-Holiness teaching, they too became involved in the orphanage, adding a school and chapel to the mission work.

In 1898, about 600 miles away near Bombay, Pandita Ramabai was establishing her own missionary school and orphanage in Kedgaon—the well-known Mukti Mission.² While her primary goal was to support child widows, the massive famine also expanded her mission to include female famine victims. In Pentecostal studies, Pandita Ramabai is known for a 1905 revival (including the speaking in tongues), which predated the Azusa Revival by two years (when the Pentecostal Movement is traditionally accepted as being established).³

This paper explores primary source documents from E. F. and Phebe Ward and highlights records of interactions between Pandita Ramabai and these Free Methodist missionaries, as well as potential influences their Wesleyan-Holiness teachings and mission work may have had on this early outbreak of Pentecostalism in India.

The Wards Go to India

In 1878, Ernest Freemont Ward, the son of an abstractor of titles in Illinois, had a sanctification experience in a Free Methodist camp meeting and his ensuing passion for holiness led him to join the Free Methodist Church the following year. In October of 1880, Ward was made both a deacon and an elder at the same conference in Freeport, Illinois and he also married Phebe Cox, a teacher three years his senior. On November 15, 1880, using money Phebe had saved, the couple left for India. As an account of Free Methodist missions, written in the mid-1930's notes, "Ernest F. Ward announced to the conference that he and his wife were called to India and were going soon. They did not offer themselves to the organized Board that already existed. They did not ask for support. They did want the

authorization and prayers of the church."⁴ By January of 1881 they arrived in Bombay, and eventually they become recognized as the Free Methodist Church's first foreign missionaries.

However, Ward did not just step into a vacuum. He was encouraged to go to India (and even to marry Phebe!)⁵ by Albert Benjamin Norton, a missionary sent out in 1872 by the Foreign Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church in response to an urgent need by Rev. William Taylor.⁶ Norton becomes a very important person in Ramabai's story and the history of the Mukti Revival.⁷ Norton was close to Ramabai and was asked by her to establish a boy's orphanage in Dhond (Daund) as a complement to the Mukti mission's focus on girl orphans or widows. It is Norton who early on reports on the Mukti Revival in one of the first issues of the *Apostolic Faith*, the official paper of the Azusa Revival.⁸ A group of Pentecostal missionaries join his work in December of 1908,⁹ and Norton reports on his own experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues on March 5, 1909.¹⁰

There is also evidence of early contact between the Wards and Pandita Ramabai. During their early years in Ellichpur (Achalpur), the Wards had taken in an Anglo-Indian girl, named her Theodosia and raised her with their daughters. Since they were self supporting, the Wards sold their house in Ellichpur to pay the costs of their first furlough in 1892. Because they could not afford to take Theodosia with them, Phebe had to find a place for her. Ethel Ward writes,

Mrs. Ward took a hurried trip to Poona (Pune) too before they sailed. She went to a fine Children's Home orphanage there where she left her adopted girl, Theodosia. The separation was keenly felt by both of the sisters, but funds did not permit their taking her to America, and later the way opened for her to finish high school and take a medical course in North India. Later Dr. Scudder found her and chose her to help in their big Mission Hospital in Vellore, South India, where she worked many years with this famous Dr. Scudder. On this trip to Poona, Mrs. Ward visited Pandita Ramabai's Widows' Home and saw Mrs. Sorabji¹¹ and daughter. She was much impressed with these fine women, the noblest of India's daughters, splendid types of womanhood.¹²

For the most part, the early ministry of the Wards focused on evangelistic preaching in the bazaars, selling literature and tracts, and working to save souls. This was at the core of most holiness missions. In line

with this approach, the Wards, while in Bombay waiting to sail for their first furlough in 1892, met two young women who had arrived from America as representatives of the Pentecost Bands, a holiness-based evangelistic group loosely connected to the Free Methodist Church. These two young ladies were Laura Douglas and Bessie Sherman.¹³ Along with the Wards they held some tent meetings and established the first Free Methodist society in India in Byculla, Bombay.¹⁴ It is not clear if the Wards joined the Pentecost Bands at this time or after their return to the U.S., but they are listed in *The Pentecost Herald*, the main paper for the Pentecost Bands, in 1894 with Ernest Ward as the leader of Band no. 12 and Phebe Ward as the leader of Band no. 22 with Bessie Sherman as the Assistant Leader.¹⁵

The Famine of 1897 and Mission Changes Direction

After their first furlough in 1892, the Wards returned to India to a new location- Raj Nandgaon in present day Chhattisgarh state on the border with Maharashtra state. Ward's journals show a missionary passionate for saving souls and the holiness teachings of the Free Methodist Church, but in 1897 a major famine struck the area and the Wards begin to help by burying the dead and taking in abandoned children, creating an orphanage out of necessity. Much of this activity is recorded in the Wards' book, *Echoes from Bharatkhand*.¹⁶ The situation was getting desperate and overwhelming the physical and emotional resources of the Wards as independent self-supporting missionaries. In one account Phebe Ward sends a letter in September of 1897 (before the arrival of the Pentecost Band) in which she is clearly exhausted,

I love the way of the cross this morning, by which I am crucified to the world and the world unto me. I presume you have heard of Bro. Ward's and Louisa's serious illness with cholera. God loosened our hands by the singular providence and let me get a breathing spell, from where I was living at high pressure speed. The change was much needed; I might say imperative. Bro. Ward is improving now but it has been a veritable fight with death. A less stronger man would probably have succumbed, Louisa too though not so ill, has had a long pull. Blood poisoning set in which has kept her from getting on her feet. . . Some of our loveliest ones (orphans) have gone to heaven. I have sat and watched them leave us, when it seemed as if this famine was a giant fiend, stealing away our jewels. I can never describe the awfulness of this famine! I have grown old

in eight months and can wear Bessie Sherman's clothes easily, I am so thin. We shall be glad to hear the outgoing party have left America.¹⁷

It is interesting that this letter is published right next to the first mention of Pandita Ramabai in *The Pentecost Herald*, an account written by Alfred S. Dyer, the editor of *The Bombay Guardian*.

The Pentecost Bands, which had split from the Free Methodist Church in 1895 over issues of denominational authority and their radical holiness stance, answered the need by sending a group of workers led by Frank Hotle, along with his wife Della and daughter Eliza, William McCready, and Elizabeth Tucker. This group arrived in Bombay November 28, 1897, where they proceeded to set up an orphanage in Nagpur and gather orphans locally.¹⁸ In the Pentecost Band's account for May 25, 1898,¹⁹ it notes,

Bro. Ward came today to get his daughter Louisa, who has been here for a two weeks change. We were all very glad to see him and we had a real breaking through time at prayers. Bro. Ward feels his heart is with us and that the Lord would be pleased to have him cast his lot among us. We told him to pray much about it, and if he still felt his place was in the bands, we would gladly welcome him.

In the account for May 27th, 1898 (two days later), the Pentecost Band's account notes, "Bro. Ward returned home today; but before going he gave us his name to be sent to the *Pentecost Herald* to be enrolled among the workers." The Wards position in regards to the Free Methodist Church is unclear at this time. In Burritt's history of Free Methodist missions it lists the Wards as beginning their service in 1880 and records them in the list of Free Methodist Missionaries from 1885-1895, however they are missing from the list from 1895-1905, and then reappear on the list from 1905-1915 as beginning their service in 1906.²⁰ Since the Pentecost Bands withdrew from the Free Methodist Church in 1895, Ward's move to the Pentecost Bands in 1898 may have been seen as a move away from the Free Methodist Church. However, since the Wards were always self-supporting and independent, their denominational affiliation may have always been a bit flexible.

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On June 21, 1898 (less than a month after Ward joins the Pentecost Band in India), the decision is made to combine the orphanages at Nagpur and Raj Nandgaon. The account records,

After prayerful and careful consideration, we decided that it would be profitable and pleasing to God for the two orphanages at Nagpur and Raj Nandgaon to be united as our forces thus concentrated would enable us to more properly adjust matters so as to lessen or more fully equalize the burdens of each worker. The decision seems to be met with the favor of God as the railroad company gave us free pass for over fifty children and we took them from Nagpur to Raj Nandgaon today. Our family of children number up to one hundred and eight now.

The Wards may have remembered this event differently. Ethel Ward wrote,

Then they (the Wards) learned that a party of four missionaries from the Pentecost Band work had begun a Mission in Nagpur which was nearer than others. "Let us invite them," said Mr. Ward, and his wife consented. So the letter of invitation was written. "Yes, we can come," was the reply, "and it is surely an answer to our prayer because we have had to pay such a high rent here that we have been contemplating moving elsewhere."²¹

Raj Nandgaon and The Pentecost Bands

After joining the Pentecost Bands and formally following under the leadership of Frank Hotle, some problems began to emerge. The initial problem most likely came with Ernest Ward being a 16-year veteran missionary in India, fluent in the language and culture of the people, who had done all of the hard work to build the mission at Raj Nandgaon putting himself under the leadership of Frank Hotle, a newly arrived missionary with no knowledge of the language or the culture, and with no sweat-equity in the mission. Hotle decided that Ernest and Phebe needed to be sent back to the U.S. on furlough, but they would leave their five-year-old daughter behind in India. Ethel Ward related this event as follows,

Adjustment! That was the great problem now. That has ever been the perpetual problem on every mission field. Hundreds of years before, the prophet Amos knew this and wrote, "Can two walk together except they be agreed?" And here were six to "walk together." Mrs. Elizabeth Tucker and Mr. Wm. McCready were two of

the band from Nagpur but Mr. and Mrs. H____ were the “leaders” and they “determined” (Acts 15:37) that it would be best for the Wards to take a furlough to America now and leave Louise in India to save expense and insure the Wards returning to Raj Nandgaon again. The rest “agreed,” so it came the decision was that they should go on furlough.²²

If Ethel Ward presents the family’s views accurately, it can be seen that there was a great deal of frustration with the Hotles for this decision (since Ethel chooses to not even use the Hotle name in her book and refers to them as “leaders” in quotation marks). While articles in *The Pentecost Herald* and accounts in the journals of the Pentecost Bands are silent on this relationship, and Ward and Hotle seemed to continue working together, the strain of being forced to leave a five-year-old child for over a year in a place which has just experienced massive famine and death must have been immense.

In September of 1898 the Wards returned to the United States without five-year-old Louise. They were able to reunite with their daughters Ethel and Bessie who had been left at the “Reaper’s Home” in Virginia during their previous furlough in 1892. The Wards set out to speak at churches and camp meetings, raise funds, write articles for *The Pentecost Herald*, and promote the work in India. Because Pandita Ramabai was involved in dealing with orphans from the same famine in the same region of India, it is not surprising that her name begins to be mentioned in connection with the Wards’ speaking. It is interesting to note that in an article about one of the Wards’ speaking engagements by Fannie Birdsall, she concludes with a brief plug to “Send 5 cents for the illustrated sketch of the life of Pandita Ramabi (sic).”²³

Even while the Wards are in the United States, Frank Hotle makes a special trip to Kedgaon in April of 1899 to visit Pandita Ramabai and visit her work.²⁴ The main goal here was to get ideas for similar work the Pentecost Bands hoped to start with child widows in a new mission station in Gondia.

Connections with Pandita Ramabai

While Raj Nandgaon is roughly 600 miles (almost 1,000 km) inland from Kedgaon, the site of Pandita Ramabai’s Mukti Mission, missionaries had to frequently travel near Kedgaon on their way to Bombay



to both travel home and to pick up other missionaries coming back to India. This allowed for more interaction between the areas than distance might normally account for.

The leadership tensions in the Pentecost Bands continued to grow, culminating in a situation at the Harvest Home camp meeting in 1901.²⁵ Phebe notes in her diary on October 7, 1901,

Harvest Home camp meeting began Sept. 25, Wed. About Sat. morn. Ernest objected to some teaching of the Bands in the holiness meeting. His manner displeased the workers and upon holding to his position, he was forbidden to take part in the meetings. He fainted away while standing in the eve. meeting which was construed by the workers to be the judgment of God. I could not quite see it as he was able to attend the meetings the next day. If Bro. Hotle had not previously forbidden him to speak it would have looked more reasonable to me... I was much distressed about things as I truly loved the Bands and felt that God was with them. But when Bro. Ward withdrew from the Bands, I felt God wanted me to stand by him. I can see things in the Bands that I know is not of God, such as forcing workers to take convictions from leaders as from God, and there was a relief in my heart when we left Raj Nandgaon. I was much tossed about during the trial, sometimes thinking I could not get through to heaven without the severe dealing of the Bands with me.²⁶ But when I think of things that have happened in dealing with different workers and the severe and harsh treatment used, I cannot but contrast it with the spirit of Jesus and it makes me more sure that this sudden and extraordinary move is from God. For Ernest did not think of severing his connections with the Bands when he went to H.H.

While the Wards are no longer listed as members of the Pentecost Bands in India in the *Pentecost Herald* after February of 1902, their daughter Ethel remains with the Bands until the end of 1904, and this becomes a matter of great concern for the Wards. Forced to leave the mission they had founded, the Wards were taken in by their old friend Albert Norton, who ran the Dhond boy's orphanage, which was a partner mission to Ramabai's Mukti Mission in Kedgaon.

From December of 1901 to April of 1902 the Ward's worked with Norton and had contact with Ramabai's work. Ernest took Methodist missionary C.B. Ward to visit Ramabai in February of 1902, and from an account in her diary from Friday, March 28, 1902 we know Phebe and

her daughters Bessie and Louisa visited Pandita Ramabai along with Bessie Sherman's father C.W. Sherman well before the 1905 Mukti revival. Part of her account notes:

Bro. Sherman, Bessie, Louisa and I started at 4:15AM for Kedgaon. Found a S.A. officer, Mr. Lewis, bound for the same place, so we all went together. Ramabai's *tonga*²⁷ waiting there when we arrived. Only a short ride, and we were in the grounds of the famous Mukti Mission. Everything looked so substantial, from the fine rooms we were ushered in to the great fat bullocks that took us in. Trees and plants everywhere...

The church is a large building seating three thousand. It is a long building with two rounding sides capable of holding a large number. They have school in this building. She (*referring to Maribai, the head nurse*) took me to the small room where they had their first school room- they have prayers there every morning at four with the teachers. At 9:00 AM they had a special service for Good Friday. It was a sight to see that large body of girls and young women in the immense building. The floor is of wood- narrow boards. The pulpit a raised wooden platform, with a seat running around its four sides, which serves for a step for the platform. Bro. Sherman preached in English about the resurrection morning. Bro. Gadre interpreted into Marathi. I was struck with this thought, that those women when they went with the message, Jesus met them. When we are going to preach the Word, Jesus will meet us.²⁸

Despite the close connections with both Norton and Ramabai, both missions did not seem significantly instilled with the holiness teachings for Ernest Ward. He writes to Phebe on April 7, 1902 about the possibility of working with either Norton or Ramabai,

I have very little hope of a permanent affiliation with this work (*he is writing from the Nortons' work in Dhond*). Both sides of the house are neither in harmony with our teaching nor our practice on thorough holiness lines if we are at all aggressive, and until they radically change will continue to head us off in our work among the orphans. I think it should be exactly the same at Khedgaon if they had invited us there and I don't see why Bro. Sherman has any hope in that direction. I don't see a bit for true holiness with the advisors P.R. (*assumed to stand for Pandita Ramabai*) has about her now (or) P. herself, unless she shows a desire to shake loose of

everybody unspiritual who have a controlling voice at home or abroad.

The Wards go on to Sanjan to join up with the work of Sherman's Vanguard mission, until they ultimately return to the Free Methodist Church and its work in Yeotmal in June of 1904. Their daughter Ethel leaves the Pentecost Bands at this time and joins them in their work for the Free Methodist Church.

The Wards and the Radical Holiness Movement

Within the context of understanding the Wards' mission, it is important to address their theological position as part of the radical side of the Holiness Movement. As Howard Snyder points out, the Free Methodist Church in part defined itself as a "radical" holiness group, "Though maintaining some irenic contact with the broader Holiness Movement, its leaders and writers often warned against too low a standard of holiness: an experience that did not go deep enough, was not sufficiently world-denying, and compromised particularly with the amusements and ostentations of the age."²⁹ The Wards were aligned with this way of thinking. This can be seen in part from Ernest Ward's rapid acceptance of the Pentecost Bands' ideas in India, even after the Pentecost Bands had split from the Free Methodist Church. In addition, Ward entertained a number of radical holiness figures in India. Both William Godbey³⁰ and E.E. Shelhamer³¹ visited with E.F. Ward in their various trips around the world. It is also exhibited in his involvement with the formation of a Holiness organization in India as well as his involvement in helping establish the Harvest Home Camp Meetings in India as part of the Pentecost Bands work.

Despite this close relationship in terms of a radical approach to holiness, the Wards seemed to move back into a more formal relationship with the Free Methodist mission effort by 1906. Ethel Ward writes,

The Wards truly felt like pilgrims and strangers going from pillar to post with no settled abiding place, but they never forgot their church home- the Free Methodist Church... But now the Pentecost Bands which Rev. Dake had started as the young people's organization in the church, as well as the Vanguard Mission were both independent organizations outside the church. Hence it was with great joy that they received word from the Yeotmal District (the Free Methodist Mission), "Come home. We need you. Four of our missionaries have gone

on furlough and we have an empty bungalow for you to occupy."³²

It seems that the Wards did leave the umbrella of the Free Methodist Church to formally align themselves with the Pentecost Bands in 1898 for a short period, but then returned in 1904.

The Mukti Revival and the Free Methodist Mission in India

It is natural at this point to wonder if the Wards had a close relationship to Pandita Ramabai, as I am suggesting, then where is the evidence of the influence of the Mukti Revival on Free Methodist missions in India? Such evidence clearly exists. First, it must be remembered that Ernest and Phebe Ward seem to have broken with the Pentecost Bands about 1902, and were in Yeotmal by the time of the Mukti Revival in June of 1905. According to Helen Dyer's account of the Mukti Revival, it began in late June 1905 and quickly spread to other areas of Pune including Soonderbai Powar's Zenana Training Home and the Methodist Boy's School in Pune, then the Boy's Christian Home in Dhond (run by Albert Norton), then,

Longing for Revival, the Free Methodist Mission at Yeotmal, Berar, was in the right attitude for blessing. Schools were closed in order that missionaries, teachers, and pupils might wait on the Lord. This was the last week in August 1905. On the Saturday night of this week of prayer the answer came. The meetings were over, but twenty were still "tarrying" when at 10:30 p.m. the Holy Spirit came like a shock of electricity; some shouted the praises of God, some danced, some ran, and some fell to the ground, under the power of God. All present were Christians with one exception, and she was converted. The others were all baptized with the Holy Spirit. Then the work spread to the unconverted in the orphanages. There was true conviction of sin, which resulted in confession followed by forgiveness and great joy.³³

Only after the revival in Yeotmal does Dyer note the revival was then taken to Bombay and other areas. Burritt also notes in passing, "During the cool season of 1905 there was a mighty outpouring of the Spirit on our district (Yeotmal) as well as other parts of India. The revival that followed will ever be remembered by those who were privileged to witness it. The results still abide."³⁴

While such evidence is not conclusive, the early days of the Mukti Revival seem to indicate a spread through networks of people close to Ramabai and the Mukti Mission. The fact that this revival spread to Yeotmal and the Free Methodist Mission, while Ernest and Phebe Ward are there, just one month after the revival starts, indicates some level of relationship, even if that connection is primarily through Albert Norton of the Boy's Christian Home in Dhond and the five months the Wards lived and worked there in 1902. How the Wards may have personally impacted Ramabai with their holiness views can probably never be determined.

Concluding Thoughts

The common Pentecostal narrative of the origin of Pentecostalism tends to emphasize speaking in tongues (or *glossolalia*), the particular sign of the Pentecostal experience of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, which began in Charles Parham's Bible School in Topeka, Kansas on January 1, 1901. One of his students, William Seymour, led revival meetings on Azusa Street in Los Angeles in April of 1906. These revivals led to an explosion of people taking the Pentecostal message throughout the world. Two prominent stories from outside of the United States tend to create problems for this narrative. One is a Pentecostal revival in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Valparaiso, Chile under the direction of Rev. Willis C. Hoover in 1902 (four years before Azusa Street). The other is the Pentecostal revival in the Mukti Mission at Kedgaon, outside of Bombay (present day Mumbai) led by its founder Sarasvati Ramabai (more commonly known by her title, Pandita Ramabai) in June of 1905 (one year before Azusa Street).

Often in these narratives, even in some academic circles, the role of the Wesleyan-Holiness Movement is overlooked, minimized, or simply missing from the narrative. This paper seeks to add new insight into the Wesleyan-Holiness influences on the Mukti Revival and Pandita Ramabai by examining primary source materials from the papers of the first Free Methodist missionaries, Ernest F. Ward and his wife Phebe, as well as documents from the first Pentecost Band in India, which joined with Ward in his work. Previous narratives of the Mukti Revival have linked it to the influence of the Welsh Revival under Evan Roberts from 1904-1905, which influenced similar revivals in India from 1905-1906. To my knowledge, linking the Mukti Revival with the influence of Ward and the Pentecost Bands in India has not been suggested before.³⁵

In his article, *Inventing Pentecostalism: Pandita Ramabai and the Mukti Revival from a Post-Colonial Perspective*, Suarsana raises important questions about Pentecostalism's claim to incorporate the history of Pandita Ramabai and the Mukti Mission into the global history of Pentecostalism.³⁶ The revival at the Mukti Mission among child widows in India began in 1905 with claims of speaking in tongues one full year before the Azusa Street Revival from which Pentecostalism normally records its founding. Suarsana notes the inclusion of Ramabai's mission in Pentecostal history is more of a colonial rewriting of history than actual fact. Minnie Abrams (who worked with Pandita Ramabai) wrote personal narratives making herself a central figure in this revival³⁷, while Helen Dyer (a personal friend of Ramabai's) wrote from the "Higher Life" and Keswick Movement's Holiness perspective crediting the influence of the Welsh Revival carried by Welsh missionaries to the Khasi Hills.³⁸ Both perspectives tend to neglect the voice of Pandita Ramabai herself in the process. Pentecostalism and the Holiness Movement have both tried to claim the Mukti Revival by controlling the historical narrative. Suarsana's argument is persuasive and encourages scholars to take a closer look at the story of Pandita Ramabai and the Mukti Revival, as well as the outside connections that may have impacted its development.

This paper is not an answer to the problem of understanding what actually occurred in 1905 in the Mukti Mission in Kedgaon, India (Maharashtra state). If anything, this paper will add more fuel to the fire by adding a new potential list of characters to the story. It is hoped that more information gathered from primary sources about the Holiness mission work in the area will add to understanding the influences that may have played a role in the 1905 Mukti Revival. One voice left missing from this conversation is that of the missions of the Free Methodist Church, and two influential sources that may have played contributing roles to understanding this revival, both the Wards and the Pentecost Bands.

End Notes

¹ Much of the material relating to the lives of Ernest and Phebe Ward come from the Ward family papers held by the Archives and Special Collections of B.L. Fisher Library at Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, KY and microfilm of the Papers of Ernest F. Ward held by the Marston Memorial Historical Center and Free Methodist Archives in Indianapolis, IN.

² There are many good works on the life and work of Pandita Ramabai, for one good general overview of the history involved, cf. Allan Anderson, "Pandita Ramabai, the Mukti Revival and Global Pentecostalism," in *Transformation* (2006) 23(1):37-48.

³ For a more in depth view of the development of Pentecostalism in India, cf. Stanley M. Burgess, "Pentecostalism in India: An Overview." *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* (2001) 4(1): 85-98.

⁴ Carrie T. Burritt, *The Story of Fifty Years*. Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press. Page 67. First Fruits Reprint retrieved at: <https://place.asburyseminary.edu/freemethodistbooks/13/>.

⁵ Cf. *Ordered Steps or the Wards of India* by Ethel Ellen Ward, Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press, 1951: 23, 25, 103-4.

⁶ William Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign in India* (1880) New York: Philips and Hunt: 238-239.

⁷ See also "Albert B. Norton and the Mukti Revival: From Faith Missions to Pentecostal Advocate" by Robert A. Danielson, *Pneuma* 42 (1):1-20 (2020).

⁸ *The Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles, Cal.), vol. 1, no. 7 (April 1907), p. 2.

⁹ "Our Missionaries Have Reached India," by R. E. Massey and "Jesus is Victor" by Mary Courtney, *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 2(30): 3 (Jan. 15, 1909).

¹⁰ "Rain in the Time of the Latter Rain- A Testimony," by Albert Norton, *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 2(39): 3 (June 1, 1909).

¹¹ Cornelia Sorabji (1866-1954) was the first female graduate from Bombay University, the first female advocate in India, and the first woman to practice law in India and she was also a social reformer and friend of Pandita Ramabai. She was a major advocate of education for women and helped establish several girls' school in Pune.

¹² *Ordered Steps or the Wards of India* by Ethel Ellen Ward, Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press, 1951: 69-71.

¹³ Bessie Sherman was the daughter of holiness leader C.W. Sherman of the Vanguard Mission of St. Louis, MO, and she would be a friend and supporter of the Wards, especially Phebe during their time in India.

¹⁴ *Ordered Steps or the Wards of India* by Ethel Ellen Ward, Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press, 1951: 69-71.

¹⁵ *The Pentecost Herald*, vol 1, no. 2, May 1894, p. 4.

¹⁶ Published in 1908, Chicago, IL by the Free Methodist Publishing House.

¹⁷ *The Pentecost Herald*, vol. 4, no. 16, (whole no. 71), November 15, 1897, p. 3.

¹⁸ The trip of this group is reported quite extensively in *The Pentecost Herald*, vol. 4, no. 14 p. 2 (October 15, 1897), vol. 4, no. 15 p. 3 (November 1, 1897), vol. 4, no. 17 (December 1, 1897), vol. 4, no. 18 (December 15, 1897), and vol. 4, no. 20 p. 6 (January 15, 1898).

¹⁹ All references and quotations from the Pentecost Bands of India come from the *Records of Pentecost Bands in India*, microfilm at Asbury Theological Seminary, ARC1010 1989-006 reel 1. This microfilm contains the records of three bands: Band #1 at Raj Nandgaon (1897-1905), Band #2 at Gondia (1899-1905), and Band #3 at Dondi Lohara (1899-1949). The originals are kept at the Marsden Memorial Historical Center in Indianapolis, IN. The quotes used in this paper are from the records of Band #1 unless otherwise specified.

²⁰ Carrie T. Burritt, *The Story of Fifty Years*. Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press. Page 67-71.

²¹ Ethel Ellen Ward, *Ordered Steps, or the Wards of India*, 1951, Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press, p. 93.

²² Ward, *Ordered Steps*, pp. 94-95.

²³ *The Pentecost Herald*, vol. 5, no. 16, (whole no. 95), November 15, 1898, p. 8.

²⁴ *The Pentecost Herald*, vol. 6, no. 6, (whole no. 109), June 15, 1899, p. 6.

²⁵ Harvest Home Camp Meetings were a part of the Pentecost Bands ministry brought over from the United States. These annual camp meetings focused on holiness teaching to encourage the Pentecost Band workers.

²⁶ In her letter to Ernest in April 22, 1902, reflecting back on their experience, Phebe writes of even more extreme events emanating from the Hotles' leadership,

You know that Bro. Hotle wanted me out of the way so they could run things as they pleased and they thought they saw in me a formidable foe. You remember the day you and he locked me up as he thrust me in that little room, he said "Your power in Raj N- is broken," because I insisted on knowing the state of my own soul. He told Sr. Vail I had to be taken to America to get me out of the way. How sad! Instead of utilizing the God given power in me- they would not have it when it ran

counter to their opinions. That was the secret of your being taken from Khairagarh. They could not handle you so well there.

²⁷ Or *tanga*, is a light carriage used in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, which is traditionally pulled by a horse and has two-wheels.

²⁸ While this is from Phebe Ward's journal held in the Ward Family Papers at the Archives and Special Collections of the B.L. Fisher Library, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, KY. The full extended quote has also been published in Robert Danielson, "From the Archives: Ernest F. Ward: The First Free Methodist Foreign Missionary," *The Asbury Journal* (2015) Vol. 70:1, p. 172 - 180. Available at: <https://place.asburyseminary.edu/asburyjournal/vol70/iss1/11>.

²⁹ Howard A. Snyder, "Radical Holiness Evangelism: Vivian Dake and the Pentecost Bands," In *The Radical Holiness Movement in the Christian Tradition: A Festschrift for Larry D. Smith*, edited by William Kostlevy and Wallace Thornton, Jr. 2016 Lexington, KY: Emeth Press, p. 70.

³⁰ William Godbey, *Around the World, Garden of Eden, Latter Day Prophecies and Missions*, (1907) Cincinnati, OH: God's Revivalist Office, p. 437, 474, records visiting the Free Methodist Mission in Yeotmal.

³¹ There is a photograph in the E.E. Shelhamer Papers in the Archives and Special Collections of B.L. Fisher Library of Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, KY that shows Ernest and Phebe Ward and other missionaries in India, which was taken of E.E. Shelhamer's trip. This gives evidence to their meeting, which would not be unusual given some of the early connections both share with the Pentecost Bands.

³² Ethel Ellen Ward, *Ordered Steps or the Wards of India*, Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press, 1951: 107-8.

³³ Helen S. Dyer, *Revival in India: "Years of the Right Hand of the Most High."* (1907) London: Morgan and Scott, page 61.

³⁴ Carrie T. Burritt, *The Story of Fifty Years*. Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press. Page 71.

³⁵ This is not to suggest that the Wards and the Pentecost Bands in India were primary drivers of the revival, or to suggest that they were the only influences. Stanley M. Burgess' 2001 article "Pentecostalism in India: An Overview" in the *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 4(1): 85-98 demonstrates that there are plenty of contenders for Pentecostal influence in India, both before and after the Mukti Revival. The goal here is to simply introduce the Free Methodists as serious additional potential influences in the region prior to the Mukti Revival.

³⁶ Yan Suarsana, "Inventing Pentecostalism: Pandita Ramabai and the Mukti Revival from a Post-Colonial Perspective," in *PentecoStudies* (2014) 13(2): 173-196.

³⁷ Minnie Abrams, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire: Matt: 3:11* (1906) Kedgaon, India: Mukti Mission Press, and "How the Recent Revival was Brought About in India: The Power of Intercession," in *The Latter Rain Evangel* (July 1909) 1(10): 6-13.

³⁸ Helen S. Dyer, *Revival in India: "Years of the Right Hand of the Most High."* (1907) London: Morgan and Scott.

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