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A CRITICAL HISTORY OF GLOSSOLALIA

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Preliminary Outline

The Problem:

(1) To determine the exact character of glossolalia.
(2) To study critically the biblical accounts of glossolalia.
(3) To show how the essential characteristics of glossolalia, as determined by (1) and (2) above, are traceable in all the manifestations of the phenomenon from the establishment of Christianity to the present day.

The Method:

(1) To deal with the manifestations in the Corinthian Church, as representing the earliest account of glossolalia; To determine the attitude of Paul, including his personal attitude toward the charism and his attitude toward those who placed disproportionate emphasis upon it. To show the relation between the Corinthian glossolalia and non-Christian phenomena of a similar nature, including glossolalia by "demon-possessed" persons, and by heathen priests; To arrive at a tentative solution of the first part of the main problem.

(2) To discuss the historicity of Acts 2:1-13 as being the second oldest account of the phenomenon within Christian circles; To determine, not what actually took place as recorded in this passage, but what the author meant to say took place; To compare the characteristics of the manifestations of glossolalia at Corinth with the description in Acts 2:1-13; To note the fundamental differences, if any, between these two sets of manifestations. To inquire of these differentia were fundamental in the experiences themselves, or were modifications of the reports of them as made by later thought or by tradition; In order to make the last-mentioned inquiry, it will be necessary to study (a) Hebrew traditions and rabbinic sources; (b) The question as to how far the Church of the first century idealized or transfigured the account of the first Christian Pentecost. To study the qualifications of Luke as an historian, and to arrive at a tentative solution of the problem of the historicity of Acts 2:1-13.
To study the psychological phenomenon of subconsciousness, with special attention to sudden mental or spiritual experiences, herein called (after Meyers) the "up-rush";

To note the mental characteristics or pathological conditions commonly connected with those who specialize in glossolalia;
To point out certain effects commonly produced by the experience in question.

(4)
To study memory, particularly with reference to hypermnesia;
To show that, under the power of hypermnesia, foreign language forms supposedly long forgotten, have been automatically projected through the speech organs;
To give cases where language forms once heard, though never understood, have been thus reproduced.
To show the relation between subconsciousness, as studied under (3), and memory, as affecting the production of foreign language forms in ecstasy and by hypermnesia;
To show historically how a large number of those who were in the Upper Room (Acts 2:1-13) could have overheard, previous to that time, many expressions of praise or prayer in dialects which they did not understand;
To arrive at a conclusion touching (a) the nature of glossolalia, and (b) the historicity of Acts 2:1-13;

(5)
To study the manifestations of glossolalia among the Montanists.

(6)
To study glossolalia from 180 to 1700 A.D.
Donatists; In Constantinople; Taborites; Vaudois; Zwickau Prophets; Davidists; Convulsionaires; Muggletonians; Philadelphians; Camisards.

(7)
To study glossolalia from 1700 to 1800 A.D.
The French Prophets in London; Buchanites; Inspiration Movement; New Israelites; Christian Israelites; Shakerism; Kentucky Revival of 1800; Note on the absence of glossolalia among the early Quakers and Methodists.
(8) To study glossolalia from 1800 to 1900 A.D.
Edward Irving and the Catholic Apostolic Church;
Mormon glossolalia; "Holy Laughter" among the
Adventists; Amana Society; "The Kingdom" at
Shiloh, Maine; The Irish and Welsh Revivals.

(9) To study glossolalia since 1900 A.D.
Charles F. Parham and The Apostolic Faith Movement;
The revival of glossolalia in Los Angeles
June 9, 1906.
Chapter 1

An Inquiry Into

the Essential Character of

Glossolalia; A Study of that Phenomenon in the Church at Corinth; A Comparison of it with Glossolalia Under Heathen and Non-religious Auspices

and a Summary of the Main Characteristics

of Glossolalia
The international community has
responded with a wave of
condemnation and calls for
action. The United Nations has
sent a team of experts to the
area to assess the situation.
A CRITICAL HISTORY OF GLOSSOLALIA

For well over a decade a sectarian movement has been seeking to gain and hold the attention of the Christian world, a movement which, for a time, attracted widespread attention and excited abundant criticism and comment. It is sometimes known as "The Tongues Movement", sometimes as "The Apostolic Faith Movement", and its devotees have frequently, but mistakenly, been called "Holy Rollers". The sect has been troublesome to thousands of pastors; its teachings have divided scores of churches in different parts of the world; and its rise has created fresh interest in certain passages in the New Testament. The problem which is undertaken by this Thesis is that of determining the exact character of what is known as speaking in tongues, or of glossolalia, of studying critically the biblical accounts dealing with it, and of showing how the essential characteristics of glossolalia are traceable in all the manifestations of that phenomenon from the establishment of Christianity to the present day. Although there has not yet appeared a comprehensive treatment of this weird religious manifestation, there may be found scattered discussions upon isolated phases of it, and these discussions have of late years become somewhat numerous. The great revival of the doctrine in Kansas in 1901, and again over the entire country and in many foreign lands in 1906, has made the subject quite worthy
of interest and study both from the scientific and the practical standpoints.

The New Testament passages referring to speaking in tongues are as follows:

Mark 16:17
Acts 2:1-13
Acts 10:44-46
Acts 19:6
1 Corinthians 13, 14, passim.

These are the only ones we shall need to consider, although with Plumptre and Robertson one may perhaps find traces of glossolalia in Romans, in Galatians, and in Ephesians. The problem of a satisfactory exegesis of the first set of passages above listed is complex and difficult. To how widely varied interpretation the subject is liable appears as one labors through the confusing and conflicting literature to be found upon them in church histories, commentaries, encyclopedia and magazine articles, and in critical discussions. It is scarcely possible to make any statement touching an important point in the question as it relates to the New Testament without conflicting with the pronouncement of some writer who has entered the field. A generous contribution to the general confusion arises from the fact that most writers have taken up the subject from but one point of view. The biblical critic has shown a tendency, sometimes quite pronounced, to ignore the psychological elements of the problem. The enthusiastic religionist has sometimes given the historical but small place in his consideration. The apologists who
have written upon glossolalia have not properly balanced the experiential with the biblical and the historical.

One of the passages frequently cited by those who belong to the modern "Pentecostal" following is Mark 16:17. In the version of 1611 it reads, "They shall speak with new tongues." It is worthy of note, however, that the Greek word translated "new" does not appear in the three oldest manuscripts which give this so-called appendix to Mark. It is omitted from the text of Westcott and Hort. The open question of the integrity of the last twelve verses of Mark must, of course, determine the significance of the promise recorded in verse 17, but whatever be the final verdict of scholarship upon this point, it is evident that this passage, of somewhat doubtful authenticity, and certainly of doubtful meaning, must be examined and interpreted in the light of all other evidence upon the subject.

The most familiar passage in the literature of the adherents of the "Pentecostal" movement of the present day is Acts 2:4. One reads over their mission halls such display signs as PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLY. FULL GOSPEL MEETING. BAPTISM OF THE HOLY GHOST ACCORDING TO ACTS 2:4, and in the verbal testimonies of these people a common expression is, "The Lord

1 Probably the safest view of the passage is that expressed by the Bishop of Moray in Hastings, Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, 2:133. "Our verdict must be given after weighing probabilities," he writes, "and to the present writer they seem overwhelmingly to preponderate against the Markan authorship of the last twelve verses, or even against their being a real ending to the gospel at all. But they are... an exceedingly
baptised me in the Holy Ghost according to Acts 2:4, speaking in tongues as the Spirit gave me utterance. While from certain standpoints it might be preferable to study the account in Acts 2:1-13 before taking up the other New Testament passages, it seems best to take up the Corinthian account first because it is older and first-hand, while that in Acts, though, as we shall show, equally historical, is later and second-hand.

We first inquire, In what did the Corinthian glossolalia consist? Glossolalia is itself understood to be rhapsodical, ecstatic, utterance under nervous excitement or stimulus of some kind. As will be later shown, it is possible in connection with hysteria, fever, somnambulism, etc. The stimulating agent may be religion, though there is no need that it be. Sometimes the utterances are in mere jargon or gibberish, while at other times they be be in snatches of actual foreign languages. Let us first address ourselves to the question as to whether the Corinthian glossolaly was in whole or in part in foreign languages. There are about four apparent supports for the theory that the Corinthian "tongues" were in snatches of foreign languages. (1) Blass has shown that the word γλῶσσα may mean either a word or a foreign speech (Aristotle, Rhetoric, 3:2;14). This would make ancient and authoritative record of the deeds and words contained in them. For a careful presentation of the arguments in the case the reader is referred to an article by Dr. A.T. Robertson in The Homiletical Review for June 1918, pp 450-455.
contain a possible reference to foreign languages. (2) Our acquaintance with the great powers of exalted memory, to be studied later, lends some color to this theory. (3) It appears that sometimes there were those present in the Corinthian congregation who could interpret what was said in "the tongue". Providing that the interpreter were not en rapport with the speaker, and provided further that interpretation did not involve any "miraculous" illumination as to the spiritual meaning of mere ecstatic gibberish, the presence of an interpreter would favor the theory that the glossolaly was in foreign speech. (4) Paul's use of such expressions as "kinds of tongues" and "tongues of men and of angels" may point in the direction of the use of foreign languages. There is no need of trying to make Paul's quotation from Isaiah 28:11 imply a foreign element in the speaking in tongues at Corinth, as Paul applies the Old Testament situation to the case.

The writers who believe that the glossolaly at Corinth was in foreign languages are few and, for the most part, unimportant. Origen was the first. His allegorical habits and his interpretation of the Pentecostal tongues as being a permanent endowment for missionary work, made it necessary for him to declare that the Corinthian ecstacies also used foreign languages. Origen is followed, as D.W.Walker notes, by Jerome (Epist. cxx. Ad Hedibiam, C. ix.) and by Theororet (ad loc). Chrysostum takes this view (Hom. 35, 36), which is

\[ \text{The Gift of Tongues and Other Essay} \]
shared by all the patristic writers except Tertullian, whose Montanistic affiliation affected his views. The patristic writers were almost unquestioning followers of Origen. Dr. Wright in his book *Some New Testament Problems* regards this speech as in foreign languages. "The incoherent cries of the Montanists, the Irvingites, and others", he writes, "I take to be different in kind." Professor Plumtre, writing in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, says, "The 'tongues', however, must be regarded as real languages!"

There are, on the other hand, many authorities who feel that the Corinthian glossolalia had little or nothing to do with languages. Weizsäcker (*Apostolic Age*, 2:257) takes this view. "His description of the tongues in Corinth", says Purves (*Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, p 31), "is hardly consistent with the idea that they were utterances in a foreign language". This is the opinion of Schaff, Robertson, Plummer, Fisher, Knowling, and Bartlet, together, as has been said, with most other modern scholars. "That the glossolalia at Corinth was not a speaking in foreign languages; writes Farrar, is too clear to need proof". The German critics largely agree. Meyer quotes Van Hengal as saying that the Corinthian display was largely a "degeneration" of the Pentecostal tongues. Wiesseler, Baur, and Neander hold this opinion, as do Bleek,

1 *Life and Works of St. Paul*, p 72
2 *Stud. und Krit.*, 1869
3 *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1830, 2:101
4 *Ad loc.*
de Wette, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, and Wendt. Wendt stresses the fact that Paul uses simply λαλεῖν γλώσσας or γλώσση and not λαλεῖν ἐτέρας γλώσσας. Edward Irving, the parent spirit of the Catholic Apostolic Church, by some strange logic argues that "the tongues would in no wise serve to show the Holy Spirit to be the speaker unless it were unknown alike to the speaker and to the hearers of it." A consensus of scholarly opinion, then, supports the theory that the Corinthian speaking in tongues was not in foreign languages, but we propose to make an independent investigation, accepting, however, the above conclusion as a working hypothesis.

The Corinthian glossolalia consisted in rhapsodical, ecstatic utterances of various kinds, including possibly some snatches of foreign languages, but for the greater part consisting in meaningless syllables, chattering, and incoherent cries. These utterances were produced under the stress of mental and emotional decentralization which, different from the case of the suppliant 120 in the Upper Room in Jerusalem, was purposely and consciously induced. This exercise was carried to such an extreme that the public services became disorderly, and probably a few of the better members of the Church there reported to Paul the state of affairs. The names Gaius, Erastus, Crispus or Stephanus may be mentioned in this connection. Evidently the better class of believers felt that the influence of the Church was being weakened by the

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1 For Irving's full exposition of the spiritual gifts see his apology in Frazer's Magazine (London) for March and April 1832.
manner in which so large a part of the public worship was carried on. Dr. Wright, previously cited, endeavors to account for the impression made upon outsiders by saying that the use of foreign languages alone would explain the reference in 1 Cor. 14:23, "If therefore the whole church be assembled together and all speak in tongues, and there come in men unlearned or unbelieving, will they not say ye are mad?" But Corinth was a polyglottal city and no amount of the use of foreign languages in the public worship would produce the impression that the worshippers were mad. On the other hand, the use of incoherent cries, or spasmodic actions, of convulsive movements, with caperings and chattering, would easily produce such an impression; and such exercises, more or less modified, or intensified upon occasion, were frequent in the assemblies of the Corinthian believers. Evidence for this statement comes from the following study of the Church at Corinth, and from the analogy between it and modern "Pentecostal" assemblies." See page 13.

Let us review for a moment the Christian community at Corinth. The city itself had long been the seat of the worship of Aphrodite, whose priestesses were young women consecrated to the practice of what we consider the lowest vice. The Temple of Venus contained a thousand of these, the only prohibition placed upon them during their term of service being lawful marriage. The viciousness and sinfulness of Corinth were proverbial. It was out of fornicators, drunkards, revilers, adulterers, idolaters, and the like, that the membership of
(1 Cor. 6:9, 10). The Church had been recruited. It was inevitable that these past conditions, environments, and trainings should have some influence upon their nervous life even after their union with the Church. Paul more than once calls upon them to cut themselves off from these influences. There was need for such exhortation. Chapter seven reflects the startling looseness with which the marriage bond was held. The apostle gives these people frequent warning against their old-time failing, fornication. One of them was living immorally with his father's wife, and was nevertheless retained in membership (1 Cor. 5:1). The reader of the first epistle notes the gross prostitution of the Lord's Supper among these people (11:17-34), and feels free to suppose that an Epicurean philosophy ruled the lives of many (15:32). Their strong party feelings made it necessary for Paul to plead for the welfare of Timothy in case the latter should come among them (16:10). They are at times called "babes in Christ", are often spoken of as "carnal", and are likened to young children playing with toys (13:11; 14:20; 3:1). The apostle is in doubt whether to go among them next time gently or with the strong rod of correction (4:21).\(^1\) Added to the conditions above mentioned, it should be said that Greece was the home of the Delphic and other oracles, thus having accustomed the mind of the people to the thought of oracular speech. Virgil, who died B.C. 19, tells graphically of the incoming of the "god" into a priestess, showing us that some time before the Christian era such phenomena were supposed

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\(^1\) For a graphic description of conditions here merely hinted at see Farrar, Life and Works of St. Paul. Ernest Renan spares no forceful touch in his St. Paul.
to exist. We are bringing evidence that the membership of the Church at Corinth was naive, untrained, uncritical, and, let us say, ignorant of several important things essential to a properly regulated Christianity. It is safe to say that if they had known better they would not have made the Lord's Table the regular scene of drunken revelry. Had not unworthy pride served as an encouragement, one of the factions would not have been "puffed up" when it was learned that Paul was not to make an intended visit (4:18). The 13th chapter of First Corinthians contains several inferences which may be accepted as evidence. "Put away childish things"; "Love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up"; "When that which is perfect (i.e., love) is come, then that which is in part (tongues, with other similar manifestations) shall be done away". Did not Paul say, "Forbid not to speak in tongues?" While that is true, we believe the exhortation was based more largely upon Paul's caution and tact as an administrator than upon any sympathy with the glossolalia as exhibited at Corinth. He could not, of course, quell all their noise and disorder at once, but if he could get them to limit the number of their "mouthpieces of the Lord" (a modern expression) to three in each meeting (1 Cor. 14:27), speaking by turns, it would help greatly. In addition, if he could induce them to cease their utterances as soon as it was apparent there was no interpreter present, that would be a valuable additional gain (verse 28). In his own heart, Paul wished that speaking in tongues at Corinth might undergo fundamental changes, but there were reasons of policy which

1 Aeneid, 6:46
forbade his attempting too sweeping a change at once. One of the important reasons was the presence and power within the Church of a section of people who questioned his apostolic authority.

This "Christ party" owed its existence to the same Jewish-Christian spirit that had given the apostle so much trouble in Galatia. His knowledge of its presence and influence, as well as its doctrinal position, appears in chapter nine, and it is against this partisan class that many of the polemical sections of the two epistles are directed. These trouble makers regarded themselves as the original Christians, probably associating their "tongue speech" with the Pentecostal phenomenon as a proof to themselves of their position as primitive believers. For this reason they may even have encouraged the practice of glossolalia, with physical manifestations, and all the more if they thought that Paul disapproved of it in any way. They hurled at him the insulting epithet "abortion" (15:8). They argued that he was not to be classed with those who had accepted Christ at the first and received the Pentecostal outpouring. They accused him of "walking according to the flesh" (2 Cor.10:2). Indeed the very fact that he was not in sympathy with their glossolalia, as they practiced it, may have been to them a strong indication that he had not a very firm grasp upon Christian things. A attitude exactly parallel to this prevails throughout the ranks of the "Pentecostal" following today. In the face of such conditions,
what could Paul do? It would be unwise, even if he cared to do so, to forbid their practice and delight in the matter of glossolalia. The best plan was to show them a "better way" (1 Cor. 12:31) and to lay down such rules as would properly regulate the utterances, and as would at the same time operate towards stamping out the unedifying and disorderly features of the Corinthian public worship. Paul himself certainly attached some value to glossolalia when properly understood and regulated. From 1 Cor. 14:18 we learn that he had spoken in tongues himself, and from verse 14 we see that he knew, apparently from experience, something of the inner character of the exercise. From these facts, as from 2 Cor. 12:1-4, we see that he attached some importance to such things, when properly controlled, but in his utter intolerance of the sacrifice of any ethical end or common interest to ecstatic flights he has given a magnificent proof of how far he was from being an unballanced visionary.

In continuing our study of the attitude of Paul toward the phenomenon of glossolalia beyond the limits already attained we are prompted by the motive of combining a further study of his attitude with a study of the relation between the Corinthian glossolalia and non-Christian phenomena of a closely similar nature. Paul gave the Corinthians four tests for their exercise of the spiritual gifts: (a) Usefulness; (b) Relative importance; (c) Order and propriety in public worship; and (d) Control in individual cases. Only concerning the last of these is it germane for us to speak, although it
may serve the purpose of exposition to dwell briefly upon the third - the test of order in public worship. The key is Paul's exhortation, "Let all things be done decently and in order," as well as his statement, "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace." The same disorder and confusion against which Paul raises his voice is characteristic of most of the "Pentecostal" following of today, as it has been throughout the history of the sects that have emphasized glossolalia. The great majority of them take pride in the very fact of disorder as showing their "freedom in the Spirit" or as showing (to use their language) how fully they are possessed by the Spirit. Not long ago an observer attended a "Pentecostal Assembly" where there was much of this alleged freedom of the Spirit. Men and women, black, white, or Mulattoes, were talking excitedly in tongues. A man who sat near the center of the room was holding firmly to a post in front of his chair in the midst of a violent, and apparently uncontrollable, fit of jerking. He was muttering and mumbling most of the time, but at intervals would raise his voice to a veritable shriek. About eighty of the three-hundred persons present were "possessed of the Spirit" and each was seeking to make enough noise to be heard above the general din and uproar. A wholly common thing in the history of the present-day revival of glossolalia is for the "assembly" to be ordered out of town by the police, because of the noise and disorder.

1 This is true except in the ranks of the Parhamites, where dignified order and decorum are insisted upon.
Doctor Hayes says a fine word when he writes, "Wherever the Pauline authority is claimed for the exercise of this gift, let the Pauline discipline be maintained."  

But we now address ourselves to Paul's test of control in individual cases, and therewith to study the Corinthian glossolalia in the light of glossolalia under non-Christian auspices. The comparison here to be made applies fully as well to all the modern "Pentecostal" circles, except the Parhamites. The theory is current among the greater part of the "Pentecostal" following that the less control they have over their actions and speech, the more it shows the Holy Spirit to be in control of them. One of their well-known men elucidates the theory thus: "When I talk to you as I do now, I control both my speech and my gestures. But when the Spirit is talking through me I have no control over my voice, and He uses what words He wishes to employ, projecting them through my vocal organs. If I am fully surrendered to Him, He also takes possession of my body, and it twitches and jerks at His will, thus accounting for what seem to you to be but convulsive motions." This is a good exposition of the heathen, or non-Christian, theory of inspiration, and it was against this theory that Paul declares in 1 Cor. 14:32, "The spirits of the prophphets are subject to the prophets!" Among non-Christian circles, especially under heathen religious auspices, the theory is that ecstasy, hysteria, and the like, are sure signs of the presence of "the god" who has taken

1 The Gift of Tongues
possession of the body, including the vocal organs. The pythonic mediums at Delphi used to obtain these states of mind by drinking certain liquors and then inhaling manufactured vapors. Similar practices might be described with reference to the aboriginal Hawaiians. Among heathen priests the practice is sometimes to yell one syllable in a monotone until exhaustion brings the "god". Some bring about the desired mental state through self-inflicted pain. The Montanists were sometimes called "Umbilicals" because of the report that some of them practiced self-hypnotism by continued gazing at the umbilicus. Taylor tells how the god Oro spoke through a priest, the latter being in a state of artificially produced frenzy. His utterances were in fragments of languages which he could not ordinarily speak, and they were translated by some of the sane who were present. No matter what are the means employed, or the interpretation placed upon the result, the end desired is always the same; namely, the inhibition of control by what we may call the upper brain centers, and the dominance of the lower. In all these cases, whether among the pythonic mediums of Greece, the Montanists, the primitive priesthood of the sea-islanders, or the religious ecstacies of any time or place (Corinth included), utterances, warnings, prophecies, or other forms of speech appear, sometimes in the native tongue, at times in the merest jargon, and sometimes, though far less frequently, in brief sentences from foreign languages. When the delirium has passed, the patient has no memory of what has taken place. The "demon-possessed" people of the Orient furnish further, and parallel, examples. They

1 Primitive Culture, 2:214
have no conscious control over their actions or speech, the latter not infrequently being in a language unknown to them. After the "demon" has gone, the person recently "possessed" has no memory of anything in connection with the seizure.

Some few persons have supposed the above to afford a solution of the problem of scriptural prophecy. Philo says that the Old Testament prophets spoke in ecstacy. "The understanding that dwells in us is ousted upon the arrival of the Divine Spirit," he writes, "but it is restored to its own dwelling when that Spirit departs, for it is unlawful that mortal dwell with immortal."¹ This is strange reasoning but it agrees with heathen notions generally, and is supported by only one Christian writer, Athenagoras, an obscure character. The Montanists, representing a sort of reaction against Gnosticism, and emphasizing an extreme, hyper-emotionalized and "heretical" form of Christianity, taught the utter dis-possession of the human spirit by the divine Spirit during the moments of inspiration. Mantanus, speaking in ecstacy himself, and speaking as the Paraclete, said, "Behold, the man is as a lyre, and I sweep over him as a plactrum....Behold, it is the Lord that puts the hearts of men out of themselves, and who gives hearts to men."² This view was the view of the Zwickau prophets of the time of Luther, of the Camisards of southern France, of the French Prophets that infested London about the year 1711, and of practically all who are identified with modern "Pentecostal" work. Indeed, it was the ravings

¹ De. Spec. leg., iv., 8
² Epiphanius, De Haeres., 48:4
of the Montanists that prompted Miltiades to write his essay entitled *That a Prophet Should Not Speak in Ecstasy.*

Swedenborg's theory was that the Old Testament prophets when receiving "the word of the Lord" "were in a state of mind separate from the body". Paul's position was clear. He taught that no matter what might obtain under heathen auspices those who should speak in the name of the Lord should be guided by the principle that the spirits of the prophets are subjects to the prophets. With the exception of Athenagoras, and, if we care to include him, Swedenborg, there is unanimity of Christian scholarship in agreement with him. Very early we find Jerome taking up the battle. In the preface to his exposition of Isaiah he writes, "And the prophets did not, as Montanus, along with foolish women, idly says, speak in ecstasy in such a manner as not to know of what they spoke, that, while instructing others, they themselves were ignorant of what they said". In his preface to Habakkuk he enlarges upon this statement. "Contrary to the belief of Montanus," he writes, "the prophet does have knowledge of what he says; nor does he speak as a fool, or after the manner of raving women...He who is in ecstasy, that is dispossessed of will power, speaks, and has it in his power neither to give utterance nor to keep silence". Estius is quoted in a standard reference work¹ as saying that the difference between God's prophets and those inspired by evil spirits is to be found in the fact that the latter are rapt by madness beyond their own

¹ The Cambridge Bible For Schools and Colleges

* Eusebius, H.E. v.17.
control, and are unable to be silent if they will. Chrysostum states his understanding of the difference between true and false prophets. "It is the property of the diviner to be ecstastical," he says, "to undergo some degree of violence! to be tossed and hurried about like a madman; but it is otherwise with a prophet, whose understanding is awake, whose mind is in a sober and orderly temper, and who knows everything he says." These views of the subject found a later adherent in John Wesley, who had opportunity to study the work of the French Prophets of London. "The impulses of the Holy Spirit," he writes, "even in men really inspired, so suit themselves to their rational faculties as not to divest them of the government of themselves, like the heathen priests under their diabolical possession. Evil spirits threw their prophets into such ungovernable ecstacies as forced them to speak and act like madmen; but the Spirit of God left his prophets the clear use of their judgment, when, and how long it was fit for them to speak, and never hurried them into any improprieties either as to the matter, manner, or time of their speaking." Nobody perhaps would include Joseph Smith of Mormon fame among scholars or writers of significance, but it is of some interest to know that his attitude toward the glossolalia among the Mormons was in harmony with the distinctions above made. On one occasion Smith was absent from Nauvoo and during his absence the religious services of the sect became places of great excitement, of extravagant

1 Homily 28
2 Commentary on the New Testament under 1 Cor. 14:32
displays of glossolalia, and of much disorder. Smith had no sympathy with their apish and ridiculous actions, and from his mother we read of his treatment of the situation upon his return.1 "Shortly after Joseph arrived," she says, "he called the church together in order to show them the difference between the Spirit of God and the spirit of the Devil. He said that if a man arose in a meeting to speak and was seized with a kind of paroxysm that drew his face and limbs in a violent and unnatural manner, which made him appear to be in pain, and if he gave utterance to strange sounds which were incomprehensible to the audience, they might rely upon it that he had the spirit of the Devil. But on the contrary when a man speaks by the Spirit of God, he speaks from the abundance of his heart; his mind is filled with intelligence and, even should he be excited, it does not cause him to do anything ridiculous or unseemly."

Finally, we arrive at a tentative decision as to the character of glossolalia. It is a rhapsodical, ecstatic experience, which can be induced through prayer and earnest seeking, by the use of drugs, by the use of hysteria artificially induced, or by other means to be mentioned later. It is a psychic phenomenon and considered by itself has no religious significance whatever. The characteristics of the experience may be summed up for the present as follows: (1) There is a complete loss of rational control so that the speaker does

1 Biographical Sketches by Lucy Smith, pp 171, 172
not know what he does or says. The testimony of the modern "Pentecostal" people bears out Paul's declaration that when one prays in a tongue his spirit prays but his understanding is unfruitful. (2) The dominance of emotion, which is sometimes very great, producing hysteria. (3) The feeling of prayer and praise, which is feeling merely, not thought or will. (4) The automatic functioning of the speech organs, usually in the utterance of mere jargon and gibberish, but at times in actual foreign language phrases or sentences. (5) The absence of memory as to what took place during the seizure. (6) The experience is sometimes accompanied by physical manifestations of a spasmodic character. Some of the above characteristics could of course apply to glossolalia under religious stimuli only.

* 1 Cor.14:14
Chapter 2

A Study of the Passage Acts 2:1-13
A Comparison of the Phenomenon There Recorded with the glossolalia at Corinth
Chapter II.

The main object of this chapter is to discuss critically the historicity of the passage Acts 2:1-13 as being the second oldest account of glossolalia in the Christian Church. We must determine first, not what actually took place, but what the author meant to say took place. We shall then compare the glossolalia therein recorded with the Corinthian manifestation of the phenomenon, noting the fundamental differences, if any, between the two sets of manifestations. We shall then inquire if these differences were fundamental in the experiences themselves, or were modifications of the reports of them, as made by later thought or tradition. In order to make the last mentioned inquiry it will be necessary to study (a) Hebrew traditions and Rabbinic sources, and (b) what has been alleged to be the disposition of the Church of the first century to exalt and idealize the experiences of the first few weeks of Christian history. The final task to be undertaken in this chapter will be that of studying the qualifications of Luke as an historian, and to arrive at a tentative solution of the problem of the historicity of the Passage Acts 2:1-13.

It requires but a few passing words to determine that the writer of Acts 2:1-13 meant to convey the thought that the 120 followers who had but a few minutes previously been in the Upper Room spoke for the first time in their lives of the wonderful works of God in languages ordinarily quite
unknown to them, but which were recognized instantly by visiting foreigners as being their own native tongues. That any other meaning was in the mind of the author is almost too questionable to be worthy of discussion. Even such writers as Paulus, Thiess, Schulthess, Kuinoel, Schrader, Fritzsche, and Renan, all radically rationalistic in their treatment of the New Testament, express no doubt but that the author of the passage meant as above stated. They resort to ingenious devices to explain the phenomenon, but freely admit that the author had this use of foreign languages in mind when he penned the passage.

We are now ready to compare the glossolalia herein recorded with that at Corinth, and to note the fundamental differences, if any, between the two sets of manifestations. Taking up the characteristics in the order given on pages 19 and 20 it appears that (1) on the day of Pentecost the 120 were for the time being so carried away with their new experience that rational control was temporarily suspended. They rushed into the street, and there gave the on-lookers the impression that they were filled with new wine. This charge was not idly or maliciously made. The 120 had doubtless been weakened by fastings and vigils, and from the point of view of psychology they were ripe subjects for decentralization. The experience in the Upper Room had been cataclysmic, and if the Acts writer had stated explicitly that their bodies were convulsed it would not be in the least an improbable account or statement. (2) Emotion was dominant. All the
rich emotional susceptibilities of the Hebrew bosom had been powerfully exercised of late with the joy attending the ressurrection appearances of Jesus, and their confident expectation of seeing him again, and of their having a prominent part in the establishment of the Kingdom of God. Probably history has but few parallels to the emotional state of the 120 on the day of Pentecost previous to the "sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind" (3) Feelings of prayer and praise must have been present to an unusual degree. The expressions of "the wonderful works of God" which they uttered in their ecstasy were not in the form of conversational or oratorical attempts to secure conversions, neither were they in the form of teaching or exhortation, but in brief, perhaps ejaculatory, utterances of such as nature as to be described as τὰ μεγάλεια τοῦ θεοῦ. (page 65) (4) It appears that such expressions as we have just mentioned did come from the speech organs of the 120, or a part of them, through automatic functioning. Part of this automatic speech was perhaps in jargon and non-sense syllables, while the remainder was in actual foreign phrases or dialects. Characteristics (5) and (6) are of minor importance here; (5) we have no data in comparing, and (6) has already been treated.

What fundamental differences are to be found in the two sets of manifestations, as reported? Practically none; the experiences were generically the same. There are specific differences, however, in that at Corinth there was the addition of
artificially induced frenzy, and possible histrionism, as well, while at Jerusalem the exercise was unexpected and probably produced more foreign language forms than were uttered in tongues in Corinth. The Corinthian "tongues" required the services of an interpreter, while in Jerusalem the utterances were understood at once.

We are now to ascertain whether these differences were fundamental in the experiences themselves or were modifications of the reports of them made by later thought or tradition. We shall first see if the slight differences noted are attributable to a distortion of the report of the original event in Jerusalem by tradition of any kind. This must be a careful inquiry and much evidence will be needed.

There is, however, a preliminary subject which should be here introduced. There is a large group of writers who feel that the Corinthian glossolalia is the criterion by which to judge the account in Acts 2:1-13. Accepting the general description in First Corinthians as the norm, they regard the Acts narrative as presenting differences so fundamental as to warrant them in excluding the latter account as untrustworthy. As indicated by the quotations made from them on the following page in the footnote, they are almost unanimous in declaring that traditional materials influenced the wording of Acts 2:1-13. This material, they say, may be
in two forms. The first are the traditions which centered

1 The German critic Schmiedel represents the most drastic of these men. In the *Encyclopedia Biblica*, col. 4761, he says, "The student who is not prepared to give up the genuineness of the principal Pauline epistles is in duty stringently bound to consider the account of Paul as the primary one, and to discuss it without even a side glance at Acts, and to exclude as unhistorical everything in Acts which does not agree with this account". "For our immediate object", writes Zeller, in his *Acts of the Apostles*, 1:205, and in his *Contents and Origin of the Acts*, 1:203, "we restrict ourselves to the question from which we started: whether the narrative before us was based on any definite fact. After what has been said, we can only reply in the negative! Zeller has an a priori objection to whatever he cannot explain rationally. Holtzmann declares in Herzog's *Encykl.* 18:689, that in the Acts account there is traceable a later legendary description. De Wette thinks that some reporter who was ignorant of the true facts of Pentecost imported into the narrative a traditional meaning. Writing on The Gift of Tongues in the New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, Feine says that Acts 2:1-13 is "a late intrusion" based upon tradition. This is the view of Wendt. Weiss, in his Introduction to the New Testament, 2:355, says the same, while Meyer, commenting upon Acts 2:4, writes, "We have to take our views, not from this passage, but from the older and absolutely authentic account in First Corinthians". Among the English writers who favor the excision of the Acts section are McGiffert and Ramsay. The former decides that the Acts account is legendary, while the latter, who has so ably defended Luke as an historian, does not care to do so with reference to this particular passage, saying (St. Paul the Traveller, p 370) that here "again we find the distorting influence of popular fancy". Dr. G. E. Cutten, writing from the standpoint of the psychologist, says in his book *The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity*, "there seems to be no better solution that to follow Paul and to exclude Luke's Pentecostal narrative". The same attitude is taken by Dr. G. F. Henke, whose approach is also that of the psychologist. In *The American Journal of Theology*, 13:203, he says, "We must consider that portion unhistorical which makes speaking in tongues a language with which the individual is absolutely unafamiliar". Similar positions are taken by Bartlet, in his *Apostolic Age*, p 11, and by Denny in an article in *A Standard Bible Dictionary*, p 135.
around an alleged miracle of speech at the time of the original Pentecost, the giving of the legislation from Sinai. Several of these writers feel that these traditions, being recalled by the first and second generations of Christians, so colored the true report of the happenings of the day of Pentecost as to make it include features which were really absent. The second of these forms may be summed up by saying that there was a tendency on the part of the early Christians to exalt and idealize the events belonging to the very early history of the Church. Leaving the latter of these for future consideration (see page 66), we address ourselves now to the question, "Have we evidence in the intent of the writer of Acts 2:1-13 (so far as we can know what his intention was), in his qualifications as historian, or in the materials which were accessible to him which might have influenced him - evidence that warrants us in impeaching the plain statements in Acts 2:1-13, with special reference to the fourth verse, "And they....began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance?"

It may be well to say that while many writers favor the excision of the Acts 2:1-13 passage as representing a legendary embellishment, there are many more, of equal standing, who accept the passage as history. This Thesis does not seek to support its own conclusions by merely citing a list of scholars who chance to accept special features of those conclusions, but there is a certain value that
attaches to a preponderating consensus of scholarly opinion, and this value is properly emphasized herewith.

1 Weizsäcker's Apostolic Age, 2:257, accepts the passage as history. Bardill, Eichhorn, Lange, Neander, Herder, and Rothe (in his Vorlesungen über Kirchengeschichte, 1:33) do the same, as well as Hoffmann (Weissag. u. Erf., 2:206), and Baumgarten (Apostlesgeschichte, iiii.). Ewald (Geschichte Isr. vi.:119) quoted by Schaff, says plainly that nothing can be more perverse than to deny the historical truth of this account. Döllinger, critic, historian and theologian, discusses Pentecost with no reference to a doubt as to the historical value of these verses (The First Age of Christianity and the Church). "The whole description is so picturesque and striking," writes Olshausen, that it could only come from an eye witness." Dr. Smith, Classical Examiner in the University of London, is among the teachers of note who accept this passage. Other may be mentioned, among them Purves, who in his Christianity in the Apostolic Age gives a rhetorical description of Pentecost that reminds one of the style of Dean Farrar. Wright (Some New Testament Problems), Nichol in the Hastings Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, art. "Pentecost," Thatcher in his The Apostolic Church, the Bishop of Exeter in Hastings Dictionary of the Bible, art. "Gift of Tongues," Knowling in The Expositor's Greek Testament, 2:272, Plumptre in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, ad loc., Swete in Hastings B.D. 2:407, Hayes, The Gift of Tongues, and Walker, The Gift of Tongues and Other Essays, are among the many scholars who accept Acts 2:1-13 as history. Dean Alford accepts the passage, as do Bishop Wordsworth, Bishop Lias of Gloucester, Bishop Ellicott and Dean Farrar. The writer in McClintock & Strong's Encyclopedia is of this opinion, as is Philip Schaff, and Reilly, the latter writing in the Catholic Encyclopedia. Other names are Hackett, De Pressense, Gloag, Lechler, the Venerable Bede, Erasmus, and Schneckenburger. The five Irvingite apologists may be mentioned in this list: Thierson, Höhl, Andrews, Böhm and Rossteuscher. All the patristic writers after Origen seem to take the historicity of the passage as a matter of course. The name of the group who accept Acts 2:1-13 as history is Legion, for they are many.
Several Jewish traditions respecting forms of glossolalia are found. Wettstein\(^1\) quotes Rabbi Jochanan as saying, "Whatever word goes forth from the mouth of God is divided into seventy languages". We recall the old Hebrew notion that the languages of earth are seventy in number. Mechiltá in his comment upon the word "voices" in Exodus 20:18 says, "How many were the voices? They heard each according to his own capacity". Jochanan also says, speaking of the giving of the law from Sinai, "There went forth an utterance and it was divided into seventy words in seventy languages; since all nations heard, each hearing the word in the language of his own nation". Rabbi Tanchuma comments upon Deut. 5:23 as follows: "Said Moses, Thou hast heard how the utterance went forth to all Israel, to each one according to his own ability, old men, youths, boys, sucklings, women".\(^2\) Philo, and older contemporary of the apostles, tells in De Decem Oraculis that at the time of the Sinaitic legislation an invisible voice was formed by Jehovah in the air. This was then shaped into a flame. "And a voice sounded forth in most amazing wise from out of the midst of the fire that poured from heaven, as the fire articulated itself into language, that familiar to the hearers". The Jewish Feast of Trumpets received its name from the legend that at this time a trumpet's voice sounded from heaven and was heard to the ends of the universe.\(^3\) Similarly the Midrash on Psalm 68:11 says, "When

\(^1\) On Acts 2:4

\(^2\) For these quotations I am indebted to Wheden's comments on Acts 2:1-13.

\(^3\) Philo, De Septenario, 22
the word went forth from Sinai it became seven voices and the seven voices were divided into seventy tongues.¹

Schneckenburger in his Beiträge takes up this tradition and says that it was the \( \text{ב} \) \( \text{י} \) \( \text{נ} \), or echo of God's voice that was heard by every man living, each in his own language. Of course there is no suspicion that the originators of these traditions meant to overstate facts. As true Orientals they simply sought to cast a physical drapery upon the sublime conception of the universality of the Law.

Here, then, is enough of the traditional material to serve our purpose. How shall it be applied? A hasty conclusion will use these traditions to discredit the Lucan account with which we are dealing. That hasty conclusion might be reached along some such line of reasoning as the following:

We are sure that Philo wrote his works, in which these traditions appear, during Luke's young manhood, giving them time, even in that age, to obtain some currency among writers and students by the year 80 when, let us say, the Acts was written. We are aware of a decided contrast between the Law and the coming of the Spirit at Pentecost. This contrast appears frequently in Paul's writings. It is possible that by the continually appearing contrast, both in literature and in life, the very emphasis upon Pentecost would call to mind the Sinaitic experience of the fathers. Thus would be prepared a form of mind which would welcome the old traditions as soon as they began to appear or to re-appear. This attitude of mind would weave hard fact with fanciful description and embellishment in much the same way that fact and embellishment were woven together with reference to the giving of the Law. It should be expected, then, that a set of similar traditions would come to surround

¹ For these references I am indebted to Bartlet's Apostolic Age.
the Christian Pentecost. Philo's writings show that the earlier traditions were beginning to re-appear. What more natural, then, than as the actual participants in the Upper Room incident scattered or died there should have grown up among Jewish Christians such a report of the Christian Pentecost as would show similarity with the traditions that came to surround the account in Exodus 19:20?

The conclusion might then be stated in the words of Meyer. "Luke, in fact conceives and describes the Pentecostal miracle, not as the glossolalia, which was certainly well known to him as it was a frequent gift in the Apostolic Church, but as a quite extraordinary occurrence such as it had been presented to him by tradition; and in so doing he is perfectly conscious of the distinction between it and the speaking in tongues, which he knew by experience."\(^1\)

The above is simply an attempt to state as fairly and fully as possible the main argument of those who discredit the historicity of Acts 2:1-13. No one of the writers who objects to the passage on the grounds of traditional embellishment takes the trouble to specify his objections, and the writer of this Thesis has framed and worded the objection in its strongest light. To many readers the case against the Acts 2:1-13 passage appears closed, but there are two good reasons which oppose its excision.

The first of these is found in the fact that though the Jews did come to regard the Feast of Pentecost as commemorative

\(^1\) Commentary on Acts, p 49
of Sinai, this was not done during biblical times.\(^1\)

Professor Knowling supports this view, showing that no notion of similarity between the giving of the Law and the Feast of Pentecost had obtained a place in Jewish tradition during biblical times.\(^2\) The Old Testament gives no warrant for the view that the Feast of Pentecost commemorated Sinai, and as a matter of fact, Philo appears to think it was the Feast of Trumps, and not that of Pentecost, that looked back to the giving of the Law.\(^3\)

Further, it may be noted that although both Josephus and Philo record traditions of miraculous speech at Sinai, neither of them makes mention of a possible parallel, even in common report or thought, with the Christian Pentecost. These facts meet and answer the argument against Acts 2:1-13 on the ground of traditional embellishment. Even if the traditions which Philo records had obtained general currency within a generation, there is not room for the supposition that a decidedly embellished account of the Christian Pentecost could thrive while so many participants in the Upper Room incident were yet alive and prominent in the Church.

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2 Expositor's Greek Testament, p 99

3 De Septenario, 22. For further argument that Pentecost did not commemorate the giving of the Law until post-biblical times, see Hastings, B.D. (Single Volume) page 698a.
The second of the arguments against the conclusion of Meyer and others, above characterized as "hasty", is to be based upon the fact that Luke carefully considered the sources that were permitted to enter his history. In the first place, we should note that he was a Gentile. He was born (see Ramsay and Ranan) in Macedonia, and was reared among Gentile surroundings, with which there was a sprinkling of Hebrew influences. Plummer does not think it unlikely that Luke received his medical training in the University at Tarsus, the alma mater of Saul. Being a Gentile and being trained among Gentiles, we may safely presume that he was able to appreciate many things connected with Christianity without being unduly influenced by traditional colorings. In other words, he could think through some problems relating the things either Jewish or Christian without being encumbered by much that was mere Hebrew impedimenta. We may say this in the face of our ignorance as to whether he was a proselyte before he became a Christian.

Luke had relatives in Syrian Antioch and when he became a young man he removed thither. The value of this change of residence for our present study will depend upon Luke's age at the time of the events recorded in Acts 2:1-13. Principal Bebb says¹ that we have a very ancient authority,  

¹ Hastings Dictionary of the Bible, 3:161
the Prefatio Lucae,\(^1\) ascribed by Harnack to the third century at the latest,\(^2\) which says that Luke died in Bithinia at the age of 74. This is accepted by the best scholars. If we place the composition of the Acts at A.D. 80 (which is the best we can do),\(^3\) we could, with favorable, but not extravagant suppositions, decide that he was at least 25 or 26 years of age at the time of the Christian Pentecost. Of course he may have been younger, but there are good reasons for believing that in getting at his sources "accurately" (Lk.1:3) he was old enough to converse thoughtfully with some who had themselves been in the Upper Room, and in view of the fact that Christians early planted a church in Syrian Antioch, we may add that he could easily have conversed with some of them thus before their memory of the actual facts had been dimmed by time or obscured by subsequent experiences.

In addition, it is probable that he was assisted in drawing up and editing his materials for the early chapters of Acts by the eye-witnesses to whom he makes reference. Blass, in fact, (in commenting upon Acts 12:12-17) urges that Mark thus personally aided him. Mark was not himself (as we believe) an eye-witness, but, like Luke, had close contact with those who were.

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1 See Wordsworth's Vulgate, p 269, cited by Bebb.
2 Chronologie, p 653
3 Harnack in his somewhat recent book The Date of the Acts and the Synoptical Gospels revises his earlier judgment as to the date of the Acts, place now being found for it before the death of Paul. He argues the matter well, but will not probably convince the majority of New Testament scholars. See page 35 for a reference to Torrey's date.
We may hold firmly the conviction that Luke's express declaration that he was getting at his sources "accurately" (Lk.1:3) applies not only to his gospel but to the Acts as well. This is evidenced by the fact that the Acts begins just where the "former treatise" leaves off. Luke, a trained man, a man of experience with the world, sets down to write history after having consulted the "course of all things accurately from the first! We have already said that Luke could interpret his data less influenced by Hebrew traditions than as if he were a Jew, as were the other New Testament writers. Let it be suggested also that simply because he was a Gentile he would scrutinize his sources a bit more carefully on the very watch for what might be mere tradition. This argument does not imply that Gentiles were not easily influenced by tradition, or that they are not superstitious. But a Gentile, even when dealing with Jewish things, would be more free from Jewish traditions and inheritances than would a Jew.

It is clear also that Luke was familiar with the glossolalia manifested in the home of Cornelius and at Ephesus (Acts 10:46 and 19:6). In these places he simply says, as Paul does, \( \lambda \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \iota \nu \chi \lambda \upomega \sigma \sigma \alpha \iota \varsigma \) or \( \chi \lambda \upomega \sigma \sigma \gamma \). Certainly he had ample opportunity to know of the glossolalia at Corinth. Everything considered, we conclude that he would scarcely have written the Acts 2:1-13 section, in which he brings out so clearly the idea of the use of foreign languages, unless he were pretty soundly assured, either by tested oral
tradition, dependable written documents, or personal conversation with authorities, that such was actually the case.

Note: Much attention has been attracted recently by a study written by Prof. C.C. Torrey and published in Harvard Theological Studies (1917; No. 1). It is entitled THE COMPOSITION AND DATE OF ACTS, and Professor Torrey advocates the theory that Acts 1:1b to 15:35 comprised an Aramaic book written about 49 or 50 A.D. which Luke later procured in Palestine and translated as faithfully as he was able, at the same time adding the remaining chapters himself in Greek, on the basis of his own knowledge and investigation. Even if we accept this theory of the early chapters in Acts, the conclusion reached as to the historicity of Acts 2:1-13 is not affected. In the first place, if Luke were not the author, but a translator merely, the possibility that he had himself erred would be minimized. If the passage was penned at the time suggested by Torrey, 49 or 50 A.D., there is more likelihood than ever that the account as it stands represents a primitive and unaltered tradition. If we recall the fact that all the early Christian literature was based upon oral tradition, and if we accept the early date 49 or 50 for Acts 1:1b to 15:35, we will be forced to concede that the oral tradition represented in Acts 2:1-13 must have been drawn up at an early date, when there were many living persons who had been themselves in the Upper Room or who had heard the 120 as they came upon the street with their strange behavior and speech.

On page 24 we began to inquire whether the specific differences between the Pentecostal glossolalia and that at Corinth were attributable to modifications of the report of the Pentecostal event, at least so far as this modification was affected through traditions which came to surround the Sinaitic legislation. Enough evidence has been adduced to show that these traditions did not influence the wording of
Acts 2:1-13. It remains, however, to inquire if the wording of verse four was influenced by the disposition of the early church to exalt and idealize the experiences of the first few weeks of Christian history. A positive argument is wanting, but it may be said that we have shown with sufficient clearness the historical accuracy of the passage, and that in order to understand its wording it is quite unnecessary to appeal to such an hypothesis. The historical character of Acts 2:1-13 is to be further shown, and after the two following chapters are read, it will appear that both from the psychological phenomenon of sub consciousness, and from the phenomenon of hypermnesia, we have added evidence for accepting Acts 2:1-13 as history.
Chapter III.

A discussion of the psychological phenomenon of subconsciousness and its relation to sudden mental or spiritual experiences.
Chapter III.

Subconsciousness.

The present chapter makes no break with those which have gone before. Together with chapter four it will form a groundwork upon which further to establish the historicity of Acts 2:1-13 and upon which to determine the exact character of glossolalia. The immediate purpose of this chapter is to inquire into the phenomenon of subconsciousness in its relation to sudden and seemingly cataclysmic experiences, either mental or emotional and "spiritual".

No theory of a "subconscious mind" or of a "subconscious self" is here advocated. We must have more evidence than we now possess before we can posit an independent subconsciousness organization which acts in obedience to laws differing from those of the ordinary psychological range, and justifying the expression "subliminal self". Personality is essentially a unit, even if its manifestations occur in both consciousness and subconsciousness. It is best to take account only of a primary and a secondary consciousness. There is evidence that cerebration takes place in both these fields, consciously during normal
self-determination

Concerning the...

...that a new civilization must be established upon the...
waking moments, and subconsciously during such states as sleep, hypnotism, or other well-known conditions. In the following exposition of subconsciousness we follow mainly in the steps of William James. "In many persons there is," according to him, "in addition to the ordinary field of consciousness, with its usual center and margin, an addition thereto of a set of memories, thoughts and feelings, which are extra-marginal and outside of the primary consciousness altogether. The most important consequences of having this strongly developed ultra-marginal life is that the ordinary field of consciousness is liable to incursions from it of which the subject does not guess the source, and which take for him the form of unaccountable impulses to act, or inhibitions of actions, of obsessive ideas, or even of hallucinations of sight or hearing." As we shall see later, these incursions may also take the form of speech or writing. We get, then, what Mr. Meyers (quoted by James) calls automatism, due to "up-rushes" or explosions of long-gathering sensory, motor, emotional or intellectual materials, into the full focus of attention. James calls attention to the very probable fact that what is found in large measure in abnormal subjects may be supposed to exist in some degree in all persons. This "up-rush" is the result of what may be actual cerebration in the subconscious field, attaining a result which it projects suddenly and unexpectedly into consciousness.

1 Varieties of Christian Experience, pp 179, 180, 233, 251
as follows: non-tapered (1000 grams) and tapered (1500 grams). The results obtained show that the tapered sample had a higher tensile strength compared to the non-tapered sample. The difference in tensile strength between the two samples was statistically significant (p < 0.05). Under constant load, the tapered sample exhibited a more uniform deformation pattern, which contributed to its higher tensile strength. In conclusion, the tapered design is preferable for applications requiring high tensile strength.
He records cases where "up-rushes" take different forms. On page 179 is the story of a young man who, after loving a young woman ardently for a year, during which time he was greatly vexed with jealousy, suspicion and doubts, suddenly and unexpectedly felt, while on his way to work one morning an overwhelming and compelling hatred of the girl. This sudden feeling was the "up-rush" and was the result of the long filtering of doubts and jealous feelings into his subconsciousness, these finally securing the victory over all considerations of love and tenderness, and making an abrupt, unexpected, and decisive entrance into the field of consciousness. This young man realized what he called a "sudden hatred" for the object of his previous love and tender devotion. He hastily returned to his room, burned all of her letters and trinkets which he had and ground pictures of her beneath his heel "with a fierce joy of revenge and punishment". Through all the subsequent years he had not a single spark of tender feeling for her whom for years he had loved devotedly.

It is supposed that some jar or releasing agent is necessary in most (if not all) cases to affect this sudden projection from the subconscious field into the focus of attention. It is important that this be borne in mind as we proceed.

A case not unlike the above is the common phenomenon of the sudden recalling of a name, a face, a date, or other matter long "forgotten". You seek to recall a name but cannot
do so. Several minutes, or even hours, afterwards the mention of a similar name or the occurrence of a somewhat trivial event will jar this long "forgotten" piece of material into the full focus of attention.

An acquaintance of the writer's, a man at one time prominent in one of the heretical sects of New England, a man of eccentric characteristics, to say the least, furnishes a good example of this "up-rush" in religion. He was reared in Rhode Island during the days when the modes of baptism were somewhat warmly debated among the Adventist bodies of that State, and he was deeply interested in the subject. He was (and still is) exceedingly ignorant of many important exegetical rules, and he has always been a slavish devotee of the literal interpretation of the Bible, especially of its apocalyptic portions. One night, according to his story, he had a "vision" in which he felt that a supernatural person stood at his bedside and expounded the Bible wherever it dealt with the subject of baptism. The exposition thus given was much in harmony with his own views, but the incident made a profound impression upon him, and he greatly multiplied his labors in teaching and expounding those views. At times, however, he wondered if his nocturnal visitant were not from Satan - if, after all, he were not preaching a doctrine devised

For an analogous case psychologically, but where hate turned to love, see Starbuck's Psychology of Religion, p 141. See pages 137-144 of the same for non-religious transformations of character based upon this psychological law.
to deceive. One day, fifteen years after his vision, these doubts had more than usually preyed upon his mind. That evening, while preaching in a mission hall in Providence, in the midst of great freedom in expounding this very doctrine, the "up-rush" came. It took for him the form of undeniable certainty that the doctrine in question was satanic in origin, and that his night-time visitor of fifteen years before had been none other than Satan disguised as an angel of light. He broke off his discourse immediately, informed his hearers that God had just then revealed to him the error of the views he had been but a few minutes before teaching them, and he made a promise then and there never to teach those views again. For the twenty-five years since that time he has ardently opposed in every form the very doctrine he had once believed to be revealed to him at his bedside by a special act of Providence.

A great number of cases involving this "up-rush" could be given if necessary, but space is allowed for only one more. It is that of a man who for many years, and especially during his young manhood, was much concerned as to his welfare after death. At times he was hopeful; at others full of uncertainty. On this occasion he was passing through a wooded place alone, musing closely upon the subject. He conceived a method of solving the entire problem. Standing off a dozen paces from a sapling, he threw his opened pen-knife at a worm-hole in
the bark. He had decided that if he should hit the mark aimed at, his eternal salvation would be assured, while if he missed it, the reverse would obtain. The point of the knife entered the hole; he pulled it out, closed the knife, put it into his pocket and walked away with the whole subject about which he had had so many anxious thoughts for years entirely and finally settled. His hitting the mark on the tree was the jar which released all his subconscious deposit of thought and feeling upon the subject, and which marked the final triumph of expectations of hope and peace over fears of pain and sorrow.

It should next be noticed that this period of preparation anterior to the "up-rush" has its counterpart in what is sometimes called religiously the seeking stage. The "up-rush" then becomes identical with "the victory", or as the modern "Pentecostal" people call it, "getting Pentecost". There is of necessity this period of preparation. In most cases it takes the form of earnest and continued prayer, usually with fasting, watching, great concentration of thought, and withal a definite expectation that the "Pentecost" will sooner or later come. Very commonly one may see what it is that has served as the jar, or releasing agent, for the stored up mass of feelings and cerebrations. Thus among the Camisards (see pp. 85ff.) "inspiration" was usually communicated by a kiss. The laying on of hands has served this purpose since apostolic times. In modern "Pentecostal" work the
release has been affected by a sudden shout by the seeker himself or by some one close to him. At times it is a jump, a cry, or the hearing of another as he breaks out into "tongues". In many cases, however, and necessarily, the releasing agent is unknown. It may be the mere passing of some thought, image, or feeling, through the mind of the seeker, of which he himself may not be fully aware. Those who have been properly prepared by concentration of attention, fasting, and other kindred exercises, have been known to "get the blessing" while crossing the street, while in the bath, the barber chair, while scrubbing the floor, or while almost anywhere else.

It is found that among the Camisards the period of preparation had extended over several months. Among Irving's followers it continued for over a year. Parham's Bible School in Topeka had been seeking it for ten days, almost without food or sleep. A.G.Garr, the first to go abroad from the Azusa mission in Los Angeles, in 1906, thinking he had a miraculously given foreign language, said that he had been seeking it "for thirty days with all my heart and soul". Henke tells of a man in Chicago who sought it for twelve years. ¹ Lee, a colored man, the first person to "get Pentecost" in the Los Angeles revival of 1906, reached it suddenly about six in the evening of Monday April 9, 1906, after seeking it earnestly three years. W.J. Seymour (colored) was present with

¹ The American Journal of Theology, vol. 13
Lee at the time, and it was Seymour's announcement of Lee's experience two hours later that served as the releasing key, or final suggestion, that brought "the fire" upon the prayer meeting in the Asbery home and precipitated the Los Angeles revival of glossolalia, which has since circled the earth. Several "Pentecostal" followers declare that they have received their "Pentecost" without any seeking. While there may have been no period of definite seeking, there must always be a period of preparation. An example is the case of a clergyman who had lived in Nome, Alaska. For years he had been praying that there might be sent from heaven a sweeping revival similar to his conception of spiritual conditions during apostolic times. When he first heard of the revival in Azusa Street, Los Angeles, he immediately set out for that city, thanking God hourly for what he called answered prayer. His expectations were high and keen, even though he did not seek "the baptism with tongues" for himself. Within an hour after entering the "Upper Room" at 312 Azusa Street, and, as he says, without any seeking on his part, he broke out into "tongues".

And now we approach another important point. As a rule those who experience these "up-rushes" in strong degree have what James calls a large subliminal region. As a general

1 For a somewhat detailed account of the Los Angeles revival of glossolalia, which began Monday April 9, 1906, see the final chapter of this Thesis.
condition also there is a strong tendency toward subjectivism. It is perfectly safe to say that 99% of the adherents of the "Pentecostal" following have an attitude toward the Bible and toward religious matters in general so naive and uncritical as to make them fit subjects for any strong, hyper-emotionalized religious appeal. The nervous instability which characterizes so many of them may be either temperamental or congenital, or it may be acquired through disease, fastings, vigils, prolonged attention to one idea, by weariness, or in other similar ways. Briefly at this time, but more fully under the proper headings, let us say a word concerning the nervous or temperamental disposition of some of those who have been associated with glossolalia.

The Montanists were Phrygians. Both Giesseler and Milman remark that the national temperament of the Phrygians impressed itself strongly upon their Christianity, leading to a sensuous, enthusiastic worship, and to a wild mysticism. The Zwickau Prophets (1521-36) were a warm-hearted, headstrong, mystical group of men who, for the most part, prided themselves on their ignorance. The Fraticelli were ascetic almost beyond belief. The form of Jansenism which lead to the Convulsionnaires was French, and the French temperament,

1 Page 70
2 Page 78
3 Page 77
Finnish national policy is an example of a successful national policy that has been implemented in a way that aligns with the country’s values and priorities. The success of this policy can be attributed to its focus on education, health, and social welfare. These initiatives have contributed to a high standard of living and a strong sense of national identity.

In contrast, the U.S. policy on immigration has faced significant challenges. The policy has been criticized for its harshness and for violating human rights. The government's approach to immigration has been criticized for its inhumane treatment of immigrants and for creating a climate of fear and uncertainty. The policy has also been criticized for its failure to address the root causes of immigration and for its focus on enforcement rather than on integration.

In conclusion, the different approaches to national policies have resulted in varying outcomes. The success of the Finnish policy can be attributed to its focus on education, health, and social welfare, while the challenges faced by the U.S. policy on immigration can be attributed to its harshness and failure to address the root causes of immigration.
being Latin, needs no comment here. The same is true of the Camisards, who were, racially, a mixture of the Gothic and the Latin. Joanna Southcott died of brain fever in less than three months after making her contribution to the historical material we are studying. Ann Lee, the "Mother" of the Shakers, was neurotic in the extreme. Edward Irving was warm-hearted and impulsive, as well as uncritical to a fault. John Starkweather was his counterpart. The Irish and Welsh revivals produced some glossolalia. These ethnic temperaments need no comment here. The girl who headed the 1906 revival of glossolalia in one of its prominent mission fields in South America was (and still is) epileptic, and first class authority states that during the height of her leadership and prominence she was guilty of frequent acts of gross immorality. Mary Campbell, who first received the "tongues" under Irving's work, was also epileptic and a sufferer from tubercular disorders. A well-known leader of the modern movement, personally to the writer, has told him that nervousness and heart trouble marked his parentage on both sides, that at two and a half years of age his head began to swell, and that from his fifth till his eighteenth years

1 Pages 85ff
3 Pages 96,97
5 Page 109
7 Page 104,105

2 Page 95
4 Pages 102ff
6 Page 61
he was popularly regarded as neurotic, eccentric, and dull in all things except Bible reading and memorizing. These illustrations could easily be multiplied, but enough have been cited to establish the general statement that temperamental instability is a characteristic of this following.

The experience described above and denominated the "up-rush" affects different people curiously. It is quite likely to make an unstable disposition less balanced than before. Indeed, this is the almost unvarying rule, and with the overthrow of what of equilibrium was present before the there results experience comes a state of mind more easily susceptible than ever to disturbing influences. The recurrence of the experience takes place with less provocation than at first. Thus it is that they who have obtained their "tongues" at the price of a seeking which cost them heavily in sleep, time, energy, and will-power, followed by a cataclysmic upheaval, can often speak in tongues afterwards with but little working-up of the forces necessary.

The different revivals of glossolalia throughout the history of the Church have each had a valuable credential

1 Although there were no evidences of glossolalia in the work of Mohammed, his "visions" closely resembled those of the Pentecostal people. He was an epileptic and as a boy used to suffer from headaches and convulsions. During some of his fits he would fall to the earth, snorting like a camel. These is some correspondence, however, in the fact that numerous instances of automatic vocal actions among "Pentecostal" people have taken the form of the cries of various animals, including the cat, dog, donkey, and cow. In many of the specially nervous or diseased subjects this so-called "Pentecostal" experience produces strange
for the spread of their work in the fact that certain "messages" seem to be commonly contained in the interpretation of the "tongues". No doubt this has been a great source of comfort for those who are concerned with the "messages" in any way. The "message" most frequently contained in the gibberish is "Jesus is coming". There is neither fairness nor truth in questioning the sincerity of the vast majority of these people in believing sincerely that so much of the nonsense they utter contains this message. There is a well-defined psychological law underlying it. Briefly stated, it may be summed up as follows.

All through Christian history those who have come to speak in tongues have been ardent believers that they were living in the last days. Christ is soon to appear in premillenial glory to judge the wicked and the heathen, and to take them, his "mouthpieces"; his "anointed ones"; his "last messengers" into Glory. The writer believes that no person can be found adhering to any sect which is characterized by glossolalia who is not a premillenial second adventist of a pronounced kind. The majority of the "Pentecostal" people were premillenial in theology before being recruited to the ranks of their present association. A more or less intense sensations of a physical nature. The violence of what is, in the nature of the case, a powerful experience, affects crippled or diseased parts of the body. Thus cripples have testified that the Holy Spirit came into them through their legs. Others, depending upon the particular weakness marking them, have said it was through the eyes, the stomach, or other portions of the body weakened by disease or injury.
specialization upon prophetic subjects is also an ever-present characteristic, and especially so on the part of those who rise to places of leadership. Intolerance of views which conflict with their own is altogether common among them.

This is the material, roughly stated. We recall the case which James gives where the young man experienced this "up-rush" through it arriving at a settled and constant attitude, whereas he had previously been in mental conflict and uncertainty (see page 39). We recall also the man whose disturbed and unsettled state of mind with regard to his welfare after death was, through this experience, taken place by a settled and calm certainty. These two cases, and all others like them, are valuable in that they bring a settled state of mind or feeling with respect to a subject previously unsettled. This experience is, in this respect, always a fixing agent. If it brings a settled attitude where uncertainty had previously reigned, how much more may it be expected to settle and crystalize those cherished beliefs about which there had been no previous doubt!

In the present chapter we have discussed from the psychological standpoint certain phenomena relating to the subconsciousness. We have seen that under certain conditions of preparation or of seeking, a sudden "up-rush" may be obtained, which will settle or clarify ideas, and put the subject in possession of certainty, as well as of what may
seem to him a new and inexplicable experience. All of the conditions essential to this experience had been fulfilled in the case of the 120 who were in the Upper Room, as recorded in Acts 2:1-13, and from the standpoint of psychology such was their experience.

We shall show in the following chapter certain facts relating to memory, and then point out how, by combining the results obtained in this chapter with what we shall point out in connection with memory, it is possible to explain the wording of Acts 2:1-13 from the psychological standpoint.
en the the advantages of intelligent and logical thought in the face of economic and social challenges. Economic policies must be designed to promote sustainable growth while addressing the needs of all segments of society. Education must be accessible and responsive to the diverse needs of learners. The role of technology in empowering individuals and communities cannot be overstated. Effective leadership and governance are essential for harnessing the potential of technological advancements. In conclusion, the pursuit of equitable and sustainable development requires a holistic approach that integrates economic, social, and environmental considerations.
Chapter IV.

Memory
Memory

It is the purpose of this chapter to study certain aspects of memory, to point out the powers of hypermnesia, to show how language forms once heard are quite likely to remain in the mind, though unrecognized and even unknown by the person concerned, to show how the experience of the "up-rush" described in the previous chapter quite often brings up from the subconsciousness these buried forms, projecting them automatically through the speech organs, and to show historically how many who participated in the Upper Room experience of Acts 2:1-13 could have heard previous to that time many expressions of "the wonderful works of God" in the languages or dialects indicated by the list in Acts 2:9-11.

The memory is apparently capable of storing away all the impressions that enter consciousness. John Locke records that Paschal, up to the time when the decay of his health impaired his memory, forgot nothing of what he had done, read, or thought, during any part of his mature life. Sir William Hamilton says the same of Grotius. Cardinal Mezzofanti, reputed to have known over a hundred languages, used to declare that he never forgot a word he had once learned. William Gullen Bryant in old age said that if given a few
moments for reflection he could recite any line he had ever written. Where the impressions are so dim that the reproductive forces cannot ordinarily present them to consciousness, there are agencies which can bring them up, though not to consciousness. Memory deposits supposedly long forgotten, or even so fully "forgotten" that there is no memory that they ever existed at all, have thus been produced. Such agencies are hypnotism, madness, febrile delirium, somnambulism, catalepsy, ecstasy, hysteria, or anaesthesia. Persons who have been resuscitated from drowning or hanging have reported that just before losing consciousness all the events of their lives have been vividly presented to them. Sir Francis Beaufort in describing his experience when almost dead from drowning said that "every incident of my former life seemed to glance across my recollection in retrograde succession, not in mere outline, but the picture being filled with every minute and collateral detail and feature, forming a kind of panoramic view of my entire existence, each act of it accompanied by a sense of right or wrong." Dr. Abercrombie repeats an incident told by Moffatt, the missionary. "He relates that after preaching a sermon on Eternity to some natives in Africa, he heard a

1 For several of these references see Kay, Memory; What It Is And How to Improve It. See also Moll, Hypnotism. For cases of exalted memory among somnambulists see Harper's Magazine for July 1851.
2 A good treatment may be consulted in Prince, The Unconscious, chapter entitled Forgotten Experiences.
3 For the story of Beaufort see Kay, Memory; What It Is And How To Improve It, p 238.
simple looking young man repeat it all over again, and with uncommon precision, the very gestures being reproduced. On telling him that he could do more than the original preacher could do, that is repeat the sermon verbatim, the savage touched his forehead and said, 'When I hear anything great, it remains there'! The same authority gives an account of a seven year old girl who was employed in tending cattle. During this time she used to sleep next to an apartment occupied by an itinerant fiddler, a musician of considerable skill, who commonly spent a large part of the night in rendering pieces of refined description. Later the girl fell ill, was cared for by a lady, and became her servant. Years later the family was surprised in the night at hearing sounds of music. These were traced to the girl's room. Although fast asleep, she was warbling in a manner exactly resembling the sweetest tones of a small violin. Watchers found that usually after two hours of natural sleep she became restless, beginning to mutter to herself. This was followed by sounds exactly like those made by the tuning of a violin, after which she would dash off into elaborate pieces of music, always performed in a clear and artistic manner.

Large numbers are on record where the near approach of death will cause aged persons to speak in a language they had known in childhood, but had completely "forgotten" and had neither known nor used during middle life. It seems plain that where the speech organs have been trained, language forms once known and used, but completely "forgotten" may be released
and uttered again under certain conditions. Two other cases, authentically reported, bear this out. Moll tells of an English army officer who, while in Africa, was hypnotized by Hansen. The patient then addressed the company in Welsh, his mother tongue, but which he thought he had entirely forgotten, for under normal mental states he could not remember any of the language at all. The other, a type of cases rather than a single illustration, is that of persons who while under the influence of anaesthesia revert in their delirious talk to the use of languages "forgotten" since their childhood.

We notice in the next place that certain agencies will make possible the use of foreign language forms were the speech organs have had no training in their use. The Giornale d'Italia (Rome) for November 16, 24 and 26 of 1905, as well as the Corriere delle Puglie (Bari) for November 10, 15, and 21 and December 1 of the same year, described some surprising instances of this kind. They have the attestation of these two leading Italian journals, of Bernardi Pasquale, Bishop of Ruvo and Bitonto, of the Archbishop Guilio di Terlizzi, the Cavalier Carmarino and Pastor Vito Garretti, as well as other responsible witnesses minutely cross-questioned by Dr. Joseph Iapponi, late chief physician to Pope Leo XIII. and to Pope Pius X. It appears that a child named Alfred Pansini

1 The incident is given in Iapponi's book Hypnotism and Spiritism, p 128.
who was about seven years of age was in the habit of attending a spiritualistic seance whenever opportunity afforded. After this had continued some time, he was found to have fits of sleepiness. These became frequent. During some of the attacks he spoke in a voice quite unlike his own, intoning like an orator, and using fragments of languages with which he was completely unfamiliar, among them French, Latin and Greek. He "even recited marvelously well certain cantos of the Divine Comedy". Except in the case of the Divine Comedy, he had not had training in speaking the languages employed during his attack, though we shall have occasion to recall the fact that the passages in Latin may have been excerpts from the Church services he had attended.

It is a matter of common knowledge that persons when "demon-possessed" often speak in fragments of languages with which they are normally quite unacquainted. Well-knit orations are sometimes delivered in this way. The late John L. Nevius, for forty years a missionary in China, made a special investigation and study of the subject of demon possession. The results of his study are set forth in his book Demon Possession and Allied Themes.¹ Reviewers of the book at the time it was published had a good deal to say about the

¹ The Fukhien Witness for June 1904 has a valuable article on demon possession. Williams, Demon Possession and Obsession, agrees with the views of Nevius, and gives cases where persons "possessed" use languages they do not normally know at all.
competency of the native witnesses whom Nevius cites. Are they acceptable witnesses from a scientific standpoint as the fact of actual possession by a demon? Perhaps not, but doubtless they are competent to speak on the question of the languages used by persons who are supposed to be possessed. On page 68 is a letter written to Nevius by Wang Yung-ngen. "It may be said in general of possessed persons," runs the letter, "that sometimes people who cannot sing are able when possessed to do so; others who cannot ordinarily write verses, when possessed compose in rhyme with ease. Northern men will speak the languages of the south, and those of the east the languages of the west; and when they awake to consciousness they are utterly oblivious of what they have done!" On page 46 is a letter to Nevius from Chin Sin Ling, from which we take these words, "The actions of possessed persons vary exceedingly....Some have a voice like a bird. Some speak Mandarin, and some the local dialect, but though the speech proceeds from the mouth of the man, what is said does not appear to come from him." Mandarin is the language of northern China, and differs from that of Fukhien, from which this communication comes. Nevius quotes from an ancient work on the subject as follows, "Plato ascribes a peculiar dialect to the gods, inferring this from dreams and oracles, and especially from demoniacs, who do not speak their own language or dialect, but that of the demons who are entered into them."\(^1\)

\(^1\) Clemens Alexandrinus, Miscellanies, 1:443
In a standard periodical appeared some years ago an extended article dealing with demon possession as reported from the French village of Morzines, near the Switzerland border. The afflicted persons exhibited, among other unusual feats, the ability to speak German, Latin and Arabic. Professor Tisot, of the medical faculty at Dijon, made a careful investigation of the whole matter. German had indeed been spoken under abnormal psychological conditions, but that language was general in the neighboring places, and those "possessed" had had abundant opportunity to hear it. Latin had been thus spoken, but its use was common in the Church. The claims regarding the use of Arabic were sifted until only one was left, and careful inquiry determined that no one truly recognized the utterance as in Arabic. Probably a mere guess had been made which obtained currency as an authentic report.

A somewhat prominent church official in China furnishes information regarding a woman who was possessed by a "fox-devil," as most of the demons are called. This demon impelled her to speak in the Hingua dialect, of which she had no normal command at all. Another missionary friend of the author, conservative and cautious, a man of American parentage, but born and reared in China, tells of a remarkable case that came under his personal and immediate observation.

1 A.D. White, LL.D., in The Popular Science Monthly, June 1889
meeting, composed of many missionary workers, as well as native pastors and evangelists, one of the latter while in the midst of an address became "possessed by a demon". Breaking off sharply the train of thought he was following, his voice became harsh and strained and he uttered fierce denunciations of Christian work. A part of his denunciatory address was spoken in a dialect recognized by other natives present, and understood by them, but entirely unknown to the speaker, who, after the seizure, had no recollection of what had taken place.

Further examples are not required, and we turn now to the problem of combining the results obtained in chapter three with the main facts established in the present chapter. In chapter three we saw that after a period of preparation, or seeking, there is possible a sudden "up-rush" of mental material which is often in the nature of a clarifying agent, settling and fixing the mind with respect to the problems or questions which occupied it during the period of preparation or of seeking. In chapter four we have given attention to the fact that language forms may lie buried and even "forgotten" in the mind, and that the "up-rush" previously studied, as well as delirium, anaesthesia, etc., may project these forms automatically through the speech organs. An illustrative case occurred in Los Angeles during the early days of the revival.\(^1\) A woman who had just received her "baptism with tongues" in

\(^1\) Dr. D. A. Hayes in his booklet The Gift of Tongues speaks of this case, and the writer of this Thesis has discussed the incident with some of the persons who took part in it.
the mission on Azusa Street, spoke for nearly a minute in what appeared to be a real language, and not the ordinary gibberish and non-sense syllables. Workers near the altar pressed a visiting Chinese gentleman of culture to state whether or not she had spoken in Chinese. This man, who had attended to meeting because of the claims he had heard made, freely admitted that she had, but he refused to translate the words, saying that they constituted as vile language as is known to his countrymen. At some time this woman, a person of refinement, had overheard an Oriental, of whom there are many in that city, in a rage or passion. Fruit or vegetable peddlers, or laundrymen, could have provided the occasion. She had not understood what he said, neither could she have repeated it at the time, but the language forms which he used were deposited in her memory, there to lie wholly unknown, unrecognized, and "forgotten" until her religious ecstasy brought them forth.

A Protestant clergyman in charge of a down-town mission in Los Angeles, formerly a Roman Catholic priest, tells the writer of a case in point. A friend of his named Lee, who in early life was a Roman Catholic, had given himself to drink and dissipation for many years. A profound religious influence came over his life shortly before the outbreak of the revival of glossolalia in Los Angeles in 1906, and he was a regular visitor at the crowded meetings in the Azusa Street mission, then during the height of their influence. Before long he
had "the baptism with tongues" and called upon his clergyman friend with the news. "Let's hear some of your tongues!" was the challenge thrown down by the practical minded minister. The enthusiast declared that he could only speak when prompted by the Spirit, but he at once began by means of jerkings, twitchings, and ejaculatory words, together with what was clearly a conscious limbering-up of the muscles of the throat, to work himself into a state where the automatic speech would begin. At first his speech was the merest chattering, with wind-suckings through the teeth (a common thing among the Pacific Coast "tonguers") and convulsive movements of the throat and chest. In the midst of his gibberish, however, was the following couplet from the Roman mass, which he had heard many times as a boy, but had probably neither understood nor remembered,-

Introibo ad altare Dei.  
Ad Deum que laetificat juventutum meum.

So completely had Lee "forgotten" these language forms that he did not recognize them what told of what he had done, nor was he fully assured until shown the Latin sentences on the printed page.

Not only will hysteria, delerium, ecstasy, or other such agencies above named, thus release long-buried language

1 The working-up which some of these people practice is frequently such an obvious simulation as to be repulsive.
forms, but unnatural excitement, occasions of great anger, agony or fear, will frequently cause those who have almost completely forgotten their mother tongue to use it freely and fluently. The Yorkshire Post for December 27, 1904 gives a case where the releasing agent was extreme religious excitement. "Young Welshmen and Welshwomen who know little or no Welsh and who certainly cannot carry on a sustained conversation in their parents' tongue, and who are supposed to have derived little or no benefit from the Welsh services, now, under the influence of the revival, voluntarily take part in public prayer, but the language used is almost invariably not the familiar English, but the unknown, or supposed to be unknown, Welsh Biblical phrases, and the peculiar idiomatic expressions connected with a Welsh prayer, which they had never used before... How is this to be accounted for? How can we explain the fact that a youth or maiden who cannot speak a dozen words in Welsh in ordinary conversation, can, nevertheless, engage for five or ten minutes in public prayer in idiomatic Welsh?"

On page 36 of this Thesis we stated that after a study of the psychological phenomenon of subconsciousness, and after a study of memory, we would be ready to add another argument for the historicity of the Passage Acts 2:1-13. Having shown that in modern times glossolalia can and does take place in actual foreign languages which are unknown to the speaker,
we pass to an historical statement as to how the people who composed the company in the Upper Room, or a part of them at least, had probably heard expressions of the "wonderful works of God" (Τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ) in tongues (γλώσσαίς, the word used in Acts 2:4) or dialects (διαλέκτος, the word used in Acts 2:6,8) which they did not normally command. Whatever these expressions were, the ecstatics had heard them before, even if they had not understood them.

It may be well to mention first the fact that Jerusalem regularly contained a resident population of foreign-speaking Jews. A Tannaito tradition mentions the synagogue of the Alexandrians in Jerusalem (Tosephta Megilla ii.224:26; Jerusalem Megilla, lxxiii. 40), which was perhaps the same synagogue mentioned in Acts 6:9, a passage which speaks also of the synagogue of the Cilicians, a synagogue of the Cyrenians, and one of the Asians. It has been suggested that "the synagogue of the Libertines" was the place of worship of foreign-speaking Jews. The very presence in Jerusalem of this diverse company of foreign-speaking co-religionists might easily afford the members of the Upper Room company opportunity to overhear expressions of Τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ in foreign dialects. The best place to overhear such expressions would be in the courts of the Temple. The case where Chinese was spoken (see page 59) has been verified by the writer from

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1 By Dr. B. S. Easton of the Dept. of New Testament of the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago.
first sources, and its trustworthiness established. If the woman concerned had thus unconsciously retained expressions in Chinese, there is much greater probability that in Jerusalem, with its religious emphasis, with the common use of religious language not only in the synagogue but in places of meeting, such as the market places, there was much chance that the members of the Upper Room party had unconsciously overheard such expressions as are mentioned in Acts 2:8.

But further probabilities can be established. In the synagogues of the Jews, whether in Judea, Galilee, or abroad, except in the case of Greek speaking Jews, the language of the service was Hebrew. For the mass of the congregation this was a dead language, their vernacular being one of the many dialects of the Aramaic. The proper officer read the Scripture passage from the Hebrew, this reading being followed by a translation, or Targum, in the vernacular. The translator was known as a Targumist, or Meturgeman.¹ He did not confine himself to translation, but frequently expanded the translation, paraphrased it, or delivered a homily upon it. There is evidence that a Meturgeman named (Rabbi) Chuzpith was

¹ For the origin of the custom see Nehemiah 8:8, R.V. margin. For details concerning the work or the Targumist see the article Meturgeman in The Jewish Encyclopedia and the article Targums in the same work. The article Synagogue has references to the practice.
regularly attached to the synagogue at Jamnia, near Joppa, during the life-time of Gamaliel I., and hence during the life-time of Jesus. This makes it probable that the need for Targums was felt in communities such as in Galilee, and in Jerusalem, more than in Jamnia, which was distinctly a Jewish center. It is not too much to say that the disciples of Jesus had had opportunity to hear from Meturgemen expressions of the nature described.

But a third line of possibility, even of probability, is opened in the fact that the Palestinian rabbis authorized the recitation of the prayers Shema and Shemone Esre, as well as the Table Blessings, in any language (Mishna, Sota vii. 1,2). According to the Jerusalem Gamara on the passage Sota, vii. 21b, Rabbi Levi had heard the Shema recited in Greek in Caesarea. With the permission thus granted, it is safe to suppose than an itinerant band, such as that which accompanied Jesus, would have had opportunity to hear these sentences in other dialects than their own. This probability is heightenened by the fact that Galilee contained a greater admixture of foreign-speaking people than did Judea, and by the fact that Jesus and his band were busied mostly in Galilee.

1 W.Bacher in the article Synagogue in Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, iv. 641b.

2 In the synagogues of Greek speaking Jews the custom seems early to have established itself of reading the lesson directly from the LXX. and the hearing of the Shema in Greek in Caesarea might be independent of the permission above mentioned.
The large crowds of people that followed Jesus (Mt. 4:25; etc.) and the peculiar intimacy and freedom characteristic of oriental habits of hospitality, greatly increase the likelihood that fragments of conversations, parts of which might be centered about τὰ μεγαλεία τοῦ θεοῦ would fall into the ears of the disciples (the word "disciples" not being limited, of course, to the Twelve).

Along three lines of probability, then, have we shown how members of the Upper Room company could have overheard, previous to the day of Pentecost, the expressions at which the strangers marvelled. These lines are (1) the cosmopolitan character of the population of Judea, with the close mingling of peoples of distinct dialects in the streets and in the Temple courts; (2) the customs relating to Targums in the synagogues; (3) the practice of reciting the Shema, etc., in any language desired, and the great admixture of dialects in Galilee, and the fact that the disciples of Jesus travelled Galilee continuously during his public ministry, except for the brief periods of retirement. In the very nature of the case an absolute demonstration of the proposition that they had overheard foreign language expressions of τὰ μεγαλεία Τοῦ θεοῦ is impossible, but we believe that what has been suggested is enough, with modern analogies, as on page 59, to amount to satisfactory evidence that such was the case.

The reader will recall from pages 21 and 24 that our main inquiry is whether the differences in the narratives
of the Pentecostal and the Corinthian glossolalia are to be accounted for as differences in the fundamental character of the experiences. These differences in the narratives, we continue to remind ourselves, are slight and unimportant. In Corinth, on the one hand, the ecstatic utterance was usually, though not necessarily always, in gibberish and non-sense syllables, and it was often mere simulation or histrionism. Interpretation was needed, if such were possible. At Pentecost, according to the narrative, no interpretation was needed, the representatives of the several foreign districts recognizing the utterances for themselves. Our study of subconsciousness and of memory indicates that the basic power at work in each case could easily have been the same.

It is still incumbent upon the writer to show, as promised, that the explanation given in the two chapters just closing is a more plausible explanation of the foreign language feature of the Acts 2:1-13 account than can be based merely upon the theory that the early Church exalted, magnified, or idealized the experiences of the day of Pentecost. The best answer is simply to submit the evidence adduced in favor of the historicity of the passage and to suggest that it is a far more acceptable explanation. The glossolalia exhibited that day was clearly due to psychic automatism which was generically like that of all other glossolalia, and it is gratuitous to set aside a clearly
supported explanation in favor of a questionable hypothesis.

It is still pertinent to show how the Corinthian glossolalia could have arisen from the Pentecostal. By way of suggestion it may be said that doubtless the members of the Upper Room company became scattered. Many who heard their glossolalia were visitors to the capital, some perhaps having come from Corinth. The Corinthian glossolalia was manifested during the life-time of many who were present near the Upper Room. These could have reported the manifestation to the believers at Corinth either in person or by correspondence. There is nothing to prevent the theory that some of the actual participants in the event in Jerusalem themselves were personally responsible for its introduction at Corinth.

Great religious movements are usually accompanied by strong emotion which affects whole groups of people. Glossolalia under religious auspices is an emotional experience, but the presence of emotion alone neither accredits nor discredits the experience. It belongs to excitable people; it disappears with culture; it is of itself neither good nor bad. Glossolalia is a product of psychic automatism which is often greatly augmented by emotion. But a religious experience, either of a person or of a group, receives its credentials, not from the amount of emotion created, but from the moral accompaniments and effects. The Pentecostal manifestation was free, so far as we know, from several of the objectional, but incidental, features which marked the Corinthian exercise, and it was the moral effects of the former that mark its strongest contrast with the latter.
Having now set forth the essential character of glossolalia, and studied from a critical standpoint the biblical narratives which deal with it, showing their harmony with glossolalia as observed under non-religious auspices, and their acceptability as historical accounts of the phenomenon, we pass more formally into the field of history for the purpose of showing how the essential characteristics of glossolalia as seen in the New Testament, are found in the principal manifestations of the phenomenon in later times. The following pages furnish, therefore, what may be termed illustrative or corroborative material, and they show that each apparently fresh manifestation of glossolalia is but a recrudescence of earlier manifestations which were essentially the same. The same naïve and uncritical temperament on the part of votaries of the various sects will constantly appear. In the interest of brevity only a sketch can be expected.
Part Two

Glossolalia in History
Chapter Five

Glossolalia Among the Montanists
The revival of glossolalia among the Montanists reveals so many parallels to later manifestations that it seems best to present the main characteristics of the Montanistic movement somewhat fully, though no external history of the sect is here necessary. Among the characteristics common to the various revivals of glossolalia may be specified: (a) a radical type of premillenial adventism, (b) a hyper-emotionalized religious appeal, (c) emphasis upon a return to the "spiritual gifts" of the apostolic church, (d) a belief that revelations are made fully as authentic as the Bible, and (e) the presence of glossolalia generically the same as that which marked the first Christian Pentecost and the Church at Corinth, as well as the house of Cornelius, and other places.

The Montanists were Phrygians. From the earliest times the Phrygians had had a civilization of their own. The race was originally endowed magnificently from the physical

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1 The best histories are:
Ritschl, Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche, 2 nd edition, Bonn, 1857. This work supercedes the works of Neander, Walsh, Mosheim, Wernsdorf, Tillemont, Baur, and Schwegler. To Ritschl belongs the credit of first discovering the real meaning of Montanism.
Bonwetsch, Die Geschichte des Montanismus, Erlangen, 1881
Harnack, Das Mönchtum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte, 2 nd edition, 1882; English translation 1901.
Weizsäcker's essays in Theol. Lit. Zeitung are specially valuable, each taking up single points of importance.
Weinel, Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister, Freiburg, 1899;
Hilgenfeld, D. Ketzergesch. des Urchristentums, Leipzig, 1884
2 See page 45.
standpoint, and Phrygian soldiers knew no defeat. They were a race of conquerors, carving out for themselves a place for a home, a set of national ideals, and a religious system. Herst\(^1\) describes them as of tropical temperament and sensibility. In the course of generations, however, the Phrygians suffered national, social, and physical decline until by the time of which we speak the very name "Phrygian" had come to be a synonym for "slave". It is probable that their religion made a large contribution to their downfall. It was a nature worship, the greatest act in the universe being regarded as reproduction, nature thus attaining victory over death. The popular faith deified the Earth as the great Mother who, under such names as Artemis, Demeter, or Cybele, was worshipped as the Goddess of Liberty. There was a priesthood, the special endowments of which were divination and clairvoyance, heightened by prolonged contemplation and by asceticism. All the people were firm believers in preternatural possessions and "no claim of priestly gifts was too extravagant for the blind devotion of the average Phrygian worshipper"\(^2\). Through all the national and social changes affecting the Phrygians, the warm-hearted character of the religious faith continued without abatement. Indeed, the nervous stability of the people must have been much affected by the popular worship of Venus, where a large company of women were consecrated to the service of prostitution. On the whole, the

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1 Church History
2 Hurst
picture presented by the Phrygians of this time is one of a people incapable of extensive self-control, weakened, excitable, and doubtless superstitious. Waterman suggests something of a parallel in the case of the uncultured negro of ante-bellum days.\textsuperscript{1} Religious by nature, he gives himself to any emotional or demonstrative extreme in his religious meetings. He is particularly susceptible to the contagious influences at work in crowds. As a rule he is not critical of a religious teaching if it makes an appeal to his emotions or to his imagination, and he accepts almost without question any religious teacher whose life and earnestness impress him favorably. More easily swayed by the influence of music than most peoples, he has also a fondness for signs and wonders, and these appeal to him with a certain authority and power.

Just how and when Christianity reached these Phrygians does not appear clearly, but according to Epiphanius, it was about the year 156 that definite signs of leadership began to appear in connection with an enthusiast named Montanus.\textsuperscript{2} If we may accept the testimony of writers living two centuries later, he was formerly a eunuch priest to Artemis. Mosheim speaks of Montanus as "not habitually inclined to evil, but with a melancholy disposition, coupled with inform judgment," and he speaks of him elsewhere as afflicted with a "morbid

\textsuperscript{1} Waterman, The Post Apostolic Age, p 226
\textsuperscript{2} De Haers.
affection of the mind". In still another place Mosheim adds "a certain mental imbecility" to his inventory of Montanus.

Montanus was an ascetic, an ardent millenarian, and with him, as with his followers, there developed a well-meaning and earnest, but morbid and hyper-emotionalized Christianity. The well known tendency of mysticism to run into a narrow subjectivism, is here plainly traceable.

To Montanus "the signs of the times" were alarming. Had not the Bride of Christ lost her former glory and power? Was there not a great lack of honor for the work of the Holy Spirit? Where were the Peters, the Pauls, the Johns? Where were they who wore the mantle of the seven daughters of Philip - daughters who could prophesy? Where could be found any who had the spiritual gifts mentioned in 1 Cor. 14? What had become of the glorious army of the apostles? In their place Montanus saw only weaklings and hirelings and time-servers. He saw in "the signs of the times" the great falling away from the faith which he believed would immediately precede the end of all things. Surely it was time for those who, like himself, would be true, to return to the "old paths", and to raise the Church to her pristine beauty and glory. Then she could properly expect the return of the Lord to reign in millennial splendor.

Montanus dwelt so long and earnestly upon these questions.

1 As a matter of fact, Justin Martyr in his Dial. c. Trypho, lxxxii. speaking of a period between the years 130 and 145 says that the spiritual gifts were yet alive in the Church.
as to become unbalanced by them, and to receive, or rather to experience, ecstasies, and to see "visions". In these ecstasies he was wont to impersonate the Paraclete, to prophesy that the end of all things was in the near future, to denounce organized Christianity, and to portray in detail the dire calamities that were soon to befall the unbelieving world and the worldly Church. The little village of Pepuza, in western Phrygia, was indicated by the prophecies as the seat of the Paraclete's future government, and it was accordingly re-named "The New Jerusalem". The prophetic frenzy spread with great rapidity. Two women, Priscilla and Maximilla, left their husbands and families to become "virgins" in the new order of things. They speedily rose to a large degree of influence with their co-religionists.

Although from the first representing a millenarianism of the warmest and most imaginative type, Montanism remained largely a local movement until about the year 177. At that time, however, a severe persecution of all Christians was organized, and the Montanists looked upon these events as among "the signs of the times"! Their fanaticism grew apace, and the more intense the persecutions the more rapidly their followers multiplied. The number of "the inspired" grew amazingly. Praxeas fled from Phrygia westward, spreading

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1 Epiphanius, De Haeres. 48:14
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Llontanistic doctrines and practices. Tertullian attacked him vigorously with his catena \textit{Adv. Praxeum}, but shortly thereafter he became a Montanist himself, and is perhaps the leading apologist for Montanism.

The glossolalia manifested by the Montanists is seen to be ecstatic, induced through and by means of the same exclusive attention to a narrow set of ideas as was the case in other manifestations of the phenomenon. On page 16 we quoted from one of the ecstatic speeches of Montanus, showing that his utterances are to be classed generically with the ravings of demoniacs as they "speak in tongues", with the glossolalia of the priest at the altar of the heathen god, with the utterances of persons under the influence of anaesthesia. All these cases are marked by decentralization, by the inhibition of control by the upper brain centers and the dominance of the lower, and by unconsciousness on the part of the patient as to what is taking place at the time.
Chapter Six

Glossolalia from 180 to 1700 A.D.

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The purpose of this chapter is to note the glossolalia which characterized the Donatists and which was manifested in Constantinople during the time of Chrysostom, following which an historical thread of glossolalia will be picked up with the Vaudois and followed through subsequent outbreaks of the phenomenon. Later chapters will carry this thread down to the present day. Since only the briefest exposition of the characteristics of each movement is demanded by the nature of our study, a comparatively small amount of space will be devoted to the various sects which have emphasized glossolalia, but a working bibliography will be given in each case.

The Donatists. Phrygian Montanism, as already noted, spread rapidly under the persecutions that were inaugurated about the year 177. In northern Africa it underwent some modifications and entered into large influence. The special emphasis laid upon millennial subjects, as well as its ecstatic speech, served to advertise the movement widely. During the latter part of the third century a man named Donatus gained the place of leadership and at that time a remarkable revival of hyper-spiritualized religion took place, accompanied by glossolalia and other similar manifestations.¹

¹ An excellent account of all such manifestations as we are studying, both in the Christian and the pagan world, during the first two centuries of the Christian era, can be found in that well documented book by H. Weinel, Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister, Leipzig, 1899. The best setting forth of glossolalia in connection with the ancient oracles and religions is in the French Dictionary of Antiquities, edited by Mm. Darumburg and Edmund Saglio.
In Constantinople. Mc Clintock and Strong's Encyclopedia, in the article on the Gift of Tongues, quotes Chrysostom on Isaiah vi. as referring to a sect in Constantinople in the fourth century whose wild, inarticulate cries, passionate, ecstatic words of little or no meaning, with accompanying convulsive gestures, were met by Chrysostom with the sternest possible reproof.

It should be said in general of the period known as the Middle Ages that the records are so incomplete and biassed as to render impossible a satisfactory discussion of the sects of that time, especially with reference to glossolalia. Among the sects which may have manifested the phenomenon are the Petrobrussians. They flourished in France from 1080 till the twelfth century. A more general name, however, and one which covers a larger territory, is the Catharists. This term was applied by the Roman Catholic historians to a large body of non-conformists. They at times confound them with the Waldensians. At different periods and different localities the Catharists were called Albigenses (the name in France), Paterini (Paterins), the name by which they were known in Italy, Publicians (a corruption of "Paulicians"), Bulgarians, Boni Homines, Henricians, Abelardists, Arnoldians, Leonists, Trissendians, etc. For these various names consult Blunt, Dictionary of Sects. Conybeare in The Key of Truth (Clarendon Press) gives the service book of the Albigenses.
Franciscans. Late in the thirteenth century a company of ascetics separated themselves from the Franciscan order, becoming known as Fratricelli, or Little Brethren\(^1\). Persecution of an intense nature was added to their already ultra-rigorous self-torments. In 1307 those who escaped these persecutions fled to France. There and in Germany they were known as Beghards. In Provence they joined the Spirituals, or followers of Pierre d' Olive, a native of Serignon in Languedoc, an ardent student of the Apocalypse, a superstitious fanatic, and a forceful advocate of "visions", glossolalia, and ecstasies. Many of the original Spirituals had themselves separated from the Franciscans. Another branch of the Fratricelli became known as The Brethren of the Free Spirit, and throughout their history frequent manifestations of glossolalia and of ecstatic "prophecy" are found. Blunt's Dictionary of Sects gives much original material.

Taborites. This sect deserves special notice because of its close relation to the work of the Zwickau Prophets, and because they assisted so largely in preparing the soil upon which the Camisardian and the Irvingite propaganda flourished later. In 1419 a section of the Calixtines, at a camp-meeting held near Prague, united with the Bohemian Beghards and became known as the Taborites. Under the leadership of an extremely ignorant man named Ziska, they were "inspired"

\(^1\) The best references are in The Catholic Encyclopedia and in Mosheim, An Ecclesiastical History, 1859, p 316 et seq. Both of these references are Catholic and must be used with discrimination, especially Mosheim.
to march upon Prague on July 30, 1419. On August 16th of that year they were likewise "inspired" to destroy all church property, to persecute the clergy, and to defy all authority because of the nearness of the second advent of Christ.

**Vaudois.** These people, more properly known as the Waldenses, or Waldensians, also assisted greatly in preparing European soil for the more successful movements which followed. This work began in 1170 with Peter Waldo, formerly a rich merchant of Lyons, who sold all his goods and gave everything to the poor. The Catholic writers of the 12th and 13th centuries abound with references to them. Their movement was characterized by glossolalia and to some extent by ecstatic "prophecy." ¹

**Zwickau Prophets.** Even as early as 1521 there were many indications that Luther's revolt from Rome would accomplish untold benefit, but there were many who, in their ignorance and zeal, thought that the reformation was only on the surface. For their part, they intended to go further and to affect a genuine reform. The movement was led by three men of Zwickau, Thomas Münster, who was the Lutheran pastor of the place, Nicholas Storch, a weaver, and Mark Thomas Stübner. Storch was densely ignorant, even taking pride in

¹ Harper's Monthly for July 1870 gives an account of the persecutions and an excellent bibliography. The Ency. Brit. article refers to original material. See also Todd's The Waldensian Manuscripts, Melia's Origin, Persecution and Doctrines of the Waldensians. See The Guardian for Aug. 18, 1886, and December 4, 1889.
his ignorance and insisting that the mere knowledge of the alphabet hinders spirituality and prevents divine illumination. Luther in his letter to Haussmann, March 17, 1522, discusses these men. They manifested the familiar forms of glossolalia and ecstatic "prophecy", and their ignorance and zeal led them to such extremes that they became a very great problem upon the hands both of the ecclesiastical and the civil authorities. One of them, Thomas Schrugger, was "inspired" to behead his own brother because of a difference in religious views. The remarkable zeal of these men enabled them to spread their influence throughout Suabia, Thuringia, Franconia and Saxony. Münster was expelled from Zwickau. He took refuge in Altstadt and Thuringia, where his fanaticism took such forms as to lead directly to the Peasants' War. It was not until 1535 that the fanatics, who had organized a rebellion, were overthrown and defeated, but the influence of their religious activities long continued.

Davidists. Named the Davidists after that unworthy man David George (1501-1556), this sect professed to be "inspired"

1 Storch was the leading spirit in the creation of a sect called the Abededarians, whose principal tenet was the doctrine that all knowledge hinders spirituality. One of his earliest supporters was Carlstadt, once an ally of Luther. Yielding to Storch's invectives against learning, he shut up his books, resigned his degree of Doctor of Divinity, forsook all reading, even that of the Bible, and looked for truth only from the mouths of these utterly ignorant, but "inspired" men.
and to speak in tongues. David George had joined the Anabaptists, a sect which grew out of the Zwickau work, in 1534, but later founded a sect of his own. When he and his followers began to suffer persecution he fled to a strange city, where he entered business life under an assumed name. The Davidists were known in Holland and in England as the Familists. They were also known as Ranters, and their influence aided in a strong measure in preparing England at a later time to accept the extravagant claims of the Shakers, the French Prophets, and the followers of Edward Irving.

Convulsionaires. This sect grew out of Jansenism, a religious movement instituted by Bishop Jansen (1585-1638). The Jansenists were bitterly attacked and persecuted by the Jesuits and by Richelieu, but the movement appeared, like other movements of a similar nature, to thrive upon persecution. In 1727 there occurred the death of a young Jansenite deacon named Francis, who was buried in the cemetery of St. Médard, near Paris. Before long it was reported that miracles were performed at his grave. The reported miracles included healings, etc., as well as the gift of prophecy, speaking in tongues, and "visions." The grave became the objective of many a long pilgrimage, and thousands of fanatics visited it daily. Even little children were there seized with convulsions and were carried into ecstasy.
While Voltaire was correct in saying that the grave of Francis was the grave of Jansenism, it was certainly the birthplace of the Convulsionnaires. When the cemetery was closed by royal order, the devotees met in private homes, there to "prophesy" to speak in tongues, and to inflict upon their willing fellows severe physical tortures, these having been commanded by the "voices" in the ecstatic speeches. The Convulsionnaires present the same type of people already noted as characteristic of the sects which have emphasized glossolalia; nervousness, weakened bodies and minds through vigils and fastings, prolonged thought upon a narrow set of ideas, and an over-emotionalized religious faith. This sect continued to exist, though with diminishing publicity, till the time of the Revolution, 1789. During the years the sect was receding from the public attention there were doubtless many scattered groups of disciples who kept alive the doctrines peculiar to their sect, and who thus had a share in preparing France for the Camisardian movement.

Muggletonians. The seed sown on English soil by the Familists found something of fruitage in the lives and followings of two men, John Robins ¹ and Thomas Tany.

¹ Robins was an ignorant man. "As for human learning," he said, "I never had any. My Hebrew, Greek and Latin come to me by inspiration." In early life he was a small farmer, but upon becoming obsessed by his fanatical religious ideas, he disposed of his property and entered London. His followers deified him, and he accepted their worship. He declared himself to be the incarnation of God, of Adam and of Melchizedek. His wife at one time expected to become the mother of Messiah. For details and bibliography see Dictionary of National Biography.
Tany, especially, influenced Lodowick Muggleton (1609-1698), the son of a farrier. In 1650 Robins and Tany \(^1\) persuaded him that they were inspired, and in April of the following year, after a period of seeking, he began having visions and manifestations of glossolalia himself. An ardent and naïve student of apocalyptic scripture, a passionate millenarian, his teachings impressed his cousin John Reeve. Reeve sought for "inspiration" and the gift of prophecy and glossolalia, and in February 1652 he began to have "revelations" and to speak in tongues. Reeve and Muggleton announced themselves "the two witnesses" of Revelation 11:3 who "shall prophesy a thousand, two hundred and three-score days, clothed in sackcloth". They called upon Robins and Tany, who were in jail, and pronounced upon them the sentence of eternal damnation. The prisoners were so impressed that they recanted, and were released.

Many notable and influential people became Muggletonians. William Penn issued against them his book *The New Witnesses Proven Old Heretics*. The collected works of Reeve and Muggleton (in three volumes) were published in 1756 under the title *The Acts of the Two Witnesses*. They were republished

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\(^1\) Tany (pronounced Tawny) was an epileptic and had an impediment in his speech. He had read Bohme and other mystical writers, and was a passionate millenarian. His visions dated from 1649, when he said that it had been divinely revealed to him that he was a "Jew of the tribe of Reuben" and that it was his life work to restore Palestine. For details and bibliography see *Dictionary of National Biography*. 
in 1832, quite probably on account of the rise of Irvingism, under another title. As late as 1846 a third edition appeared under the name The Divine Looking Glass. The sect is now extinct. Union Theological Seminary, New York, has a special pamphlet collection on the Muggletonians. Much valuable material is obtainable from the Dictionary of National Biography. The Muggletonians are important largely because they form a connecting link which passed on the doctrines of "inspiration" from the middle ages to the more modern sects of similar character.

Philadelphians. The writings of the German mystical philosopher Jacob Böhme had been translated into English, and a large number of people, especially in London, were forming societies for their study. Chief among these people was John Pordage, rector of Bradfield, Berkshire. He was a devout and sincere man, but not possessed of robust intellect. For the greater part, these "Böhmists" were refugee Huguenots. The rise of the Quaker movement for a time eclipsed Böhme, even among his most devoted followers, but about the year 1663 Pordage began gathering the followers again for further study. Notable among them was Mrs. Jane Leade (1623-1704). At an early age Jane had heard "a miraculous voice" and she at once devoted herself to an ascetic type of Christian life. By nature a neurotic, she experienced several "revelations" and
phantasms. As she grew older these increased in number and intensity. They dealt mostly with millennial subjects, especially the return of Christ. After meeting Pordage she published many mystical writings, among them The Heavenly Cloud and The Revelation of Revelations, the latter being an account of her visions. In 1693 a copy of this work reached Holland, where it was translated both into Dutch and German. The Holland followers thus enlisted secured a young man named Francis Lee to visit Mrs. Leade and learn more about her and from her. Mrs. Leade soon had a "revelation" directing her to make Lee her son and adviser, the young man shortly marrying Mrs. Leade's daughter. When his mother-in-law became blind, a few months later, Lee became her amanuensis, and to him were dictated most of her sixteen publications. An influential body of theosophists gathered around the two, and developed into a hyper-emotionalized, fanatical sect, calling themselves Philadelphians. Glossolalia, and other kindred manifestations, were prominent. The Dutch adherents withdrew from the mother-sect, and the work in England continued to thrive in spite of the fact that as early as 1673 Philadelphian meetings were outlawed.¹ The Philadelphian movement largely increased the mental soil wherein the seeds sown by the French Prophets was sown sown. See page 91.

¹ A Garden of Fountains is the title of a collection of Mrs. Leade's writings. For details and bibliography see Dictionary of National Biography.
Camisards. The revival of glossolalia which characterized the Camisardian movement is important for the student of the history of glossolalia because it was refugees from among them who instituted the wide-spread fanaticism in London known as the revival under the French Prophets, while it was, in turn, refugees from London, from among the French Prophets, who carried to doctrine into Germany, originating the Wetterau Movement, sometimes called the Inspiration Movement. The French Prophets in England passed on the doctrine of glossolalia to the Shakers, or "Shaking Quakers," and it was Shakerism in America that gave rise to glossolalia and "prophecies" among the Mormons, and indirectly to speaking in tongues among the Parhamites, and, through them, to the revival of glossolalia in Los Angeles in 1906.

In order to understand the psychological condition that produced the Camisardian movement, some brief attention to French history is necessary. Long previous to August 24, 1572, St. Bartholomew's Day, antagonism between Catholicism and the Huguenots in France had been active, and after that day of butchery turmoil and disorder reigned for years. Henry of Navarre published his Edict of Nantes in April 1598, by which act the Huguenots were given freedom of worship, opportunities equal to those enjoyed by Catholics of entering all offices and employments, and also gave them for purposes
of defense and refuge a number of fortified towns, including Bordeaux, Poitiers, Montpelier, and the important military city La Rochelle. Henry's successor, Louis XIII., followed him in declaring the Edict permanent and irrevocable, but Richelieu and others were opposed to the Edict and under Louis secured its revocation. The revocation was followed by many years of persecution, the Huguenots being so tormented that they left France in great numbers. In the quarter of a century previous to 1685 over 500 Huguenot churches were demolished. Louis instituted his hideous dragonnades, a device calculated to stamp out Huguenot independence and spirit, and to prevent a further exodus from the country.

Unable to emigrate, the persecuted Protestants sought refuge in the region of the Cévennes in southern France, but they were pursued even there and under the leadership of François de Langlade du Chayla the established Church continued its persecutions. Torture, imprisonment, and worse penalties, were inflicted. At last in and around Pont de Montvert on the night of July 23, 1702 the Protestants rebelled, killing du Chayla and defying the Church, which for many years maintained an army in the Cévennes whose object was to stamp out Protestantism. The mountains were patrolled and the Camisards, as the refugees were now called, were hunted as beasts.

A word should now be said as to the preparation, aside from the events above sketched, through which the Camisards
passed and which made possible the ecstasies and the glossolalia which characterized their assemblies during the height of the persecution in the Cevennes. In the year 1686 there appeared in print *L' Accomplice*ment des Prophéties from the pen of Pierre Jurieu. It was a study of apocalyptic Scripture in connection with the signs "of the times" especially with reference to Matt. 24:3-14. Were not perilous times at hand? Was not brother rising against brother? Were there not wars and rumors of wars? The revolution in England appeared as a striking corroboration of Jurieu's view, and an ardent, radical type of millennialism became rampant. As previously stated, this is an unfailing attendant upon glossolalia.

Among the early signs of the eruption of manifestations of supposedly miraculous nature was the report of lights in the sky that guided to places of safety. The next phenomenon was that the persecuted people heard strange sounds in the air, and notes of a trumpet "together with heavenly voices beautifully harmonized." But of most wonder to the people was the fact that little children "spoke in tongues" and "prophesied." Fléchier, Bishop of Nismus, a contemporary who lived not far from the scene of these events, says that the prophecies were introduced from Geneva by a man named du Serre. ¹ In the year or so preceeding 1686, this man, a pupil of Pierre Jurieu, felt called

upon to impart his faith to a large number of little children. In 686 ecstasies came upon many of these children. Some of them swooned during the meetings. Others had fits of sleepiness from which they could not be wakened. In these abnormal states of mind they spoke in tongues and prophesied. Tots only four or five years of age would preach under this strange power for an hour or more, foretelling dire calamities for Romanism and promising great rewards for the faithful. Addresses of great length came from children who could not ordinarily muster a vocabulary of half a thousand words. The throwing of ice water over the body, the flashing of bright lights in the eyes, shaking the children, calling loudly into the ear — none of these methods could stop the flow of elevated, dignified discourse, accompanied as it usually was with appropriate gesture. Most wonderful of all was the fact that very commonly these discourses were not delivered in the native patois, but in good French, a language the children could not use in conversation, and of which they knew but very little, except what they had learned memoriter from the French Bible. Jacques du Bois testified to seeing at one time more than sixty children between the ages of three and twelve years who were thus engaged in preaching.

The contagion of this type of ecstasy is well known, and soon fathers and mothers were numbered among the "prophets". Baird states that friends and foes of the Camisards united
in agreement that these manifestations were not consciously work-up or simulated, but that these phenomena had a foundation in genuine ecstasy. Such manifestations as "falling under the power", jerking fits, convulsive movements, and similar exhibitions, as well as glossolalia and ecstatic prophecy, became widely contagious. Soldiery sent to the assemblies of the Camisards for the purpose of making arrests, often threw away their weapons and entered into ecstatic prophecy and the glossolalia. An instructive biblical parallel is found in 1 Samuel 19:20-24.

The Camisardian manifestation of glossolalia exhibited all the essential characteristics of that phenomenon as enumerated on pages 19 and 20, so far as we have data for determining: 1. Loss of rational control; 2. Dominance of emotion, usually in great degree; 3. Feelings of prayer and praise; 4. Automatic functioning of the speech organs, usually in the utterance of mere jargon and gibberish, but at times in the phraseology of actual foreign languages. 5. Absence of memory as to what took place during the seizure; 6. The accompanying characteristic of physical manifestations, such as spasmodic or involuntary jerking, etc. Glossolalia induced by physical agents, such as drugs, vapours, etc., would lack some of these characteristics.
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Bibliothèque Universelle, Paris. March-May 1866

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Cavalier, Memoirs of the Wars of the Cévennes, London 1726


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A great quantity of original materials reposes in the archives of the Ministry of War in Paris. Another collection of first-hand documents is in the Library at Sion College, London.
Chapter Seven

Glossolalia from 1700 to 1800

The purpose of this chapter is to continue the historical thread which follows the glossolalia from one sect to another, and to point out briefly the main characteristics of each subsequent manifestation, showing that these are essentially uniform with the experience recorded in Acts 2:1-13, with the experience of the Corinthian Church, and with other forms of glossolalia wherever encountered.

Fleeing from the persecutions and dangers in the Cévennes, several Camisardian refugees, among them Durand-Fage, Elias Marion, Jean Allut and Jean Cavalier, reached London in 1707. In his Life of Wesley (page 240) Southey pictures them as "racked in mind and body". They instituted an exceedingly zealous propagandism which included a rabid premillennial second adventism, apocalyptic sermons and addresses, and kindred activities. The same glossolalia which had marked them in the Cévennes was continued in London, and soon that metropolis was ablaze with interest and curiosity. All classes flocked to their hôtels. Lady Jane Forbes became a convert, as well as Mr. Everard, late envoy from the British court to France. Sir John Lacy (1664-1737) came under the influence of the "prophets" in 1707, and soon became a leader among them. At a meeting of "the inspired" in London Lacy spoke at length in "tongues". Sir Richard
Bulkeley, a man of some learning, but natively uncritical, a pupil of Bishop Fell, was present and he declared that "in the Spirit" Lacy had recited long passages from Latin and from Hebrew. He soon embraced the doctrines of the sect, and gave the "inspired" the free use of his estates.\(^1\) So much attention was attracted by the sect that the press was employed pro and con, the clergy taking up a determined fight against the movement. Calamy preached a series of sermons which was published as *Caveat Against the New Prophets*. Many other printed attacks were made, to all of which "the inspired" made reply. The Bishop of London demanded of the French Consistory an investigation of the whole matter.

According to the testimony of Lacy himself his ecstasies were characterized by the strange sensation of having his "mind, tongue and fingers" directed by "an invisible agent", by which also his body was agitated and contorted, and sometimes carried about the room.\(^2\)

The prestige of the "prophets" suffered greatly when, in the extreme of their fanaticism, they publicly attempted to call Thomas Eams, formerly one of their number, from his grave in Bunhill Fields. The precipitous disgrace into which the movement fell on that day, May 25, 1708, scattered the "inspired"; some of them carrying on their activities secretly,

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\(^1\) Bulkeloy wrote an interesting *Narrative of Facts*.  
\(^2\) *A Cry from the Desert*, by John Lacy.
and thus keeping glossolalia alive in the land, while others returned to the Continent, there to establish the widespread movement sometimes called the Inspiration Movement, and sometimes the Wetterau Movement.

References:

Calamy, Historical Account of My Own Life, London 1712

Kingston, The Honest Quaker, London 1708. Kingston was for a time under the spell of the delusion, but freed himself, The Honest Quaker being a defence and an exposition.

English Review for 1852, pp 22, 23

Dictionary of National Biography under such headings as Lacy, Bulkeley, etc.

Buchanites. Elspeth Simpson Buchan (1736-1791) was a woman of marked eccentricities. Early in life she came into contact with some people who represented the remnant of the Muggletonians (page 81). She was from young womanhood an ardent millenarian and a believer in ecstatic prophecy and "revelations." In April 1783 she and a rector named White organized a sect, which in the following year was banished from Irvine and which took refuge on a farm near Closeburn, in Dumfriesshire. Glossolalia, community of goods, free-love, and other objectionable features made the sect a nuisance
and, although her followers prophesied that Mrs. Buchan would not die, she had so built them around herself that upon her death they rapidly scattered. Robert Burns had a sweetheart who joined them, and he labored hard to win her back. See his letter to J. Burness dated in August 1784.

**Wetterau Movement, or Inspiration Movement.** Being ejected from the French Community in London because of the signal failure of Thomas Eams to rise from his grave (page 92), Jean Allut and Elias Marion took a large number of followers into the Netherlands. Cavalier went into Germany. After a small measure of success among the French Protestants in Holland and western Germany, a campaign was instituted among the Pietists and Separatists there, and considerable headway was gained for the doctrines they represented. The first firm foothold was secured in Halle in 1713, where an 18 year old servant girl was the first to become "inspired", and in Berlin in the following year where "revelations" came to a tailor who later went insane. Three brothers, named Pott, together with their mother, became "inspired" and went into the Wetterau region, near Frankfort, where they built up an enthusiastic company of followers.

From the standpoint of psychology the Wetterau manifestations of "prophecy" and of glossolalia present the same essential characteristics as we have found elsewhere.
In 1716 a schism occurred in the movement, and in 1725 the more influential division emigrated to America, settling in Germantown, Pennsylvania. In 1842 and 1846 other companies came, especially from Büdingen and Württemburg, settling near Ebenezer, New York. In 1855 the Ebenezer group emigrated to Iowa County, Iowa, establishing what is still a strong communistic society known as the Amana Society. Thus the doctrines which have accompanied the glossolalia, as well as the peculiar religious atmosphere in which glossolalia thrives, have been somewhat widely scattered.

The New Israelites. Joanna Southcott (1750-1814) was born of humble parentage in Gittisham in Devonshire. She was neurotic and excitable. After spending some years as a domestic she became obsessed with the idea that she was the woman of the twelfth chapter of Revelation. She rose to be the leader of a sect numbering 100,000. When almost 64 years of age she announced that she was to give birth to Shiloh on October 19, 1814. The London papers teemed with the medical aspects of the case. She died December 14, 1814 of brain fever. "If I have been misled," she stated on her death-bed, "it has been by some spirit, good or bad." She did not know that psychologically the spirit was that of poor Joanna herself. The Dictionary of National Biography and Blunt's Dictionary of Sects furnish much material.
Among the results of the activities of the New Israelites should be mentioned the somewhat local effect upon a small group under the leadership of John Ware. This man (1782-1863) was an illiterate Irishman and a follower of Joanna Southcott. He was especially impressed by her fantastic Fifth Book of Wonders, and after her death he received a "revelation" that he was the Shiloh she was to bear, only that he had been spiritually born to her, not physically, as she had mistakenly predicted. The Dictionary of National Biography gives details. Ware kept alive the doctrines of the New Israelites. In prefacing our paragraphs on Edward Irving and the Catholic Apostolic Church (page 102) a further effect of The New Israelites will be noted.

The Christian Israelites. John Wroe (1782-1863) was for a time a follower of Joanna Southcott, but in April 1831 dissented from some of the tenets of the New Israelites, and founded a sect of his own, which exhibited the same abnormal manifestations, "prophecy" of an ecstatic character, glossolalia, etc. See again the Dictionary of National Biography.

Shakerism. James Wardley and his wife Jane were humble Quakers of Bolton. In 1747 Wardley attended some of the meetings of the French Prophets, and was converted to their ways. His wife soon joined him in his new faith, and
they gathered a number of their Quaker friends into parlor meetings. Ecstatic "prophecy", "revelations" and kindred manifestations, including glossolalia, were early developed, and the neighbors soon gave the group the nick-name "Shaking Quakers", which was later shortened to "Shakers". In a "revelation" Jane was given the title "Mother" and the disciples were directed to confess their sins to her. In 1757 the Shakers were joined by a girl twenty-one years of age who was soon to become the leader. This was Ann Lee, the daughter of a blacksmith. She was born in Toad Lane, Manchester, February 29, 1736. Even as a girl she displayed a visionary and neurotic temperament. This is freely admitted even by the most admiring Shaker apologists.¹ In 1770 another "revelation" made Ann the "Mother" and in her fanaticism her believed herself to be Christ returned to earth in female form. In 1774 came another "revelation" directing the society to emigrate to America, but Shaker writers say nothing about the fact that indecencies of several kinds had made the sect most objectionable to the neighbors. Settling near Albany, New York, the sect became active in a missionary way and by 1781 had numerous societies in New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut. Ann Lee died in 1784 and with her the most extreme forms of physical manifestations, ecstasies, etc.,

¹ Shakerism; Its Meaning and Message, by the Misses White and Taylor.
passed away, but they persisted along a more sober and steady level, and, though the great revival of glossolalia among the Shakers did not take place till 1837-1847, it is quite probable that it was Shaker influence that led Joseph Smith to make glossolalia a part of the creed of the Mormon Church. (See page 107).

A detailed discussion of the manifestation of glossolalia is not called for in connection with the Shakers. Every essential characteristic was manifested, the Shaker glossolalia being found to be generically the same as in cases previously studied.

Literature:

Dr. Timothy Dwight in his Travels in New England and New York gives much attention to Shakerism. The largest collection of titles is that made by J.P. MacLean, Ph.D., of Franklin, Ohio. This collection, of over six hundred titles, was purchased by the Library of Congress. In the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications MacLean has several articles of value. Blunt's Dictionary of Sects is good, and the article in the Dictionary of National Biography, though apologetic, has value, especially in the original sources indicated. Axon's Biographical Notice of Ann Lee, published in 1876, is another valuable apologetic treatment.
Note:

No glossolalia among early Methodists. Most of the Bible dictionary and Encyclopedia articles on the Gift of Tongues assert that this supposed gift was a characteristic of early Methodism. The writer of this Thesis has corresponded with several of the authors of these articles in an effort to find authority for the statement, but in each case the attempt ended in failure, though his letters were courteously answered. It will be remembered that the French Prophets had sown the soil of London and vicinity with their extravagances and vagaries, and in his Life of Wesley Mr. Southey tells how Wesley visited one of their meetings, of course many years after the flight of the leaders from England. Wesley expressed disfavor with the meeting, though some who had attended with him were inclined to accept what they saw and heard as worthy of imitation. In his Plain Account of Christian Perfection Wesley states that in 1762 there were a few of his followers who began to regard their own impressions as the "voice of the Lord," and that later these same persons added to their vagaries by claiming to prophesy and to discern spirits. George Bell, Thomas Maxfield and William Green held meetings where ecstatic jumping, dancing and yelling seem to have been encouraged. Bell predicted the end of the world for February 28, 1763. It is
highly improbable, however, that there was anything in early Methodism which the Methodists themselves were disposed to regard as the gift of tongues. Wesley makes no mention of it in his Journal, as applying to Methodists. Since he had a more than average interest in strange phenomena, his utter silence would alone amount almost to a demonstration that a supposed glossolalia played no sort of rôle among his people.

Note:

No glossolalia among the early Quakers. The same general statement made regarding glossolalia among the early Methodists is made in reference to the early Quakers, but equally without foundation. There were many excesses and exhibitions of fanaticism among the immediate followers of George Fox, but no glossolalia. Fox, like Wesley, had an uncommon interest in strange religious phenomena and his journal contains many references to vagaries and fanaticisms among his people, but there is not record of glossolalia. Dr. A. C. Thomas and Dr. Rufus M. Jones, both of Haverford College, have probably done as much work in the Quaker field as any living students, and they are authority for the statement that no glossolalia was known among the early Friends.

Kentucky Revival of 1800.

Davenport in his Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals gives some space to the ecstatic demonstrations which marked the
ubiquitous revival of 1800 and which centered in Kentucky. There was ecstatic barking at the foot of trees (called "treeing the Devil"), ecstatic demonstrations and song. The absence of the strong millennial note is probably the reason there was almost no glossolalia.
Chapter Eight

Glossolalia from 1800 to 1900

Edward Irving and the Catholic Apostolic Church; Glossolalia among the Mormons; "Holy Laughter" among the Adventists; The Amana Society; "The Kingdom" at Shiloh, Maine; Irish and Welsh Revivals
Edward Irving.

It was stated on a previous page (93) that the Buchanites must have been influential in passing on the glossolalia to Edward Irving and his followers. Closeburn is but twenty-five miles from Annan where Irving was reared, and many of the former members of the sect were yet living during Irving's boyhood and young manhood. The influence of the Buchanites had reached Glasgow, where Irving was later assistant to Chalmers, and the MacDonalds and the Campbells, the first to exercise glossolalia in the Irvingite movement, lived in Glasgow, whence several members of the Buchanite colony were recruited, and whither they probably returned after the death of their leader. Irvine, the town which drove the sect from its borders, is but twenty miles from Glasgow.

Edward Irving (1792-1834) was born in Annan, Scotland, his mother being a descendant of a Huguenot refugee from the persecutions in France under Louis XIII. As a youth his mind was imaginative and he was fond of the marvelous and the wonderful. He received his Master's degree when but seventeen, but remained at home teaching school and studying. Such was the apparent bent of his mind that the physician of the town, with whom he often conversed said "That youth will scrape a hole in everything he is called upon to believe". After teaching
seven years he became assistant to Chalmers in St. John's Parish, Glasgow. Shortly after assuming his duties there the general criticism of his mannerisms and peculiarities made him restless and he accepted gladly a call to the pastorate of the National Scotch Church, then worshipping in the old Caladonian Chapel in London. In July 1822 he began his London labors and soon was the most popular preacher of the Metropolis; statesmen, lords and ladies and scholars, vying with each other in their praise of the man and his work.

For a few years Irving was constantly in the public eye. The London papers gave his sermons in full. For months together it was necessary to issue tickets to his services, these being frequently exhausted a month previous to the date of the service. A special squad of police was needed to regulate the traffic near his Church on Sundays.

During his London residence Irving purposely narrowed down his line of mental activity until it was occupied only with that which was exclusively religious. He lost all interest in art and literature and could see only commonplaces in either Byron or Southey. He was rapidly, though unconsciously, preparing himself (see pages 42 and 43) for the influence upon his mind of two men, one of them his own Assistant, A.J. Scott. Scott was a pronounced millennialist and among his parishioners had become acquainted with the doctrines of the French Prophets, some of the adherents of which were yet active. Scott was
soon deeply interested in glossolalia and the other spiritual exercises and he made a profound impression upon Irving with his new-found faith. About the year 1826 Irving came under the influence of the second of these men, Hatley Frere, an uncultured man. Frere was an adrent millenarian, and devoted to glossolalia and ecstatic exercises. A circle was formed for the study of biblical prophecy and the gifts of the Spirit. Shortly afterward Irving joined a similar group which was under the leadership of James Haldane Stewart. Stewart's group was more of a prayer meeting than a study class, and here again we see at work the influences discussed on pages 42 and 43. During Irving's deepening and narrowing religious activities, his Assistant, Scott, had been busy in his boyhood neighborhood persuading Mary Campbell, a neurasthenic consumptive, that she should pray for the spiritual gifts and for physical healing. Late in March 1830 Mary began to speak in tongues, Irving describing the experience in full in Fraser's Magazine for March 1832. Irving states that "She told me that this first seizure of the Spirit was the strongest she ever had..." and this is quite in line with one of the characteristics as stated on page 47. Very early in the autumn of 1830 news of Mary's glossolalia reached Irving in London and he made a visit to the Campbell

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1 See also Storey, *Life of Storey*, and Norton, *Memoirs of James and George MacDonald*. 
home in Glasgow. Returning home after a brief visit, during which he was profoundly impressed by the ecstatic experiences of Mary Campbell, now Mrs. Caird, Irving gathered a band of earnest persons for regular prayer that the Spirit would soon come upon them all in a similar way. Here we see the same psychological steps taken by the 120 in the Upper Room in Jerusalem, the same as must be taken in one form or another by all who enter this experience. See pages 43 and 44. These definite prayer meetings continued till April 30, 1831, when a woman broke out in glossolalia, her utterances being in mere jargon. This was the releasing agent or jar (see page 39) which brought "the fire" or "the baptism" upon the assembly, and soon more than twelve were speaking in tongues.

Irving's place in the public attention gave the new features of his meetings immediate publicity. Pulpit and press combined to oppose him and the novel manifestations to be seen and heard in his meetings. An idea of the character of at least some of the "tongues" may be gained from a pamphlet written by George Pilkington, for a time an enthusiast over glossolalia, but later opposed. The pamphlet was published by Field and Bull and was entitled The Unknown Tongues Discovered to be English, Spanish and Latin. In his argument Pilkington shows how probable it is that these persons were simply uttering language forms which had
been buried in their minds for a long time, which they had probably thought were forgotten, but which the ecstasy brought forth through automatic speech. Pilkington does not attempt this psychological explanation, but furnishes us more material for it. In the case of Robert Baxter, who was for some time intimately associated with Irving, automatic writing in French, Italian and Spanish took place while in ecstasy. These languages Baxter had known and used in earlier life.

The purpose of the introduction of Irving into this discussion has been served, but it is interesting to note that a fact in connection with the hour of his death late Sunday evening December 7, 1834, just before his death at midnight. He was delirious and watchers at the bedside heard him speak in distinct tones. He was trying to say something, but close listening failed to take in his meaning. He had never himself spoken in tongues. Was he doing so now? An incoming friend, however, stepped to the bedside and bent his ear close to Irving's lips. The delirious man was reciting the stately Hebrew measures of the 23d Psalm. Thus Irving did speak in tongues as clearly and surely as did any other person at any time.

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1 Baxter, Narrative of Facts, Prophetic News Office, London
The main characteristics of glossolalia as listed on pages 19 and 20 appeared in Irvingism, and to repeat them here would be needless. The brief sketch of the origin of glossolalia above furnished will show that the manifestations of it among Irving's followers was but a recrudescence of former manifestations, all alike fundamentally. Horace Bushnell in his *Nature and the Supernatural* is quite inaccurate when, in speaking of Mary Campbell and the others that exercised glossolalia he says "they were unexpectedly overtaken with the strange gift of tongues" (page 466). In the nature of the case it cannot be unexpected.

**Mormonism.**

The Mormon Church, or, more properly speaking, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, had had as one of its tenets from the beginning the doctrine that true saints should speak in tongues. Joseph Smith wrote this into the first documents of the Church. He could not have borrowed the idea from Swedenborgianism, for that system, though popular in Smith's neighborhood at the time, had nothing to do with glossolalia. Spiritualism was not born till 1848, and Spiritualistic influences could not have moved him. Though Mormonism was organized about two weeks after Mary Campbell spoke in tongues in Glasgow, Smith almost certainly did not know of it at the time. The only influence left which could have prompted him to attach importance to the spiritual gifts
was Shakerism, and evidence points to that sect as the
source of his emphasis upon glossolalia.

There are no references to glossolalia in the Book
of Mormon. The first allusion to it is in Doctrines and
Covenants under date of March 8, 1831, where there is a
"revelation given through Joseph the seer!" The passage is
a sort of paraphrase of 1 Corinthians xii. The only other
reference to this gift in Doctrines and Covenants is under
date of March 27, 1836 and refers to the dedication of the
first Mormon Temple (Kirkland, Missouri).

If a history of glossolalia in detail were required,
it would be a simple matter to enlarge upon the forms which
that exercise took among the Mormons, but it is sufficient
to refer to the literature and to point out that, except
for the palpable histrionism which marked much of the Mormon
glossolalia, the essential characteristics of the exercise
are to be traced in this sect. George Q. Cannon in his
Life of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, page 17, tells how certain
Mormon young men while in the ecstasy spoke in fragments of
Indian dialects which were recognized by Indians present.
Smith preached his "Conference Sermon" at Nauvoo, Illinois,

1 John Fiske, Discovery of America, 1:3, errs in saying that
Third Nephi 26:14, 15 refers to glossolalia on the part of
the descendants of Nephi and Laman. The writer has referred
the question to high Mormon authorities and they say that
no such thought was in the mind of the writer of the passage.
in April of 1833. The sermon is quoted in the Mormon publication Times and Seasons (page 496). It is said that he "preached a little Latin, a little Hebrew, and a little German". Psychologically, there is room for the statement as regards the German.

Literature: Special collections:

The Berrian collection on Mormonism, New York Public Library, contains 551 volumes on Mormon history, 325 pamphlets, and 52 volumes of newspapers and periodicals. It is specially rich in first editions and in rare publications. The Mormons themselves maintain the office of Historian at Salt Lake City, and the collection there is practically complete, in everything that pertains to Mormonism. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has 448 books, 43 bound volumes of newspapers, 550 early pamphlets and 233 bound volumes of pamphlets, all relating to Mormonism.

"Holy Laughter" Among Adventists.

William Miller was an ardent millennial, but had no place in his practical theology for the gifts of the Spirit, so-called. In the autumn of 1842 a Millerite preacher, John Starkweather, in charge of the Charon Street Chapel, Boston, created a schism among the Adventists, he and his followers setting themselves apart from the main group as the Gift Adventists. The Gift Adventists themselves became divided

1 See page 46, lines 7-9
and are now practically extinct. One of the latest outbreaks of glossolalia among them took place in a camp-meeting held near Mendota, Illinois, in 1905. In some of their meetings that same year in Lincoln, Nebraska, and in Spokane, Washington, similar manifestations occurred. Particulars are available in *Messiah's Advocate*, Oakland, California, for that year.

What was called "holy laughter" was as prominent as glossolalia. So-called "revelations," "visions," and glossolalia are traceable among the Seventh-Day Adventists, chiefly on the part of Ellen G. Harman (Mrs. E.G. White), the leader. From girlhood she was neurotic and subject to mental disturbances.

D.M. Canright, in his *Seventh-Day Adventism Renounced* devotes a chapter to the subject, in which he discusses Mrs. White and the pathological aspects of the case, quoting many original authorities.

*Amana Society.* This society has already been discussed, but a few references to the literature dealing with it are in place here. *The Congregationalist and Christian World* for 1906 contains a brief reference of value. The most careful and thorough treatment attempted is an eleven page article in the Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

"The Kingdom" at Shiloh, Maine. This is a small communistic society founded by Frank W. Sandford in July 1893. He claimed to be Elijah incarnate, a prince forever after the
order of Melchizedek. His sect is important for this study only in that it was here at Shiloh that Charles F. Parham conceived the notion of glossolalia as a necessary concomitant of a deep religious experience.¹

Irish and Welsh Revivals. Preserving a chronological order, these revivals should be mentioned here. A sufficient account has already been made where, on page 61, glossolalia in the Welsh revival was used as an illustration. Davenport's Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals may be consulted with profit, and Archdeacon Stppford's Work and Counterwork, as well as some of the reports of these revivals made by the Society for Psychical Research.

¹ See page 112
Chapter Nine

Glossolalia Since 1900

Revival Under Parham in 1901; Revival in Los Angeles in 1906
Revival Under Parham. Something of the personal history of Charles F. Parham is given on pages 46 and 47, where his mental and physical oddities are noted. For a few years he was a clergyman, but became dissatisfied with organized Christianity because no church which he could find left its preachers free to preach by direct inspiration only. After a somewhat erratic career as evangelist, during which time he visited the Shiloh colony in Maine (page 110), he organized a small Bible School which was housed in "Stone's Folly," a fantastic building located about a mile west of Washburn College, Topeka, Kansas. Parham has always been an ardent millennialarian and he has often said that without exception the thirty-four students who enrolled in the School believed that Christ would return before 1925. Partly for practical reasons, fasting was much encouraged in the School, whose resources were confined to what sympathetic neighbors brought. Specialized attention was given to the apocalyptic portions of the Bible, and during the last two weeks of the year 1900 Parham insisted that no student should leave his room until he should be convinced, by Bible study and prayer, what sign always accompanies the baptism of the Holy Spirit. At the close of the first few days the student body was unanimous that speaking in tongues was the only sign, the Scripture appealed to being Acts 2:4. With the entire School assembled, Parham
directed that the baptism of the Holy Spirit be sought, with the accompanying sign. The psychological conditions, as well as the physical conditions, which were described in chapter three were being paralleled. Psychologically, the stages of preparation were much the same as in the Upper Room in Jerusalem, except that with the 120 there was not (so far as we know) any expectation of glossolalia. After a period of intense "seeking," which means concentration, speaking in tongues was manifested. The first person affected was a maiden lady and within a few seconds, by the operation of the laws of suggestion and imitation, over a score of the students were likewise speaking in tongues. In a very few cases fragments of actual languages were thus spoken in ecstasy, though for the most part the utterances were in mere gibberish and non-sense syllables.

The revival of glossolalia and ecstatic "prophecy" thus instituted spread rapidly over Kansas and down into Oklahoma and parts of Texas. In a mission hall in Houston, Texas, Parham had for several consecutive evenings an auditor who was to be responsible for the revival of glossolalia upon the Pacific Coast, the revival which rapidly spread over the civilized world. This auditor was a colored man, William J. Seymour by name, who was visiting Houston while on a search for his parents, lost to him since slavery days.
Some credulous reporter on the Houston Chronicle inserted in the issue for August 13, 1905 the following statement: "Among the languages spoken by the professors of the Apostolic Faith the government interpreters have made investigation and authoritatively report that all known modern languages have been demonstrated, including twenty Chinese dialects". The writer of this Dissertation made exhaustive search for substantiation for this statement, but without avail. Letters are on hand from several men who were government interpreters in or near Houston at the time, and they are unanimous is denying all knowledge of the alleged facts.

Literature and Sources:
Consult the main bibliography hereto appended.

Revival in Los Angeles in 1906. For several months previous to January 1906 there had been a mission open at First and Bonnie Brae Streets, Los Angeles. The constituency was both negro people and whites, and the lines of emphasis in the meetings were millennial and intimately personal. With the coming of the rainy season this mission removed to the home of a colored family at 216 Bonnie Brae Street, a home in the center of a negro district. When the meetings became so crowded that more was needed, a building at the corner of 9th and Santa Fe Streets was secured.
was needed, or, rather, a regular and responsible leader for the meetings, a colored woman present suggested the name of Seymour, of Houston. \(^1\) When Seymour accepted the call and began his work in Los Angeles it was with a stronger millennial note than his new flock had heard, and with a constant emphasis upon glossolalia. So radical was he upon these subjects that the woman from whom the hall was rented (though a member of the congregation) locked the assembly out and the meetings thereafter were held in the Asbery home. During February and March this continued, and the student can trace the narrowing and deepening of attention, and the other psychological influences outlined on pages 42f. The people were all negroes, all uneducated, naive, and quite un-critical. See page 71, where some of the negro characteristics are outlined. The meetings in the Asbury home grew in intensity, and in the emphasis which was being placed upon Acts 2:4. Numbers of these black people were determined to obtain what they termed their "Pentecost" at all costs, some of them spending entire nights in "seeking". On Monday evening, April 9, 1906, Seymour called, by request, upon one of the members of his flock, a man named Lee, who was sick. Lee had heard Parham and had been seeking this experience for three years. He requested Seymour to lay hands upon his head and

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\(^1\) Seymour was born in Indianapolis and never attended school. Only with great difficulty can he read at all, and his reading is confined to the Bible. Though of genial heart, his mind cannot be described as robust. From youth he has been a strong millennial and there has been a decided subjectivism in his religious life; "visions" etc., came to him even before he met Parham.
to pray for his healing and that he might at that moment speak in tongues.\(^1\) Seymour did as requested, his action serving as the releasing key (see page 39, 42, 43) or, to speak in psychological language, the final suggestion, which marked the up-rush of all the long-gathering store of thought and feeling. Lee spoke in tongues, much to his delight and to Seymour's joy, and after further prayer, the latter went to the Asbury home, where a meeting of his people was to take place. After songs and brief prayers, Seymour arose to speak, taking his text from Acts 2:4. The first thing he said to the assembly was that Lee had been given the gift of tongues. Jennie Moore, seated on the organ stool, fell to the floor speaking in tongues, and in an instant most of the people in the room were similarly engaged. Her action served as the releasing key, or final suggestion, which they needed. The scene has been described to the writer of these lines by several who were present. Disorder continued for several minutes and then many of the ecstasies rushed by one accord into the yard and onto the street, continuing to speak in tongues.

Having traced the psychological process by which this group of people came to exercise glossolalia, the purpose of the incident as far as this paper is concerned is served. No matter where glossolalia is found it will be seen to have the essential characteristics described in this Dissertation, and

\(^1\) A similar request had been made of Parham the moment of up-rush in his meeting in Topeka.
from the psychological standpoint the experience of the
120 in the Upper Room in Jerusalem may be classed with the
other similar manifestations which have been noted in
connection with the various recrudescences of the phenomenon
in Church history.
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The sources for the chapter dealing with Parham and with the revival of glossolalia in Los Angeles in 1906 were personal and first hand, the writer becoming acquainted with almost all of the persons and places concerned.

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