THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF EXPERIENTIAL RELIGION: A STUDY OF NEWFOUNDLAND PENTECOSTALISM

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By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the degree to which changes occurring in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland reflect the sociological process of institutionalization in a context of secularization. The analysis includes an examination of changes that have occurred in the movement from its inception in 1910 up to the present.

Methodologically the thesis uses heuristic constructs developed by Max Weber (1864-1920), Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923), H. Richard Niebuhr (1894-1962), and Bryan R. Wilson (1926-): sect, denomination and church. These types provide for a continuum along which a religious group's progress can be understood during its development. When specific characteristics of the typology are applied to the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement, it is suggested that the initial introversionist Pentecostal sect, which was characterized by an experiential religiosity, a distinct holiness ethos, and immanent eschatology, evolved into a full fledged denomination, with all the bureaucratic structural supports of an institutionalized religion.

The thesis argues that -- while the initial religious group under the leadership of Alice Belle Garrigus (1858-1949) was an introversionist sect -- by the early 1920s characteristics of a conversionist sect were becoming evident. It was this shift in the primary character and ethos of the sect that was the first step towards institutionalization. It is further argued that the influx of Methodist and Salvation Army parishioners into the sect was partially responsible for this shift in sectarian group typology as was a new leadership drawn from those churches. Changes in evangelism and a conflict over leadership of the sect, were also conducive to a relatively early shift

toward institutionalization.

Specific organizational changes further exemplify this trend. It is shown that over time males came to dominate the leadership of the movement. This patriarchal domination eventually led to the establishment of a hierarchal system of control that resulted in a paid ministry, an emphasis on training and education, ordination policies, as well as financial and business structures, all of which are characteristic of a movement towards a denomination.

Finally, it is argued that secularization has had a transformative effect on the ideology and praxis of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland. Social mobility and educational attainment, for example, have become important goals for Pentecostals. Doctrinal stances regarding divorce and remarriage, and ecumenicity, as well as changes in worship practices, are presented as being representative of a decline in the distinctiveness of early Pentecostal ideology and praxis. Concomitant with these changes in doctrine and practice has also been a recent decline in membership and churches.

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Finally, I want to say thank you to my father. Of all the influences in my life he is the most significant. His insights into life and the peculiarities that lie within it exist within me as vividly today as they did when he was alive. I am grateful for the desire to see things for what they really are and the ability to walk alone on principle if necessary. In the case of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, I now see what lies behind the changes. I would like to sit down and tell him the foxes are finally on the inside, but I can't. Therefore, I dedicate this thesis to him and his life.

To My father,

Albert Leonard Pinsent.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Historical Overview

Pentecostalism in Newfoundland originates with Alice Belle Garrigus (1858-1949) who, accompanied by retired ministers W. D. Fowler and his wife, arrived in Port aux Basques, Newfoundland, from Rumney, New Hampshire, in November of 1910. On Easter Sunday morning in 1911, four months after their arrival in Newfoundland, the doors of Bethesda Mission were opened for services at 207 New Gower Street, St John's.[1] The Pentecostal message she brought with her originated at Topeka, Kansas, and Los Angeles, California, under the ministries of such holiness preachers as Charles Fox Parham (1873-1929), William J. Seymour (1870-1922) and Frank Bartleman (1871-1936).[2]

Although the Pentecostal movement under Garrigus's leadership lacked growth during its first nine years of existence, substantial growth occurred following 1919 when a revival broke out during a visit to St. John's by the evangelist Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest.[3] This growth continued during the 1920's and 1930's,[4] as many Methodists and

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[1] Burton K. Janes, The Lady Who Stayed (St. John's: Good Tidings Press, 1983), 132-133.

[2] C. M. Robeck, "Azusa Street," in Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988), 31-36.

[3] Janes, The Lady Who Stayed, 193, 200.

[4] Burton K. Janes, "Floods Upon the Dry Ground: A History of the Pentecostal

Salvationists, who had become disenchanted with their own church (or who found their own church closed), joined Pentecostal missions that had been started in many Newfoundland communities.[5] By 1928 there were Pentecostal churches in numerous communities outside St. John's including Bishop's Falls, Humber, Grand Falls, New Chelsea, Victoria, Port-de-Grave, Deer Lake, Clarke's Beach and Springdale.[6] By 1935 there were at least 3,757 Pentecostals in Newfoundland.[7]

According to the 1991 Canadian Census, there are more than 40,000 Pentecostals in Newfoundland and Labrador. Accordingly, Pentecostals constitute about 7% of the province's population.[8] Most Pentecostals are members of 113 established assemblies and 29 pioneer and supplemented assemblies affiliated with the Pentecostal Assemblies of

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Assemblies of Newfoundland 1910-1939" (M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991), 78-87.

[5] Accounts taken from Good Tidings "Salute to Saints" series of articles: Malvina Ackerman (March-April 1077), Harry Austin (May-June 1978), Delphine Cooper (September-October 1981), Israel Marshall (January-February 1976), Ida Noble (July-August 1977), Selina Osmond (may-June 1980), Alice Parsons (May-June 1974), Gilbert Pinksen (March-April 1980), Julie Pinsken (March-April 1980), Josephine Reid (November-December 1978), Minnie Rideout (March-April 1981), Julia Ringer (May-June 1977), Allan Sheppard (March-April 1979), Joseph Tulk (March-April 1976), Tregertha Young (May-June 1979).

[6] S. M. Ohmart, "Back to the Bible," The Pentecostal Herald, June 1928, Vol. 1, No. 1, 8.

[7] Government of Newfoundland, 1935 Newfoundland Census (St. John's, Newfoundland: Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1935), microfiche.

[8] Statistics Canada, 1991 Canada Census (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1992), Pentecostal Target Profile Group.

Newfoundland (hereafter Pentecostal Assemblies or PAON).[9] Its ministerial roster records 393 ordained ministers and 10 overseas missionaries.[10] The PAON headquarters, which are located at 57 Thorburn Road, St. John's, Newfoundland, have an administrative staff of 12. The official publication of the PAON is entitled the Good Tidings with a distribution of 7,500.

Until recently, the PAON operated their own separate school board and school system, a right granted to them in 1954 and enshrined through constitutional amendment in 1987. In 1995-1996 the Pentecostals operated 40 schools and employed 425 teachers and administrators. They also held joint-services agreements with other school boards in the operation of 4 provincial schools. In 1997, however, a referendum sanctioned an amendment to the Canadian Constitution which in effect took away the denominational school system, and in due process the PAON schools have become nondenominational. The demographics of the Pentecostal Assemblies and their involvement in public services such as education have made them a significant religious factor in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

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[9] The movement was incorporated in 1925 under the name Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies but was changed at the General Conference of the movement in 1930 to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland.

[10] Figures taken from: Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, Official Directory of Pastors and Assemblies (1997-98) (St. John's, Newfoundland: Head Office, 1997).

1.2 State of the Question

A survey of the history of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland inevitably raises questions about its development. Its rapid numerical growth in rural and urban centres, its administrative development and the establishing of its own school system are concrete indicators of organizational change. Already, shortly after the first decade of its existence, questions were being raised regarding perceived changes. On June 17, 1931, for example, the Wednesday morning session of the Pentecostal Assemblies fifth Annual Conference, which convened at Bethesda Pentecostal Mission in St. John's, Newfoundland, recognized that change was taking place. The entire session was devoted to the "discussion of ways and means of getting back to the old-time power of Pentecost and seeing God arise as in the early days."[11] Many of the delegates to the 1931 conference obviously were of the opinion that crucial changes had occurred since the coming of the Pentecostal message to Newfoundland in 1910. According to one of the conference delegates, Pastor A. S. Winsor, the majority of ministers and fully-approved workers that attended the conference opined that the "old time power of Pentecost" had lost some of its characteristic attributes.[12]

The characteristics of the perceived changes regarding the "old time power of Pentecost" were quite tangible for the first generation Pentecostals. Changes in the

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[11] General Conference, June 12-20, 1931, St. John's, Minute 46.

[12] Arthur S. Winsor, interview by author, 3 September 1992, Tape recording, St. John's, Newfoundland.

emotional fervour of worship, manifestation of spiritual gifts, social practices and dress codes were clear indicators that something was going on. Although over time the Pentecostal Assemblies has gained remarkable social and political power as a result of its numerical growth, the experiential character of early Newfoundland Pentecostalism has waned.[13] Even as early as 1928, Newfoundland's Pentecostals had begun to voice concern that things were not the way they were in the earliest days of the movement. The title of an article printed in The Pentecostal Herald (June 1928), namely, "Back to the Bible," suggests that a substantial number of early Newfoundland Pentecostals were of this opinion.[14] The author of the article obviously perceived that certain changes had indeed occurred in the nature of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland. He writes:

> We have to deal with a substitute, offered by well meaning, yet mistaken men, who are calling - BACK TO THE CHURCH. And those same well meaning men are employing various arts of persuasion to win men back to the Church, suppers and entertainments and plays and games and contests, etc... BUT - getting back to the Church does not seem to avail in the least those who do not get back to the Bible.[15]

The same author goes on to state that:

> Some have sold out to the devil for salary and prestige! Others are blinded and snared by the devil, until, to them, darkness appears as light! Yet others have such an unsanctified desire for some thing new.... they render homage to "new gods that came newly up!" Deut. 23:17. And yet others have no sense of discrimination with reference to religions, to them all religions are

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[13] Ibid.

[14] S. M. Ohmart, "Back to the Bible," The Pentecostal Herald, June 1928, 8.

[15] Ibid.

alike -- one just as good as the other.[16]

Such statements indicate that certain Pentecostals, as early as 1928, were of the opinion that changes had occurred in the character of the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland.

In the years following the 1931 conference, Pentecostal ministers and laity continued to report that the nature of Newfoundland's Pentecostal movement had indeed changed. And such changes were viewed as spiritually unhealthy. Howard Carter, for example, in an article entitled "Keeping a Movement Pure," encourages his readers to "...pray and continually pray that the glorious Pentecostal movement will not lose its early purity."[17] Even the General Superintendent of the PAON by 1936 was instructing followers to maintain traditional methods in their religious services and to reject "new methods" since "the changing of method has meant the turning point (in a negative direction) in the history of movements."[18]

These changes within the Pentecostal movement were, to a large degree, perceived changes. That is, while many Pentecostals believed that changes were occurring, they presented little, or no, "hard empirical evidence" to support such a claim. Relaxation of stringency in moral attitudes, openness to other religious movements, increased formalism, and the development of permanent officials who replace charismatic leaders are visible, but do little in and of themselves to indicate reasons why the changes are taking place. Other

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Howard Carter, "Keeping a Movement Pure," Good Tidings, August 1936, 2.

[18] Eugene Vaters, "Put no Fire Under - I Kings 18:23," Good Tidings, May 1936, 1, 6.

changes, however, are more concrete and relate, for example, to gender, training and ordination of ministers, social mobility, age and marital status of members, education policy, and interdenominational relations. Many of these 'perceived' and 'real' changes in the development of the Pentecostal Assemblies can be viewed as sociological changes which occur in religious movements generally. Usually, first generation members of religious movements tend to oppose such changes in an attempt to maintain the "pure nature" of their particular movement. There is, however, "a tendency for all established and traditional religions to institutionalize their arrangements, and for their activities and relationships to become ossified."[19] On one level, ossification represents a genuine predisposition to conserve something of value. On another, however, it results in the teachings and practices of a particular religious movement coming to be regarded as the movement itself, or as the essential elements in the life of that movement.[20] Accordingly, religious groups which were originally "...characterized by enthusiasm, spontaneity and commitment to ministry become, over time, preoccupied with themselves as organizations, losing touch with the original reasons they came into being."[21]

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[19] Bryan R. Wilson, Religion in Sociological Perspective (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 121.

[20] The recent preoccupation of the Pentecostal Assemblies with the education issues in the province consumed great amounts of money, time, effort and administration. It became, over time, the greatest factor in uniting Pentecostal assemblies. All other characteristics of doctrine and practice took a back seat to the task of maintaining a Pentecostal school system.

[21] Reginald W. Bibby, Unknown Gods: The Ongoing Story of Religion In Canada, (Toronto: Stoddart, 1993), 267.

In sociological terms, these changes may be the product of a process referred to as institutionalization.[22] In a broad sense, institutionalization is the process whereby social practices become sufficiently regular and continuous to be described as institutions.[23] Within the context of religion, religious groups are considered institutionalized when they become more concerned with training subsequent generations than with the activities that founded the group in the first place, such as proselytizing and converting outsiders. The socialization of young children and existing members leads to an increasing concern for education. This concern requires secular commitments, acquisition and management of property, and, necessarily, increased social respectability. The term implies the relaxation of moral attitudes, increased openness to other movements, and increased formalism in terms of more ritualistic styles of worship and the development of permanent officials for ministry.[24] The extent to which a religious group fulfills these criteria determines to what extent the group has become institutionalized.

The institutionalization of the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland is suggested by the many perceived and real changes evidenced in the history of the movement. The degree to which this process has occurred, however, has never been analysed and

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[22] Wilson, Religion in Sociological Perspective, 97.

[23] S. N. Eisenstadt, "Institution," The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology , ed. by Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill and Bryan S. Turner (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1988), 124-125.

[24] Wilson, Religion in Sociological Perspective, 96-97.

documented. Hence, the primary objective of this thesis is to analyse the nature of Newfoundland Pentecostalism from its inception up to the present in order to assess whether or not the sociological character of the movement has changed significantly. Specifically, this thesis seeks an answer to the question: to what extent, if any, do perceived and real changes within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland reflect the sociological process of institutionalization?

1.3 Theoretical Perspectives

The literature reveals that there are numerous theoretical perspectives on how to interpret "perceived" and "real" changes which occur during the development of religious movements. The scope of this thesis does not permit a review of all such sociological theories. The following discussion, therefore, is an attempt to highlight particular aspects of the work of four significant sociologists and students of religious institutions, namely, Max Weber (1864-1920), Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923), H. Richard Niebuhr (1894-1962) and Bryan R. Wilson (1926-). It is recognized that this examination of the views of Weber, Troeltsch, Niebuhr and Wilson on the development of religious groups is at best preliminary. Nevertheless, their works are classical attempts to analyse the sociological nature and change of religious movements and, as such, provide theoretical and conceptual frameworks from which to investigate the question posed by this thesis: how has religious change affected institutionalization in the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement?

1.3.1 Max Weber and the "Ideal Type"

Max Weber's interest in concrete scientific research led to his exploration of the epistemological status of social-scientific investigation. While he had little interest in epistemological questions, he addressed himself to these issues because their resolution was necessary to explain the method he employed in his investigations.[25] His primary interest was to develop a method which would allow for the scientific investigation of social phenomena. His sociological theorizing began from the premise that while the natural sciences possessed a systematic process of investigation and analysis of facts relative to that discipline, the basic 'facts' of the social sciences had no such systematic process of investigation. In attempting to discover how the basic facts of the natural sciences differ from those of the social sciences, Weber developed a systematic methodology of the social sciences.

"The type of social science in which we are interested," Weber wrote, "is an empirical science of concrete reality."[26] The problem for Weber was how to transform

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[25] Susan J. Hekman, Weber, the Ideal Type, and Contemporary Social Theory (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983), 18.

[26] Max Weber, "Objectivity in Social Science and Social Policy," in Max Weber: The Methodology of the Social Sciences, trans. Edward Shils and Henry Finch (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), 72.

relatively abstract sociological phenomena into concrete forms which could be identified and analysed. In developing a solution to this problem, Weber recognized that although the subject matter of the natural and social sciences is radically different, both utilize the construction and the application of concepts to obtain knowledge of reality. Equally as important, Weber recognized that what was different in the two sciences are the concepts that each constructs and applies.[27] Accordingly, the natural sciences view the common or average aspects of the facts under consideration as making up concrete reality. Aiming at the general, towards a system of unconditionally valid laws, the investigator selects the common traits of the facts under consideration and synthesizes them into a general concept belonging to a discipline of science.[28] The social sciences, however, view characteristic traits, cultural significance and meaningful interrelationships of the facts, as defined by the problem at hand, as constituting concrete reality.[29]

In the social sciences emphasis is put on the individual, the particular, on explaining why something is historically so and not otherwise, and in what direction it might develop.[30] It is within this context that Weber defines sociology as a science concerning itself with the

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[27] Wolfgang Schluchter, Rationalism, Religion, and Domination: A Weberian Perspective (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 13.

[28] Ibid., 12-13.

[29] Hekman, 23-25.

[30] Schluchter, 13.

interpretive understanding of social action.[31] Thus, "we shall speak of 'action' insofar as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to his behaviour," states Weber.[32] The existence of social facts is, therefore, dependent upon the subjective meaning attached to cultural experiences by social actors. The diversity of meaning given to particular cultural events would logically result in the potential chaos of social reality. Thus, it is the individual interests of social actors that brings order to the chaos of social reality, just as the mathematician's equation brings order to the chaos of random numbers. The subjective meaning of social actors, therefore, is the foundation for all social-scientific analysis.[33]

The primary task of the 'social actor' is to synthesize the selected facts into a conceptual framework which can be utilized to comprehend and analyse social reality. To put it another way, the meaning which social actors attach to particular events becomes the "benchmark" to measure other social phenomena and thus provides some degree of order to a potentially chaotic social reality. This "benchmark" is what Weber calls the "ideal type." According to Weber, the ideal type:

> is a conceptual construct *(Gedankenbild)* which is neither historical reality [copy] nor even the "true" reality [emanation]. It is even less fitted to serve as a schema under which a real situation or action is to be subsumed as one instance [the cognitive goal of natural science]. It has the significance of a purely ideal benchmark with which the real situation or action is compared

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[31] Max Weber, Economy and Society, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 4.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Hekman, 29.

> and surveyed for the explication of certain of its significant components. Such concepts are constructs in terms of which we formulate relationships by the application of the category of objective possibility. By means of this category, the adequacy of our imagination, oriented and disciplined by reality, is judged.[34]

The purpose of ideal types, therefore, is to provide a means of comparison with "concrete reality" in order to reveal the significance of that reality. In other words, the abstraction of historical reality is made possible by the ideal type which facilitates the understanding of that reality[35] thus bringing conceptual order to an otherwise chaotic social reality.

The sociological typology of "sect" and "church" entails two examples of ideal types that originated with Weber and which have been refined by later sociologists.[36] Such typologies exist as heuristic constructs that facilitate the understanding *(Verstehen)* of social phenomena.[37] As stated above, the purpose of ideal types is to provide a means by which to compare social phenomena with concrete reality in an attempt to reveal the significance of that reality. It is important to note, however, that even though ideal types are "finely honed

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[34] Weber, "Objectivity," 93.

[35] Hekman, 34.

[36] For a comprehensive treatment of Max Weber's methodology see: Toby E. Huff, Max Weber and the Methodology of the Social Sciences (London: Transaction Books, 1984); Susan J. Hekman, Weber, the Ideal Type, and Contemporary Social Theory (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983); and, Peter Hamilton, ed., Max Weber: Critical Assessments, 4 vols. (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc., 1991).

[37] Understanding here is taken to refer to the "meaning appropriate to a scientifically formulated pure type (an ideal type) of a common phenomenon, as opposed to an historical approach, the actually intended meaning for concrete individual action, or as in cases of sociological mass phenomena, the average of, or an approximation to, the actually intended meaning" (See Weber, Economy and Society, vol. 1, 8-9).

instruments, specifically adapted to the unique needs of the social scientist,"[38] they remain somewhat of an abstract instrument with which to identify clearly and concretely sociological phenomena. The fact is that social reality consists of constantly changing subject matter and contexts. The mode of revealing significance from that reality, therefore, must be flexible rather than rigid.[39] Although subjectively imprecise, in comparison to the concepts of natural science, the ideal types, as defined by Weber, are versatile instruments useful in identifying and analysing social phenomena in an acceptable scientific manner.[40] As such, they remain a cogent tool of sociological investigations.

1.3.2 Weber's 'Church' and 'Sect' Typologies

Weber conceived religious community in terms of a collectivity with a distinctive religious character, which is not a society, but rather a religiously specialized subgroup within society, namely, a "sect" or a "church."[41] Weber proceeded to establish criteria by which to determine whether or not religious subgroups within society match these ideal

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[38] Hekman, 58.

[39] On the main point of this paragraph see: William H. Swatos, "Weber or Troeltsch? Methodology, Syndrome, and the Development of Church-Sect Theory," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, (1976) 15(2), 132-133.

[40] Kenneth D. Bailey, "Constructing Monothetic and Polythetic Typologies by the Heuristic Method," The Sociological Quarterly, vol. 14 (Summer 1973) no. 3, 291-293.

[41] Ephraim Fischoff, introduction to The Sociology of Religion, by Max Weber (Boston: Beacon Press, 1922), xxxvii.

types. The sect type of a religious group is identifiable in relation to its adherents as a voluntary association of lower class individuals based on specific religious qualifications and to its leadership as possessing unique charismatic qualities.[42] It is necessary to survey briefly the characteristics of Weber's sect type prior to looking at the church type and the relationships they may possess.

Weber characterized the sect as being a "voluntary association," with members only including those who are morally and religiously qualified beyond doubt. "Voluntary association" meant that the sect made no claim to regulate the lives and behaviour of those who did not wish to be considered members.[43] Members were not normally born into the sect, but joined and maintained sect membership voluntarily. Religious qualifications meant that individuals must be morally and religiously qualified. Standards of ethical purity were maintained, not by the spiritual office holders of a church, but by the laity of the local sect. The moral and religious qualifications for sect membership related directly to qualities necessary for business success. By showing oneself open to the constant scrutiny of personal characteristics, increased material wealth resulted due to living standards. Integrity, reliability, and credit-worthiness of sect members was guaranteed, which, over time, worked well for their business enterprise, thereby establishing a connection between Protestant

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Hamilton, Malcolm B. The Sociology of Religion: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives (New York: Routledge, 1995), 194.

sectarian ethics and capitalistic fundamentals.[44]

Weber explores at great length the relation of religious phenomena to a great variety of social factors within a broad world religions context. His interest in economy, culture, politics and psychology gave a comprehensive view of religion and its significance to society in a variety of contexts. It is clear from his work that religious messages differ in their appeal to different social strata and that socially generated needs may coalesce with and affect religious needs. Through his exhaustive research he found that the lower social classes tended to adhere to sectarian types of religious expression.[45]

The sect type religious group also possesses a unique charismatic leadership style which sets it apart from other, more bureaucratic, religious organizations. In making the distinction in the style of sect leadership, Weber introduces the term "charisma" as a special ability of natural leaders in distress to utilize specific gifts of the body and spirit which are considered supernatural and not accessible to everybody.[46] Sectarian groups are said to have a "pure" type of charisma that is never a source of private gain to the holder, usually contrary to patriarchal domination[47] and existing outside of formal training or office.[48] Weber states:

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[44] M. M. W. Lemmen, Max Weber's Sociology of Religion (Heerlen, Limburg: Gooi and Sticht, 1990), 173-174.

[45] Weber, Economy and Society, vol. 1, 490-492.

[46] Max Weber, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and ed. by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 245.

[47] Ibid., 247-149.

[48] Ibid., 316.

> In contrast to any kind of bureaucratic organization of offices, the charismatic structure knows nothing of a form or of an ordered procedure of appointment or dismissal. It knows no regulated 'career,' 'advancement,' 'salary,' or regulated and expert training of the holder of charisma or of his aids. It knows no agency of control or appeal, no local bailiwicks or exclusive functional jurisdictions; nor does it embrace permanent institutions like our bureaucratic 'departments,' which are independent of persons and of purely personal charisma.[49]

The sectarian leadership style of charisma does not look externally for authority or direction, but always internally, with determination and restraint. It is a certain quality of an individual personality that sets one apart from ordinary men due to an endowment of supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities.[50] The validity of a leader's calling[51] to mission or cause lies within the leader, and never does that leader seek the right to act from external authorities. It is, however, the duty of those being addressed with the mission or cause to recognize the leader as their charismatically qualified leader. It is in this recognition that "pure" charismatic leadership proves its calling.[52]

Weber begins drawing his distinction between sect and church as sociological types of religious groups by dealing with the concept of 'hierocracy.' Indeed, the concept of church is directly related to the concept of hierocracy, which emerged from a professional

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[49] Ibid., 246.

[50] Max Weber, The Interpretation of Social Reality, ed. J. E. T. Eldridge (London: Michael Joseph, 1971), 229-234.

[51] Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 45-60.

[52] Ibid., 246-247.

preoccupation with cult and myth, with its confession of sin and counsel to sinners.[53] The concept of hierocracy was founded upon the pre-bourgeois view that the gods were strong, though not necessarily good, and that all kinds of animal, human, and superhuman creatures, possessed magical capabilities. Subsequently, these basic convictions were incorporated into the development of a hierocratic organization of religious thought and practice. Weber refers to this development as bureaucratization[54] In commenting on this process he writes:

> Everywhere hierocracy has sought to monopolize the administration of religious values. They have also sought to bring and to temper the bestowal of religious goods into the form of 'sacramental' or 'corporate grace,' which could be ritually bestowed only by the priesthood and could not be attained by the individual... From the standpoint of the interests of the priesthood in power, this is only natural.[55]

The personal, "pure" charisma of the prophetic, mystic and ecstatic is, therefore, most naturally diametrically opposed by the office charisma of the hierocratic priesthood. The argument is that the hierocratic priesthood is necessary in order to establish and preserve the viability and dignity of the organization.[56]

In the'church' type, members of the hierocratic priesthood are considered legitimate administrators of office charisma and use corporate domination to establish and preserve the hierocracy. In Weberian terms this hierocracy is maintained by 'psychic-coercion.' Weber

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[53] Weber, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, 282.

[54] Weber, Economy and Society, vol. 2, 1141.

[55] Weber, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, 282-283.

[56] Weber, Economy and Society, vol. 2, 1165.

writes:

> Corporate domination will be called hierocratic if, and insofar as, it employs, in order to safeguard its authority, 'psychic-coercion' by means of the granting or withholding of religious benefits. A compulsory hierocratic association with a continuous organization will be known as a church, if, and insofar as, its administrative staff claims a monopoly of the legitimate use of hierocratic coercion.[57]

The administering of 'magic blessings,' 'religious benefits,' or 'endowments,' will develop into a patrimonial office, whereas before it was a freely chosen vocation, and these endowments will be administered from a place that is protected from unholy, or secular powers.[58]

The church-type of Christianity lays stress on the sacraments as a means of distributing grace, an operation for which Weber reserves the appellation of 'institutional grace.' The church may exert its power directly through purely magical sacraments or through its control over the accumulation of supernumerary achievements performed by congregational officials or devotees, achievements which produce divine blessing or grace. Within this context salvation cannot be obtained apart from membership in the particular institution or church vested with the control of grace *(extra ecclesiam nulla salus)*. Neither does the personal charisma of the priest determine the effectiveness of his distribution of divine grace. The personal religious qualification of the individual in need of salvation, therefore, is a matter of indifference to the institution which has the power to distribute grace.

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[57] Weber, Economy and Society, vol. 1, 54.

[58] Ibid., vol. 2, 1163-1164.

It is in this sense that salvation becomes universal and accessible to other than the religious virtuosi.[59]

The church also utilizes its charisma to achieve expectations of secular political power, such as exemption from taxation, immunity from secular jurisdiction and a distinctive way of life for its officials. This requires the training and education of religious officials, which in turn controls the education of the laity, ensuring a continual supply of officials and subjects properly brought up in the hierocratic spirit.[60] The organization for administering divine blessings is an institution, or church, and charisma is transferred to the institution.[61] The church in effect considers itself a 'trust fund' of eternal blessings that are offered to everyone, creating the possibility of universalization of membership. In this way the highly developed office charisma of the church will oppose the genuinely personal charisma, which offers its own prophetic, mystical and ecstatic way to God.[62] Weber points out:

> Now, every hierocratic and official authority of a 'church' - that is, a community organized by officials into an institution which bestows gifts of grace - fights principally against all virtuoso-religion and against its autonomous development. For the church, being the holder of institutionalized grace, seeks to organize the religiosity of the masses and to put its own officially monopolized and mediated sacred values in the place of the autonomous and religious status qualifications of the religious

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[59] Weber, The Sociology of Religion, 187.

[60] Weber, Economy and Society, vol. 2, 1164-1165.

[61] Ibid., 1165.

[62] Ibid.

virtuoso.[63]

The intent of the institution is to rationalize the faith system and reject personal charisma (routinization of charisma), as well as developing a professional vocation.[64]

According to Weber, such a hierocratic institution will naturally tend to form membership on the basis of birth, as well as adhere to the general values of society in order to maintain as high a societal adherence as possible.[65] It is in this way that the church clearly differs from Weber's concept of the 'sect.' "It is its character as a compulsory association, particularly the fact that one becomes a member of the church by birth, which distinguishes the church from the sect."[66] Since church membership is based upon birth, even secular elements of society are subject to the church's discipline, which tends to establish the status-quo, rather than reject it.[67] Affiliation with the church is obligatory and proves nothing with regard to the member's moral and ethical qualities as is the case with the sect.[68]

In short, Weber views members of the sect type as participating voluntarily and possessing specific moral and religious qualifications. Members of the church type, however, are usually obligatory members and adhere to much less stringent moral and

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63 Weber, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, 288.

64 Weber, Economy and Society, vol. 2, 1121.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid., vol. 1, 56.

67 Ibid., vol. 2, 1164.

68 Weber, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, 306.

religious requirements. Sect leaders utilize personal charisma in contrast to the office charisma that endows members with church type leadership. The most prominent feature of the church type is the development of hierocracy which results in a professional priesthood, separate from the secular world, and necessitating the development of salaries, promotions, professional duties and a distinctive way of life. The church type also promotes universal domination, where all ethnic and geographic differences are dismissed, creating in its place an inclusiveness of social structure that negates all non-religious distinctions. Finally, the church type ensures a rationalization of dogma (theology) and religious rite (ritual) into a systematic form for educational purposes, as distinct from the ability of sectarian type individuals who possess personal religious knowledge and technical skill. To classify a religious subgroup as fitting the church type, bureaucracy, universal domination, and rationalization of dogma must occur in some kind of compulsory organization that links charisma with the offices of the church, rather than with individual persons.[69]

1.3.3 Ernst Troeltsch and the Christian Church

In his two volume work, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churche (1956), Ernst Troeltsch, contemporary and friend of Max Weber, places emphasis upon the general significance of the sect-concept for understanding Christian group formation and its

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[69] Weber, Economy and Society, vol. 2, 1164-1165.

relationship to doctrine and ethics. Although he agrees with Weber in the major areas of methodology and typology, the scope of Troeltsch's work is more narrow and focuses on the development of the Christian Church and not world religions as a whole. Troeltsch's work is important, however, in that he studies religious group formation specifically in terms of Christianity. Within this context he saw three social forms, or organizational types, emerging from church history as embodiments of Christian thought, and labelled them sect, church and mysticism.[70] It is the distinctive view of the doctrine of Christ that each of these forms possesses, that relates directly to their sociological manifestations.[71]

Mysticism, for Troeltsch, is a direct inward and religious experience in which salvation is appropriated. It is exclusive from traditional forms of religiosity in that it takes for granted objective forms of religious life in worship, such as ritual, myth and dogma, and either rejects these forms for a more personal and living process, or supplements these traditional forms by means of a personal and living stimulus.[72] It is something that is deliberately thought out, paradoxical, and usually hostile to popular religion. Regarding its expression, Troeltsch writes:

It expresses itself in ecstasy and frenzy, in visions and hallucinations, in

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[70] Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Church, trans. Olive Wyon, vol. 2 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931; repr., Chicago, Il.: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 993.

[71] J. Gordon Melton, A Directory of Religious Bodies in the United States (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), 26.

[72] Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Church, vol. 2, 730-731.

> subjective religious experience and "inwardness," in concentration upon the purely interior and emotional side of religious experience... Mysticism creates prophecies and ecstasies as well as fantastic allegories and a spiritual interpretation of the objective side of religion.[73]

Mysticism, therefore, is a type of religious experience that concerns the individual and innermost self. It is for this reason Troeltsch thinks mysticism appeals best to modern educated classes who shun fellowship, public worship, history, and social ethics.

For Troeltsch, as for Weber, the traditional church typology is concerned with accepting the secular order, thereby dominating the masses. This desire to engulf as much of humanity as possible makes it universalistic and conservative. The church will utilize its place in society to weave secular elements into its own life, thereby protecting and establishing the socially and economically privileged classes. The sect, on the other hand, is more concerned with renouncing the idea of social domination, preferring in its place personal inward perfection and direct personal fellowship.[74] The religious and social preferences of the sect force it to be comparatively small[75] and at best only tolerant of secular society and political power. The sect will find its strength in the lower classes of society, "or at least with those elements of society which are opposed to the state and to society; they

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[73] Ibid., 731.

[74] Ibid, vol. 1, 330-331.

[75] Niebuhr also agrees with Troeltsch's generalization here, but Brian R. Wilson contends that this need not be the case for conversionist sects which often eschew the criteria of smallness (see p. 36).

work upwards from below, and not downwards from above."[76]

Troeltsch puts great emphasis upon the supernatural and transcendent aims of the church and sect, which he differentiates according to their corporate and individual orientations. Concerning the perceived differences between the two typologies he states:

> The church relates the whole of the secular order as a means and a preparation to the supernatural aim of life, and it incorporates genuine asceticism into its structure as one element in this preparation, all under the very definite direction of the church. The sects refer their members directly to the supernatural aim of life, and in them the individualistic, directly religious character of asceticism, as a means of union with God, is developed more strongly and fully; the attitude of opposition to the world and its powers, to which the secularized church now also belongs, tends to develop a theoretical and general asceticism.[77]

The sect will direct its adherents towards a union of love that is free from the effects of social status and physical condition of life. Related to this are sectarian interpretations of the Gospel, in that appeal is made to the "essential elements of the Gospel," rather than to the church's highly developed sacerdotal and sacramental doctrine.[78]

For Troeltsch, as for Weber, the common man of the lower classes will tend to appreciate the sect type of religion with its personal and individualistic emphases. Within this social context the mystical, prophetic and ecstatic elements of religious belief and practice, will tend to be important for legitimating one's membership into the sect. The

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[76] Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, vol. 1, 331.

[77] Ibid., 331-332.

[78] Ibid., 333.

church will be seen by the sect as having forsaken the true faith of the New Testament and Christ, thereby reinforcing the sect's own *raison d'être*. With respect to Christian social doctrine, the sect type, according to Troeltsch, "emphasized the free equal community of believers idealistically attempting to realise Christian values such as brotherly love without regard to the rest of society," while the church type "emphasized the independent organized community which attempted to make use of the surrounding institutions for its own ends." It was these two diametrically conflicting positions of church and sect which lead to the development of mysticism.

One of Troeltsch's primary contributions in the development of religious types was that he realized that the types of sect and church alone do not account for all religious experiences within Christianity, hence, his development of mysticism. Richard Niebuhr too, following Troeltsch, recognized the existence of other forms of religious organizations when he developed the more contemporary religious typology known as "denomination." Niebuhr's contribution is also significant in that it takes into account the developmental capacity of the sect.

1.3.4 H. Richard Niebuhr and Denominationalism

H. Richard Niebuhr (1894-1962) builds upon the typology of church and sect as defined by Weber and Troeltsch, but modifies it to take better account of the North American situation. Like Troeltsch, he sees the variations in the sociological structures of religious

groups as being related to their doctrine. The church is a natural social group akin to the family or the nation, within which one is born, while the sect is a voluntary organization which must be joined on one's own volition. "Churches are inclusive institutions, frequently are national in scope, and emphasize universalism of the gospel; while sects are exclusive in character, appeal to the individualistic element in Christianity, and emphasize its ethical demands."[79] The church attaches greatest significance to the means of grace which it administers, to its systematic formation and education of doctrine, as well as the administration of sacraments by its official clergy. The sect attaches greatest significance to religious experience, the priesthood of all believers, the sacraments as symbols of fellowship, and pledges of allegiance.[80] The sect is always a minority group with separatist and semi-ascetic attitudes toward the world, which leads to a separation, of some sort, from society.

Niebuhr envisions the character of sectarianism as almost always being modified through the process of birth and death amongst its membership. Since the sect is a voluntary organization with stringent membership qualifications, Niebuhr does not see the sect as being able to advance in its true nature beyond the first generation.[81] The children of first

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[79] H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1929), 17.

[80] Ibid., 18.

[81] Bryan R. Wilson would argue that the element of joining the sect upon one's own volition, which in turn fulfils membership criteria, remains a vital aspect of the group's essence. Because new members can be, and are, called out of society into the sectarian groups, the major characteristic of voluntary membership is fulfilled in each subsequent generation (see p. 33).

generation sectarians are born into the organization, thereby negating the voluntary association of membership, one of the major characteristics that distinguishes a sect from a church. The reality of the second generation necessitates the sect's endeavouring to educate them into the ways of the organization. Any attempt to do this will require the formulation of a systematic presentation of doctrine and practice, however crude it may be. Through this process the sect will be transformed into a denomination, eventually becoming a church itself.[82]

Niebuhr sees great significance in the upward social mobility which sect membership engenders. Ethically, as well as psychologically, sectarian religion bears a distinct character, seeking and setting forth a salvation of the socially disinherited. The sect belongs primarily to the lower social strata of society, where the combination of need and social experience fosters a deeper appreciation of the radical ethics of the gospel, as well as a greater resistance to compromise with orthodox ideals. The emotional fervour and close sense of community within the sect legitimates the status of its members in society. Following the precepts of moral living, hard work, thriftiness, sexual discipline, charity and warm brotherliness, allows the sectarian to gain wealth and become more secure in society and less hostile to the orthodox world and its institutions. Therefore, it is not possible for any revival of sectarian religion to continue long, for as industry and frugality increase, so do riches. As riches

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[82] Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, 20-21.

increase so will pride, anger, and a love for the world.[83] If an individual experiences this social change, but the group does not, the individual will leave it. If, however, enough members experience this upward social mobility the whole group will become more tolerant with the world and its social norms, becoming a denomination.

Denominationalism, the religion of the middle classes, finds its impetus in a group's high development of individual self-consciousness, the prevalence of an activist attitude toward life, the general level of education and culture, the financial security and physical comfort which it enjoys, the sense of class it fosters, and the direct effect of business and trade upon its code of ethics.[84] The millennial hope of the poor man's faith with its conception of sin as a state of the soul does not exist in middle class religion. The member of a denomination obtains salvation by constant good works and deeds, performed in a religious environment that sees the content of faith as a task, rather than a promise.[85] Those of the middle class enjoy a considerable number of earthly comforts and place great importance on business and family ethics. The paramount concern for the institution of the family is a direct result of neglected social factors in faith. Denominations are also democratic in constitution, designed to give free scope to the individual while preserving morality, as well as train the character of its adherents. Concerning the leader of a

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[83] Ibid., 70.

[84] Ibid., 80-81.

[85] Ibid., 82-83.

denomination Niebuhr writes: "the leader is democratically chosen; he has none of the special unction of the priest, and yet he may assume high authority as the interpreter and executive officer of the divine will."[86] The organization, doctrine, and ethics of the denomination reflect the individualism and activism associated with the economic life, and it is in this capacity that the denomination is distinctly different from the sect.

In the preface to his work entitled The Meaning of Revelation, Niebuhr states that Ernst Troeltsch was one of his teachers.[87] Throughout Niebuhr's work on the social sources of denominationalism in North America it is quite apparent just how influential and abiding Troeltsch's influence was upon him. According to Troeltsch, the tendency of the church to split into numerous sects is an inherent aspect of its nature. If both modern church and sect can legitimately claim a direct relationship to the primitive church, it becomes clear that the final cause for this twofold development must lie within primitive Christianity itself. He believes that once this point becomes clear, "it will also shed light upon the whole problem of the sociological understanding of Christianity in general."[88]

Niebuhr sees the conditions that cause denominations to become desirable and necessary religious alternatives as the failure of the church to:

> ... transcend the social conditions which fashion them into caste-

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[86] Ibid., 88.

[87] H. Richard Niebuhr, The Meaning of Revelation (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941), x.

[88] Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, vol. 1, 332-333.

> organizations, to sublimate their loyalties to standards and institutions only remotely relevant if not contrary to the Christian ideal, to resist the temptation of making their own self-preservation and extension the primary object of their endeavour.[89]

The concern of the church for establishing the domination of class and self-preservation of its ethics over the essential Gospel message, illustrates the moral ineffectiveness and failure of Christianity in the West.[90] That sects come into being and that they differ from churches characteristically is not a problem for Niebuhr, for these sectarian movements tend to appeal to an uncompromising Christian ethic, with the betterment of society a sincere motive. The sect's brand of ethics is usually based upon the literal interpretation of Scripture and the example of Jesus.

The emotional fervour of the sect is evidence that those associated with it are not subject to the emotional inhibitions of the social elite. The salvation offered to these 'socially disinherited' citizens tends to be radical and uncompromising, in comparison to the religious preferences of the more fortunate classes. The stringent demands of holy and separate living, designed to prepare one for the next life, do lessen the need for worldly vices in this life. This tendency naturally leads to a greater availability of assets, which in turn will raise the sectarians' standard of living and eventually their social class. The persecution from the secular world, which often accompanies sect membership, also tends to make the group more self-sufficient in meeting people's spiritual and psychological needs, thus

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[89] Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, 21.

[90] Ibid., 21.

enhancing aspects of group unity and brotherhood.[91]

The divisiveness within Christianity that leads to church, sect and denomination academic constructs is firmly based upon secular interests and motives. Although religious factors are indeed important in coming to understand the nature of denominationalism, especially in the denominations beginning as a sect, the economic forces that come to bear upon these movements are just as important. Niebuhr also devotes much attention to the aspect of leadership within the sect and denomination. The historical reality of the sect has tended to show that its leadership was predominantly made up from the upper ranks of the least fortunate classes. Although there were examples of upper class ministers, they were the exceptions to an otherwise nearly universal lay leadership. Although Methodism did recruit most of its primary leaders from the upper classes of society, the secondary leaders were taken from the lower economic classes.[92]

The moral effectiveness of these ascetic and experiential groups, however, did lead to an increase in the social standing of adherents. As the sectarian became more literate and rational, with increasing wealth and culture, revivalism declined and education replaced conversion.[93] In order to facilitate this change an educated and trained ministry developed, increasing office charisma and decreasing personal-individual charisma. Although the initial

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[91] Ibid., 30-33.

[92] Ibid., 54-62.

[93] Ibid., 63.

impetus and reality of the sect is to achieve good for society in light of Scripture, the success associated with true religion is inevitably lost after the initial generation experiences its accrued benefits. Niebuhr states that "as riches increase so will pride, anger, and love of the world in all its branches... Thus, although the form of religion remains, the spirit is swiftly vanishing away."[94]

Niebuhr puts forward the view that during his writing of The Social Sources of Denominationalism there was no effective religious movement of the disinherited operative in society. This being the case, the mass of lower class society remained outside the pale of organized Christianity. Subsequent to Niebuhr's time, the religious aspirations of the poor and socially disadvantaged were met through various gospel tabernacles and evangelistic societies steeped in second coming of Christ theologies. The earlier sects had allowed the millenarian hopes of the gospel to lapse, and substituted the concept of the kingdom for the symbol of heaven.[95] These groups "had been concerned with redemption of men from hell beyond the grave alone and had held out little promise of salvation from the various mundane hells in which the poor suffered for other sins besides their own."[96] The churches of the poor have become the churches of the middle class, or denominations. These groups have impersonal conceptions of mysticism and regard the values of religion less as a divine, free

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[94] Ibid., 70.

[95] H. Richard Niebuhr, The Kingdom of God in America (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 182.

[96] Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, 74.

gift than as the end of striving.[97]

1.3.5 Bryan R. Wilson and Sectarianism

It is Bryan R. Wilson who has given modern sociologists of religion the most comprehensive development of church, sect and denomination. In dealing with the views of his predecessors there is much that he agrees with and endorses. He does, however, see the work of Weber, Troeltsch and Niebuhr as lacking in precision in that it does not sufficiently allow the sociologist to deal with the various types of sects within the larger sociological genre of 'sect.' The 'ideal type' of sect, as presented by Troeltsch for instance, is for Wilson:

> A shorthand statement which attempts to clarify common usage and which permits us to examine and compare particular cases and processes of change by the use of a standard measuring rod. But all 'ideal type' constructs rely ultimately on a range of empirical material, and if this is not in itself sufficiently broad, particular elements in the construct may be stated in too concrete a manner.[98]

Wilson does not object to ideal types, not even Troeltsch's use of ideal types, but seeks greater differentiation of types to understand social organisation in religion. His typologies are less abstract and inclusive than those of his predecessors. This is because he does not

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[97] Ibid., 83.

[98] Bryan R. Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970), 23.

seek to formulate summary statements purporting to draw together all essential elements of sectarianism.[99]

The sectarianism studied by Weber and Troeltsch was peculiar to European countries and cultures. The growth of society in Britain and North America, however, required new typologies, not covered by Troeltsch and Weber.[100] Since North America never did possess a clear and powerful dichotomy of church and sect, the classical presentation of such typologies by Weber and Troeltsch became painfully inadequate. Niebuhr's introduction of the category "denomination" was an attempt to adapt the typology for the North American context. Even here, however, Wilson recognized some difficulties. Niebuhr's insistence that all sects will naturally change into denominations because of society's effect upon them is rejected by Wilson. Such a tendency on the part of the sect is something that can be accomplished in a variety of ways, or even consciously resisted.

Wilson also contends with Niebuhr's conclusion that sects cannot extend their true essences beyond the first generation. The element of joining the sect upon one's own volition, which in turn fulfils membership criteria, remains a vital aspect of the group's essence. Because new members can be, and are, called out of society into the sectarian groups, the major characteristic of voluntary membership is fulfilled in each subsequent generation. There are also many new combinations of elements which sects might embrace

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[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid., 24.

in a modern context that offer far more diversified social experiences. Such elements include styles of organization, doctrinal and ethical practices that are not necessarily associated with each other and recruitment of members from particular social strata.[101] Since much more is known about the process of sect development today, the typologies must be refined in order to adequately understand sectarianism in the twentieth-century.[102]

Wilson offers a general formulation of characteristics that make up the typology of sect. These characteristics include voluntariness, exclusivity, merit, elite status, self-identification, expulsion, conscience and legitimation. Voluntariness, merit and expulsion are clearly linked to the concept of sect membership and practice. Voluntariness concerns whether a sectarian bases his or her membership into a religious group on the grounds of voluntary association or having been born into the group. Merit refers to a standard of behaviour or activity a prospective group member must comply with to gain entrance into the group. The test of merit may originally be vigorous, but over time diminishes in importance. Expulsion refers to the standards one must maintain in order to remain a part of the religious group.[103]

The characteristics of exclusivity and self-identification apply best to the study of sects when viewed in relation to the concept of group association. Exclusivity refers to the

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[101] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 25-26.

[102] Ibid., 24-25.

[103] Ibid., 28-32.

amount of allegiance a member of a sect has to his or her religious group, and the degree it affects associations with other religious groups and individuals. For instance, sectarian attitudes towards ecumenicity can reveal much about the allegiance one has to their religious organization. Self-identification is concerned with where the sect sees itself in terms of others. Traditionally a group may have been very rigorous in terms of maintaining separateness from others. Over time the group may become more open to external and peripheral associations, thereby altering its self-identification.[104]

Legitimation, elite status and conscience are related to a sect's organization and the sectarian's practice. Legitimation is the ideological justification a sect holds for its existence. Whether it be from God himself, a man, or a group of men, legitimation for the group's existence is made known. Elite status and conscience are ideological in nature and are closely tied to the doctrinal beliefs of a group. Elite status refers to the placement of the group in the large scheme of things by its eschatology and concept of gospel purity. Early Pentecostals considered themselves socially elite due to their practice of glossolalia. Anyone not utilizing the gift of tongues were seen to be outside of the boundaries of true and complete salvation. Conscience refers to the self-consciousness and conscientious commitment of a sectarian to the group. It is related to the sense of apartness a group, or group member, has from the rest of society.[105]

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[104] Ibid., 29-30.

[105] Ibid., 31-34.

It must be noted that the above formulation is 'ideal typical' and therefore only approximates concrete empirical instances.[106] Any given example of sectarianism will possess a blend of these characteristics, some of which will exist to larger degrees over others. It must also be recognized that the sect often undergoes change. There are many examples of sects that have gradually become denominations, and examples of sects that are in the middle of the process. Wilson refers to the elements that influence sect development as being external factors and what might be called mutation.[107] This is a stage in a religious group's development when some attributes may be receding in importance, while others may be growing in importance.

Within the general sect-typology, Wilson proposes a set of categories that accounts for the differences that exist within sectarianism. Even here, however, there will exist ways in which some sects may incorporate the major elements of more than one sectarian response. These sectarian responses to the world are referred to as "deviant responses," in that they define one's need for salvation as salvation from an evil world. The church will tend to establish the status-quo of society in a universalistic attempt to control the masses. The sect, on the other hand, will define the world in such a way that it will make the 'truly saved' person unable to associate with it in a normal manner. The institutions of the world, which include orthodox religion, are evil and only through a profound personal change will

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[106] Ibid., 28-35.

[107] Ibid., 28.

one be able to obtain salvation.[108] This profound and personal change, deviant from the world, can only be found in the sectarian gospels and ethics.

Among the seven general categories of sects that Wilson formulates there are four major ones:[109] 1) Conversionist - which supports a 'heart experience' after which the individual may believe himself touched of God, inspired by the Spirit, and redeemed by the Saviour (e.g., Pentecostal and Salvation Army); 2) Revolutionist (adventist or transformative) - which preaches an overturning of the evil world by supernatural action (e.g., Christadelphian and Jehovah's Witness); 3) Introversionist - which recognizes evil as man's circumstance and seeks salvation from it by attempting to cut itself off from the world (e.g., Quakers and some Holiness sects); and, 4) Manipulationist (gnostic) - which seek salvation in the world by means not generally known in the world (Christian Science, New Thought and New Age).[110]

Out of the four major typologies offered above, Wilson argues that only the conversionist and manipulationist possess any innate tendency to become a denomination. The reason for this is that they are more willing to compromise with the dominant value structure of society. The revolutionist and introversionist types, however, are not as prone

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[108] Ibid., 38-40.

[109] The other three sectarian groups include the Thaumaturgical, Reformist and Utopian. Since these types of groups are not as common in the North American context they will not be dealt with here in detail.

[110] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 37-40.

to become denominations because they refuse to compromise with this dominant value structure operative within society.[111] The conversionist type of sect has often eschewed the criterion of smallness, as presented for instance by Troeltsch. In the case of Pentecostal and Holiness groups, for instance, there have been formal associations drawn up and adhered to which include them in a continental and global family of movements (e.g., Pentecostal Fellowship of North America and The World Conference of Pentecostal Churches).

As the conversionist sects mature there is movement towards synthesis of thought and practice. A greater awareness of social mobility and status, creating respectability in the place of animosity, tends to steadily diminish enthusiasm associated with salvation. This, in turn, removes the sect from the pathway of its heritage and distinctiveness becomes relativized.[112] This characteristic matches the concrete reality of the Pentecostal Movement in Newfoundland. It remains to be seen just how applicable the sociological presentations of Weber, Troeltsch, Niebuhr and Wilson are in relation to Pentecostalism in Newfoundland. It is quite clear, however, any student of the history of the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland is heavily indebted to the sociological work of the sociologists and theologians discussed in this chapter, because they help in understanding its character and development.

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[111] J. W. Sheppard, "Sociology of Pentecostalism," in Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988), 796.

[112] Bryan R. Wilson, The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 120-121.

1.4 Methodology and Scope

The methodologies employed by Weber, Troeltsch, Niebuhr and Wilson provide a generic conceptual and theoretical basis for examining the nature of religious movements. Their work provides an accepted framework within the field of classical sociological method to examine the development of religious groups. Specifically, the sociological typologies of 'sect' and 'church' provide concrete sociological benchmarks from which to measure the degree to which such groups have undergone the process of institutionalization. These two types are to be thought of, therefore, as 'pure' or 'polar' types existing on a sect-church continuum. Although it is recognized that these two types are by no means an exhaustive representation of all conceivable types of religious groups, they are, nevertheless, useful tools for measuring the sociological character of religious groups. The contention here is that a survey of the history of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland reveals particular characteristics and processes that can be more clearly discerned and analysed through the categories and types suggested by Weber, Troeltsch, Niebuhr and Wilson. It is purported that their method will enable an assessment of the primary question posed by this study, namely, the degree to which institutionalization has affected the character of the PAON.

Methodologically, this thesis will examine the sociological character of the PAON by assessing how particular attributes and processes of that religious movement match the typologies espoused by Weber, Troeltsch, Niebuhr and Wilson. Primarily, however, the methodology of Wilson will be utilized. It is Wilson that has formulated the most

comprehensive methodology for studying the development of the sect towards institutionalization. In doing so, Wilson considers the contributions of Weber, Troeltsch and Niebuhr in developing a methodology that goes beyond mere classification of ideal types to a much more thorough attempt of ideal-typification. He accomplishes this by using heuristic devices, such as his seven general categories of sects and general formulation of characteristics that make up the typology of sect, to measure variations from the ideal-typical and relating them to specific empirical factors.[113]

This study will provide information related to the development of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland from its inception up to the present. Chapter Two will look at the first decade of the group's existence in St. John's from 1910 to 1919 under the leadership of Alice Belle Garrigus. The early sectarian nature of the group resulted in a lack of concern for evangelism and outreach. In addition, the social, economic and religious environment that existed in St. John's during this time, prohibited the growth of the early movement. Chapter Three will look at the development of the movement from 1920 to 1937. The industrialization taking place in Newfoundland during this period created an environment similar to other parts of North America where Pentecostalism had grown. With a major influx of Methodist and Salvationist converts the movement experienced phenomenal growth. The effects of these events contributed to a transformation in the sectarian character of the group, necessitating changes in its leadership and organization.

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[113] Swatos, 140.

Chapter Four deals in greater depth with the effects of major growth upon the movement. It was the factors of growth and competition from other religious interests that prompted the religious group to apply for a denominational charter in 1925. As more Methodists and Salvationists took up positions of leadership in the group, significant changes took place regarding traditional practices and beliefs. A power struggle for the leadership of the movement ensued that revealed the changing character of the group. After it was over, and the new leader emerged, the founder of Newfoundland Pentecostalism was ostracised from the newly formed denomination. Her response to the changes taking place within the Pentecostal Assemblies indicated that a process of institutionalization was taking place which she interpreted as a deviation from her own religious and social ideal.

Chapter Five deals with the significant changes the movement underwent in terms of organization subsequent to applying for denominational status in 1925. Over time, policies and practices that were put in place drastically changed the face of the movement's organization as far as gender, training and ordination of ministers was concerned. As the movement continued to experience growth it also experienced prosperity, creating the need for more structure in terms of business and finance. In conjunction with this, the leadership and ministry of the movement became hierarchical.

Chapter Six continues the study of factors associated with the institutionalization of the movement by utilizing comparative data from the 1935 Newfoundland Census and the 1991 Canada Census. The secularization of the movement is studied in the context of social mobility, education, marital status, membership, age and ecumenicity. By closely comparing

the change in the movement relative to these categories, conclusions can be made regarding the institutionalization of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland. Chapter Seven, the concluding chapter, restates the purpose of the thesis and summarizes the methodology used. Conclusions are offered regarding how applicable the methodology is in determining religious group change.

The majority of sources that exist for the study of Newfoundland Pentecostalism are primary in nature. Most significant to this thesis in particular are a collection of writings and documents inherited by the author in 1978 from his father's personal library. These primary sources include various articles and personal letters of Alice Belle Garrigus, the founder of Newfoundland Pentecostalism, as well as various copies of Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland general conferences and executive meetings dating from 1925 to 1976. Copies of these documents are also located at the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland Archives, 57 Thorburn Road, St. John's, Newfoundland. Copies of official documents dated subsequent to 1976 have been obtained from PAON pastors who were in attendance of noted conferences and executive meetings. Other primary sources include: transcripts and tape recordings of personal interviews; copies of official Pentecostal publications and periodicals such as The Pentecostal Herald, The Pentecostal Testimony and Good Tidings, dating from 1923 to the present; published writings of various first and second generation Pentecostal preachers associated with the PAON; as well as comparative data from the 1935 Newfoundland Census and 1991 Canada Census.

Although there are many secondary sources available dealing with Pentecostalism on

a global, or continental scope, only two serious academic analyses of Newfoundland Pentecostalism have been written: Hans Rollman's article entitled "From Yankee Failure to Newfie Success: The Indigenization of the Pentecostal Movement in Newfoundland" (MUN 1990), and Burton Janes's M.A. thesis "Floods Upon the Dry Ground: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland 1910-1939" (MUN 1991). Although Janes's thesis is a comprehensive analysis of the history of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland from 1910-1939, it does not utilize a methodology that readily accounts for the nature and significance of group change up to the present. Rollman's article, on the other hand, introduces the idea that there was quite a different sociological and theological self-understanding in Garrigus's sect and the eventual Newfoundland Pentecostalism. The original suggestion of Rollman, including the notion of movement from introversionist sect to conversionist sect to denomination, or church, is dealt with on a larger scale in this thesis. By using the sociological methodology originally applied by Rollman to Newfoundland Pentecostalism, this thesis proposes to fill out the notion and show in a concrete way the developmental process and the dimension of that change.

2.0 INTROVERSIONIST SECT: NEWFOUNDLAND PENTECOSTALS (1910-1920)

2.1 Introduction

On June 17, 1931, the Wednesday morning session of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland's fifth Annual Conference convened at Bethesda Pentecostal Mission in St. John's, Newfoundland. The entire session was devoted to the "discussion of ways and means of getting back to the old-time power of Pentecost and seeing God arise as in the early days."[1] In the opinion of the majority of ministers and fully-approved workers that attended the conference, the "old-time power of Pentecost" had lost some of its strength and pervasiveness.[2] From the coming of the Pentecostal message to Newfoundland in 1910, with its denominational charter being granted in 1925, to the fifth annual conference in 1931, many changes had taken place.

Certainly one of the most noticeable changes that occurred between 1910 and 1931 was demographic in nature. It has been noted that the original Pentecostal sect, with its beginnings under Alice B. Garrigus at Bethesda Mission in 1910, lacked growth in the first decade of its existence.[3] It is also evident that following 1919 substantial growth occurred. Burton K. Janes has argued that lack of growth during the early years of Bethesda was largely a result of the conversionist sectarian nature of the group. Increased growth took place only after the sect started a process of

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[1] General Conference, June 12-20, 1931, St. John's, Minute 46.

[2] Arthur S. Windsor, interview by author, 3 September 1992, Tape recording, St. John's, Newfoundland.

[3] Janes, "Floods Upon the Dry Ground," 78-87.

denominalization.[4] Hans Rollmann, however, has rightly recognized that the conversionist sectarian attributes espoused by Bryan R. Wilson cannot be unqualifiedly applied to Bethesda. Rather, Rollmann speaks of Miss Garrigus' Bethesda as "a hybrid type between conversionist and introversionist sect."[5] He goes on to argue that the conflict underlying these two religious self-understandings may have been partially responsible for the lack of growth at Bethesda Mission during its first decade of existence.[6]

Rollmann's application of Wilson's sectarian typologies to discern difficulties in religious group formation, implies that there was a fundamental change in sect type from a predominantly introversionist sect to a predominantly conversionist sect within the early years of the movement. This chapter attempts to reassess the evidence to account for the apparent ambivalent nature of this sectarian movement during its early history. Wilson's sectarian typologies will be used to examine the early character of Bethesda and by doing so determine the subsequent changes in sectarian self-understanding that had taken place by the time of the sixth annual conference of Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies in 1931. There are specific indicators that are helpful in determining more precisely the sectarian characteristics of early Bethesda Mission: the origin, nature and effect of the message propagated by Garrigus, as well as the social, economic, and religious climate within which that message was presented. The sense of mission for Bethesda and its members must also be discovered in order to define as precisely as possible the character of the group. Wilson's

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[4] Ibid., 181.

[5] Hans Rollmann, "From Yankee Failure to Newfie Success: The Indigenization of the Pentecostal Movement in Newfoundland," 1990, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, 5.

[6] Ibid.

formulation of characteristics that make up the typology of sect will be applied to evaluate the nature of early Pentecostalism at Bethesda.

2.2 Introversionist Sect: The Evidence

According to Wilson, introversionist sectarians seek to obtain salvation by withdrawing from the evil of man's circumstances, thereby cutting themselves off from the influence and taint of the secular world and its institutions. Sectarians of this nature do not actively attempt to convert the population at large or try to overturn the present world situation. Wilson comments:

> These groups are concerned more with deepening than widening spiritual experience. One finds among them a certain disdain for those 'without holiness' and with little or no desire to introduce them to it. These movements' meetings are 'assemblies of the saved' (gathered remnant). The community will support the individual and hold him in its bosom, rather than push him to seek his mission in the outside world. These groups, if Christian, put great weight on biblical texts which exhort the faithful to be a law unto themselves and to live apart from the world. They conceive of a divinity of the type of the Holy Spirit than in a more personalized way. The real relationship in this case is less than between sinner and saviour, rather that between outpouring vial and receiving vessel.[7]

In the introversionist sect salvation is found within the community of those who separate themselves from involvement in the affairs of mankind in order to preserve and cultivate their own holiness.[8] The early Pentecostals of Bethesda Mission in St. John's possessed characteristics that suggest it also belongs to this sect-type. A study of the early Pentecostal message brought to Newfoundland, as well as the surrounding social, economic and religious conditions, is helpful in determining whether

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[7] Bryan R. Wilson, "A Typology of Sects," in Sociology of Religion: Selected Readings, ed. Roland Robertson (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), 366-367.

[8] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 39.

or not this is the case.

2.2.1 Origin, Nature and Effect of Message

The Pentecostal message arrived in Newfoundland in November of 1910 when Alice Belle Garrigus (1858-1949), accompanied by retired ministers W. D. Fowler and his wife, stepped off the train in Port au Basques from Rumney, U.S.A. On Easter Sunday morning 1911, four months after her arrival in Newfoundland, the doors of Bethesda Mission were opened for services at 207 New Gower Street, St. John's.[9] The gospel message she brought with her originated at Topeka, Kansas, and Los Angeles, California, under the ministries of such holiness preachers as Charles Fox Parham (1873-1929), William J. Seymour (1870-1922) and Frank Bartleman (1871-1936).[10] These were men who had become disenchanted with the main-stream Protestant movements because of what they perceived as a watered-down gospel and lack of emotional fervour. With the development of a prominent middle-class, main-stream religious movements moved farther away from a social gospel equitable for all mankind, offering less and less to the poor and socially disadvantaged in society. Movements like the Holiness movement, although lacking a social gospel, emerged to offer an option for salvation outside of middle class denominations to those in society who desired it most.[11]

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[9] Janes, The Lady Who Stayed, 132-133.

[10] Ibid., The Lady Who Came, (St. John's: Good Tidings Press, 1982), 27-28.

[11] Robert Mapes Andersen, Vision of the Disinherited (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 28-34.

The Holiness movement held a doctrine of salvation consisting of conversion, also known as regeneration, and sanctification, which was equivalent to the 'Wesleyan understanding' or 'second blessing.' Parham, Seymour and Bartleman, however, believed that the Holiness concept of sanctification was uncertain as to the criteria needed to establish the legitimacy of a second blessing experience. They proposed a three stage doctrine of salvation that included conversion (regeneration), sanctification (distinct in time and content, purifying the heart for Holy Spirit indwelling), and the baptism in the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues (glossolalia).[12]

W. H. Durham, a Pentecostal preacher of Baptist origin, repudiating the Holiness doctrine of sanctification as a "second work of grace," put forward the view that the "finished work" of Christ becomes available to the believer at the time of justification.[13] He presented a two stage salvation doctrine that included conversion (regeneration), and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues. According to Durham, sanctification is a process that continues throughout one's life with Baptism as that which enables one to do good works and live holy. This view of Pentecostal doctrine found its impetus in the Keswick Higher Life Movement of England (1875). With its focus on the way of living rather than the inner purity of heart, the second step of salvation, or "baptism of the Spirit," was seen as an enduing with power rather than a purification. This development enhanced the growth of more introversionist type sects, with their emphases of holiness and separated living, into conversionist type sects, with their mandate to evangelise and

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[12] Walter J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1972; repr., Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988), 21-26.

[13] R. M. Riss, "Durham, William H.,"in Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988), 256.

save the entire world population from sin and divine judgment.[14] This latter was the view that the majority of Pentecostals, including the Assemblies of God, Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, eventually adopted.[15]

Over time it has become traditionally accepted that Alice Garrigus' gospel consisted of four major points, namely Jesus as Saviour, Baptizer, Healer and coming King,[16] and that it emphasized Durham's "finished work" theology. Although this assessment of Garrigus' gospel may be appropriate to describe what was subsequently adopted as the official stand of the movement, it is not entirely accurate when attributed to Garrigus. A contemporary and friend of Garrigus states that she came to Newfoundland with a gospel of salvation that presented Jesus as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, Baptizer and Coming King.[17] The element of Jesus as sanctifier places her firmly within the tradition of Holy Spirit doctrine as presented by Seymour, Parham and Bartleman, rather than that of Durham.

Regarding Holy Spirit baptism, it was Bartleman who obviously influenced Garrigus in this area. He preached at a Christian Missionary Alliance camp meeting at Old Orchard, Maine, in 1907, to a group meeting located in the woods that included Garrigus.[18] It was the message of Holy Spirit

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[14] See: John B. Figgis, Keswick From Within (London: Marshall Brothers Ltd., 1914; repr., New York, N.Y.: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985).

[15] Thomas W. Miller, "Five Pillars of Pentecostalism," Pentecostal Testimony, October 1992, 8.

[16] Janes, The Lady Who Stayed, 156.

[17] Myrtle B. Eddy, "Bethesda," Good Tidings, January-February 1975, 6-7.

[18] Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles (Los Angeles: F. Bartleman, 1925; repr., New York, N.Y.: Garland Publishing Co., 1985), 106.

baptism as preached at Azusa Street Mission by Seymour and Bartleman that she eventually longed for, and sought after.[19] During her own early ministry at Bethesda she found the arena to disperse the same message. One eyewitness account elaborates upon Garrigus' ministry by stating:

> Sister Garrigus was keenly aware of the exact time when she was sanctified... I can remember her standing over people slain in the Spirit on the floor of Bethesda, and her shouting out, "Cleanse them Lord! Strip them Lord! Clean them out Lord, so you can fill them with your Spirit!" She believed you had to have an encounter with God known as sanctification, and that this encounter would change a person dramatically... Over time, through conferences, it became accepted by the movement that sanctification was a gradual process, but in the beginning, for Sister Garrigus, it was not so.[20]

From this account it is evident that salvation for Alice B. Garrigus contained the act of conversion, sanctification, and Holy Spirit baptism.

A reading of the available material penned by Garrigus offers insight into the nature of the early Pentecostal message propagated in Newfoundland. Concerning the tenets of the faith she writes:

> ... there came a time when the church began to lose her purity and power, yea, the light became darkness, till in Martin Luther's time, salvation by works rather than by faith was being taught. God used this fearless man to stand against the papal world, and justification by faith was restored to the church. Later, the Wesleys [sic] brought back the Bible doctrine of *sanctification* or *heart purity*; then divine healing for the body was revealed, and in 1840 the precious truth of the pre-millennial coming of Jesus was brought forth. There only remained the full baptism of the Holy Ghost with the gifts of the Spirit, and in the latter rain outpouring the church is receiving her full inheritance [italics added].[21]

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[19] Janes, The Lady Who Came, 102-108.

[20] Bendix Bishop, interview by author, 3 November 1992, Transcript, St. John's, Newfoundland.

[21] Alice B. Garrigus, Signs of the Coming of the King (St. John's: Manning and Rabbitts Printers, 1928), 17.

It is clear from this quote that Garrigus firmly held to a five-point doctrinal basis that included sanctification, or 'heart purity.' In a writing that may shed some light upon the meaning of the term 'heart purity,' she writes:

> Jer. 2:3 tells us; "Israel WAS holiness unto the Lord." This shows us that such a life is possible; for here is a people who according to the testimony of God Himself actually had the *experience*... But sad to say, whatever experience we may have it is possible to lose it... Oh, the sadness of that word "WAS!"... No matter what standards man may set up God's pattern still calls for *heart purity* and utter *separation* from the world [italics added].[22]

It is evident that Garrigus' sense of perfection was intricately linked to an actual experience bringing about a life of heart purity and separation from the world.[23]

What Garrigus referred to as 'heart purity' is certainly reflective of Parham's view of Christian perfection known as 'entire consecration.' This view saw perfection as a work of grace accomplished by God in the individual soul in response to faith.[24] For Parham the pursuit of perfection was central for at least two reasons: "The individual's need of inward purity for preparedness for the imminent advent of Christ and for the special enduement with power for service."[25] For Garrigus the experience of 'heart purity' would be evidenced by an outward

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[22] Alice B. Garrigus, "Building According to the Pattern," Good Tidings, April 1935, 13-14.

[23] Garrigus was influenced by the writings of Hannah Whitall Smith and her "higher life" doctrine that included salvation (through conversion involving cleansing from the guilt of sin), and sanctification (consisting of a release from sin's power). See Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," Good Tidings, March 1939, 17; Marie Henry, The Secret Life of Hannah Whitall Smith (Grand Rapids: Chosen Books, 1984), 67.

[24] Edith L. Blumhofer, "Purity and Preparation: A Study in the Pentecostal Perfectionist Heritage," in Reaching Beyond: Chapters in the History of Perfectionism, ed. Stanley M. Burgess (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1986), 272-273.

[25] Ibid.

manifestation on the Christian's part of a holy and separated life from the world and its orthodox institutions.

Although holiness teachings and practices are not per se a criterion of introversionism, they function to reinforce the introversionist character of a group. The self-identification of first generation Pentecostals in Newfoundland was that of a select body isolated from a corrupting environment.[26] Avoidance of 'the world' and its trappings was of paramount importance to Garrigus and her followers. She referred to the popular Easter celebrations of the day as pomp and vanity.[27] She saw society celebrating Christmas with greed, sensual pleasure, and heathen customs.[28] She rejected worldly fashions, taking medicine for illness, and encouraged her followers to be separate from the world because "light had no fellowship with darkness."[29] In practice Garrigus did not mix socially, avoided a crowd, preferred quietness to clamour, meditation to socializing and rarely went into public places to shop. She was not charismatic, dramatic, flashy or sophisticated, and was keenly aware that she dressed with sobriety and modesty, usually in black.[30] These kinds of teachings and practices would clearly isolate her followers from the general populace of St. John's. Bethesda closed itself up against the outer world and society, as against all distracting and disturbing influences. Within this ideological and practical isolation, introversionist tendencies could flourish.

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[26] For more on the relationship of holiness and introversionism see: E. Isichei, "From Sect to Denomination Among English Quakers," in Patterns of Sectarianism, ed. Bryan R. Wilson (London: Heinemann, 1967), 164-165.

[27] Alice B. Garrigus, "Easter," Good Tidings, April 1944, 1.

[28] Alice B. Garrigus, "Sweet Wonder," Good Tidings, December 1940, 3.

[29] Alice B. Garrigus, "Separation," The Sheaf of the First Fruits, February 1927, 3.

[30] Janes, The Lady Who Stayed, 183-184.

The gospel Garrigus preached possesses implications relative to the type of sect that Bethesda Mission can be characterized as. Holiness groups with their emphasis upon sanctification and separation from the world, tend to oppose fellowship with outsiders due to mutual caution and disdain. This tendency places these groups in a position where they are prone to become what Wilson terms an introversionist sect. The fact that Garrigus retained such strong elements of the Holiness doctrine and practice within her message, clearly links her to the Holiness-Pentecostal tradition of Parham, Seymour and Bartleman, rather than that of Durham.

Wilson's general formulation of characteristics that make up the typology of sect can be utilized to classify the early Pentecostals of Bethesda as "introversionist." In terms of membership it is clear, that as first generation Pentecostals, the group was made up of voluntary members, classifying it as a sect. In terms of expulsion, the standards of membership were quite rigorous. Introversionist sects isolate themselves from the world and reinforce this tendency with strong prescriptions about dress and deportment. They seek to remain unspotted from the world with marriage outside of the group becoming grounds for ostracism and expulsion.[31] Evidence presented in this chapter illustrates these introversionist tendencies on the part of Garrigus and her followers at Bethesda. For instance, her holiness doctrine and teachings on separation from the world went a long way in isolating the group, even to the point of public scorn and persecution.

The organizational character of Bethesda was introversionist in that Garrigus did not publicise herself as the sole power broker at Bethesda. Her concept of legitimation would include, not only a preponderance of Holy Spirit guidance in services, but also incorporation of many lay people in the workings of ministry at Bethesda. Eventually she supported the leadership of the

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[31] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 119-122.

Methodist layman Robert Chauncy English, thereby illustrating her lack of concern for the power and prestige associated with positions of authority.[32] She rejected human organization of service and allowed her worship services to take a variety of forms. On many occasions she asked people in the audience if they had a sermon to preach, without inquiring of their legitimacy to offer such a service. Wilson contends that such little concentrated conceptions of leadership eventually lead to problems in introverted sects,[33] and such became the case at Bethesda after it began experiencing growth.[34] That Bethesda was introversionist becomes even clearer when one views the social, economic and religious conditions within which the message was proclaimed.

2.2.2 Social, Economic and Religious Climate

The classical ideal characteristically related to the growth of Pentecostalism has connected such growth to disinherited peoples who have experienced great loss of self-identity and social ability. Concerning this point Nils Bloch-Hoell states:

> When the Pentecostal Movement came into being a great deal of the U.S.A. must have been spiritually and socially rootless. Three mutually connected elements converged to bring this about: the mass immigration, the industrialization and the enormous growth of the cities at the expense of the agrarian districts.[35]

It was within the time frame of 1901-1910, with a record 8.8 million immigrants into America, that

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[32] Janes, The Lady Who Stayed, 204-206.

[33] Wilson. Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 139.

[34] See chapter 4.

[35] Nils Bloch-Hoell, The Pentecostal Movement (New York: Humanities Press, 1964), 9.

the Pentecostal movement came into being.[36] Many of these religiously and socially disinherited immigrants were to find spiritual and social solace in the Pentecostal message and experience.[37] Wilson suggests that the Pentecostal gospel legitimized the expression of intense feelings, for which there was so little opportunity otherwise, and fostered a warm social context where the re-enacting of daily life traumas was appropriate and acceptable.[38]

The scale of industrialization and rapid social change usually associated with the Pentecostal revival in America, however, did not exist in St. John's during Bethesda's first decade of existence.[39] Rollmann states:

> Industrialization with its rapid social change was minimal, massive immigration had stopped in the mid-nineteenth century, and the former immigrants lived stable lives in ethnically homogeneous or regulated communities, of which the largest, St. John's, was a small city compared with the urban centres of the American east. Only the migration of people from the outports and a certain measure of labour conflict caused minor ripples in this sea of stability. There was also a greater degree of social control in the city than in comparable North American urban centres.[40]

The situation in St. John's was indicative of Newfoundland in general in that moderate population increases were coupled with a steady rise in the standard of living. The industrial activities that would eventually play a large role in the growth of the Pentecostal movement on the island, were to

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Peter W. Williams, Popular Religion in America (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 143-144.

[38] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 72-73.

[39] Rollmann, "Yankee Failure to Newfie Success," 7-10.

[40] Ibid., 6.

be situated outside of the boundaries of St. John's and the Avalon Peninsula.[41] Given the social and economic atmosphere of St. John's during Bethesda Mission's early years of existence, Garrigus' message of sanctification and separation lacked in appeal to a predominantly self-sufficient society.

The lack of social conditions conducive to Pentecostal growth in St. John's at the turn of the century, appears to coincide with the suggestion that the religious needs of people were being met in the established churches of the day.[42] Main-line denominational church-goers who preferred religious expression characterized by ecclesiastical formalism, rather than fervent experiential manifestations, could find it in any number of churches in the city. Concerning this point Rollmann states:

> The Roman Catholics, recipients of civil rights and benefits, brought about by the clerically-dominated Liberal party and the episcopal leadership, remained largely unaffected by evangelical missionary efforts. The minority Protestants in St. John's were served by four Anglican and four Methodist churches as well as one Congregational, Presbyterian and Adventist church for each denomination.[43]

With surveys indicating St. John's as having the largest per capita church-going population of any city in Canada,[44] it is evident that main-stream Christianity always did possess a strong place in the city's society.

For those seeking the fervour and emotion of revivalistic religion, there were places of worship in the city that could accommodate them. There were Holiness messages being preached

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[41] Frederick W. Rowe, A History of Newfoundland and Labrador (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1980), 363-364.

[42] Rollmann, "Yankee Failure to Newfie Success," 6

[43] Ibid.

[44] Paul O'Neill, A Seaport Legacy: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland (Erin: Press Porcepic, 1976), 711.

at modest meeting places on Hutchings Street, the old Temperance Hall in the east end of the city, and the Odd Fellows Hall on Bell Street.[45] Along with the Salvation Army, these churches and meeting places offered arenas for fervent emotional release. One eye witness of a Methodist meeting in St. John's reminisces:

> In those old-time class meetings they used to have the real times of refreshing from the Lord... Some of them danced in the Spirit... I remember as a young child Aunt Susie used to dance in the Spirit as much as I've ever seen in the Pentecostal ranks, but they didn't know about it, but called it the "glory fits" and people took them out of church and started to wipe their faces with cold rags and give them cold water to drink to bring them to, but it was just the anointing of the Lord, and they didn't understand about it.[46]

Another account of a Salvation Army meeting in Bay Roberts, Conception Bay, reports of exuberant activities such as jumping, dancing and jigging, that led to one lady spraining her ankle.[47] Accounts such as this suggest that the Pentecostal message and experience offered at Bethesda Mission under Garrigus was only another of like kind in a city of many.

Bethesda, however, was clearly distinct from such groups that at first glance seem compatible in doctrine and practice. Garrigus clearly states her first impressions of the religious situation upon arriving in St. John's, in a message given at a Rumney Camp Meeting on August 23, 1926:

> When we got to St. John's we found it was a city of churches. As I went around I missed something. I listened to the preachers and I heard good things, but I missed the full gospel. They went so far and stopped. Jesus was the Saviour of the world. That was as far as they knew. There was a message that God wanted to give out there. It is no use to go without the full gospel. It takes that to satisfy a man. If you preach half a gospel they will turn away from it. The full gospel will grip the hearts of men and women. That same gospel that went out from Antioch went out from

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[45] Janes, The Lady Who Stayed, 136-137.

[46] Rollmann, "Yankee Failure to Newfie Success," 7.

[47] Ibid.

> Rumney to Newfoundland and it had the same effect over there. It stirred up the devil. It got into the hearts of hungry ones and brought forth fruit that shall remain. Many were added to the Lord. God is working there, Praise His Name.[48]

It is evident that Garrigus considered her Pentecostal gospel to possess essential elements of salvation that other churches in St. John's at the time did not propagate. Water baptism by immersion, Holy Spirit baptism, divine healing and an imminent second coming of Christ were seen as conspicuous deficiencies in the established denominational pulpits of the day.[49] Even for the small, independent groups meeting in the city at that time, such doctrinal stances were far from conventional.[50] The only group that was to eventually join with Bethesda, due to having received the same Pentecostal experience,[51] was that of Robert C. English, located at 165 LeMarchant Road, and it did not occur until 1920.[52]

Under the leadership of Garrigus, Bethesda Mission would have immediately been placed in a peculiar and separate category from that of the established churches in St. John's. The 'separateness ideal,' espoused by perfectionist teachings, held back Bethesda members from participation in contemporary activities and religious practices of the day. On one occasion after the First World War, Miss Garrigus was invited by veterans to participate in an anti-war service on behalf of world peace. She declined this social and religious opportunity on the grounds that wars

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[48] Garrigus, "Separation," 4.

[49] Bendix Bishop.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Maud Evans Whitt, "Revival Came to St. John's," Good Tidings, November-December 1977, 21.

[52] Janes, The Lady Who Stayed, 200-201.

were prophesied by scripture to exist until the end of the present dispensation,[53] and to attend, therefore, would be an act "contrary to honouring the Word of God."[54] Public embarrassment of children in school for not participating in certain activities, adults calling other adults nick-names, as well as physical damage to property, are examples of repercussions experienced by many Pentecostals in the early years.[55] This exemplifies the fact that the sect at Bethesda was a social and religious misfit in a city full of mainline churches.

Persecution and ostracism on the part of those objecting to the Pentecostal presence in the city, directed towards those associated with Bethesda, reinforced existing commitments to the group and its ideals.[56] The doctrinal position of Bethesda Mission and membership requirements for the group (e.g., holy and separated living, etc...), had been firmly established by its founder Alice Belle Garrigus. The gospel she proclaimed at Bethesda was such that encouraged introverted attitudes and expressions of religiosity on the part of the early followers. An example of the introverted mentality that existed at Bethesda became evident when the Pentecostal movement began to expand to other parts of the island. Concerning this Vaters writes:

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[53] Dispensationalism is a school of thought with a penchant for dividing history into dispensations or epochs of time through which God deals with the human race. In each dispensation man is tested in respect to his obedience to some specific revelation of the will of God. A dispensation has its point of beginning, its test, and its termination in judgment due to humanity's continual failure. See John H. Gerstner, Wrongly Dividing the Word of Truth: A Critique of Dispensationalism (Brentwood: Wolgemuth and Hyatt, Publishers, Inc., 1991); Clarence Larkin, Dispensational Truth (Philadelphia: Clarence Larkin, 1918).

[54] Bendix Bishop.

[55] Hannah D. Hollett, interview by author, 12 September 1986, Transcript, Deer Lake, Newfoundland.

[56] Bendix Bishop.

> Then there had been an outreach - a bursting forth, we should call it - from Bethesda, but apparently not with the Bethesda full blessing,... (weren't these stalwarts, now about to leave, really needed for support and strength at Bethesda? some reasoned. Bethesda could not afford to lose them).[57]

The level of commitment required from prospective adherents to the faith was great and necessarily checked growth of the group in light of existing economic and social conditions of St. John's. Those in the city familiar with and grateful for the positive social, economic and religious conditions of the day, would not deem it advantageous to become adherents to a group fostering separation from the benefits of such realities. Those that did become members of Bethesda, therefore, with the exception of businessman R. C. English, were members of the lower socio-economic classes of society, middle-aged and less likely to engage in extensive missionary or pioneer work on behalf of the movement.[58]

The kind of religiosity that sought after experiential need satisfaction was not considered to be appropriate by Garrigus. In a sermon she writes:

> Nowhere is the flesh more nauseating than when manifested in religious services. Of all places this is where one looks to see the leading of the Spirit, yet how sadly disappointed are many of our religious gatherings and much of what is called "worship" can only be rejected by God as it savours of man and not of the Spirit. How well the devil knows the power of the flesh over us, so in our religious exercises appeals to our natural senses... Even in little Pentecostal gatherings, we are not free from this foe... Much of what is called "worship" is but a manifestation of fleshly activity, false fire, and were we under law, might end in a funeral as in the case of Nadab and Abihu. May God save us from thus dishonouring Him.[59]

It was common for her to interrupt emotional outbursts in a service, condemning them as

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[57] Eugene Vaters, Reminiscence (St. John's: Good Tidings Press, 1983), 134.

[58] Janes, "Floods Upon Dry Ground," 82-83.

[59] Garrigus, "The Sons of God," Good Tidings, n.d., 2-3.

manifestations of fleshly self. On one such occasion she physically shook a man at the altar until his wig fell from his head unto the floor.[60] On other occasions she sat people down for making statements in their testimonies contrary to the outward evidence of their lives.[61]

To equate, therefore, emotional need satisfaction with the religiosity of Bethesda is not an entirely adequate assessment. At Bethesda, "absence of formality extended to the audience, yet there was a pleasing and upbuilding order to all."[62] Although emotion played a large part in Bethesda's worship, it was only acceptable when manifested in a spirit of reverence and order[63] unconducive to the spraining of ankles and such. It must be acknowledged that religious experiences analogous to Pentecostal phenomena were visible in various other churches of the day. Openness to such experiential manifestations, however, would come to be less appropriate over time in the Newfoundland Methodist and Salvationist churches.

In terms of theology, introversionist sects believe that salvation can only be obtained in the sect.[64] The elite status of Bethesda in this context was affirmed in their beliefs regarding sanctification and speaking in tongues (glossolalia). Garrigus, when considering her initial impression of the religious situation in St. John's when she arrived there, felt there was no full gospel in the city. It was this impression that validated her conceptions of Bethesda as the only place

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[60] Bendix Bishop.

[61] Hannah D. Hollett.

[62] Vaters, Reminiscence, 131.

[63] Mrs. Bendix Bishop, interview by author, 5 November 1992, Transcript, St. John's, Newfoundland.

[64] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 137.

where the full truth of salvation, and the experiential necessities of sanctification and speaking in tongues, could be found. Conscientious commitment to the group was based upon these two paramount experiences, and the merit of an individual's experience could only be established when these two qualifications were met. Directly related to Garrigus' view of the religious situation in St. John's during the first decade of Bethesda's existence, is the sense of mission she and her followers possessed.

2.2.3 Sense of Mission

Bethesda's sense of mission is also reflective of the type of sect it was during its early years, as well as the lack of numerical growth associated with it. Garrigus later in life wrote concerning Bethesda's place in the eventual growth of the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland, stating:

> The first eleven or twelve years of the Pentecostal work in Newfoundland was chiefly confined to Bethesda, but, through thousands of tracts, and in other ways, seed was sown which reached many outport towns. Then a more aggressive move was made to herald the full-gospel over the island.[65]

The 'other ways' that Garrigus refers to include the men and women of Bethesda who eventually travelled to other areas of the island with the Pentecostal message. On many such occasions the impact of Bethesda mission became evident to those proclaiming the Pentecostal message. On a missionary outreach to Twillingate, Notre Dame Bay, in 1926, one preacher reported:

> I left Windsor for Twillingate. There was a Mrs. Pierce there who was converted in Miss Garrigus' meetings in St. John's. She showed us hospitality and some of us

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[65] Vaters, Reminiscence, 138.

stayed in her home while at Twillingate.[66]

One of the very first attempts of Bethesda Mission at outreach took place at North Harbour, Placentia Bay, in 1922. The first meetings held in this community were at Mrs. Jane Beck's home, the mother of Hannah Drucilla Hollett (nee Beck), who had been converted to Pentecostalism several years earlier at Bethesda under Garrigus' ministry.[67]

Miss Garrigus' reference to Bethesda's place in the eventual growth of the movement, also refers to the many outport fishermen who came to the city to unload catches of fish and load on supplies and goods bound for their Newfoundland outports, as well as the sailors who frequented the harbour during naval training. One personal witness to the early years of Bethesda states:

> It used to be the custom in Newfoundland that fishermen, from all parts of the island, would load up their schooners with their catch of fish and bring it to the port of St. John's to sell. Then they would take back provisions for the winter. Many of these fishermen came to Bethesda. Sometimes captains and crews would be in the audience. The power of the gospel gripped their hearts and the seed was sown; so much so that years later, when the Pentecostal message came to their hometowns, many were heard to say, "This is the same message we heard that little lady, with the bonnet, preach at that mission on New Gower Street."[68]

Another written account tells of how George Newman, a sailor from Triton training on the navy ship "Calypso," encountered the Pentecostal message at Bethesda in 1910. When the Pentecostal message was taken to his home community many years later, Mr Newman's home was opened to the incoming pastor for her living quarters and cottage meetings.[69]

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[66] A.S. Winsor, "Things... Seen and Heard," Good Tidings, May-June 1973, 30.

[67] Hannah D. Hollett.

[68] Myrtle B. Eddy, "Bethesda," Good Tidings, May-June 1975, 16.

[69] R.A. Burden, "Salute to the Saints - George Newman," Good Tidings, July-August 1978, 40.

The sense of mission for Garrigus was to establish a firm foundation at Bethesda and 'sow the seed' of the Pentecostal full-gospel in Newfoundland. Bendix Bishop, a contemporary of Garrigus, reflects upon the mission and ministry of Bethesda during the early years by saying:

> Bethesda's mission was to all of Newfoundland. In the summer time the harbour [St. John's] would be lined with schooners and fishing vessels. On Sunday mornings we would canvass the harbour front with literature and witness to the sailors and fishermen. Eventually the message spread to every fishing community in Newfoundland. This is why the gospel was so well received when it did go out.[70]

There was no great sense of evangelistic mission for St. John's in particular that resulted in any large missionary outreach to the urban community.[71] The type of outreach undertaken by Bethesda Mission during the first decade of its existence, therefore, is characteristic of an introversionist sect (e.g., personal witness, literature distribution, etc...), rather than that of a conversionist sect (e.g., mass evangelistic meetings, public preaching, etc...).[72]

In terms of association Wilson contends that introversionist groups reject even formal association with worldly men and such formal groups as professional unions.[73] The exclusivity of Bethesda Pentecostals was clearly introversionist in that they showed allegiance to the group and undertook few attempts at evangelisation. What attempts they did undertake towards evangelisation resembled activities undertaken by such groups as the Mormons and Jehovah's Witness, which are clearly introverted in nature. Their self-identification was introversionist in that they confined their social relations within the boundaries of the group. Garrigus' refusal to attend any public gathering,

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[70] Bendix Bishop.

[71] Bendix Bishop.

[72] Wilson, "A Typology of Sects," 364-365.

[73] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 122.

even for world peace during the First World War, illustrates not only her introverted nature, but also her lack of vision for the city of St. John's in terms of major growth within the sect. This being the case, the early Pentecostals of Bethesda fulfill Wilson's criteria of introversionist sectarians.

2.3 Conclusion

The evidence surveyed suggests that Bethesda Mission, during its first decade of existence, exhibited characteristics that were predominantly introversionist. Garrigus' writings and the testimonies of her contemporaries attest to the fact that her gospel had its origins in the proclamation of Seymour, Bartleman, and Parham; a gospel that emphasized sanctification and separation from the world. The introversionist nature of Garrigus' teachings is also evident in that she viewed it as distinct from that propagated by other St. John's churches. In practice, her leadership abilities prohibited activities that she deemed inappropriate and, subsequently, it was she who decided what was 'of the Spirit' and what was not. The gospel she proclaimed demanded strict allegiance to holiness standards that in turn functioned to reinforce the introversionist character of the group. The distinctiveness of Bethesda is also confirmed by the fact that those outside the Bethesda sect often persecuted and rejected those on the inside. Regarding those on the outside, Garrigus did not seek converts who were unwilling to commit themselves to the high standards of holiness preached by her.

The expectations Garrigus possessed regarding her followers were unpopular in the social, economic and religious climate of St. John's between 1910-1919. The scale of industrialization and rapid social change, usually associated with Pentecostal revivals, did not exist in the city as it did in

other parts of Canada and America. In spite of the fact that Garrigus considered St. John's to be a city without the full gospel, the religious needs of the people seem to have been met in the established churches of the day. Her refusal to take part in any activities, whether secular or religious, outside of the confines of Bethesda, did little to encourage interest from other individuals or groups. In addition to this, the sense of mission that Bethesda possessed was not conversionist in nature, and very few attempts were made on the part of the group to evangelise the city or surrounding areas. The outreach that did take place was comprised of personal witnessing, tract disbursement and an excursion to Clarke's Beach, Conception Bay, to hold a limited number of cottage meetings.

Although the existence of Bethesda in St. John's did little to expand membership during the first decade of its existence, it did lay the foundation for further growth of the movement when the proper social and economic environment did develop. The industrialization of Newfoundland created by the pulp and paper industry did eventually create an environment conducive to growth. The period from 1921 to 1937 established the Pentecostal movement in terms of major growth. This growth became the impetus for change in the introversionist sectarian character of Pentecostalism that existed at Bethesda under Garrigus' leadership.

3.0 CONVERSIONIST SECT: NEWFOUNDLAND PENTECOSTALS (1920-1937)

3.1 Introduction

After establishing the sectarian character of the early Bethesda Mission as an introversionist one, it is necessary to address events and conditions that contributed to its change. The changes to Newfoundland society as a result of industrialization and a failing fishery had a direct impact on the development of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland. The economic down-turn related to the fishery necessitated the migration of people to centres in the province that were experiencing opportunity as a result of new industries such as electrical power developments and pulp and paper mills. One must also consider any changes that took place within the confines of the Methodist and Salvation Army churches in Newfoundland, that may have caused an influx of religiously disenchanted into the fledgling Pentecostal sect. These historical developments affected the acceptance of the Pentecostal message and its more favourable reception among various parts of society, thereby contributing to group change. This chapter proposes to look closely at these developments and the effect they had upon the Pentecostal movement. In doing so, suggestions can be offered regarding the impetus created that caused the introversionist sect of Garrigus to espouse conversionist sectarian characteristics and tendencies. Wilson's formulation of characteristics that make up the typology of sect will be considered to evaluate the significance of the changes to the group sociologically.

3.2 Conversionist Sect: The Evidence

The conversionist sect views the secular, orthodox world and its humanity as being corrupt. It considers social and political reforms to be useless in solving mankind's problems, for in order to change the world, mankind itself must first be changed through an act of conversion. Since humanity is totally responsible for its actions, the sect's judgment upon society and events tends to be moralizing.[1] Concerning this sectarian response to the world Wilson states:

> It must occur at a given time, as a known experience. Thereafter the individual may believe himself touched of God, inspired by the Spirit, redeemed by the Saviour. The experience may need frequent recollection, and the emotions attendant upon it might be rekindled in circumstances in which the converted meet to offer praise and thanksgiving. It is believed that this experience and acknowledgement of it are essential to salvation; that men will be saved by no other agency, whether it be priests saying prayers, performing ritual, or social reformers or revolutionaries seeking to improve social conditions. All of these activities are irrelevant. What men need is a 'heart experience,' and only when men have had such an experience of salvation, can society hope for betterment.[2]

Typical conversionist sect activities include revivalism and preaching at mass meetings where the atmosphere is emotional, but not ecstatic, in nature.[3] Examples of conversionist sects include the early stages of the Methodist and Salvation Army movements, the Assemblies of God and other Pentecostal movements, as well as various other independent evangelical sects.

Introversionist sects will tend to retain their distinctive characteristics, thereby limiting

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1 Wilson, "A Typology of Sects," 364-365.

2 Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 38.

3 Wilson, "A Typology of Sects," 365.

growth.[4] The Conversionist sect, however, will typically change towards an inclusive denominationalism and thereby foster growth.[5] If Bethesda Mission, under the leadership of Alice Belle Garrigus, was predominantly introversionist in character during its first decade of existence, a transformation had to occur within which conversionist characteristics developed for growth to take place. It is evident, therefore, that events subsequent to Bethesda's origin altered the character of the group and its ensuing patterns of growth. The social, economic and religious conditions of St. John's and surrounding areas at the time of Garrigus' arrival were not conducive to a large reception of her 'style' of Pentecostal revivalism. An environment closer to that existing at Azusa Street, Los Angeles, that fostered large-scale acceptance of Pentecostal phenomena in 1906, however, was being created in other parts of the province. Also, a new leadership with a conversionist ethos had to displace the old one and put its stamp upon the considerably changed movement.

3.2.1 Industrialization

Industrialization began on a large scale in Newfoundland with the pulp and paper industry, which was launched in central Newfoundland at Grand Falls by the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. in 1905. Construction of a hydroelectric power development at Bishop Falls and

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[4] Bryan R. Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development," in Patterns of Sectarianism, ed. Bryan R. Wilson (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1967), 43.

[5] Wilson, "A Typology of Sects," 372.

paper mill at Grand Falls was completed in 1909.[6] The magnitude and type of work associated with such progress was significant for the time, as one Newfoundland historian relates:

> Hundreds of people found full-time work at the Grand Falls mill and at the pulp mill [power plant?] later built at Bishop's Falls ten miles down-stream; many hundreds more found full- or part-time work logging, working for the twenty-five-mile private railway from Grand Falls to Botwood, or handling shipping in the harbour.[7]

In 1925 at Deer Lake, on the west coast of the island, the British backed Newfoundland Power and Paper Co. Ltd. finished construction of a power house, for the purpose of supplying electricity to a new pulp and paper mill located just thirty miles west at Corner Brook.[8] This industrial project included intensive labour in massive earth movement for a dam and canal system which provided water for the power house and the sluicing of wood.

With these developments came the establishment of 'Company towns' within which only those who had the company's permission could live or build. Skilled and trained workers were brought to these well designed towns for the purposes of insuring success of the enterprises in the long run. Grand Falls and Corner Brook are examples of communities that provided prosperity and contentment to the highly paid skilled workers who made their homes there. The living standards and conditions of these towns remained constant and stable, unaffected by the economic fluctuations that may have existed elsewhere in Newfoundland.[9] The industrialization that existed in nucleus

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[6] Peter Neary and Patrick O'Flaherty, Part of the Main (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1983), 126-130.

[7] Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador, 342.

[8] Humber Valley Development Association, When I Was Young: A History of the Humber Valley (Corner Brook: Commercial Printing Ltd., 1989), 36-38.

[9] Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador, 342.

'Company towns,' however, affected wide areas of the province and caused other communities to evolve in a peripheral fashion. Corner Brook had its Corner Brook East (Humbermouth), Corner Brook West, South Brook and Steady Brook, Deer Lake its Howley, Spillway and Reidville, and Grand Falls its Bishop's Falls, Millertown, Badger and Grand Falls Station. It was life in these satellite communities that created an environment within which Pentecostalism would find its catalyst and ambition for growth.

Grand Falls Station (later to be known as Windsor and presently incorporated into the town of Grand Falls-Windsor) was located only one and a half kilometres from the mill in Grand Falls and immediately outside the Company town's boundary on Crown land north of the railway line. It started as nothing more than a squatter's community of labour manpower that had moved from rural areas with their families seeking employment.[10] Eventually it possessed many service industries such as transportation (railway station), shops, restaurants and accommodations, that catered to the nucleus Company town.[11] An early resident of Grand Falls Station reminisces:

> In those days Grand Falls Station was a hustling, bustling little town with a lot happening. Main Street was full of people jostling each other to walk the side-walk. The street was lit up from one end to the other with restaurants, stores, bars, and a hotel. The train station and tracks were just opposite the businesses and the arrival of the Newfie Bullet [train] was always an event to see. Whatever was happening in those days was happening at Grand Falls Station.[12]

The environment in the community was such that Grand Falls residents would frequent the town out

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[10] Joseph R. Smallwood, ed., The Encyclopedia of Newfoundland, vol. 2 (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers (1967) Ltd., 1984), 686.

[11] Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador, 342.

[12] George Ash, interview by author, 17 July 1992, Transcript, Grand Falls-Windsor, Newfoundland.

of necessity or pleasure, returning to their own respectable and affluent community to live their normal lives.[13]

The standard of living at Grand Falls Station was considerably lower than that of Grand Falls proper due to the type of work available there. The situations of both Grand Falls and Corner Brook (Townsite) in relation to their satellite communities were similar in many ways. Concerning Corner Brook one source states:

> Townsite, as the planning engineers first called the residential section, was owned by the paper company, which was responsible, not only for constructing houses and roads, but also for supplying water, sewerage, telephones, doctors and other services and facilities. The automatic telephone system installed in 1925 was the first of its kind in Newfoundland or Canada. While Townsite was well planned and had all the amenities, it was not big enough to accommodate the great influx of people who came to work in the mill and to set up businesses in the new community. As well, many preferred to build their own houses more cheaply on the land around Townsite. The result was the haphazard growth of Corner Brook East and Corner Brook West on either side of Townsite. There was no control over building structures, roads or sanitary requirements, and raw sewage in these communities resulted in outbreaks of typhoid.[14]

During and after the initial construction of the mill and power house the work available to Grand Falls Station residents was labour intensive (e.g., seasonal logging). Workers received lower wages than in other jobs requiring trained paper-makers and mill workers who lived in the Company town. Those who eventually worked their way into higher ranking positions at the mill (e.g., paper-maker) often relocated to the Company town.[15]

A definite attitude of superiority existed on the part of those living in Grand Falls over the

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Smallwood, Encyclopedia of Newfoundland, vol. 2, 538.

[15] Albert L. Pinsent, deceased, comments to author, no recorded date, Deer Lake, Newfoundland.

people of Grand Falls Station who lived in less adequate social conditions. Youth from areas of Grand Falls Station that were considered to be the ghetto areas of the community (e.g., the 'Jungle') often took part in acts of vandalism and violence as a result of the animosity existing between the two groups. Adults were keenly aware that they were different in many ways from those living in Grand Falls and kept the appropriate distance when expected to.[16] That Pentecostals would not have been permitted to build a meeting-house inside the company town limits,[17] adds insight into the difference between the two communities and their attitudes towards each other. It is significant to note that the Pentecostals became established in Grand Falls Station by 1926, but not in Grand Falls until 1965.

The social conditions existing in satellite communities such as Grand Falls Station were comparable in many ways to the experiences of migrant, socially deprived and disinherited individuals who lived in Los Angeles during the early 1900's, and who came to accept the Pentecostal message and experience. Anderson states:

> The high rate of mobility, both into and within the city, exacerbated the psychological effects of urban life: loneliness, ennui, alienation and despair. The consequent "quest for community" often found expression in attempts to recreate the familiar rural relationships of the past.[18]

As migrant workers moved into the satellite communities set up around the industrial centers on the island, many experienced feelings of deprivation as a result of being uprooted from their families and alone in an economically and socially deprived community. Within this environment the Pentecostal

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[16] Albert L. Pinsent.

[17] A. Stanley Bursey, "Salute the Saints - Thomas Kippenhuck," Good Tidings, July-August 1975, 36.

[18] Andersen, Vision of the Disinherited, 62.

message and experience offered social solace, through association with like-minded people, and psychological release through worship practices allowing for fervent emotionalism.

The ability of Pentecostalism to address the needs of socially disinherited people was recognized in Newfoundland at a very early stage of its development. One source states:

> There was no feeling of aloneness among the "little flock": true, they were few, and each one stood out. Brotherly, sisterly love abounded, with understanding. It was often remarked that the oneness in Christ 'the tie that binds', was more manifest than that of the natural family.[19]

When the Pentecostal message arrived in Grand Falls Station in 1926 many people responded to this familial environment. The kind of fellowship offered caused respondents to refer to their new religious environment as 'home.'[20] John Chaulk, a migrant worker who moved from Elliston, Trinity Bay, to Grand Falls Station in 1909, was one of the first to accept the Pentecostal message in the community. It was in his "congenial and hospitable home" that the first Pentecostal preachers to the town lodged and found an opportunity to preach their gospel.[21]

It is the function of the sectarian type of religious group to offer a means of overcoming feelings of deprivation (e.g., status contradiction, loneliness, poverty, sickness, etc...). By offering a familial environment conducive to spontaneous forms and expressions of emotional worship, psychological stress related to life situations can be eased. In the same context, it is not of primary importance that such feelings of deprivation are really overcome (i.e., fellowship in a community of like-minded people offering release from depression related to loneliness), or merely allayed (i.e.,

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[19] Eugene Vaters, "Pentecostal Pioneer With Christ," Good Tidings, July-August 1972, 31.

[20] A. Stanley Bursey, "Their's - a Labour of Love," Good Tidings, May-June 1968, 28.

[21] Arthur S. Winsor, "Things... Seen and Heard," Good Tidings, January-February 1973, 29.

hope in the second coming of Christ).[22] It is not a coincidence that the growth of the Pentecostal movement took place within the social context of deprivation and segregation, that existed in satellite communities such as Grand Falls Station. In many cases the environment of the local Pentecostal mission offered to converts a substitute family.[23]

At the end of World War I economic conditions in Newfoundland outside of the industrial centres slowly worsened as a result of a difficult export market in the fish trade. This economic adversity was "accompanied by turbulent, partisan, and vindictive politics"[24] that led to a change of government in 1923 over a fiscal scandal alleging improper use of public funds during an election by the government in office. In 1929, after a "period of economic conservatism and retrenchment,"[25] Newfoundland and Labrador fell victim to the Great Depression, which brought much humiliation, adversity and hardship to a people anticipating better things.

> The grim depression of the thirties struck Newfoundland far harder than Canada. World fish prices sank so low that Newfoundland fishermen were flung on relief. Their boats rotted in [the] harbour while a hard-pressed government tried in vain to feed the fishing people, keep the railways running, and meet the debt.[26]

The years from 1919 to 1934 have been said to be the most turbulent, politically and economically,

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[22] Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, 465-466.

[23] For a comparative study related to Methodism see: Hans Rollman, "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland," in The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada, ed. Charles H. H. Scobie and John Webster Grant (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 65-68. On the substitute family appeal, see: Hans Rollman, "From Yankee Failure to Newfie Success," 5-6.

[24] Neary and O'Flaherty, Part of the Main, 141-142.

[25] Ibid., 142-143.

[26] J.M.S. Careless, Canada: A Story of Challenge (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970 [1953]), 398.

in Newfoundland's history with scandals, violence and many dramatic industrial enterprises.[27]

The rural communities founded upon the fishery and devastated as a result of relative failing markets, possessed large groups of disillusioned people who saw the uncertainty of existence in a fragile world of anonymous economical and political forces. Finding themselves as wards of a system of welfare was a harsh reality negatively affecting concepts of self-worth and self-esteem. These characteristics of a failing economic situation were marked by problems of faith and personal morality.[28] Within this context the hope of an imminent return of Christ to deliver the distressed out of their earthly plight, as well as the reality of fellowship within a community of people like-affected were strong drawing cards.[29]

3.2.2 Religious Climate

Coinciding with the changing social and economic environment of Newfoundland in general, there were important developments in the religious climate of the day that made Pentecostalism an attractive alternative. The argument that the Methodist church in Newfoundland did not change significantly with the formation of the United Church of Canada in 1925,[30] because union with the

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[27] Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador, 395.

[28] Janes, "Floods Upon Dry Ground," 225.

[29] Samuel Short, interview by author, 14 September 1992, Transcript, Deer Lake, Newfoundland.

[30] The United Church of Canada was formed June 10, 1925 by union of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, The Methodist Church (Canada, Bermuda and Newfoundland), the Congregational churches of Canada, and the General Council of Local Union Churches. A few Congregational churches and roughly one-third of the Presbyterians (including those in

Presbyterian and Congregational churches did not take place on the island,[31] does not appear to be correct in the eyes of Pentecostals that left the Methodist Church. Pleman Hewlett comments:

> I could remember back to the old Methodist Church when people were under the Spirit and the skeptics thought they had fainted. I figured what they had at the [Pentecostal] Mission house was like what they had back there, so I attended the meetings.[32]

Reference to the "old Methodist Church" gives credence to the claim of many first generation Pentecostals, that something significant was indeed happening to the theology and practice of Methodism in Newfoundland at the time of Pentecostalism's early growth.

Commenting on the changes to the Methodist church from the perspective of the Methodist circuit minister, Eugene Vaters writes:

> I was aware of the brooding presence all over my circuit that spring. At Cuzron village, God gave us a gracious revival, mostly among young people. We organized a weekly meeting, carried forward mostly among themselves, for prayer, testimony, prayer and the Word. I was saddened to hear that afterward, succeeding pastors changed it to just a social gathering, having jokes, playing games, etc...[33]

The impetus to form the United Church of Canada was considered by Vaters to be the demise of the Methodist church, with other uniting partners being referred to as 'scuttlers' of faith.[34] The effects of the changes in Upper Canada were being felt in Newfoundland, and disturbed Vaters for what he

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Newfoundland) voted to stay out of the union. See James H. Marsh, ed., The Canadian Encyclopedia, vol. 3 (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985), 1869-1870.

[31] Encyclopedia of Newfoundland vol. 3, ed. in chief Cyril F. Poole (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1991), 524-525.

[32] A. C. Palmer, "Salute to the Saints - Pleman Hewlett," Good Tidings, March-April 1975, 35.

[33] Vaters, Reminiscence, 76.

[34] Ibid., 69.

called "the immediate ongoing skepticism, glossing it over, compromise -- and yes, rank infidelity -- going on within the Methodist ministry."[35] He "was witnessing within the Methodist Church the slide backward from the rudiments of the gospel of Christ, which was leading to the submerging of the church to something else."[36]

Within the confines of the newly established organization the move away from experiential religion became pronounced over time. So greatly disillusioned were many people by the changes in service order and worship practices, that large numbers of devout Methodists found it easy to leave Methodism and attend newly formed Pentecostal missions around the island.[37] The testimony service, prayer meeting and after service were traditional elements of Methodist religious practice that were gradually forsaken by the new hierocracy of the United Church.[38] Many written accounts that relate the experiences of Pentecostal phenomena within the confines of Methodism, mention an unwillingness of that church to accept them.[39] Since such activities were bona fide aspects of experiential religious practice in the Pentecostal meeting houses, many left Methodism to pursue

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[35] Ibid., 40.

[36] Ibid., 40.

[37] Hannah D. Hollett.

[38] Stanley Hollett, interview by author, January 21, 1993, Transcript, St. John's, Newfoundland.

[39] Accounts taken from Good Tidings "Salute to the Saints" series of articles: Malvina Ackerman (March-April 1977), Harry Austin (May-June 1978), Delphine Cooper (September-October 1981), Israel Marshall (January-February 1976), Ida Noble (July-August 1977), Selina Osmond (May-June 1980), Alice Parsons (May-June 1974), Gilbert Pinksen (March-April 1980), Julie Pinksen (March April 1980), Josephine Reid (November-December 1978), Minnie Rideout (March-April 1981), Julia Ringer (May-June 1977), Allan Sheppard (March-April 1979), Joseph Tulk (March-April 1976), Tregertha Young (May-June 1979).

their personal religious aspirations in Pentecostal meeting places.

During the infant years of Bethesda Mission in St. John's this gradual change in Methodism was undoubtedly prevalent in the city's Methodist churches. Although emotional fervour may have been allowed in certain contexts it was not an atmosphere of unequivocal acceptance of Pentecostal phenomena. That Methodists considered pneumatic manifestations by religious practitioners as 'glory fits' and tended to remedy it by applying cold rags and water, shows a lack of tolerance for such phenomena. By 1920 the public confession of Spirit baptism meant ostracism from even those Methodist churches most traditionally accepting of emotional fervour.[40] Even extending hospitality to a Pentecostal pastor in a Methodist lay-reader's home could mean ostracism and a losing of one's position in the church.[41]

Along with disenchanted Methodists there were also deserters from the ranks of the Salvation Army who sought fellowship within Pentecostal groups. The Salvation Army had established itself in Newfoundland by 1901[42] through strong social appeal to the disadvantaged elements of society, and high public visibility through its service to Allied soldiers during World War I.[43] The social programs undertaken by the Salvationists were intended as a means of putting the socially

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[40] Janes, "Floods Upon Dry Ground," 101.

[41] Wilfred G. Ball, "With the Lord," Good Tidings 22 (January-February 1966): 7.

[42] Government of Newfoundland, 1901 Newfoundland Census (St. John's, Newfoundland: Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901), microfiche.

[43] Norris A. Magnuson, "Salvation Army," in New Twentieth-Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. J.D. Douglas (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991), 734-735.

disinherited into a condition to be physically and spiritually uplifted.[44] Their theological message, consisting primarily of salvation, undergirded the extent and effectiveness of their social efforts.[45]

Although the Pentecostal message included the elements of salvation and holy living, additional experiences and beliefs from those held by Salvationists were encouraged and fostered. Water baptism by immersion, holy communion, Holy Spirit baptism, and a strongly preached belief in the imminent return of Christ were doctrinal distinctions that clearly separated the two groups.[46] Through an appeal to the literal interpretation of the Bible many Salvation Army members came to realize that these Biblical mandates were meant for them. One such account reads:

> I read and reread the Bible, particularly the New Testament, and more especially the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, to such an extent that I had the substance of each chapter of this book by memory. I plainly saw water baptism by immersion as God's method for ALL BELIEVERS to be identified with Christ our Lord in death, burial and resurrection.[47]

Subsequently, many people left their religious tradition in search of an environment that catered to such literal interpretations of scripture, as well as the experiences associated with them.[48]

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[44] Frank S. Mead, Handbook of Denominations in the United States (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1983), 232.

[45] Magnuson, "Salvation Army," 735.

[46] Janes, "Floods Upon Dry Ground," 161.

[47] J.H. Welsh, God's Call (St. John's: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland Printing Department, 1974), 11.

[48] Examples include: M.W. Jeans, "Lucy King," Good Tidings, September-October 1981, 39; J.D. King and B.K. Janes, "Pentecostal Personalities - Pastor and Mrs. Frank G. Bursey," Good Tidings, September-October 1972, 38-39; J.D. King, "Pentecostal Personalities - Pastor A. Stanley Bursey," Good Tidings, March-April 1982, 38-39; E.R. Pelley, Ways and Works of God (St. John's: Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland Printing Department, 1976), 17; S.W. Reid, "Salute the Saints - Selby Hefford," Good Tidings, March-April 1978, 40.

3.3 Effects on the Introversionist Sect

The influx of disillusioned Methodist and Salvation Army into the ranks of the Pentecostal movement after Bethesda's first decade of existence was great in number and very influential in thought and practice. The introversionist nature of early Bethesda was being challenged by a missionary emphasis reminiscent of John Wesley and Methodism, and a strong social gospel espoused by William Booth and the Salvation Army. Wilson writes that Methodism went through a distinctly sectarian phase that was conversionist in nature, in that "by disseminating teachings of free will and grace, it stimulated revivalism and produced a climate conducive to individualistic religion and dispensed with the forms and procedures of the churches."[49] By the early part of this century, however, procedures within Methodism became routinised and their initial ardour settled into comfortable security and respectability.[50] The Salvation Army is also considered to be a conversionist sect within Wilson's typolgies, but one that has retained more of a sectarian character as a result of its uniform and military mode of organisation.[51]

One of the primary characteristics of a conversionist sect is its emphasis on the conversion of men and women. In this quest conversionists find justification for devoting their resources to proselytising and favour revivalist techniques as the means.[52] The early sect at Bethesda had little

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[49] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 48-49.

[50] Ibid., 51.

[51] R. Robertson, "The Salvation Army: The Persistence of Sectarianism," in Patterns of Sectarianism," ed. Bryan R. Wilson (London: Heinemann, 1967), 104-105.

[52] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 38-41.

concern for proselytising and was more interested in a deepening of religious experience, rather than an increase in numbers. This tendency on the part of Garrigus and her followers at Bethesda is more characteristic of introverted sects.[53] After former Methodists Robert Chauncy English and Eugene Vaters became involved in the leadership of the Pentecostal sect, however, proselytising and evangelism came to the forefront of operations. The 1926 general executive meeting records the institution of home and foreign mission funds that were to be supported by pledges.[54] By 1928 the movement was sponsoring a foreign missionary under the auspices of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.[55] In the same year the leadership of the movement condoned acquiring debt for the purposes of erecting church buildings.[56] At the same time, restrictions were being placed on when and where churches would be opened, as well as who would start and maintain them.[57]

In terms of evangelism, there was little attempt made by Garrigus and her followers to propagate the gospel in a revivalist fashion. Only meagre attempts were made at proselytising by the early introversionist sect, and those that were made consisted mainly of personal witnessing and handing out of tracts. The only recorded attempt to evangelise outside the boundaries of St. John's between 1910-1919 took place in 1916, when Lucy (Raines) Taylor held cottage meetings at Clarke's Beach, Conception Bay.[58] Subsequent to 1921, however, evangelistic endeavours were undertaken

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53 Ibid., 137.

54 General Executive Meeting, October 20, 1926, St. John's, Minute 1.

55 General Conference, June 4-9, 1928, St. John's, Minute 15.

56 Ibid., Minute 36.

57 General Conference, May 17-23, 1929, St. John's, Minutes 13, 14 and 18.

58 Lucy Taylor, "First Mission," Good Tidings, March-April, 1967, 10.

much more frequently, and eventually led to congregations being established all over the province: North Harbour (1922); Victoria (1924); Corner Brook (1925); Deer Lake (1926); Grand Falls (1926); Flat Island (1927); Port de Grave (1927); Swift Current (1928); Western Bay (1930); Bay Roberts (1931). The conversionist emphasis on revivalist meetings came to the forefront in 1947, when Camp Emmanuel was erected at Long Pond, Manuels, for the purpose of evangelistic services during summer time.[59]

In terms of membership, voluntary association was still the primary means of joining the religious group. However, the large numbers of migrant workers voluntarily joining the sect were either bringing their current families into the group, or would soon be marrying and having children. The number of new converts was significant enough to lay a foundation for an internal growth factor that would, in subsequent years, cause large future generations to be born into the religious organization. Regarding expulsion, standards of membership remained fairly consistent with those of the introversionist sect under Garrigus. It is important to note, however, that concerns were being expressed during the movement's conferences as early as 1931 over perceived changes in dress and the flavour of Pentecostal services.[60] These complaints led to resolutions trying to rectify the situations and practices in question.

Within the context of association it is significant to note that the characteristic of exclusivity was being affected. Evangelistic attempts to proselytise were becoming more frequent with the act of conversion coming to the forefront. Less emphasis was being placed on the act of sanctification as a necessary experience, distinct in time and place, prior to receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit

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[59] Janes, The Lady Who Stayed, 275.

[60] See chapter 4.

with the initial evidence of speaking in tongues. Conversion was of paramount importance, with Holy Spirit baptism taking place at a later date, and the movement became intent on bringing as many new members into the group as possible through conversion. Greater emphasis was being placed on making the group larger, as opposed to Garrigus's emphasis on a fuller experience regardless of numbers.

The concept of elite status was significantly altered because of the large influx of converts. Not only were these people good enough to join the Pentecostal ranks, but were in many cases taking on positions of leadership.[61] Speaking in tongues was not looked down upon as much because there were many more people now taking part in such practices. Many were finding out that Pentecostal doctrine was not so distinct in many places, especially when the holiness ethos of Methodism was evident in new leaders such as Eugene Vaters (General Superintendent of the PAON from 1927 to 1962). The conscientious commitment of Pentecostals to the group now exceeded any expectations that may have existed in Bethesda. In fact, as far as numbers are concerned, the original group of believers from Bethesda was practically non-existent in terms of where the Pentecostal movement was now headed.

Conversionist sects communicate best to the working classes of people and most of their fellowship is recruited from these ranks.[62] It is difficult to state with a certainty the total percentage of Pentecostals who, from 1921 to 1937, were significantly affected by industrialization in Newfoundland. However, it is reasonable to suggest that the data support a major contribution to Pentecostal growth from this sector of society during the period in question. Table 3.1 shows the

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[61] See chapter 4.

[62] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 41-42.

census divisions for that year as well as the population recorded in each. When one looks at the industries that were developing within these districts around the time of the 1935 census, it

Table 3.1
1935 Newfoundland Census
Census Divisions and Population of Pentecostals

District	Population
White Bay	114
Green Bay	556
Grand Falls	859
Twillingate	341
Fogo	14
Trinity North	15
Trinity South	221
Carbonear - Bay de Verde	318
Harbour Grace	17
Port de Grave	406
Harbour Main - Bell Island	72
St. John's West	214
St. John's East	53
Placentia West	143
St. George - Port au Porte	4
Humber	408
St. Barbe	2
Total	**3757**

becomes clear that converts to Pentecostalism from the working classes were significant in number.

In the mining sector there were three mines in operation during this period of time: Collier's Point, Conception Bay (1902 - barite); Buchan's, Central Newfoundland (1928 - copper, lead, zinc and gold); and, St. Lawrence, Burin Peninsula (1933 - fluorspar). The Pulp and Paper industry was located at: Grand Falls, Central (operational in 1909); and, Corner Brook, West Coast (operational

in 1925).[63] There were two major power developments associated with these industries: Bishop's Falls produced power for the mill in Grand Falls; and, Deer Lake produced power for the mill in Corner Brook. Aside from this, there were numerous lumber mills located in various parts of the province. The districts of the 1935 census that were most clearly affected by industrialization related to the pulp and paper mills and the power development that accommodated them (Green Bay, Grand Falls, Twillingate and Humber) contained 57.5 percent of the total population of Pentecostals in Newfoundland. 35.7 percent of all workers in the targeted population held occupations directly related to the pulp and paper industry. In contrast, only 26.3 percent of workers held occupations in industries associated with the fishery. In terms of Wilson's characterisation of conversionist sects being comprised of mainly working class people, 91 percent of Pentecostals during this period held occupations in fields not related to business, retail, wholesale, or professional trades.[64]

The group's self-identification was changing as a result of the effects of industrialization on group members. Pentecostals were now being exposed to many more secular and work related environments. New converts, who were once poor fishermen, were now employed as a result of industrialization and exposed to new people and work environments. Although these workers were in no way considered to be living lives of financial security, they were experiencing a form of social advancement. The earliest members of Bethesda, who were of low social and economic status, were being replaced by men experiencing the beginnings of social mobility and the eventual economic and social success that accompanied industrialization.

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[63] M. J. Scarlett, The Newfoundland Economy: A Spatial Analysis (St. John's: Memorial University Press, 1990), chapters 3, 5 and 7.

[64] 1935 Newfoundland Census.

Conversionist sects tend to emphasize feeling and the expression of intense emotion in their meetings, and it is revivalism that tends to reinforce this disposition.[65] As was discussed in the previous section of this chapter entitled 'industrialization,' the migrant workers who found themselves amongst the socially and economically deprived found great solace in this kind of experiential religiosity. Former General Superintendent A. Stanley Bursey was born into a Salvation Army family at Salt Pond, Bay of Exploits. Migrating from his home to Central Newfoundland, he found work in a lumber camp located on Victoria River, near Millertown. After being exposed to a Pentecostal revivalist meeting being held in the work camp, he relates the following account:

> ... I returned to the meeting. The believers were having "The Hallelujah Wind-up." They went to the front of the building and, as a climax to the day's activities, rejoiced. Some of them were dancing; everybody seemed to be enjoying what was taking place. Suddenly the atmosphere thickened; the glory clouds began to burst. A strange feeling came over the people. Garland Diamond... fell to the floor... They lifted him up and laid him on the front seat, but he didn't stay there for long. He rolled off and fell to the floor again. Someone, who had attended services at the Deer Lake mission, spoke loudly enough so that everyone could hear, "He's going to get what they have at Deer Lake! He's going to receive his baptism!"... He jumped to his feet and began to speak distinctly "with other tongues, as the Spirit gave... utterance."[66]

Such was the case with many who found themselves away from their homes and families and experiencing feelings of disinheritance and loneliness. Industrialization gave the Pentecostal movement the environment required to foster large amounts of growth in short periods of time.

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[65] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 41-42.

[66] A. Stanley Bursey, Life's Work Complete (St. John's: Robinson Blackmore Printing and Publishing Ltd., 1992), 36.

3.4 Conclusion

The evidence suggests that the social, economic and religious climate outside St. John's was largely responsible for the rural acceptance of the Pentecostal message. In contrast to the self-sufficient attitude of those people within the city of St. John's, for those who attempted to make a living outside, particularly those living in satellite communities located on the outskirts of industrial centres, the environment was quite different. The migrant workers (e.g., those of low income, poor housing, and plagued with feelings of inferiority, etc...) found solace with a conversionist message of hope proclaimed in an environment that fostered experiential religious expression and community. In addition to a great number of migrant workers, disenchanted Methodists and Salvationists, who held a literal view of biblical interpretation, also found their way into the confines of Pentecostalism during the 1920s.

It was this large influx of individuals into the Pentecostal camp that resulted in the development beyond what the early Pentecostal sect had been and its eventual re-definition. It has been noted that conversion for Garrigus was only part of the Pentecostal experience, and that holy and separated living was of equal importance. For the Methodist and Salvationist, however, liberalization was taking place in their churches and conversion was becoming a primary significance. With the influx of Methodists and Salvationists into the Pentecostal movement, the conversion aspect came to the fore. As a result, missionary activity became the most important activity of the sect. With missionary activities throughout the island early advocates of the

Pentecostal message came into conflict with Apostolics[67] who proclaimed a similar message. Thus, with the apparent conflict of interest with regard to missionary activity and the rather successful recruiting success of the Pentecostals, the Pentecostal leadership deemed it essential in 1925 to seek governmental recognition as a denomination. In this action lies the beginnings of a process of institutionalization. It was also during the beginnings of this process that a power struggle would take place for the leadership of the movement. This struggle offers more insight into the sectarian character of early Bethesda, and that of the emerging denomination.

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[67] The Apostolic Faith Mission was founded in 1907 in Portland, Oregon, by Florence L. Crawford. Its official mission in Newfoundland was founded in 1952 in Roddickton with Stanley Hancock becoming first Provincial Overseer. The Mission was incorporated in 1980. As of 1980 there were six established missions with an approximate membership of 1,000. See, David Jeans, "Apostolic Faith Mission," Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, ed. by Joseph R. Smallwood and Robert D. W. Pitt (St. John's, Newfoundland: Newfoundland Book Publishers (1967) Ltd., 1981), 56.

4.0 BEGINNINGS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

4.1 Introduction

Wilson suggests that an introversionist sect tends to retain its essential characteristics while a conversionist sect is prone to becoming an institution. In order for the Pentecostal movement to have undergone such a process, therefore, the early character of the group would have to have changed, by acquiring more conversionist characteristics and tendencies. As has been presented in the previous two chapters, Newfoundland Pentecostalism did undergo a significant shift in sectarian emphases from Garrigus's introversionism to a subsequently more conversionist type of religious group. The most visible and significant development during this period of the group's history was the emergence of a professional ministry. Such a development within the Pentecostal Assemblies, however, was not to occur without conflict. It is within this conflict that the differences between the early sect of Bethesda (1910-1919) and the later sect under Eugene Vaters can be more clearly seen.

The development of a professional ministry has been influenced to a large degree by the desire of sectarian groups to be accepted socially. Generally, Pentecostalist sects in both Europe and North America have steadily acquired social respectability.[1] Primarily, as Wilson has shown, it has been industrialization that has necessitated members of the sect

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[1] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 234.

becoming involved in a range of more secular commitments, including the acquisition and management of property, and often the tendency to seek, and acquire, increased social respectability.[2] Along with this increased social respectability came the impetus on the part of the group to create a more formal organization. Concerning this process Wilson writes:

> Initially the emotionalism of these movements was difficult to bridle, and led, at times, to excesses and to scandals. Gradually, a pattern of order was evolved, and the Pentecostalist sects became institutionalised. The gifts were no longer encouraged to operate so freely and texts were found that circumscribed their operation. Even the strong lay tradition of the sects was, in many cases, modified, and whilst lay expressiveness continued to be the ideology of the movement, most Pentecostal sects evolved a ministry, and the function of that ministry has been, paradoxically, to sustain a lay ideology, whilst simultaneously limiting the freedom of lay expression.[3]

This process is relevant to Newfoundland Pentecostalism in that the many evangelistic endeavours that were taking place in a context of industrialization in the province greatly swelled the ranks of Pentecostal converts. If these congeries of small meetings and groups, with their emphasis on ecstatic styles of worship were to be maintained, regulation and routinization had to occur.

Such regulation and routinization is evident when one examines the early developments related to the leadership and organization of the movement. Specifically, this chapter proposes that the beginnings of institutionalization lie in the early shift of the movement's leadership from the Introversionist sect to that of the conversionist sect. It is

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[2] Wilson, Religion in Sociological Perspective, 96.

[3] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 234-235.

within this context that a conflict related to leadership styles developed during the early history of the Pentecostal Assemblies, between Robert Chauncy English, the Methodist layman who co-pastored Bethesda with Garrigus, and Eugene Vaters, a former probationer for the Methodist ministry. This conflict will be discussed in relation to the impetus that prompted the movement to acquire more formal styles of leadership and organization, as well as Garrigus' response to the changes over time. The significance of these historical developments will also be discussed in terms of Wilson's concept of legitimation.

4.2 Institutionalization: The Evidence

The first major influx of Methodists into Pentecostalism occurred as a result of the evangelistic campaign of Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest (1889-1982) that took place at Gower Street Methodist church in St. John's from January 5 to February 19, 1919. This evangelistic endeavour is reported to have eventually contributed to Bethesda Mission at least 100 newly converted individuals.[4] Those individuals that found their religious home at Bethesda brought with them the characteristics that changed the nature of the group and, conversely, the group's vision of the Pentecostal message. A gradual change in emphasis from holy and separated living to a salvation for all willing to possess it would eventually change the face of the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland.

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[4] Janes, "Floods Upon Dry Ground," 103.

4.2.1 Trends Towards Liberalization

The stringent moral requirements that characterized early Methodism were undergoing a liberalization by the early 1900's.[5] Although many left Methodism for reasons such as this, their joining the fledgling Pentecostal movement would eventually change the outward appearance of the leadership and membership; things that traditionally singled Pentecostals out from the general populace.[6] By the early 1930s it became obvious that liberalization had indeed begun to lessen the stringent moral requirements that had defined early Pentecostalism in Newfoundland. At the 1931 General Conference, for example, a resolution was passed to address concerns related to a liberalizing of traditionally established dress codes. The resolution reads:

> Be it resolved that our Sister workers in public appearance have their dresses sufficiently long to preclude any thought of immodesty and that on platforms Sisters wearing dark dresses wear dark stockings and dresses sufficiently long that when arms are lifted there is no suggestion of immodesty. Let your moderation be known to all men.[7]

This resolution was further amended in 1932 to provide a Biblical rationale for establishing and upholding traditional codes of dress for women in ministry.[8]

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[5] See Andersen, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 49; Earl D. C. Brewer, "Sect and Church in Methodism" Social Forces 30 (1952): 408; John H. Chamberlayne, "From Sect to Church in British Methodism" The British Journal of Sociology 15 (1964): 146-147.

[6] Hannah D. Hollett.

[7] General Conference, June 12-20, 1931, St. John's, Minute 44.

[8] General Conference, June 10-16, 1932, St. John's, Minute 43.

The outward appearance of Pentecostals was not the only distinct characteristic of the time in question that was needing to be addressed by resolutions from conference. In 1927, admonition was being directed towards the membership concerning practices such as taking pictures and holding Sunday School picnics.[9] These practices were forbidden by resolutions during conference that year. Resolution 27, for example, stated that, "... the Pentecostal Assemblies in Newfoundland place ourselves on record as standing against picnics."[10] By 1937 such practices were obviously becoming more problematical for the leadership, necessitating amending of previous resolutions. Resolution 27 of the 1927 conference, for example, was amended in 1937 to read:

> The word "picnics" shall be held to mean any outings or occasions whether indoors or out of doors in which games, rings, races, plays, selling or sport or revelings of any kind are permitted; (2) This ruling shall be held to apply to Sunday schools, young people's gathering, or any other kind of gathering in which any assembly has any part in an official way. (3) That we discourage participation on the part of our people, young or old in promiscuous gatherings in which any such things are done, or in such gatherings of any other church or Society; (4) Should any pastor become lax in vigilance along these lines or permit such things amongst his people or consent to the same he shall be held responsible for his actions and treated as is outlined in paragraph (14) of 1929. And be it further resolved, that the position herein sustained shall in substance form part of our proposed constitution.[11]

These sorts of activities were not traditionally associated with the earlier years of Bethesda's

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[9] General Conference, October 17-24, 1927, St. John's, Minutes 21, 27.

[10] Ibid., 27.

[11] General Conference, June 24 - July 2, 1937, Bishop's Falls, Minute 117.

existence under the leadership of Garrigus. After the movement began experiencing growth in numbers, however, these kinds of cautions were being handed down on a fairly regular basis.

The number of Methodists and Salvationists that took up positions of leadership in the Pentecostal movement after the Demarest campaign was great.[12] Examples of former Methodist ministers and laity who took up positions of leadership in the Pentecostal Assemblies early in its history include: Evelyn Ball (1906-1936); Wilfred Ball (1905-1989); William J. Bartlett (1888-1959); Eli Burton (1901-1946); Annie Clarke (1908-1946); Eva Janes (1914-1980); Alice Parsons (1899-1984); Robert Parsons (1897-1964); Elsie Pike (1905-1928); Herb Rideout (1893-1974); Samuel Taylor (1893-1974); Eugene Vaters (1898-1984); and, Albert Wheeler (1904-1988). Former Salvation Army officers and laity include: Harriet Ball (1913-1988); Frank G. Bursey (1903-1967); A. Stanley Bursey (1906-1990); Matilda Gillett (1905-1985); William Gillett (1906-1977); Ralph Harnum (1902-1957); Ralph Laite (1907-1975); Frederick Ledrew (1925-1971); E. Reginald Milley (1911-1983); Edgar Pelley (1907-1976); Doris Pelley (1917-1982); and, Thomas White (1921-1963).[13] It is reasonable to conclude that the ecclesiastical and theological impressions, of the above

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[12] See A. Stanley Bursey, Some Have Fallen Asleep (St. John's: Good Tidings Press, 1990).

[13] Although information about the original religious affiliation of early Pentecostal ministers is at times difficult to determine, information for the above references came from: A Stanley Bursey's, Some Have Fallen Asleep and the "Salute to Saints" section periodically published in The Good Tidings.

cited ministers, would retain certain emphases related to their former religious traditions, thereby altering the character of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland. Indication of liberalization within the movement as a result of former Methodists and Salvationists becoming pastors in the Pentecostal movement, is suggested in the aforementioned 1937 resolution regarding picnics.

4.2.2 Evangelism and the Impetus to Organize

By the early 1920s, Bethesda had begun an evangelistic outreach to areas such a Clarke's Beach (1922), Georgetown (1922), North Harbour (1922), and Port de Grave (1924).[14] It is important to note that many of the first communities reached by these early evangelization attempts had previously been reached by the message of the Apostolic Faith Movement.[15] The Apostolic Faith Movement grew out of the restorationist dreams of Charles F. Parham and William J. Seymour. Apostolic movements include the Apostolic Church, Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ, Apostolic Church of Pentecost in Canada, Apostolic Faith and Apostolic Faith Mission. Generally they propagate a three-stage doctrine of salvation that includes justification by faith, entire sanctification and the baptism of the

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[14] Ibid., 105-111.

[15] E. L. Blumhofer, "Apostolic Faith Mission," in Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, eds Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988), 18-20.

Holy Spirit. A contemporary of Garrigus has commented that the impetus to organize into a denomination was actually forced upon the leadership of the movement by other religious parties like the Apostolic Faith.[16] Bethesda's first major outreach leading to church development occured at Clarke's Beach, Conception Bay, where a Mr. Baker had previously preached the message of the Apostolic Church.[17] The second occurred at North Harbour, Placentia Bay, where literature from the Apostolic Church[18] had created a "hunger" for the Pentecostal gospel and experience.[19] The first mention of doctrine in the minutes of the movement's annual meetings is a reference to footwashing,[20] a practice of Apostolic and Jesus Only churches.[21] That the early organization would be concerned with this practice shows the prevalent nature of competing religious groups such as the Apostolic Church, and the desire of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies' leadership to contend with them for members.[22]

A disenchanted Methodist, Eugene Vaters, had been holding meetings in Victoria at

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[16] Bendix Bishop.

[17] Vaters, Reminiscence, 139.

[18] Hannah D. Hollett.

[19] Eugene Vaters, "North Harbour," Good Tidings, May-June 1966, 17.

[20] General Conference, October 17-24, 1927, St. John's, Minute 20.

[21] J. Gordon Melton, "The Apostolic, Oneness, or Jesus Only Movement," in The Encyclopedia of American Religions vol. 1 (Wilmington: McGrath Publishing Co, 1978), 287-295.

[22] General Conference, June 8-14, 1933, Bay Roberts, Minutes 56, 57, 58 and 59.

the Orange Hall and a vacant store. Eventually the group grew in number and became a part of the Pentecostal fellowship in 1925. Vaters was a ministerial probationer who turned down ordination in the Methodist Church due to what he perceived as the church's deviation from its "God-given basic beginnings."[23] Whether this is a conclusion Vaters reached at a later point in his life or whether he actually turned down ordination on principle is uncertain. With Pentecostal groups emerging all over the island, however, it became apparent to Vaters and Robert Chauncy English (co-pastor at Bethesda Mission 1920-1927) that to organize a fellowship along some lines of affiliation would be propitious. Concerning this decision Vaters states:

> Brother English was again visiting us. Designated as "pastor" at Bethesda, (but, of course, Sister Garrigus was pastor and leader - who else could there be?), and also "overseer" of Bethesda's outreach; he and I walked along the road, discussing the present situation. Nothing Pentecostal was yet registered with the government; we had no rights as a separate people.... It was obvious that the time had come for registering with the government as a denomination. We settled it there. Mr. English would see to it that we were properly registered. We became "The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland." We were in "the unity of the Spirit," and would now be registered as one, under the overseership of Brother English. We could now be free to arrange our moving along further.[24]

Although this decision has been lauded by Pentecostals as a 'Godly ordained move' on the part of these men, questions remain as to why it occurred when it did.

Only a year earlier Vaters had stated quite clearly his disaffection with

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[23] Vaters, Reminiscence, 69.

[24] Ibid., 133-134.

denominationalism. As a reflection upon his disillusionment with the perceived decline of Methodism, he stated in 1924 his lack of desire to establish another denominational structure:

> We are advocating the doctrines of no particular school or interest. We pitch our standard independently in the camp of present-day movements. The churches, almost en masse, have left, or are leaving, the foundation[al] truths upon which they have been raised. God is raising up a people in their stead; and is, as usual, giving that people a new impetus and fresh growth....[25]

Yet, in 1925, Vaters and English decided to register with the Government of Newfoundland as a denomination. It would seem, therefore, that a situation had arisen over the period of a year that made such a step necessary, or at least desired.

It is strongly probable that the imposition of other religious interests into the Newfoundland scene, combined with the strong denominational backgrounds of the new Pentecostal leadership had created a strong impetus to organize into a denomination. The Apostolic Faith Movement was presenting itself as a viable alternative to developing an indigenous fellowship on the island, as was the possibility of other independent congregations without religious affiliation becoming established.[26]

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[25] Eugene Vaters, "Doctrinal," Independent Communion, August-September 1924, 3.

[26] Janes, "Floods Upon Dry Ground," 106-130.

4.2.3 Conflict and Sectarian Leadership

In 1921 Robert Chauncey English, a convert of the Demarest campaign, was granted credentials by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada[27] and co-pastored Bethesda Mission with Garrigus from 1920-1927.[28] Garrigus was aging and found herself less capable of fulfilling her responsibilities as pastor and leader of the group. Over the next few years, there would develop a situation with regards to the leadership of the movement that would eventually lead to the demise of its first general overseer, Robert Chauncy English (1925-1927), and the rise to power of its second, Eugene Vaters (1927-1962). The nature and circumstances surrounding the conflict between English and Vaters essentially reflect the difference between the sectarian style of leadership and that of the institution.

Wilson's characteristics of the introversionist sect are appropriately ascribed to the first group of believers that made up Bethesda Mission. When the movement began to spread and establish itself outside of St. John's in places like Clarke's Beach, North Harbour and Humbermouth, not all members of Bethesda were approving. In his autobiography Eugene Vaters states:

> Then, there had been an outreach - a bursting forth, we should call it - from Bethesda, but apparently not with the Bethesda full blessing, but with Sister

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[27] Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting of the General Assembly of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, held October 25-28, 1921 (October 27, 9:30 a.m. session). Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada [PAOC] National Archives, Mississauga, Ontario.

[28] Janes, "Floods Upon Dry Ground," 102.

> Garrigus' full blessing, of course, and her prayerful support. (Weren't these stalwarts, now about to leave, really needed for support and strength at Bethesda? some reasoned. Bethesda could not afford to lose them).[29]

It was this attitude on the part of Bethesda towards its members that hindered earlier attempts to evangelize on any large scale basis. English was co-pastor of Bethesda from 1920 to 1927 and would be more aware of this tendency than Vaters. There is no known extant statement from English that gives insight into the conversation between himself and Vaters leading to a decision to organize. The way in which Vaters refers to Garrigus's support of evangelism in the above quote, as opposed to her followers at Bethesda, seems like an attempt to remove her somewhat from the people that were the product of her gospel and ministry.

The establishing of a Pentecostal church on the West Coast of the island was undertaken by Charles L. March and Herbert Eddy at Humbermouth.[30] March and Eddy were businessmen from Arnold's Cove who relocated to Humbermouth, near today's Corner Brook in 1925. There they established a business that consisted of two stores, a couple of apartments and a large auditorium on the top floor of the building where religious meetings were held.[31] During the following two years several attempts were made by the west coast group to join the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies, but to no avail. English is reported to have been jealous at the success of this group of 'fanatics' and feared that March would be

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[29] Vaters, Reminiscence, 134.

[30] A. S. Winsor, "Things... Seen and Heard," Good Tidings, May-June 1972, 21-22.

[31] Ibid.

championed as a new leader of the fellowship. It is for these reasons that he is said to have denied their acceptance into the denominational fold.[32] With March and Eddy appealing to the Apostolic Faith Movement for affiliation, however, their application to the movement was accepted in 1927.[33]

English's reluctance to accept the Humbermouth assembly into the fellowship may have been a result of seeing the implications of denominationalism for Pentecostalism in Newfoundland. It is no coincidence that in 1927 Eugene Vaters would oust English from his position of leadership. The reason given was that English's ongoing business interests had become a hindrance to the future of the movement.[34] English tendered his resignation to the movement in December, 1927. The issues related to his dismissal are contained in the following resolution:

> Be it resolved that we as workers of the eastern section of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland put ourselves on record as accepting Bro. English's resignation as overseer of the Newfoundland work on the grounds of his own personal reasons as stated in resignation. Be it further resolved that we put ourselves on record that we will not stand by any man overseer of this movement that is in any way connected with commercial or any other business. Be it further resolved that we stand by the present assistant overseer, Pastor Eugene Vaters, until such time as Pastor English is released entirely from business.[35]

English was not impressed with the stance of the newly incorporated Pentecostal Assemblies.

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[32] Janes, "Floods Upon Dry Ground," 129-130.

[33] Ibid., 130.

[34] Special Session Meeting, December 21, 1927, Victoria, Minute 5.

[35] Ibid., Minute 7.

He started another Pentecostal work and began holding meetings. Regarding this development a further resolution states that, "For the time being we withhold giving him credentials, also, we refuse to recognize what is known as the Central Pentecostal Assembly."[36] English was invited back into fellowship in June of 1928 on the conditions that he apologize to the movement and move his new assembly to another location in St. John's.[37] It was obviously too large a request for English to fulfil in that he never did return to the Pentecostal Assemblies. Vaters assumed the position of General Overseer and remained in that capacity until his retirement in 1962.

One of the principal elements in the evolution of sects to institutions is the acquisition of a paid ordained ministry that is devoted to the growth and administration of the organization.[38] The beginnings of the professionalization of leadership and the division of labour associated with institutions can be found in the conflict between English and Vaters. English would have been able to continue his business within the introversionist sect of Bethesda, but not if the creed and mandate of the new movement was an expansionism that required the leader's full attention and time.[39] A conflict of interest had been isolated by Vaters, and after a bitter power struggle for leadership English was forced out of his

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[36] Executive Meeting, February 17, 1928, St. John's, Minute 14.

[37] Executive Meeting, June 4, 1928, St. John's, Minute 3.

[38] Wilson, The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism, 116.

[39] General Conference, May 17-23, 1929, St. John's, Minute 36.

leadership position.[40]

Legitimation refers to the ideological justification of a religious group's existence. Wilson contends that sects claim sacred authority to persuade individuals to abandon orthodox religious organizations, and that the personal charisma of the sectarian leader provides that legitimation.[41] Sects that experience major growth over short periods of time, however, tend to develop a more formal classification of leadership in an attempt to educate, instruct and counsel new converts into their new-found religious organization. Legitimation in such circumstances, therefore, becomes, over time, based upon official charisma. Not only are definitions of leadership changed, however, but the very nature of the group is affected. Reflecting upon this process within Christianity, Wilson writes:

> Such a development amounted to the creation of an incipient religious division of labour, which implied, from even quite an early stage, the attitudes of dependency on the part of the laity, and led an increasingly sophisticated ministry to become more and more embarrassed about excessive emotional expressiveness. Over time, the tendency of the ministry was to reduce worship activity to more prosaic ritualized patterns, to become concerned about socialization, and to some extent with their own status, and particularly with the comparison between themselves and the ministers of other movements, who became an increasingly relevant reference group for them. All of these tendencies led to a more denominational position in the course of time.[42]

The time required to fulfil such demands within Pentecostalism after major growth occurred

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[40] Janes, "Floods Upon Dry Ground," 205.

[41] Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, 34.

[42] Wilson, Religion in Sociological Perspective, 98-99.

were too great for English. His conception of sectarian leadership would not allow him to submit to the more denominational expectations of ministry. After English's departure from the movement, however, Garrigus saw that the process of a denominational style leadership affected even more than the legitimation of Pentecostals.

4.2.4 Garrigus' Response to Organization

Garrigus would later in life come to associate the workings of the movement's leadership with the desire of man to control the development of the Assemblies, rather than allowing God absolute control.[43] As was discussed in chapter 2, Garrigus considered formal styles of worship unacceptable in Pentecostal meetings, and encouraged spontaneous forms without structure of service. The situation was quick to change in the movement she had founded. With an increase in Pentecostal membership in the city of St. John's, the decision was made by the leadership of the Assemblies to close the doors of Bethesda Mission and construct a new Elim Tabernacle. Over time Garrigus came to feel that the Spirit of God was grieved at Elim. In 1937 she wrote:

> For a few years, there has been an increasing departure from the "Old Paths" at Bethesda. Lack of reverence, worldliness, questionable methods in the Lord's work, and a general forsaking of the lines of separation so clearly marked out in the Word of God, have brought about such a different atmosphere, that even sinners, have frequently been heard to say: "What is

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[43] Bendix Bishop.

> the matter with Bethesda? It is not at all as it used to be."[44]

Desiring that Bethesda Mission remain open she produced a petition with 23 signatures backing her request. According to a contemporary, the request was denied by Eugene Vaters and the church board of Elim at a business meeting filled with unconstitutional maneuverings, and the doors of Bethesda were locked.[45]

As a result of this dispute Garrigus left the new Elim Tabernacle for the familiar and preferred surroundings of old Bethesda Mission, which had been closed down under the official auspices of the movement. In elaborating upon her concerns and preferences she states:

> God has not left us without a witness that He is pleased with our decision. again and again the heavens open upon us and the place is filled with His glory. Those who have boldly taken their stand, have suffered much, and know something what it means to "go without the camp." However they are certainly deepening [in] God. Scarcely a day passes that we do not hear of those who are just longing for the doors to be opened and say when they are, this is their place of worship.[46]

For Garrigus and her followers the character of the former introversionist sect of Bethesda was apparently more enticing and authentic than the quickly forming denomination. The fact that she would leave the official auspices of the movement she had founded suggests she

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[44] Alice B. Garrigus, "Letter to the Superintendent of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland," April 1937.

[45] Bendix Bishop.

[46] Alice B. Garrigus, "Letter to the Superintendent of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland," April 1937.

strongly felt some sense of alienation.

Although the leadership of the Assemblies eventually allowed Bethesda to re-open, Garrigus and her followers would never again feel completely at home in a movement beginning to take upon itself explicit institutional characteristics. In a letter to the movement, dated March 16, 1944, she continues her commentary relating to the drastic change in the character of Newfoundland Pentecostalism:

> Glorious as have been the experiences of the past, we will have to admit there has been a letting down in some ways. The natural instead of the supernatural characterize our gatherings. No more is heard the heavenly music that enraptured our souls, no more or seldom, the prophetic messages with interpretation. In the early days of the visitation I said "oh Lord, will we ever be able to have a nice quiet meeting again?" We are having them.[47]

Although this statement contains obvious elements of nostalgia something tangible was taking place. The language contained in her letter, with references to the supernatural, indicates the introversionist nature of the gatherings. What she and her small band of followers were missing at Elim they had regained by returning to Bethesda, and it was apparently strong enough to make Garrigus threaten to go outside the confines of denominational association . The official sanction of the Pentecostal Assemblies was not a major concern for her. It becomes clear later in her life as to what that discomfort was based upon. In her declining years she said to a faithful parishioner of Bethesda's old ways: "The day is coming when what you experienced from the outside because of your beliefs, you will

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[47] Alice B. Garrigus, "Letter to Fellow-Workers and Saints of Like Precious Faith," March 16, 1944.

experience from the inside."[48] The nature of the group had changed significantly enough for its founder to give notice that it was no longer that which it once had been.

4.3 Conclusion

Pentecostalism in Newfoundland found its first growth in Newfoundland after the Demarest evangelistic campaign that took place in St. John's, Newfoundland, from January 5 to February 19, 1919. With the Methodist church experiencing liberalization and institutional changes, many disenchanted Methodists turned to Pentecostalism and brought with them a greater zeal for evangelisation than had existed in the introversionist sect at Bethesda. Among the converts were many individuals who took up positions of leadership within the quickly growing Pentecostal Assemblies. Eventually the character of the movement was transformed and the doctrine and practice of the first generation Pentecostals began to undergo change. The dress codes and practices of both adherents and leaders prompted a series of resolutions in general conference addressing the changes taking place. The new Pentecostals were exhorted to conform to the traditional standards of dress and social practice that were upheld during the first decade of the group's existence at Bethesda. Over time, however, due to the great number of new members, revivalism and conversion began to take precedence over such previously held doctrines as sanctification.

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[48] Bendix Bishop.

By 1925 the movement was experiencing a great growth spurt due to the influx of Methodist and Salvation Army converts and a greater emphasis on evangelism. In addition, competition for members was being experienced from the Apostolic Pentecostal movement, based in the United States. As a direct result of growth and competition the decision was made to create a more formal and efficient religious organization. In 1925, the leadership of the movement applied to government for a denominational charter with all the rights and privileges granted other religious denominations of the day. The decision to organize created a power struggle between Robert Chauncy English, the current General Overseer of the movement, and Eugene Vaters, a former probationer for the Methodist ministry. The conflict revolved around English's business interests and the need of the growing movement for a full time leader. English would have been able to retain his business operations as the leader of a small introversionist sect, but not of a denomination experiencing growth and competition from other religious interests. The struggle clearly brought to light the changing nature of the Pentecostal Assemblies from an introversionist sect to a conversionist sect and eventually a more developed institution.

Over time the nature of the Pentecostal movement was to change significantly enough to even alienate its founder, Alice Belle Garrigus. During a conflict between the interests of a newly formed Pentecostal congregation, called Elim Tabernacle, in St. John's, the doors of Bethesda Mission were locked. Garrigus and a small group of 18 followers eventually left Elim Tabernacle and once again began holding services at Bethesda. During this period of time she served notice on the Pentecostal Assemblies that they were going astray from the

original doctrines and practices established at Bethesda during the first decade of the movement's existence in Newfoundland. Although reconciliation was eventually achieved, Garrigus never fully recovered from the experience, and up until 1944 continued to view her Pentecostal movement as something lying in the past, and contrasted it with a less favourable present. The power struggle for leadership between English and Vaters, as well as the Garrigus' admonitions regarding changes, clearly indicated that the movement underwent a significant change in character. The trend towards institutionalization had begun shortly after becoming an organized denomination in 1925. In subsequent years, continuing up to the present, changes to the group in terms of organization, doctrine and practice, would transform the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland into a denomination, far from both its former introversionist and intermediate conversionist character.

5.0 INSTITUTIONALIZATION: ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

5.1 Introduction

According to sociological theory, there is no question that as a religious movement evolves certain organizational changes occur. Wilson, for example, in commenting on the role of administrators in organizational developments writes:

> Any echelon of administrators ... is likely to develop interests and concerns that diverge in some degree from those of the movement. Goal displacement is common ... Responsibility *for* the organization soon becomes responsibility *to* the organization, and organizational imperatives may from time to time eclipse the original ideological goals of the movement... officials ... often develop a preference for routine over initiative, for calculable, quantitative, and often monetary criteria of performance. Beyond this, they may develop less excusable traits: concern for status; pleasure in power for its own sake; distrust of others; the desire to manipulate; and disapproval of purists who put moral rigour or spiritual values before administrative convenience.[1]

It is obviously difficult to characterize such organizational changes. In recognizing this difficulty, sociologists have identified certain "principal determinants" which aid in tracing the pattern of sect development. These determinants typically include such characteristics as, gender differentiation, styles of leadership, ministerial training, ordination, the development of a business ethic and hierarchy.[2] The aim of this chapter is to examine such determinants in an attempt to assess the degree to which organizational changes have

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[1] Wilson, The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism, p. 117.

[2] Wilson utilizes similar criteria in his discussion on how sects evolve: Ibid., 106-127.

occurred during the development of the PAON. In turn, the discussion will suggest the extent to which organizational changes within the PAON reflect the sociological process of institutionalization.

5.2 Gender Differentiation

A primary change in the evolution of sect to denomination is the patriarchal domination of ministry. According to Weber, patriarchal domination occurs in religious movements only after substantial development. In the early stages of the development of a religious movement, there is a "tendency to allot equality to women."[3] For Weber, this equality in ministry is based upon the premise that pneumatic manifestations of charisma are valued as hallmarks of specifically religious exaltation. As routinization and regimentation of community relationships set in, a reaction takes place against pneumatic manifestations among women, which come to be regarded as dishonourable.[4] This receptivity of women to roles of ministry only in rare cases continues beyond the first stage of a religious community's formation. Over time the leadership of religious groups increasingly favours

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[3] Weber, The Sociology of Religion; p. 104.

[4] Weber, The Sociology of Religion; p. 104. For factors which favoured the involvement of women in leadership positions in religious movements at the beginning of this century see: Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, pp. 897-898.

patriarchal domination, with positive attitudes towards women in ministry declining.[5]

The decline in the percentage of women holding ministry positions in religious movements is attested by the empirical data. The fact is that in the early beginnings of the North American Pentecostal movement women "had great freedom to preach, [but] the proportion of women in leadership dropped dramatically after 1920 ..."[6] Barfoot and Sheppard write:

> Pentecostal bodies have the highest percentage of ordained female clergy, but their numbers are decreasing annually as these movements lose their prophetic emphasis and pattern themselves after major protestant denominations.[7]

This pattern is certainly reflected in the Newfoundland context. At the 5th General Conference of the PAON in 1931, for example, twenty of the thirty-eight attending ministers and fully-approved workers were women (52.6%). Presently, female representation at general conference stands at thirty percent. The trend towards a patriarchal ministry is also suggested when figures from the 1935 Newfoundland Census and the 1991 Canada Census are compared. In the 1935 census there were 32 Pentecostals noted as having occupations in religion; 11(34%) were recorded as female, and 21 (66%) were recorded as male. The

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[5] For factors which restricted the involvement of women in religious movements after 1920 see: Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, pp. 898-899.

[6] R. M. Riss, "Women, Role Of," in Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988), 897.

[7] Charles Barfoot and Gerald T. Sheppard, "Prophetic Vs. Priestly Religion: The Changing Role of Women Clergy in Classical Pentecostal Churches" Review of Religious Research, 22 (September 1980), p. 16.

1991 census records 300 Pentecostals in Newfoundland as having occupations in religion; 30 (10%) were recorded as female, and 270 (90%) were recorded as male.

In addition to the relatively large percentage of women formally recognized as ministers and fully approved workers at the 1931 conference, the literature shows that large numbers of women played significant leadership roles in the introduction and spread of the movement from its earliest beginnings. Indeed, the actual founding of the movement has been credited to a woman, Alice Belle Garrigus. Although it is unclear what her intended role was when she first came to Newfoundland with her American friends Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Fowler in 1910,[8] it is clear that when the Fowlers returned to the United States in mid-1912, due to ill health, Garrigus assumed full responsibility for Bethesda Mission.[9]

Up until the mid-1920's, women were largely responsible for the spread of the Pentecostal message to rural Newfoundland. In 1916, for example, Lucy (Raines) Taylor was sent by Garrigus to Clarke's Beach, Conception Bay, to hold cottage meetings. After returning to St. John's in 1917, Taylor continued to assist Garrigus until 1920. Of her ministerial experiences Taylor writes:

> Sister Garrigus sent another Sister and me out around Conception Bay. We went into every place where we could get an opening from Clarke's Beach down as far as Grate's Cove, and held meetings in churches or halls, whatever was available... On returning to St. John's I went to live with Sister Garrigus, and was with her for three years. I started young people's meetings

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[8] The first services at Bethesda Mission were advertised on Easter Sunday, April 16, 1911, with W.D. Fowler in charge. The Evening Chronicle, April 15, 1911, p. 7.

[9] Janes, "Floods Upon Dry Grounds," 76.

> one night a week and children's meetings on Sunday mornings at 10 o'clock.[10]

According to Maud Evans Whitt, "Sister Elsie Pike, Sophie Guy and Clarice Murrin were the first lady Pentecostal ministers in Conception Bay."[11] Specific Conception Bay communities, including Bay Robert's, Port-de-Grave, Western Bay, Grate's Cove and Georgetown, were all introduced to the Pentecostal message by women workers.

The story in Placentia Bay was not much different. The most reliable account reports cottage meetings being held at North Harbour in 1921, with two ladies arriving in 1922 to hold further cottage meetings.[12] Women were also responsible for holding Pentecostal cottage meetings at Swift Current, Garden Cove, Sound Island, Flat Island and Woody Island. Three of the four communities in which full-time works were established in Placentia Bay were pastored by women, the exception being Victoria, in 1924, which was pastored by Eugene Vaters. In Trinity Bay a woman was also responsible for taking the Pentecostal message to New Chelsea and New Melbourne for the first time. With the exception of Eugene Vaters in Victoria, in Conception Bay, all initial contacts of Newfoundland communities with the Pentecostal movement up until 1924 involved female preachers.

One of the first signs of a shift toward patriarchal domination of leadership came

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[10] Taylor, "First Mission,"10.

[11] Whitt, "Revival Came to St. John's," 21.

[12] James Reid, "North Harbour Assembly Celebrating 55th Anniversary," Good Tidings, March-April 1977, 27; and, Burton K. Janes, Lady Who Stayed, p. 203.

soon after the movement received government recognition as a denomination in 1925. At the first official business meeting held by the newly formed executive on October 15th, 1926, males began to dominate elected offices of leadership. The offices of General Overseer, Secretary, and Treasurer were given to Brothers English, Barnes and Mugridge. The only other office to be held was that of Assistant General Overseer, which was symbolically offered to Alice Belle Garrigus. The four board of management officers for the outport stations were filled by males as well.

Following 1936 and down to the present males have increasingly come to take positions of leadership within the PAON. Garrigus was the first woman to serve on the general executive, a position she held until 1939. Since then no woman has been elected to that position. There were, however, many women who held pastoral positions. Currently, all senior PAON ministers are male, and its general executive is comprised entirely of males.

5.3 The Role of Charismatic Leadership

The shift toward patriarchal domination in leadership can be explained in terms of what Weber identifies as two styles of leadership, namely, "pure" charismatic leadership and "office" charismatic leadership. Essentially, patriarchal domination is based upon two premises: first, women are more likely to develop a "pure" charismatic style of leadership and, secondly, it is this style of leadership which in time gives way to an "office" type of charisma. It is males that usually develop the "office" style of leadership.

Weber defines "pure" charisma[13] as:

> ... a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader.[14]

This for Weber is "pure" charisma which is foreign to any economic considerations, and when it appears it constitutes an emphatic 'call' to a 'mission' or 'spiritual duty.'[15] The personal "call", for Weber, was the decisive element in distinguishing the 'pure' charisma of the prophet from the 'office' charisma of the priest.[16] He writes:

> The latter lays claim to authority by virtue of his service in a sacred tradition, while the prophet's claim is based on personal revelation and charisma. The priest... dispenses salvation by virtue of his office. But the prophet... exerts his power simply by virtue of his personal gifts.[17]

In the case of personal charisma, the call of the prophet is confirmed through the recognition of charisma by the community and the acknowledgement by the community that they are experiencing the "latter rain" (Joel 2:23) in which their sons and daughters are prophesying

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[13] For some, charisma languishes in a rather obscure and confusing state of meaning and relevance. In spite of this ambiguity, which seems to exist because of divergent interpretations of Weber, charisma can be theoretically defined with sociological significance.

[14] Weber. The Interpretation of Social Reality, 229.

[15] Ibid., 232.

[16] Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion, translated by Ephriam Fischoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 46.

[17] Ibid., 46-47.

(Joel 2:28).[18] In the case of office charisma, "... it is the hierarchical office that confers legitimate authority upon the priest as a member of a corporate enterprise of salvation."[19] With the development of office charisma, gender is eventually relativized, or even eliminated, as a criterion for the legitimation. That is, the development of a hierarchical office assumes that males will fill roles of leadership. In certain cases, however, the presence of personal charisma can establish women as recognized leaders.

In the evolution of religious movements "pure" charismatic leadership usually gives way to Weber's second charismatic leadership style, that being "office" charisma. In the development of early North American Pentecostalism, for example, pure charismatic leadership was certainly evidenced. Reflecting on leadership styles of first generation Pentecostal leaders at Azusa Street, Frank Bartleman writes:

> Brother Seymour was recognized as the nominal leader in charge. But we had no pope or hierarchy. We were "brethren." We had no human programme. The Lord Himself was leading. We had no priest class, nor priest craft. These things have come in later, with the apostatizing of the movement. We did not even have a platform or pulpit in the beginning. All were on one level. The ministers were servants, according to the true meaning of the word. We did not honour men for their advantage, in means or education, but rather their God-given "gifts."[20]

As Barfoot and Sheppard have shown, this "prophetic" type of leadership over time gave way

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[18] Barfoot and Sheppard, 2-17.

[19] Weber, The Sociology of Religion, 47.

[20] Frank Bartleman, Azusa Street, 1925 (Plainfield: Logos International, 1980), 57-58.

to the development of a "priestly" form of leadership.[21]

There is evidence within the development of Newfoundland Pentecostalism that this shift in leadership style has also occurred. In the early years, a calling, confirmation of a calling, and the eschatological belief[22] that "your sons and your daughters will prophesy" (Joel 2:28) legitimated the position of those who propagated the Pentecostal message, regardless of gender. In the first instance, many early pentecostal preachers laid claim to the fact that they were "called" for a specific ministry. Alice B. Garrigus, for example, just prior to the opening of Bethesda Mission, claimed that the Lord had called her to Newfoundland to give the full gospel according to Acts 2:4 and Joel 2:28.[23] She espoused the belief that only God himself could reveal a person's heart through a revelation of his will personally to that individual[24] and that a person so called to mission received the greatest honour that God could bestow.[25] Another early Pentecostal leader, Ada Broomfield, reported of hearing a voice in her heart saying, "go home to thy friends and tell them what great things the Lord hath done for thee."[26] Still another early Pentecostal worker, Evelyn Forsey, reports of

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[21] Barfoot and Sheppard, 7.

[22] For the importance of eschatological preaching in the legitimization of one's calling see chapter 2.

[23] Myrtle B. Eddy, "Bethesda," Good Tidings, January-February, 1975, 6.

[24] Alice Belle Garrigus, "The Worm Company," The Sheaf of the First Fruits, October, 1926, 2.

[25] Garrigus, "Separation," 5.

[26] Myrtle Brromfield Eddy, "Oh Day of Gladness," Good Tidings, May-June, 1969, 29.

receiving her calling by the "Holy Spirit speaking through her." She writes:

> In later years when it became a question of whether women should pastor a church or preach the gospel, no matter what was said, there was no power in earth or hell could ever make me doubt the reality of my call. You see, the Bible says, "In the last days I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,... and upon my servants and upon my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy."[27]

The confirmation of the calling of these women was brought about through the recognition of their charisma by members of the community to which they ministered. For early Pentecostal workers to be credited with possessing charisma, the perceived operation of spiritual gifts had to go hand in hand with their preaching and teaching.[28] There are many reports from Pentecostal converts in 1910-1924 that attribute the presence of special charisma to their first-generation female pastors. A. S. Winsor writes:

> One thing that makes us different from any other group is the fact that we believe that the Holy Spirit should have His way, that is what makes us Pentecostal... Miss Garrigus many times... believed in waiting on God and letting the Holy Spirit speak to our hearts.[29]

The preaching of the gospel would take prominent place in the Pentecostal service, but on many occasions this part of the service would be interrupted due to perceived supernatural manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Sometimes it would be impossible to continue the

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[27] Evelyn Forsey, Great Is Thy Faithfulness (Hantsport: Lancelot Press, 1993), 20.

[28] Hughes, R. H., "Preaching, a Pentecostal Perspective," Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, ed. By Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988), 722-724.

[29] A. S. Winsor, "Things... Seen and Heard," Good Tidings, May-June, 1972, 21.

preaching due to the congregation breaking forth in "volumes of praise and worship. People received their baptism; there was tongues and interpretation. It was not unusual to have a Jericho March [A Jericho March occurred when members of a congregation spontaneously left their pews and marched around the perimeter of the place of assembly. In an atmosphere of high enthusiasm, the march often included singing, clapping of hands, raising of hands, or shouting]."[30] Under Garrigus' ministry there were also reports of physical healings, deliverance from demon possession, glossolalia, xenolalia, prophecy, word of knowledge, word of wisdom, discernment of spirits and faith. Recounting her sister's experience in one of Garrigus' meetings, Evelyn Forsey states:

> While Muriel was anointed a number of times, she seemed never to have the freedom of the Spirit. One Monday morning, Sister Garrigus called six sisters and requested them to fast and pray on Muriel's behalf. Sister Taylor laid hands on her and rebuked the binding spirit. Immediately, Muriel was filled with the Spirit, and for four hours, spoke both in English and tongues, reciting whole portions of Scripture that she had previously unknown.[31]

On another occasion a man was prompted to prayer as a result of a vision he had in St. John's, while at exactly the same hour God was to have calmed a storm in the North Atlantic saving the lives of the first missionaries to Labrador.[32] Whether these accounts were in fact "real" is not altogether important. What is important is that they were perceived as fact by

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[30] Myrtle B. Eddy, "Bethesda," Good Tidings, July-August, 1975, 15.

[31] Evelyn Forsey, "Gratitude and Praise," Good Tidings, November-December, 1980, 15.

[32] D. Claude Young, "Saved Through Prayer," Good Tidings, April, 1986, 24-26.

first generation Pentecostals. And, as such, these perceptions confirmed the legitimacy of the claim of a calling by early female Pentecostal preachers. Gender thus was no liability in the public religious performance of Pentecostals. In fact, the presence of the charismata in women accounts for their significant contribution to early Newfoundland Pentecostalism.

5.4 Professionalization of Ministry

As has been suggested, the significant growth of the Pentecostal movement during the 1920s brought about a significant change in the leadership of the movement. Many positions in ministry were filled with former Methodist and Salvation Army members and an increase in evangelism on their part fostered even more growth. Over time, the significant contribution that women made to the early history of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland was to be overshadowed by the development of a hierarchy dominated by males. The establishment of monetary reimbursement for ministers along with the development of a financial buraucracy, the educating and training of ministers, as well as the development of regulations for ordination would result in the patriarchal domination of the PAON.

5.4.1 Development of a Paid Ministry

Building upon Weber's sociological work on the sect type, Wilson contends that some sects, particularly those arising as evangelistic movements, evolve towards

denominations. A principal element in this evolution is the acquisition of a paid ordained ministry - a professional religious elite.[33] According to Wilson, movements which espouse vigorous evangelism almost necessarily acquire a paid ministry.[34] The laity of the growing movement tends to relinquish individual evangelistic responsibilities over time favouring the `professional' mandate of the minister to evangelize and administrate. They also often relinquish their personal responsibility to possess knowledge of doctrine and theology and seek direction from the minister in such matters.[35] The acquisition of such a ministry is directly related to the sect's growth, as well as its increased prosperity and social status. Members of such religious groups seek "status congruity with their personal wealth" thereby influencing the movement to "take on styles of increased worldly respectability."[36] Also, as a result of very rapid growth, religious specialists were needed for the maintenance of the group in doctrinal instruction, counselling and ministry.[37]

Workers and preachers with the Pentecostal movement prior to 1925 were primarily women who received support from those they ministered to directly. Some workers, such as Robert Chauncy English, either worked for themselves or others, in addition to their responsibilities of ministry. This tradition was considered legitimate in light of the biblical

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33 Wilson, The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism, p. 116.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Wilson, Religion in Sociological Perspective, 97.

37 Ibid., 98.

precedents, in particular, references to the apostle Paul's tentmaking trade as a means of financially supporting his ministry. The first executive of the PAON quickly made this practice obsolete, however, eventually leading to the dismissal of the first general overseer, Robert Chauncy English, who did not depend on support entirely from the official funds of the Assemblies (See chapter 4). In 1926 the executive of the movement established a Home Mission Fund to subsidize future evangelistic work by the Assemblies. The fund was to be sustained through pledges from the established assemblies at Victoria, Port-de-Grave, Cupids and Clarke's Beach. Dependent workers and all travel expenses were to be paid through the fund as well as 40% of the Overseer's salary.[38]

5.4.2 Training for Ministry

The organizational structure which Vaters experienced within Methodism quickly became the example to which the PAON would adhere. In 1927 correspondence Bible courses from Winnipeg Bible School were chosen by the executive and became mandatory training for current and prospective ministers.[39] One year later a committee was appointed to look into the feasability of establishing a Bible School in Newfoundland "as soon as

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[38] General Executive Meeting, October 20, 1926, St. John's, Minute 6.

[39] General Conference, October 17-24, 1927, St. John's, Minutes 14 and 39.

possible" even "up to the points of contracting church debts."[40] Although Bethesda Pentecostal Bible School was not officially opened until 1933, the precedent for future ministers within the Assemblies was set. As early as 1928 prospective ministers were being turned down for full time ministry until such a time as they were able to go to Bible school.[41] In 1944 the following resolution was passed by the executive:

> Resolved that we adopt the correspondence course put out by the Toronto Bible School and recommend same to our workers and Assemblies and that in the case of unordained and not fully approved workers we consider a completion of this course necessary to ordination or full approval and any minutes contrary to this be looked upon as having been superceded by the above minute.[42]

Subsequent to the closing of Bethesda Pentecostal Bible School the training of Newfoundland ministers was carried out in educational institutions falling under the auspices of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.

The culmination of the Assemblies' preoccupation with training for ministry could be seen with the appointment of Vaters to the Board of Directors of the Ontario Bible School in 1947.[43] The school was located in Toronto, Ontario, at Bond and Dundas Streets, and was administered by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. The relationship between the

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[40] General Executive Meeting, February 16, 1928, St. John's. Minute 17 (All the more significant in light of Minute 9 the following year putting the PAON on record as standing against contracting church debts).

[41] General Executive Meeting, June 4-9, 1928, St. John's, Minute 13.

[42] General Executive Meeting, July 4, 1944, Windsor, Minute 8.

[43] General Executive Meeting, July 16, 1947, Long Pond, Minute 13.

Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and the Ontario Bible School [renamed Eastern Pentecostal Bible School in 1949] was promoted largely through personal relationships. Eugene Vaters had ministered in Hamilton, Ontario, and became a personal friend of Rev. J. H. Blair, who later became a member of the school's Board of Directors. Upon becoming the general superintendent of the PAON, Vaters encouraged candidates for ministry to attend the Ontario school for training.[44] From this point on in the movement's history, formal training at a recognized Bible college would be important in considering candidates for ministry.

5.4.3 Ordination of Ministry

Subsequent to 1925, perhaps the most visible trend in the organization of the Assemblies was an aggressive development towards ordination of its preachers. A large component of this development was the new executive's concern for those that ministered to have certain qualifications and training. This goal displacement of the Assemblies, which clearly contradicted earlier emphasis upon individual charisma and calling, is a common phenomenon of all bureaucracies. The earlier practice of charismatic individuals who were called by God to preach the gospel, launching out in an act of faith for spiritual direction and physical sustenance, was very quickly replaced with ministers being appointed by the

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[44] Carman W. Lynn, ed., Truth Aflame: A History of Eastern Pentecostal Bible College (Toronto: Harmony Printing Ltd., 1989), 42.

executive to stations. It soon became apparent that these new Pentecostal ministers would need more than just a calling, but a specific regimen of training as well as other qualifications and attributes.[45]

One of the first steps toward the establishment of ordination guidelines was the classification of gospel workers in 1927 in language which clearly limited women in roles of leadership. The resolution reads:

> Proposed that we give a letter of recommendation, Gospel Worker, and Ordination papers. (1) A letter of recommendation shall consist of recognition for a *man* who wanted to enter into fellowship with the brothers and sisters of the other assemblies. (2) Gospel Worker; a *person* with all ministerial rights (except marriage). (3) Ordination; a *man* separated and with full ministerial rights.[46]

With official ordination only being offered to men, it is all the more interesting to note that Alice Belle Garrigus seconded this resolution to be carried. In addition, another resolution of the same conference clearly intimated that a calling to ministry would no longer be sufficient:

> We recommend that this assembly now meeting at St. John's do leave the individual call of every person with God and that after the examination of a candidate seeking fellowship by three or four elders, if they are found to be sound in doctrine and of a good report, that they recommend them for ordination and in event of them erring from the truth of God that the church have power to withdraw their papers unless they straighten. These papers to

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[45] A similar development within the Pentecostal Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance is contained in: Bryan R. Wilson, "The Pentecostal Minister: Role Conflicts and Contradictions of Status," Patterns of Sectarianism, ed. By Bryan R. Wilson (London: Morrison and Gibb Ltd., 1967), pp. 138-181.

[46] General Executive Meeting, March 26-28, 1927, St. John's, Minute 8.

be renewed yearly.[47]

In 1929 a male dominated executive introduced a more eleborate and restrictive process for prospective workers to undergo prior to being received into the Assemblies for formal ministry. Of the eight executive officers only one was female. that being Alice Garrigus. who in light of her previous position regarding female classification in ministry. obviously did not take a strong stance toward gender equality in this context. Her lack of commitment to ensuring women workers full equality with males in ministerial status had implications for her earlier years of ministry at Bethesda. It seems quite plausible that D. W. Fowler was indeed in charge of the initial planting of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland. The emergence of Robert Chauncy English, and, later. Eugene Vaters. as the leader of the more established religious movement subsequent to 1919, was probably a natural progression of organizational emphasis for the more formal evangelical institution.

That Garrigus did little to retain the status of women in terms of authority and ministry is likely related to her view of women in relation to men. It was evident to her that women were quite capable to preach the gospel. but not necessarily suitable to hold official roles of authority within a religious organization ruled by men. Regarding the condition of women in relation to men she writes:

> It was a woman that carried the first Easter message and today the women who are carrying the gospel to heathen lands far outnumber the men. The moral tone of a nation has always been greatly influenced by its women. We hear much today about the "emancipation of women" but we wonder if it

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[47] Ibid., Minute 1.

> would not be more fitting to call it the "degradation of women." It is written in the record of creation "male and female created He them," and such he intended them to be, each in their own sphere fulfilling the purpose for which they were created.[48]

It would seem, therefore, that although Garrigus viewed women as capable in terms of preaching the gospel they should not compete with men for positions of authority. Regardless of her motivations and personal convictions, it is quite apparent that she did little to encourage full equality for females in the quickly developing policies of the PAON regarding gender and ministry.

The Assemblies quickly adopted institutional characteristics in the process of granting rights for individuals to minister in its churches. In a few short years the idea of calling and personal charisma as a means of gauging a person's suitability to minister was replaced with questionnaires, tests, formal training, allegiance to doctrinal policies and approval from male- dominated committees. It was resolved in 1929:

> That we recommend that all candidates seeking for recognition and all who apply for ordination in future be thoroughly examined by a *questionaire blank*, and *come before a proper committee* for any further examination that may seem necessary, and that they promise to faithfully co-operate with, and *stand by the principles laid down by the scriptures as adapted by the Council*, and that at any time they cannot do this, before doing anything contrary to the same, they interview those placed in authority, and if terms cannot be reached, they quietly withdraw, and return their credentials.[49]

In addition to this, the initial recommendation to grant a worker official status within the

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[48] Garrigus, Signs of the Coming of the King, 21.

[49] General Conference, May 17-23, 1929, St. John's, Minute 12.

Assemblies had to be given by a pastor and *his* assembly.[50] In an attempt to increase the authority and power of the executive, the spread of the Pentecostal message was controlled by the executive. Any attempt by individuals to erect buildings and open up new works on their own was proscribed and had to be undertaken in full compliance and co-operation with the executive and its constitution.[51] Even more religiously territorial was the resolution that steps be taken "to safeguard the name of 'Pentecost'... in event of some one else registering same."[52]

5.4.4 Hierarchical Control of Ministry

Restrictions on the activities of prospective and current workers inevitably lead to the establishment and development of a hierarchical system of control. By 1929 it was quite apparent to all that Eugene Vaters was officially in charge of overseeing all aspects of the Assemblies. All committees active in decision making at general conferences were appointed by Vaters to fulfil their mandates.[53] Any proposed evangelistic work to be undertaken in new fields of ministry had to be approved personally by Vaters.[54] In addition,

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[50] Executive Meeting, May 22, 1929, St. John's, Minute 8.

[51] General Conference, May 17-23, 1929, St. John's, Minute 18.

[52] Ibid., Minute 51.

[53] Ibid., Minute 6.

[54] Ibid., Minute 13.

it was resolved "that the overseer be entirely free from pastoral work so as to devote all his time to the work on the field."[55] Vaters' power was further augmented in 1930 when he was given the authority to personally approve or reject applications of candidates desiring to minister within the auspices of the Assemblies.[56]

These developments showed an emphasis on the part of Vaters and the Assemblies to be as powerful and institutionally legitimate as any other established denomination in Newfoundland at the time. The reliance of the first Pentecostal preachers in Newfoundland on God for their sustenance was transformed under Vaters into an official responsibility of the religious group and its members. Vater's comfortable position in terms of denominational leadership and influence seems to be directly proportional to his increased standard of living and prestige. Data available from the 1935 Newfoundland census not only shows a stark difference between the income of female and male ministers, but a large discrepancy between Vaters' income and the income of the average Pentecostal preacher. Patriarchal dominance of the Assemblies is reflected in the reality that males averaged an income of $307.00 a year, while females averaged $221.00 a year. When Alice Garrigus' $600.00 salary is subtracted from the total female incomes, the average yearly income of females drops to $173.00. Females were not only losing out in their classification of ministry and their numbers involved in ministry, but also their average incomes represented only

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[55] Ibid., Minute 36.

[56] General Conference, September 18-26, 1930, St. John's, Minute 18.3.

approximately half that of males. What is even more revealing, however, is the fact that Vaters received a reported $1,000.00 in salary for 1935. In light of the fact that his housing was completely paid for from the tithes of workers, as well as his annual vacation, it seems that Vaters was the equivalent in church influence and domestic ease to that of any other ecclesiastical leader of his day.[57]

5.4.5 Financial Structure of Ministry

Over time, hierarchical control led to the development of a more clearly defined financial structure. Vaters' salary, for example, was to be supplied from the tithes of current workers[58] which had previously been applied to the Home and Foreign Missions Fund,[59] as well as 10% of all regular offerings by affiliated churches.[60] Furthermore, ministers were required to take responsibility for any debt incurred in the process of ordination.[61] An official residence was secured for Vaters in 1933, the financing of which dominated fiscal concerns of the movement at conferences up to 1947. As early as 1937, for example, a

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[57] 1935 Newfoundland Census.

[58] Although various means were utilized to pay for Vater's salary over the years (at one point 100% of worker's tithes going directly to him), from this point on he was fully supported by official means of acquiring funds.

[59] General Conference, May 17-23, 1929, St. John's, Minute 73.

[60] Ibid., Minute 80.

[61] General Conference, March 26-28, 1927, St. John's, Minute 1.

motion was made at a general conference that, "the amounts coming in from the registering of births, deaths, and marriages, go towards the use of the superintendent's home."[62] In 1935 a vacation was approved which was fully financed through the tithes of workers. In 1943 an official office was constructed at his residence with all expenses paid for by the Assemblies.

The institutionalization of the Assemblies began to show itself through resolutions clearly establishing a concern for organization and the practice of acceptable business ethics. One resolution reads:

> Resolved - that we open a bank account as soon as possible for the Home and Mission Fund of the Assemblies; Secretary to make out all cheques and Treasurer to sign same. Everything to be performed in a business like manner.[63]

Concern was shown for the proper management of church property when the movement incorporated, from the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, constitutional resolutions regarding the proper procedure for deeding buildings.[64] In 1929 more formal regulations were necessary in that the movement was acquiring more property, as opposed to leasing. One resolution reads: "On motion it was resolved that we accept and adopt the 'Declaration of Trust' used by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada for the holding of property..."[65]

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[62] General Conference, June 24 - July 2, 1937, Bishop's Falls, Minute 115.

[63] Ibid.

[64] General Conference, June 4-9, 1928, St. John's, Minute 36.

[65] General Conference, May 17-23, 1929, St. John's, Minute 58.

Treasurers' reports and financial statements were becoming established and necessary elements of every conference and executive meeting. By 1937 it was apparent to the leadership of the movement that conducting business piecemeal by adopting practices from the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada as problems arose was insufficient. At the general conference for that year the following resolution was passed:

> Moved... that we meet together again next annual conference in two divisions: (1) Eastern - all east of Notre Dame Junction; (2) Western - all west of Notre Dame Junction; that in the meanwhile a committee be appointed during this Conference known as a general Executive Committee to frame up a proper constitution and present it for adoption at the next divisional meetings as above.[66]

At the same conference, four members of the general executive committee formed a quorum to deal with all business issues related to the movement. Such resolutions indicate the necessity of the movement's establishing financial and organizational structures to effectively manage the numerical and fiscal growth being experienced by the movement.

5.5 Conclusion

The transformation in the organizational structure of the PAON was indeed a stark contrast from the first decade of the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland. The fact that the early leadership of the movement was predominantly female may have been related to the heritage of the holiness movement, which had a long tradition of openness toward women

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[66] General Conference, June 24-July 2, 1937, Bishop's Falls, Minute 78.

in ministry.[67] More importantly, however, it clearly established the sectarian nature of the religious group in that it accepted the criteria of ministry stated above as being most important, thereby rendering issues of gender as unimportant in relation to roles of religious group leadership. The early charismatic leadership history of the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland fulfills Weber's criteria for the sectarian group typology. After the growth experienced by the movement in the early 1920's, however, action was soon taken that would change the criteria for leadership in the movement. These actions would eventually come to have significant implications for the sociological nature of the group, transforming it from sect to denomination.

This transformation brought with it a greater emphasis upon evangelistic outreach. Prior to English and Vaters, evangelistic endeavours outside of St. John's were limited in geographical scope. Subsequent to registering as a denomination with the government in 1925, however, a greater sense of mission and island-wide evangelism was evident in the movement. After the initial business meeting of the new power brokers of the movement in 1926, the development of a paid, trained and ordained ministry took precedence.

The principal element in the evolution of sect to denomination, the acquisition of a trained, paid and ordained ministry, was established very quickly by the newly formed denomination. That the leadership roles of the Assemblies became almost exclusively male, altered the matriarchal tradition of the earlier Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland.

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[67] R. M. Reiss, "Women, Role of," 898.

Indeed, the male dominated executive of 1927 abandoned the sectarian notion that individual charisma, regardless of gender, was a person's means of legitimating their call to ministry. As distinctiveness in terms of organization changed, so too did the movement's distinctiveness in terms of doctrine and practice. A study of comparative data from 1935 and 1991, as well as more recent findings, can indicate the scope and extent of this change.

6.0 INSTITUTIONALIZATION: SECULARIZATION AND DISTINCTIVENESS

6.1 Introduction

Changes in doctrine and practice are an important indication of the movement of a sect towards a denomination. Wilson has made this point quite convincingly. He argues that over time "ecclesiastical principles, once thought to be virtually indispensable for the true church and for obedience to God's will, are abandoned, and their legitimations forgotten".[1] In other words, a group's original perception of its uniqueness and distinctiveness, in terms of doctrine and practice, ceases to be seen as necessary, or even desirable. Doctrine and practice for a specific group, therefore, often evolve into something quite different than originally formulated and intended.

It has been proposed by Wilson, and others, that changes in doctrine and practice result from the influence of secularization. More specifically, secularization causes individuals within a religious organization to hold less rigid views and to participate in what were once questionable behaviour and activities. In early Pentecostalism, for example, females were required to dress in dark stockings and dark dresses that were sufficiently long that when arms were lifted during worship there was no suggestion of immodesty.[2] Presently, females dress comparatively the same as females in other denominations. This very practical expression of change has been deemed by Niebuhr and Wilson to be the result

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1 Wilson, The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism, 120.

2 General Conference, June 12-20, 1931, St. John's, Minute 44.

of secularization.

In a broad sense, secularization may be defined as "the process in which religious thinking, practice and institutions lose social significance."[3] As a result of secularization, people no longer explain what is taking place in religious terms. What happens is viewed largely as a product of human and physical factors. Other-worldly ideas that once knew special veneration are forced to compete with this-worldly claims on this-worldly terms.[4] In other words, the "... increased capacity [of individuals] to assess and supply [their] ... own needs [has] led to the assumption that social well being ... [depends] not on God's providence but on social planning."[5] It is this shift in social consciousness that also results in changes in doctrine and practice.

In the case of Newfoundland Pentecostalism, it has been shown that the early religious conceptions of its followers were sectarian in nature. For instance, the appeal of individual charisma in its leaders, as opposed to office charisma, indicates a more primitive conception of religious organization. Early Pentecostals were also more inclined to depend on God for all aspects of their existence, whether spiritual, emotional, or physical. With the onset of industrialization and urbanization, however, a greater sense of self-sufficiency and independence developed. These indicators of secularization were a result of the social and material gains made by Pentecostals. Generally, in such cases, religious attendance and

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[3] Bryan R. Wilson, Religion in Secular Society (London: C. A. Watts and Co. Ltd., 1966), xiv.

[4] Reginald W. Bibby, "Secularization and Change," in The Sociology of Religion, ed W. E. Hewitt (Toronto: Butterworths, 1993), 67.

[5] Ibid., 163.

belief decline, creating the impetus necessary to change the character of the religious group sociologically. The loosely organized, more experiential sect, develops characteristics indicative of a formal religious institution, or denomination. Developments in a group's doctrine and practice are overt indicators that change has indeed taken place.

The purpose of this chapter is to show that secularization has affected the social consciousness of Pentecostals generally. It will be argued that what was important for Pentecostals traditionally is often no longer significant. In what follows, I shall attempt to examine empirical evidence, namely, the 1935 and 1991 census data, in order to account for the effects of secularization. Demographic changes, such as occupation, education, marital status, church membership and age, suggest the profound effect of secularization upon Newfoundland Pentecostalism. These changes have affected in turn doctrine and practice, leading to a crisis of denominational distinctiveness, or the self-perceived religious significance of Pentecostals. The degree and scope of this change will add further evidence to suggest how significant the movement's development towards a denomination has been.

6.2 Social Mobility and Affluence

H. Richard Niebuhr observed that economic success was the major impetus behind the transformation of sectarian groups into denominations.[6] This success can be measured in that "new adherents, increased property, or greater community influence, may precipitate a change in the group itself, gradually, but inevitably, moving it toward greater formality and

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[6] Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, 54.

structural services, and toward a hierarchical organization."[7] The denomination exhibits its social standing in its elaborate buildings, social and educational institutions, paid leadership and ornate furnishings.[8] These characteristics are not conducive to sectarian groups in that the sect is characterized by a lack of social status and financial means. In their appeal to the lower socioeconomic levels of society, sects lack elaborate places of worship with ornate furnishings, a paid ministry and educational institutions.

Material changes can be perceived visually (tangible expressions of church holdings and group appearance) and may indicate that significant sociological change has occurred within the religious group. A more concrete and empirical means of measuring that change is necessary, however, if one is to clearly show its significance as it relates to the process of institutionalization. Recognizing this necessity, Bryan R. Wilson introduces the concept of "social mobility" in an attempt to show the effects of secularization on the group's self-identification, or where they see themselves in relation to the rest of society. Social mobility refers to one's ability to move upward in society.[9] Specifically, upward mobility results in a person being accepted in the larger social circles and provides opportunities for involvement in clubs, societies and the political sphere, which before were not even considered possible. This social mobility is often directly correlated with increases in income, primarily as a result of occupational change. In a broader perspective, however, the

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[7] Dean K. Knudsen, "Sect, Church, and Organizational Change," Sociological Focus 2 (Autumn 1968) 1, 11.

[8] John H. Chamberlayne, "From Sect to Church in British Methodism," The British Journal of Sociology 15 (1964), 141.

[9] Wilson, The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism, 123.

members of the sect are seen as socially mobile when their forms of worship become more liberalized. The outward expression of liberalization of worship practices is a deliberate change in the architectural design of church buildings themselves.[10] An examination of Pentecostal occupational trends, the development of worship practices, and the architectural design of church buildings, are measures which will provide some indication of the degree to which Pentecostals have become socially mobile.

In the first instance, there is every indication that Pentecostals were, in the past, limited in their social mobility. A review of the occupations in 1935 (see table 6.1) shows that most Pentecostals were employed in traditional, resource based industries such as agriculture, fishing, trapping, logging and forestry. By 1991, however, participation in these industries had drastically diminished. Pentecostals in the present are much more likely to be involved in manufacturing (+10.1%), retail (+12.6%), government services (+7.2%), educational services (+7%), and health and social services (+7.8%).[11] Such industries provide a higher standard of living and an environment in which opportunity for advancement in social standing is enhanced.

In the second instance, the evidence suggests that with occupational and economic advancement, worship practices change. In his history of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in the United States, Klaude Kendrick writes, "one cannot help but observe that the fervour of the holiness and Pentecostal movements cooled as the social and economic status of the

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[10] Ibid., 123-124.

[11] 1935 Newfoundland Census, and 1991 Canada Census.

Table 6.1
Comparison of 1935 and 1991 Census Data
Occupational Change of Newfoundland Pentecostals

Occupation	1935	1991	% Change
Agricultural & related service industries	34	150	-2.7
Fishing & trapping industries	248	945	-20.8
Logging & forestry industries	336	795	-31
Mining (inc. milling), quarrying & oil well industries	8	485	+2.05
Manufacturing industries	20	2050	+10.1
Construction industries	57	1520	+3
Transportation & storage industries	27	670	+1.1
Communication & other utility industries	6	415	+1.8
Wholesale trade industries	4	590	+3.1
Retail trade industries	1	2655	+12.6
Finance & insurance industries	0	255	+1.5
Real estate operator & insurance agent industries	0	65	+.38
Business service industries	3	270	+1.3
Government service industries	8	1350	+7.2
Educational service industries	0	1165	+7
Health & social service industries	0	1315	+7.8
Accommodation, food & beverage service industries	7	780	+3.9
Other service industries	151	1235	+5.8
Totals	**940**	**16710**	

participants improved."[12] In relation to this, a qualitative analysis of the worship practices of Newfoundland Pentecostals shows a drastic transformation from those of earlier times. One early convert to Pentecostalism under Garrigus relates:

> When I first came into Pentecostalism I was amazed at how different the worship was from what I was used to. We would praise the Lord into the wee hours of the morning. I remember that on several occasions we didn't leave the mission to go home until the night was lifting... What I miss the most is

[12] Klaude Kendrick, The Promise Fulfilled: A History of the Modern Pentecostal Movement (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), 45.

the tarrying service... We would really see God move in those early days.[13]

The tarrying service was a special meeting where people would 'wait upon God' for such things as direction concerning decisions that had to be made, healing, the operation of spiritual gifts, Holy Spirit baptism, an answer to a question, etc... During a tarrying service the emphasis was not only upon prayer, but also waiting silently for someone to receive what was being sought after. These services would last for varying lengths of time, but most would go on late into the night. The importance of these meetings is evident in the fact that many of those in attendance would have to leave for work early that same morning.[14] The tarrying service does not exist any longer in Newfoundland Pentecostal circles. It has been replaced with a weekly prayer meeting that seldom runs in length for more than an hour.[15]

By the early 1970's the leadership of the movement was recognizing that certain changes in worship were overdue because they were outdated. Although the leadership was not being specific regarding which forms of worship should be discontinued, it was clearly indicating that change was desired.[16] The changes that did eventually occur included the demise of many traditional practices that were common to early Pentecostals. The wave offering, which consisted of worshippers raising their hands in the air to wave handkerchiefs

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[13] Hannah D. Hollett.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Olive L. Pinsent, interview by author, 7 March 1998, Tape recording, Stephenville, Newfoundland.

[16] A. Stanley Bursey, "Religious Mutiny," The Good Tidings, September-October 1972, 4.

and hymn books while singing, is now obsolete, as well as the Jericho march.[17] The Jericho march occurred when the congregation rose and marched around the pews of the church in an atmosphere of high enthusiasm with singing and shouting.[18] Another traditional activity that is seldom seen in modern Pentecostal services is dancing in the Spirit. Concerning this distinctly Pentecostal form of worship, one author writes:

> Expressive personal experience occurs when an individual Pentecostal believer engages in dancing in the Spirit. Always individually done, never in couples, always unplanned and never scheduled, at almost any point in the service - during hymns or during a sermon, a believer so moved will leave the seat and move up and down the aisles of the church, eyes often closed, arms usually uplifted - lost in abandon to the worship of God.[19]

What seems to have impeded practices such as dancing in the Spirit is the more formal and organized approach to church services. Services that are heavily structured with program are more intrusive to personal, spontaneous expressions of worship that exhibit, at times, great emotion. With every aspect of church service being planned, there is little time to promote forms of worship that can gain momentum and take over the service.[20] Pentecostal services are now advertised in the media and on church billboards with specific times for their beginning and end.

In the third instance, the outward appearance of Pentecostalism in both rural and

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[17] Stanley Hollett.

[18] R. P. Spittler, "Spirituality, Pentecostal and Charismatic," in Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 804.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Olive L. Pinsent.

urban areas has changed. This change became most notable in two ways. First, in the early history of the movement people around Newfoundland and Labrador recognized the buildings where Pentecostals worshipped by the name "Pentecostal Mission" posted over the doorway. Obviously the name reflected the nature of Pentecostalism in relation to its sense of mission to the province. Over time the names have been changed to reflect a "church." The practice has developed where the local body of Pentecostal believers choose a scriptural name to reflect their existence. Examples include: Faith Pentecostal Church; Emmanuel Pentecostal Church; Hope Pentecostal Church; Philadelphia Pentecostal Church; etc...

A second, more noticeable change, relates to the outward appearance of newer Pentecostal churches. The financial report of the Pentecostal Assemblies year ending December 31, 1991, records the movement's holdings of land, buildings and equipment to be valued at $3,455,846.00. Among other things, this property value includes its head office, Camp Emmanuel, and Book and Bible retail outlets.[21] This figure is reflective of the kinds of financial investment that are made at the local church level for church construction. On October 8, 1995, a newly constructed 48,000 square foot church-school complex was officially opened in Grand Falls-Windsor (in the part of town previously known as Windsor) which cost over $4,000,000.00 to construct.[22] Pentecostal churches costing in excess of a million dollars are not uncommon in Newfoundland communities.[23] There is no way to

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[21] "Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland Financial Report," 31 December 1998, 6.

[22] Calvin T. Andrews, "Windsor Pentecostal Tabernacle," Good Tidings, June 1996, 10.

[23] Frequent notices regarding new church dedications and mortgage burnings can be

distinguish the modern Pentecostal church of today from places of worship belonging to other denominations and faiths.

The modern Pentecostal church stands in stark contrast to the more humble beginnings of the movement. One account relating the earliest beginnings of Pentecostalism at Glovertown reads:

> Pastor Benjamin H. Elliott and his wife, Rita, arrived on October 6, 1948, and for $10 a month rented a house in the community. Naturally, there were those who wondered about this new group of people who came with a different style of religion. By November Brother Elliott's carpentry skills had been put to good use. He made the windows, installed the door, put felt on the roof, shored up the place and covered the interior with buff sheeting paper. In only a month an old woodshed had been converted into a sanctuary about 14 by 20 feet... Every dollar had to be stretched to its limit. Brother Elliott remembers tugging at $47 until it produced a door, a 20-foot 6 by 6 inch stringer, a roll of singly ply felt, three rolls of sheeting paper and three windows.[24]

The interior of the building was heated with a wood stove and the visitors sat on hand-made wooden benches constructed out of rough lumber.[25] Such structures were considered by early Pentecostals to be signs of God's working amongst a people devoid of materialism. Modern church structures were considered to be compromising to worldly fashion and earthly concerns. An article that appeared in a 1936 copy of the Good Tidings warned the Pentecostal movement to avoid such lavish church structures. The article reads:

> So far in Newfoundland we cannot point to any such superstructures - thanks to our poverty! Our buildings, as a rule, have been erected - with the sole

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found in the "Home Front Highlights" section of the Good Tidings.

[24] Calvin T. Andrews, "Full Gospel Assembly: Glovertown," Good Tidings, June 1991, 6.

[25] Ibid.

> idea in mind of decency, comfort, and accommodation for those who worship in them. May God keep us so, should he see wise to increase us numerically and financially a thousandfold! But, "little foxes spoil the vines, for our vines have tender grapes." The Holy Spirit is very sensitive to pride or a high, haughty spirit. Let us beware![26]

Not only does the article recognize that lavish church structures are related to the prosperity of a religious movement, but also the effect such structures can have upon traditional aspects of Pentecostal worship in which the Holy Spirit in manifested. In light of the changes to Pentecostal worship over the years and the erecting of modern church structures, it is significant that the Pentecostal movement, in its early stages, was warning not to engage in such activities.

The construction of more modern and expensive church structures has affected traditional aspects of Pentecostal worship and religious observance. One of the most visible changes that has occurred in Pentecostal religious observance, as a result of new church construction, is in relation to the water baptismal service. Water baptism by full immersion was usually undertaken in a public service at a local pond, lake or ocean beach. It was an experience that truly singled a person out from the rest of the community and often led to ostracism, ridicule and persecution.[27] A witness to an early baptismal service held by Bethesda Mission writes:

> Those baptismal services were really something. We left the main road and travelled through a small footpath, through the brush. Sister Garrigus was in the forefront, and the rest fell in line, singing all the way... The singing could be heard far and wide in the area. While Bethesda was somewhat despised in those earlier years, it seemed that when the baptismal service was

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[26] Eugene Vaters, "Humble Ground," Good Tidings, March 1939, 3.

[27] Janes, Lady Who Stayed, 180-181.

> announced a large part of the city turned out to witness the same... Water baptism was quite a cross in those days. One sister, who was one of the early members of Bethesda, was determined to follow the Lord this way. Her husband told her, if she went to Mundy Pond to be baptised, he would be there to shoot her. To let her know he meant business, Saturday night he took his rifle upstairs, putting it in the corner of the bedroom, ready for Sunday. When Sunday came, his wife went to the service and had the joy of following the Lord. Her husband could not go because he could not see. Something had come over his eyes.[28]

Such stories not only offer insight into the social cost and sacrifice associated with such an undertaking, but also the powerful sense of belonging that must have existed amongst the group's members. In more recent times, as a direct result of modern church structures, baptismal tanks have been constructed within the confines of the new church structure. Water baptism can be accomplished in an environment of acceptance and comfort. There is little that remains to the traditional water baptismal service apart from the act itself. Ostracism, persecution, and ridicule are aspects no longer associated with the act, changing dramatically the purpose the ordinance fulfilled in the earlier history of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland.

6.3 Education

There is evidence to suggest that education is a useful measure in determining the degree to which a religious movement has become institutionalized towards a denomination. There is evidence to suggest that the experiential nature of Pentecostalism is affected negatively as Pentecostals seek educational advancement. Research has shown, for instance, that with

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[28] Myrtle B. Eddy, "Bethesda," Good Tidings, May-June 1975, 15-16.

economic success and increased social status, the strict moral standards and emotional fervour of religious groups tend to become replaced with "the rational and systematic coordination of empirical knowledge."[29] It is this shift toward the acquisition of knowledge, which stands in stark contrast to the initial experiential nature of sects generally. In the case of Pentecostalism, such a rational replacement of values for religious immediacy are especially striking and establish a stark contrast between the movement's beginnings and subsequent development.

The increased emphasis on education has been cited as one reason for the demise of Methodism. Niebuhr states that:

> Religious enthusiasm declined in later days because Methodist Christianity became more literate and rational and because, with increasing wealth and culture, other escapes from the monotony and exhaustion of hard labour became available. The substitution of education for conversion, finally, played its part in making revivalism less important for successive generations."[30]

By 1947, Methodists themselves were seeing in Pentecostalism characteristics that had once made their religious movement prosperous with growth. One account reads:

> We high-brow Methodist preachers with our university degrees and new gospel of a Christ-directed social order are apt to make a deadly mistake concerning some of our more lowly brethren, of whom we often speak with condescension and sometimes with disdain... We are very quick to pity the lack of preparation shown by many of our Pentecostal brethren and ministers of other lowly Christian groups. Few of them have a theological training commensurate with the demands of these times, when colleges and universities adorn almost every hilltop. They butcher the English oftentimes. They are emotional and excitable. They are noisy. In fact, they are very

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[29] Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, 63.

[30] Ibid.

much like we Methodists used to be.[31]

The educational emphasis that contributed to the waning of Methodist experientialism, however, would also come to affect the Pentecostal Assemblies. In terms of assessing the degree to which education has overshadowed the experiential character of Pentecostalism, it is essential to comment on the development of the movement's concern for education and any effects that concern had upon the religious character of the group.

In terms of the early leadership of the movement, a negative view existed regarding rationalism and the pursuit of knowledge. This, at first glance, seems contradictory in light of the fact that the movement's founder, Alice Belle Garrigus, served as a school teacher after finishing her secondary education. In addition, she spent three years at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in South Hadley, Massachusetts, from 1878 to 1881.[32] The academic program at this college was extensive, as well as demanding, and included such subjects as history, Latin, rhetoric, English literature and composition, botany, German, zoology, astronomy, mineralogy, all the sciences and maths.[33] It is noteworthy, therefore, that education was relativized by Garrigus and preference given to immediate revelatory religious knowledge:

> We have been to schools and colleges with our good education and we think we know so much. A man may know nothing in his head yet that does not mean that he cannot know anything in God. These things come to us from Revelation. You can go to college and become an astronomer or a great educational man and yet may not know the first alphabet about God. The

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[31] Bob Shuler, "Watch the Pentecostals," The Methodist Challenge, March 1947, 35.

[32] Janes, Lady Who Came, 21-26.

[33] Ibid., 26-27.

> Spirit is trying to show us we do not know anything unless God shows it to us. We cannot know our own hearts or our wills unless God shows them to us. We think we do, but we do not.[34]

Although Garrigus did not totally reject secular education she did establish for religion a separate source of religious insight accessible even to the formally uneducated. This attitude towards formal education prevailed for many years within the movement. In the beginning formal education was not a major factor in determining who could, or could not, take on a position of leadership. Those who pioneered the movement were not "full time preachers," or "Reverend Sirs and Pastors," but just men and women with a vision for the lost who could pray.[35] In fact, many had very little education at all.[36] After the movement applied for a denominational charter in 1925, however, the education and training of its ministers became increasingly important. By 1927, the Pentecostal Assemblies was encouraging their prospective ministers to attend Ontario Bible College to seek formal education and training prior to entering the ministry.[37]

It wasn't long before the Pentecostal Assemblies began seeking support from government for their own public school system. The leadership wanted to ensure their members could be as educated as those of other denominations who already possessed

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[34] Garrigus, "The Worm Company," 2.

[35] A. S. Winsor, "Things Seen and Heard," Good Tidings, July-August 1972, 15.

[36] A. S. Winsor, "Things Seen and Heard," Good Tidings, November-December 1972, 20.

[37] Lynn, Truth Aflame, 42.

denominational school systems.[38] In a letter to the Commission Government in 1934 seeking separate education rights for Pentecostals, Eugene Vaters wrote:

> I would like to see it that the Pentecostal Newfoundlander or any other Newfoundlander would be given the same privileges and civic rights as any other of the most powerful denominations and that church influence was lifted out entirely.[39]

Vaters indicated his dissatisfaction with the educational system of the day in terms of its management and curriculum.[40] He also felt that Pentecostal people were being persecuted against because schools were being used for "dances, 'times,' bingo, card games, and similar activities," which were considered as sinful by Pentecostal standards.[41] In a letter to the Department of Education in 1945, Vaters wrote:

> I have ever been and am now for amalgamation with proper protection for our interests with others, and particularly with the United Church which I believe of the denominations has the best schools in the country. Pentecostal people were generally of that mind too until they woke up to see how little their interests were thought of by others and how petty persecution could be. Granted an understanding of equal and fair treatment and with interests protected, I think the Pentecostal people would be as willing as before to merge with another to the good of education generally.[42]

Because of a division in the membership concerning such stance, however, nothing materialized in this direction.

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[38] F. David Rideout, "The Growth of Pentecostal Education in Newfoundland," Good Tidings, September 1987, 14.

[39] Ibid., 12.

[40] Ibid., 14.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid., 15.

It is significant to note that although Vaters championed the cause of a separate denominational school system for Pentecostals he expressed disdain for such an idea in 1936 because such a system had victimized the Newfoundland Pentecostals in the past. In an article written to the membership of the movement he stated:

> Though for a while it was felt we should have more power with regard to deciding what to do with the Pentecostal school grant, yet we have at no time felt nor desired our separate school system. We have seen the ills of this antiquated system all too plainly and have been too often the victims of such ills. It was left us by the Government in Commission to decide what Boards we would work with for the whole or part of our Grant, or to work through the Department of Education. We have chosen, for the time being, this latter, and have passed over to the Department the apportioning of our part of the Public School Grant with the suggestion from us that we work with the best system of schools in any given settlement, and in accordance with a suggested plan of agreement with boards to assure to us fair and equal treatment and privileges with others without regard to which church connection they hold. We feel we must stand for that as long as the British Government guarantees to its subjects this same. We are conscious that the child of God must suffer; the Bible says so, and experience proves so: we have proven it, that "all that will live Godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." And besides we have always held that rightly the school question is not a church question but a civil one. Jesus said, "My kingdom is not of this world," and it still stands so.[43]

It is difficult to reconcile Vater's views on education as stated in 1936 with his subsequent attempts to obtain that which he formerly held to be anti-church and anti-Christian. His views regarding persecution would later be totally ignored. Not only was he distancing himself from his former stance on the matter, but also from the position Garrigus took in this matter. One is reminded of his statements in 1924 denying interest in forming a denomination, then turning around in 1925 and applying to the government for a denominational charter. It is plausible, in light of Garrigus's strong approval of Vaters as

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[43] Vaters, "Put no Fire Under - I Kings 18:23," 1, 6.

leader of the movement, that he initially possessed all the views of the founder of the movement. As the movement experienced internal and external impetuses towards change, however, Vaters felt the necessity to go along with the tide of change. With Joseph R. Smallwood becoming the premier of a new Canadian province in 1949, it wouldn't be long before separate denominational rights regarding education were granted. In 1954 the government agreed to recognize the Pentecostal Assemblies as a "denomination" for educational purposes.[44] This right was enshrined in the Canadian Constitution on June 23, 1987, under then Premier Brian Peckford.[45]

From the outset the philosophy and purpose of the Pentecostal school system involved more than the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as getting students through their senior high school exams. Its aim was also to "embody such conditions as will help the students to know Christ, to grow in him, to study and otherwise behave unto Him, and later to make Christ known in every field of human endeavour by dedicated lives."[46] It has been acknowledged that one of the benefits of Pentecostal education is the ability of the denomination to ensure future generations to fill offices of the church and to support its programs.[47] In addition, education in, and encouragement to uphold, such traditional Pentecostal practices as Holy Spirit baptism and speaking in tongues is a large part

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[44] Rideout, "The Growth of Pentecostal Education in Newfoundland," 16.

[45] Calvin T. Andrews, "PAON Presented with Commemorative Documents," Good Tidings, August 1988, 16.

[46] Geoffrey Shaw, The Purpose of Pentecostal Schools (St. John's: Good Tidings Press, n.d.), 4-6.

[47] Carl Verge, "For Ourselves or Others?" Good Tidings January-February 1971, 28.

of the purpose of Pentecostal schools.[48] Such an emphasis is, on the part of Pentecostals, "recognizably partisan, prejudiced and sectarian," but necessary if the traditions of the denomination are to be upheld.[49]

The degree to which the Pentecostal education system has protected and propagated the experiential aspects of the religious group is, however, much in doubt. The founder of the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland, Alice Belle Garrigus, was very clear that the Pentecostal experience could not be taught, but that it had to come from God in the form of a personal revelation.[50] In addition to this, the Pentecostal experience was to be accompanied by persecution from those on the outside, which, ironically, was one of the major reasons for the leadership of the movement to seek its own denominational school system in the first place.[51] In terms of what the Pentecostal school system has accomplished, a comparison of the levels of educational attainment between Pentecostals in 1935 and 1991 reveals that present-day Pentecostals are much better educated than their 1935 counterparts. As Tables 6.2 and 6.3 show, the categorizations used in 1935 are not readily compatible with those of 1991. Nevertheless, the categorizations do allow for certain conclusions. First, although 73.6

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[48] Shaw, The Purpose of Pentecostal Schools, 33.

[49] Geoffrey Shaw, Re-thinking Education (St. John's: Pentecostal Education Council, n.d.), 15.

[50] Garrigus, "The Worm Company," 10.

[51] F. David Rideout, 12.

Table 6.2
Level of Pentecostal Educational Attainment (1935 Census)

Reading and writing ability	% of Pentecostals
Cannot read or write	22.2
Can read but not write	4.1
Can read and write	73.6

percent of Pentecostals in 1935 could read and write, they are obviously much less educated than Pentecostals in 1991. As the 1991 Census data shows, 34.07 percent of Pentecostals had educational attainment levels higher than grade 13. Moreover, 74.82 percent of

Table 6.3
Level of Pentecostal Educational Attainment (1991 Census)

Educational attainment	% of Pentecostals
Less than grade 9	25.62
Less than grade 12	28.39
Grade 12 certificate or diploma	12.36
Trades certificate or diploma	2.16
Other Secondary (with or without certificate or degree)	16.12
University (with or without certificate or degree)	15.79

Pentecostals in 1991 had at least a grade 9 level education. The point is that 1991 Pentecostals were much more educated than Pentecostals in 1935. Currently, Pentecostal educational attainment levels are no different from other denominations in the province.[52]

It is apparent, however, that as Pentecostals became more educated, their allegiances

[52] Ron Dawe, "Denominational Education in Newfoundland and Labrador: An Analysis of the effects of Sociopsychological Factors on Attitudes Toward Church Involvement in Education and Educational Change," (M. Ed. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1995), 70.

to traditional Pentecostal practices diminished. One of the most visible changes relates to traditional practices of worship. Concerning the membership of an average Pentecostal assembly, one present-day Pentecostal states:

> Our congregations today are made up of two distinct groups: those who possess social status and education, and those who don't. The more educated are reserved in their worship, and not very emotional. They tend to worship quietly; sometimes with their eyes closed, hands raised, and intent on singing as a means of praise. They tend to be more rational in their interpretations of Scripture and doctrine, and encourage change. Others, tend to be more boisterous and emotional. These members often complain of disrupting the traditional format of religious services and incorporating social engagements in the list of church events. One Sunday we held a short evening service so we could gather in the basement of the church for a lunch and social gathering. About 20% of the assembly was quite unhappy about this, claiming it was too secular and indicative of what other denominations do, and so they decided not to attend.[53]

The reference to more educated members preferring to worship quietly while singing, and incorporating social practices in lieu of regular church services, are major shifts in worship activity. Pentecostal services have become very structured events, with a scheduling of events such as the song service, offering, special singing, testimony service (now only occasionally seen), announcements, preaching, closing hymn and benediction. These components of the service are rarely changed in their placement of events.[54] According to Wilson such a trend relates to the secularization of a religious group. In taking on a respectable form in the manifestation and organization of worship, the previously distinct

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[53] Eugene May, interview by author, 5 February 1998, Transcript, Stephenville, Newfoundland.

[54] Olive L. Pinsent.

religious group conforms to practices associated with other established denominations.[55] The more educated and socially successful Pentecostals of today do not feel the need to overcome psychological stress and feelings of deprivation like their first and second generation predecessors.

The use of music has traditionally been a predominant aspect of Pentecostal worship services. As a means of worship, however, it was always to be used in a specific manner. Concerning its use in the early history of the movement, Garrigus writes:

> The rightly lead song-service requires as much of the spirit as to preach. If the Holy Ghost has his way there will be much blessing in it, whether just one hymn is sung or the whole meeting is given to song, as has been the case at times. When the Holy Ghost does not witness to the singing it is well to stop and find out what is wrong. To think we must sing five or six verses of a hymn when there is no blessing in it is a mistake and often consumes much valuable time.[56]

The use of music in current Pentecostal services has been transformed into something quite different when compared to the earlier years. Bendix Bishop writes:

> In recent times a terrific change in music and song, has come into the entertainment world. In listening and viewing one is caused to wonder if he is on the border of some uncivilized jungle... Has a little of this attitude spilled over into our services? It seems we pick some spiritual ditty, with very little depth to it, and at a high pitch, and we try to enter in or work up something that seems to cease when the music stops... What is happening? The most valuable garments God has ever gave the Church is that of meditation, concentration, and waiting on Him. These are being taken from us. Young and old alike are turning from the altar frustrated and disappointed, having reached very little depth in God, void of the garment that God has provided for them to face the freezing temperatures. We are undermining one of the greatest bulwarks. It is not emotional entertainment we need, but a vital contact with God and a mighty infilling of the Holy

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[55] Wilson, Religion in Sociological Perspective, 97.

[56] Alice Belle Garrigus, "Workers Together," Good Tidings, February 1938, 6.

> Ghost. We face the danger of educating our young people into Pentecostal ways rather than leading them into a vital experience.[57]

Bishop's concern over the use of music in worship echoes the voice of his former pastor, Alice Belle Garrigus. The educating of young people and new converts into specific Pentecostal ways and understandings does not seem possible any longer, for an understanding of such issues can only come as a result of an experience. The distinctive aspects of the Pentecostal experience cannot be taught in classrooms by teachers who were born many years subsequent to the founding of the movement. The distinctive norms of Pentecostalism are coming under increasing strain. They are harder to promulgate to its members, and education, in whatever form, cannot convey the experiential elements they once possessed.[58] Worship practices of Pentecostal services today more often imitate and mock traditional realities, rather than reflect the true character of the early Pentecostal worship services.

6.4 Marital Status

The effects of secularization upon the movement in terms of doctrinal development can be clearly seen when statistics from 1935 and 1991 regarding marital status are compared. Table 6.4 reveals that not all categories in the 1991 census regarding marital status are evident in the 1935 census. While there has been no significant change in the

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[57] Bendix Bishop, "Taking Away a Garment in Cold Weather," Good Tidings, January 1996, 11.

[58] Bryan R. Wilson, The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism, 125-126.

categories of single and married, there have been increases in the categories of widowed, separated and divorced. Society at large has seen a great increase in the number of marital failures (an estimated 60% of all marriages in Canada now end in divorce) over the past couple of decades. Pentecostals, however, seem to have been spared the daunting statistical figures of marital failure within their ranks until recently.

As mundane as these figures may seem at face value, they are very important when seen in the context of Pentecostal doctrinal development. In 1929 the fledgling PAON was attempting to establish itself as a respectable denomination in Newfoundland. Having to deal

Table 6.4
Comparison of 1935 and 1991 Census Data
Marital Status of Newfoundland Pentecostals

Status	1935	1991	% Change
Single	658	9365	+.19
Married	1438	18955	- 4.6
Separated	0	355	+1.2
Widowed	35	985	+1.7
Divorced	0	475	+1.6
Totals	**2131**	**30135**	

with peculiarities of practice that were emerging in their churches, such as the washing of feet from the Apostolic Church, it was recognised that a formal statement of doctrinal standing was needed. In an attempt to address the matter judiciously, the "Statement of Fundamental Truths" approved by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada was hastily adopted in its entirety by the Newfoundland movement at the fourth annual conference in 1929 held

at St. John's.[59] This act on the part of the church leadership ensured that any distinctive doctrine that may have existed in the Newfoundland context, such as Garrigus' three stage doctrine of salvation, would eventually be diminished in significance, or forgotten entirely. By abandoning Garrigus' holiness doctrine of sanctification, the moral standards of the movement were more open to liberal elements.

The act of incorporating the doctrinal statement of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada brought a clear ruling regarding divorce and remarriage within that particular strain of Pentecostalism. Regarding divorce and remarriage the document reads:

> ... we discourage divorce by all lawful means and teaching, and that we shall positively disapprove of Christians getting divorce for any cause except for fornication (Matthew 19:9) and that we recommend the remaining single of all divorced Christians... We further advise our Pentecostal ministry not to perform a marriage ceremony between any believer and a divorced person whose former companion is still living.[60]

As a result of such strongly worded resolutions regarding divorce and remarriage few early Pentecostals considered divorce and remarriage an option, as can be clearly seen from the 1935 census. In practical terms, the unfortunate persons involved in marital break-down resulting in divorce were chastised and looked down upon in religious and social circles,[61] and had absolutely no right to take part in church services, or hold positions of authority.[62]

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[59] General Conference, May 17-23, 1929, St. John's, Minute 11.

[60] "Statement of Fundamental Beliefs," Minutes of 4th Annual Conference, 1929.

[61] Phyllis Hollett and Gerry Chaulk, interviews by author, 16 June 1996, Transcript, Grand Falls, Windsor, Newfoundland.

[62] Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, "Revised Constitution and Bylaws" (1966), Article XVIII, Section 4, Subsection d.

Prior to 1992 there was little impetus on the part of the PAON to change the traditional doctrine regarding divorce and remarriage. It seems more than coincidental that as figures of divorce and remarriage were rising and being recorded in the 1991 Census, so too were initiatives by the leadership of the movement to address the concerns of a growing sector within their churches. In a special report on divorce and remarriage submitted to the forty-third General Conference of the PAON in 1992, recommendations for constitutional consideration of divorced and remarried persons were sought. Although the original ruling discouraging divorce 'by all lawful means and teaching remains' (except for fornication and adultery), the question of remarriage is to be resolved by the believer "as he walks in the light of God's word."[63] In addition, with the exception of the church offices of bishop/elder and deacon, divorced and/or remarried persons are fully approved for opportunities of Christian service in areas they are qualified to fulfill.[64] The movement towards accepting divorced and remarried people to positions of service is a significant change on the part of the movement's leadership, and goes against a long standing tradition of doctrine and practice. It is even more significant to note that many present day Pentecostal ministers do not think the new ruling goes far enough, and expect all restrictions to be dropped within the next five to ten years.[65]

The fact that change was formally instituted in 1992 by the movement regarding the

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[63] "Report of The Committee on Divorce and Remarriage," (St. John's: Good Tidings Press, 1992), 7.

[64] ibid.

[65] Pastor David Milley, interview by author, 24 February 1998, Transcript, Stephenville, Newfoundland.

doctrinal stance on divorce and remarriage is significant. The 1991 census gives a clear indication that divorce and remarriage was on the rise within Pentecostal circles. Although the rise may not seem significant in national terms, it is significant in that it shows the effects of secularization upon the movement and the lengths the leadership of the church is willing to go to address this minority group's concerns. It is possible that the census only shows the beginnings of what will become a much larger problem for Pentecostals in the future. If nothing else, it shows the movement is no longer isolated from secular influences and national trends. The 2.8% of Pentecostals separated or divorced may be, in a very practical sense, even greater in proportion than the census suggests.

6.5 Members and Adherents

The 1991 census reports that Newfoundland Pentecostals number 40,140 individuals, as opposed to 3,757 in 1935. Statistics also report that Pentecostals have gained at least 1 percent of the overall population in Newfoundland every decade subsequent to 1935.[66] Such phenomenal growth is even more significant when compared to other religious institutions in the province. Table 6.5 shows the population trends of Roman Catholic, Anglican, United Church, Salvation Army and Pentecostal denominations from 1935 to 1991 in terms of overall percentage change. The most significant gains in population growth have been experienced by Newfoundland Pentecostalism. With the exception of the Salvation Army

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[66] Newfoundland Statistics Agency, Historical Statistics of Newfoundland and Labrador, (St. John's: Department of Public Works and Services, 1988), table A-5.

and Roman Catholic Churches, all other religious denominations up until 1991 experienced

Table 6.5
Change in Population by Religious Denomination
Newfoundland and Labrador, 1935 to 1991

	Catholic	Anglican	United	Salvation Army	Pentecostal
1935	- .5	- .2	- 1.9	+1.2	+1.3
1945	+.5	- .7	- 1.4	+.8	+1.1
1951	+.7	- 1.1	- 1.2	+.8	+.7
1961	+2.1	- 1.7	- 2.3	+.1	+1.3
1971	+.9	- .8	- 1.9	0	+1.1
1981	- .3	- .5	- 1.1	+.1	+1.1

significant decreases in overall population.

On the surface, the significant gains by Pentecostalism in overall population growth are quite remarkable. The "Summary of Membership Statistics" presented to the movement's forty-third General Conference in 1992, however, tells quite another story. By the PAON's own statistical record-keeping there seems to be quite a discrepancy in the number of Pentecostals officially recognized by the movement. Table 6.6 shows the number of assemblies, members, adherents,[67] and children affiliated with the movement from 1988, up to and including 1992. The discrepancy of statistical data between the 1991 census and the movement's own records is at odds significantly. There are 10,000 people not accounted for within the movement's statistical analysis. In addition, the total number of assemblies affiliated with the PAON has dropped from 165 in 1988 to 159 in 1991. Currently, there are

[67] Members have voting rights at annual business meetings and in the election of church leadership. It is based upon being a born again Christian, tithing, regular attendance and upholding the doctrinal stance of movement. Adherents may, or may not, be born again Christians, tithers, or regular attenders. They may be frequent attenders, or be associated with church through birth, or family member.

Table 6.6
Summary of Churches and Membership
Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland 1988 to 1991

	1988	1989	1990	1991
Number of Assemblies	165	164	160	159
Membership	20,747	20,203	15,707	15,368
Adherents	12,126	11,903	9,940	9,636
Children	n/a	n/a	6,072	6,038
Totals	**32,873**	**32,106**	**31,719**	**31,042**

142 assemblies operated by the movement, a further decrease of 17 churches since 1991. It would seem logical that the movement would have a clearer indication of the true picture regarding Pentecostal growth, bringing the 1991 census data into question if used to establish a numerical basis for measuring church members and adherents.

In trying to account for the discrepancy between the 1991 Census and the PAON's own figures regarding members and adherents a couple of significant issues emerge. It is possible that members of other Pentecostal assemblies and groups outside the auspices of the PAON are contributing to the overall Pentecostal status in the 1991 census. Most likely, however, there are many people who have been born into and christened within the PAON denomination, but who are not practising Pentecostals. In this case it would seem that the 1991 Census is reflecting numbers in association far above the actual number of individuals who participate in the religion within the classifications of adherent or member.

Another significant observation is that the evangelistic zeal which accompanied the initial growth of this movement no longer exists. In support of this proposition it is interesting to note that a recent campaign to add significant numbers to the Pentecostal

churches of Newfoundland has been unsuccessful. In 1989 the general executive of the PAON launched an unprecedented enterprise of evangelism, called "The Decade of Harvest," which was to bring 25,000 converts into the movement's churches by the year 2000.[68] It was all too soon apparent, however, that this endeavour was not accomplishing the proposed goal. By 1994, mention of this endeavour diminished as a direct result of the failure to add any significant numbers to church membership, or affiliation. Concerning its present status, the current General Superintendent of the movement wrote:

> Today we are at a crucial juncture in our history. The social, economic and demographic changes that are reshaping society are impacting the Church in carrying out its mandate. We must be alert and responsive to these realities... The question that faces us as leaders is, "How do we in a changing Newfoundland context face the challenge of the next decade?" The fiscal realities of our Province and our commitment to biblical principles of stewardship demand that we be ever vigilant to ensure the greatest return from our administrative and ministry endeavours.[69]

Social, economic and demographic changes were the impetuses for the initial growth of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland. It is the reference to seeking a return on administrative and ministry endeavours that reveals much about the institutionalized character of the present day movement. Concern over fiscal realities is necessitating the closing of churches and further church growth is dependent on a positive social and economic environment.

There are also implications, in terms of membership and adherent categories, for Wilson's sectarian characteristic of expulsion. Standards of membership in early Pentecostalism were quite rigid and depended on things such as an emotional conversion and

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[68] Roy D. King, "Decade of Harvest: An Exciting Venture!" Good Tidings, August 1989, 3.

[69] A. Earle Batstone, "Thrust in the Sickle," Good Tidings, September 1997, 3.

separation from the world. Members of Pentecostal churches today, however, need only to profess a born-again experience, tithe and attend church regularly, as well as uphold doctrinal positions of the organization. In addition, the classification of adherent doesn't even depend upon conversion, but only that the person is associated with the local assembly in some way. There are also implications here for the characteristic of merit in that membership in the group is also based on a diminished standard related only to evidence of a born-again experience, tithing and church membership. Practices such as sanctification, Holy Spirit baptism and speaking in tongues are not nearly as prominent and do not restrict a person from membership. In terms of exclusivity and merit, therefore, the Pentecostal Assemblies possess characteristics more reticent of the denominational typology of religious groups.

6.6 Age

Regardless of the reasons for the discrepancy between statistical figures of the 1991 census and the PAON's own records, it seems plausible that Pentecostalism's growth in this province appears to be more directly related to internal birth rates than to revival and conversion. Decreasing numbers of adherents, members, and churches do not indicate significant gains through revivalism. Pentecostalism in Newfoundland does not seem to be recruiting enough outsiders to increase, or even maintain, membership. Groups of this type avoid high losses in membership since the children of existing members are retained better than are converts. Wilson contends that:

> Movements in this stage of growth thus come to rely more and more on

> internal recruitment, and enjoy lower turnover rates. Losses by slow attrition there may be, but long-existing sects and denominations become dependent on birth-rates. Thus, in the context of secularization, it is common for a religious movement that has existed for some decades to gain perhaps three-quarters of its membership from internal recruitment... When a movement relies on internal recruits, then it reaches a plateau - a plateau which becomes almost a segregated enclave, a marginal phenomenon in the secularized society of our times.[70]

The recent failure of "The Decade of Harvest" suggests that the movement is having difficulty in recruiting the numbers of new converts needed to offset decreases in members and adherents. The movement seems to be at a crucial point in its history in that it does not possess the unique characteristics of its first generation of introversionist sectarians, nor the evangelical fervour of its second generation Salvationist and Methodist conversionist sectarians.

A comparison of census data from 1935 and 1991, regarding the age classifications of Pentecostals, clearly indicates trends that seem to marginalise Pentecostals in terms of distinctiveness related to the average age of its membership. Table 6.7 shows the age classification of both Pentecostals and the province as a whole in 1935 and 1991. It is significant to note that in 1935 Pentecostals below the age of 15 made up 41.2 percent of its population, as opposed to 35 percent for the rest of the province. The Pentecostal target group in 1935 was significantly younger than the province as a whole. Such a young population would guarantee significant gains in overall membership of the group as these young people married and had children of their own. The significant gains in overall population shown in table 6.5, then, are more likely the result of internal growth factors,

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[70] Wilson, The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism, p. 127.

Table 6.7
Age Classification of Pentecostals and Province in Percentage Comparison in Percentage of 1935 and 1991 Census Data

Age Group	Pent. 1935	Pent. 1991	+/-	NF 1935	NF 1991	+/-
0-4	13.9	7.2	- 6.7	11.4	6.6	- 4.8
5-9	14.7	8.8	- 5.9	12.1	7.6	- 4.5
10-14	12.6	8.9	- 3.7	11.5	8.4	- 3.1
15-19	10.6	11.6	+1.0	11.0	9.5	- 1.5
20-24	9.3	9.3	0.0	9.8	8.4	- 1.4
25-34	12.1	16.5	+4.4	13.0	16.6	+3.6
35-44	10.1	15.2	+5.1	10.2	15.8	+5.6
45-54	8.1	9.5	+1.4	8.5	10.1	+1.6
55-64	5.3	6.0	+0.7	6.4	7.4	+1.0
65+	3.1	7.0	+3.9	6.0	9.7	+1.7

rather than revivalism and conversion.

Newfoundland Pentecostals in relation to the overall Newfoundland population today are much less differentiated. Pentecostals below the age of 15 total 24.9 percent in comparison to 22.6 percent for the province. Now that the ages of Pentecostals are more in line with provincial figures, it seems likely that the phenomenal growth reflected in the earlier censuses will not continue and that future growth figures will not be significantly higher than other religious denominations. In support of this it is also important to note that the movement is aging as fast as, if not faster, than the province as a whole. Pentecostals above the age of 24 have increased by 15.5 percent since 1935, while the province as a whole has increased 13.5 percent. With fewer numbers of young members and adherents, as well as the overall aging of the movement, there is nothing that distinguishes it from the general population of Newfoundland. These statistical figures clearly put the Pentecostal movement

in a questionable position in terms of internal growth. Wilson's sectarian characteristic of voluntariness in terms of membership has been significantly replaced by a membership based on internal birth rates. Therefore, the Pentecostal Assemblies possess a distinctly denominational character in terms of membership.

6.7 Deterioration of Distinctiveness

The statistical data regarding social mobility, education, marital status, membership, and age, give credence to the thesis that secularization has affected the PAON and transformed it into what more closely resembles a denomination than a sect. The Pentecostal movement has also fostered a transformation of its identity by establishing and maintaining associations with a variety of religious bodies outside the province and continent, as well as involving itself in practices normally perceived as the responsibility of secular institutions. The Pentecostal Assemblies has increasingly subjected its membership to rationalization and organization in areas of education and doctrine, as well as practices such as worship. In doing so the movement and its membership have become "more and more involved in social activities in which their own emotional dispositions are less immediately relevant.[71] Eugene Vaters turned down ordination with the Methodist church because he was vexed by reports that the denomination needed to become more modern and develop a more social gospel.[72]

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[71] Wilson, Religion in Secular Society, 37.

[72] F. David Rideout, History of Pentecostal Schools in Newfoundland and Labrador (St. John's: Good Tidings Press, 1992), 29.

The movement that he left Methodism for is today experiencing the same pressures, and the distinctiveness of the Pentecostal Assemblies is deteriorating rapidly.

The move towards standardization began quite early in the movement's history. In 1927 a quantity of hymn books was imported from Upper Canada to help pastors in the running of services.[73] In 1928 the General Superintendent of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada was in attendance at the annual conference to help in the ordering of business and firmly cement lines of association between the PAON and PAOC.[74] During that conference a resolution was passed in which "a desire for closer fellowship and co-operation" with the PAOC was requested.[75] It was also decided that PAON missionaries would be governed and administrated by the PAOC and that the Newfoundland Pentecostals would be formally considered a district council of the PAOC.[76] At the very same conference the constitution of the PAOC was adopted, which gave direction in all areas of conducting business, such as deeds of property.[77] It was also in 1928 that a decision was made to purchase materials needed for pastoral training and Sunday School curriculum from the Assemblies of God publishing house in Springfield, Missouri.[78]

In addition to the strong ties with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, other

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[73] Executive Meeting, March 26,1927, St. John's, Minute 1.

[74] General Conference, June 4, 1928, St. John's, Minute 1.

[75] Ibid., Minutes 8 and 9.

[76] Ibid., Minutes 15 and 6.

[77] Ibid., Minute 36.

[78] Ibid., Minute 39.

associations were formed in later years. Formal associations with the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America, Assemblies of God Graduate School in Springfield, Missouri, the Evangelical Association of Canada, and the Pentecostal World Conference, have all marginalised the introversionist distinctiveness of Newfoundland Pentecostalism. In addition, a warming of relations is occurring between Pentecostalism and other Protestant denominations that have traditionally been considered as decaying and "apostate."[79] The official status of the Ecumenical Movement has been held in contempt by the Pentecostal Assemblies since its inception and referred to as the world wide church of the Anti-Christ.[80] The Assemblies constitution and by-laws read:

> The General Conference disapproves of Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador ministers or churches participating in any of the modern ecumenical organizations on a local, national or international level in such a manner as to promote the Ecumenical Movement, because: 1) We believe said movement to be a sign of the times and contrary to the real Biblical doctrine of spiritual unity in the Church of Jesus Christ, and; 2) We are opposed to ecumenicity based on organic and organizational unity, and: 3) We believe that the combination of any denominations into a World Super Church will probably culminate in the Scarlet Woman or Religious Babylon of Revelation.[81]

In practice, Pentecostal ministers in the past have interpreted this by-law as referring to any association with other denominations for the purpose of worship and fellowship. Today, however, there is a reinterpretation taking place and many Pentecostal ministers are taking

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[79] G. Bruce Harnum, "A Travelling Pope and a Decaying Protestantism," Good Tidings, July 1964, 18.

[80] G. Bruce Harnum, "The Church of Christ Versus Ecumenism," Good Tidings, March-April 1973, 30.

[81] Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, Constitution and By-Laws, Article XX, section 9.

part in services where all ministers from the local denominations are present. In fact, groups from Catholic and Protestant churches are ministering in Pentecostal churches.[82] This is a significant change in the way Pentecostal ministers have traditionally dealt with other religious groups in their community.

Probably the most evident shift in Pentecostal distinctiveness, however, has been brought about through the movement's preoccupation with its public school system. Traditionally, Catholicism has been looked upon in Pentecostal circles as being a wayward religious institution leading people to eternal doom.[83] Catholicism has also been accused by Pentecostals as being "in bed with communism where spying, deletion of suspects, censorship and propaganda are the modes of operation on a quest for world domination."[84] More recently, however, relations between Catholicism and the PAON have become more congenial. In a bid to retain control over its public school system the Roman Catholic and Pentecostal Churches recently joined forces against the Provincial Government's proposal for educational reform.[85] It seems that as Pentecostals began to lose elements of traditional practice that at one time stigmatised and unified them, its education system became the primary focus of the group's leadership. The importance of maintaining the education system was important enough to alter drastically traditionally held views concerning

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[82] Pastor David Milley.

[83] Harnum, "A Travelling Pope and a Decaying Protestantism," 19.

[84] Charles A. Bolton, "Roman Catholics and Communism," Good Tidings, August-September 1966, 33.

[85] See appendix B.

Catholicism.

In terms of being involved with activities normally considered the responsibility of secular institutions there are several things that place modern day Pentecostals outside their historical traditions. In the first instance, a social gospel is developing whereby the movement is recognizing social needs and trying to address them. At a well publicised ceremony in August 1991 the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland signed a $50,000.00 contract with the provincial government and Canadian Foodgrains Bank to supply 550,000 pounds of dried caplin to starving refugees in Zimbabwe. This was only a portion of a total $300,000.00 raised by the movement for the purposes of sending aid to the less fortunate.[86] The presence of officials and representatives from secular financial and social institutions at the head offices of the movement, however, was distinctly new. External associations religious and secular in nature have led to changes in Pentecostal doctrine and practice, regarding such things as divorce and remarriage and a social gospel, placing the Pentecostal movement in a camp more associated with Christian fundamentalism and evangelicalism. What was once a distinctively sectarian group has now become a religious entity more generic in terms of a denomination.

Such external relationships of a religious and secular nature made an impact upon the religious group's sense of exclusivity. The allegiance a member has to Pentecostalism today does not coincide with the earlier history of the group. Other denominations are now considered worthy enough to associate with on an individual level as well as a corporate

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[86] Calvin T. Andrews, "Caplin Project Formally Signed," Good Tidings, August 1991, 10-11.

level. Not only do Pentecostals attend services and functions in other churches, they also invite individuals and groups from other denominations into their churches for ministry. More formal alliances, such as the Pentecostal and Catholic union over education, indicate a significant shift in the thinking of the group. Early Pentecostals under Garrigus considered Bethesda Mission to be the only purveyor of the full gospel and separated themselves from any formal or informal associations with other religious organizations.

In terms of the group's self-definition, it is clear that Pentecostals do not see themselves as a separate and distinct people. Since officially becoming a charter denomination in 1925 there has been an intensifying rate of developing associations with external religious entities. In addition, secular alliances with government and social agencies have been fostered to support an evolving social gospel that never existed within Pentecostalism before. The elite-status of Pentecostals has come into question in that they no longer view themselves as only waiting for the second coming of Christ, but are also interested in this-worldly concerns, such as feeding the hungry in Zimbabwe. Their associations with other religious organizations suggest they do not see their gospel as being that distinct from other groups, as Garrigus and her introversionist followers once did. In terms of Wilson's characteristics of exclusivity, self-identification, and elite-status, the Pentecostal Assemblies has developed characteristics more indicative of an institutionalized religious organization.

6.8 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to show the effects of secularization on the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland. A comparison of data from the 1935 Newfoundland Census, and the 1991 Canada Census, gives credence to the argument that secularization may indeed have had a significant effect on the Pentecostal Assemblies in terms of the sociological character of the group. In fact, changes in doctrine and practice of the group as a result of secularization transformed the distinctive ethos of the former sectarian group, into a more institutionalized organization, or a denomination. What was important at one time and distinctive to Newfoundland Pentecostalism is often no longer significant. Social mobility, education, marital status, membership, age and external associations, have in every case affected the ethos of the group in terms of institutionalization.

The social mobility of Pentecostals has been enhanced significantly. In 1935, 91% of Pentecostals were employed in labour-intensive resource based industries. These jobs provided limited opportunity for advancement and kept people relatively stationary. By 1991, however, only 14% of Pentecostals worked in these types of industries. Considering that 5.6% of this group were involved in a fishery that has since floundered, currently less than 10% of Pentecostals work in these types of industries. The majority of Pentecostals today hold down jobs in manufacturing, government services, educational services, health and social services.

With an increase in standard of living and social status the traditional worship practices of Pentecostals, such as the tarrying service, have either been eliminated or

changed. Length and order of the Pentecostal worship service have been significantly altered. Practices such as the wave offering, Jericho march, and dancing in the Spirit, all examples of spontaneous experiential worship, are practically non-existent. In addition, the outward appearance of Pentecostal churches has become more modern, expensive and lavish. The traditional term for a Pentecostal assembly, 'the mission,' has been changed to the word 'church,' augmented by a biblical name. Probably the most significant change to traditional Pentecostal practice as a result of new church architecture, has been the act of constructing baptismal tanks inside the church and privatizing initiation into the group. The baptismal service was traditionally held outside at the local pond, lake, or ocean beach. To be baptised by full immersion in such a public setting was a way to signify to the outside world that the member was now separate from society at large. The persecution and ridicule experienced at such undertakings went a long way in establishing a self-definition and allegiance to the Pentecostal mission and its people.

With economic success and increased social status moral standards and emotional fervour were replaced by more rational educational goals. It wasn't long after applying for denominational status in 1925 that the leadership of the Pentecostal Assemblies began to lobby government for their own denominational education system. Originally, neither Alice Belle Garrigus nor Eugene Vaters considered formal education important. Vaters later changed his mind, however, and pressured government until they were granted their own school system in 1954. As Pentecostals became more educated, their allegiances to traditional practices waned. Pentecostal services became very structured and experiential manifestations declined. Although part of the educational philosophy behind the Pentecostal

school was, and is, to educate children into Pentecostal ways, it became apparent that an experience could not be taught, but had to be experienced. Even the use of music has become an imitation of former realities, clearly illustrating that Pentecostal experience has nothing to do with education.

Secularization has also affected the development of Pentecostal doctrine. As the movement experienced major growth subsequent to 1919 it became apparent that a doctrinal statement was needed. Neglecting, or unused to developing one of their own, the leadership of the day adopted the statement of fundamental beliefs belonging to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. This doctrine did not have the distinct sanctification and holiness teachings of Garrigus. As the moral standards of Pentecostalism adjusted to the influences of the rest of society, the occurrences of divorce and remarriage increased. As divorce rates increased to a significant enough level, the doctrinal basis of opposing divorce in the PAOC's statement of fundamental beliefs was changed, in order to accommodate the growing numbers of divorced and remarried among the movement's ranks. The previous provisions that prohibited remarriage after divorce, as well as the holding of positions of ministry or leadership, have since been rescinded.

The movement is also experiencing a drop in its members and adherents. According to the 1991 Canada Census there are 40,140 Pentecostals in Newfoundland and Labrador. The movement's own figures record 15,368 members, 9,636 adherents, and 6,038 children, for a total of 31,042. The classification of adherent refers to people who have had some affiliation with the movement in the past, such as being christened by a Pentecostal minister, and doesn't even require attendance at church meetings or services. By the movement's own

statistics, therefore, even including the classification of adherent, there are 10,000 people claiming to be Pentecostal, who do not seem to have any affiliation with the movement except their own claim. Also, the number of Pentecostal churches in the province has also declined dramatically from 165 in 1988, to 142 in 1997; an attrition rate of 23, or -14%. A recent campaign started in 1989 called "The Decade of Harvest," which was intended to add 25,000 converts to the movement's membership by the year 2000, has been quietly abandoned. The current Superintendent of the movement, A. Earle Batstone, has blamed social, economic and demographic changes for the campaign's demise, as well as the need to get the greatest return on an administrative and ministry investment.

The Pentecostal Assemblies membership is also aging at a quicker rate than that of the province as a whole. With no revival, a decline in membership and an aging population, it seems likely that what growth the movement experienced subsequent to the 1920's and 1930's was based more upon internal birth rates. That Pentecostalism has been experiencing a lengthy revival seems unlikely when one considers that the average age of the first and second generation Pentecostals was originally significantly lower than the population of the province as a whole. The demographic pressures that Pentecostalism is currently experiencing are transforming the denomination into a more marginalised religious body in a secularized society, subject to the same attrition as its religious competitors.

Finally, Pentecostal distinctiveness is deteriorating rapidly due to the fostering of external religious and secular associations. Traditionally, other religious and secular interests were shunned by Alice Belle Garrigus and her followers in terms of formal, or informal, association. The separation and holiness standards of early Pentecostals would not allow

fraternizing with those who did not possess a "full gospel," or those who were considered ungodly. As formal associations developed with religious and secular organizations by subsequent leaders, Pentecostal distinctiveness related to doctrine and practice diminished. Traditional stances of the movement regarding such things as ecumenicity and separation are being questioned by pastors. Alliances with governments and other secular institutions of society regarding education and feeding the poor of Zimbabwe, have altered formerly held views regarding formal education and a social gospel. The secularizing influence has done much to transform Pentecostalism from a group possessing sectarian characteristics, to an established organization possessing denominational characteristics.

7.0 CONCLUSION

7.1 Purpose Restated

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine the degree to which the historical development of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland has reflected the process of institutionalization. The examination has included a review of both the real and perceived changes that have occurred within the Assemblies from its inception to the present. Specific areas of examination include an analysis of the early sectarian nature of the group, the development of its leadership, changes in its organizational structure, and the effects of secularization on established doctrines and practices.

7.2 Methodology

Methodologically, this thesis has utilized the conceptual constructs developed by Weber, Troeltsch, Niebuhr, and Wilson in an attempt to show how perceived and real changes within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland reflect the sociological process of institutionalization. Primarily, these conceptual constructs (or ideal types) include sect, denomination and church, which can be visualized as comprising three distinct categories on a continuum. An analysis of the specific characteristics of each ideal construct allows for the placement of a particular religious group at any given time in its development. These ideal constructs provide a way to measure the degree to which the initial introversionist Pentecostal sect, which was characterized by an experiential religiosity, a

holiness ethos, and an imminent expectation of the end, evolved eventually into a full fledged denomination, with all of the bureaucratic trappings of a religious institution.

What has been most consistent in the history of the Pentecostal Assemblies is that change was constant. From its inception up to the present, transformations in ideology and practice were occurring. From the earliest stages of the movement's development, leaders noticed changes and cautioned that these changes could reflect something negative. Phrases referring to "straying from the old paths," and "getting back to the old time power of Pentecost," clearly indicate that change was being perceived from within. Real changes were also evidenced in, for example, the physical appearance of Pentecostal churches, the development of a denominational education system, and the increased social status of individual Pentecostals.

When applied to the early history of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland, Wilson's development of sectarian typologies becomes quite useful in understanding such real and perceived changes. In terms of the typology of sect, namely, voluntariness, exclusivity, merit, elite status, self-identification, expulsion, conscience and legitimation, the early Pentecostal Mission (1910-1919), under the leadership of Alice Belle Garrigus, did indeed possess introversionist sectarian characteristics. When Wilson's characteristics are applied to the movement during the early 1920's, however, the evidence suggests that the group had taken on a more conversionist ethos. It is this development that makes possible a movement along the continuum towards a denomination.

The movement of the sect towards a denomination is further suggested by applying characteristics outlined by Niebuhr and Wilson. Specifically, they have argued that a denomination is characterized predominantly by middle class people, general levels of educational attainment and cultural involvement, the establishment of financial operations, salvation based on good works and

deeds, good business practices, and a democratic constitution. When the development of Pentecostalism is examined by these criteria, the methodology suggests the degree to which the religious group has been transformed into a denomination. Some of the evidence, however, suggests that the Pentecostal Assemblies may in some way be moving towards the ideal church type. The church type organization is characterized by an office style of charisma in ministry, institutionalized grace, education and training of officials, compulsory association, less stringent moral and religious requirements, universalism, and upward social mobility.

7.3 Conclusions

The evidence suggests that the initial Pentecostal sect under the leadership of A. B. Garrigus possessed introversionist sectarian characteristics. Essentially, the message that Garrigus proclaimed, the religious environment in which she proclaimed it, and her sense of evangelism, all indicate the introversionist character of her newly founded sect. Her message of salvation, for example, emphasized the experiential, but also required of recipients that they maintain separated and holy lives. These emphases most likely reflect the influence of teachings that had their origin with the leaders of the Holiness Movement. Holiness, and the "deepening of one's religious experience," appear to be more important to Garrigus than such things as ecumenicity and the evangelizing of the masses. Accordingly, it was characteristics such as these that separated her sect from the many other churches that dominated the St. John's landscape between 1910 and 1919.

Garrigus' sect would have likely maintained its introversionist ethos had not certain social, economic and religious changes occurred in the early 1920s. The growth of industrialization and the

development of a religious climate which was more conducive to conversionist sectarian tendencies. provided for a shift in the nature of the Pentecostal sect. With the development of industry in Corner Brook, Deer Lake, and Grand Falls, following the mid-1920s, relatively large numbers of socially disinherited migrant workers moved into these areas. Pentecostalism would provide for the sociological and psychological needs of these migrant workers, especially as they were affected by the loneliness, alienation and despair that are often associated with moving to a larger urbanized and industrialized area. The aftermath of World War I and a collapse of the Newfoundland fishery also contributed to developing an environment in which Pentecostalism was likely to flourish. In addition, many Methodists and Salvationists who were disillusioned with the liberalization of their own traditions, looked favourably toward the conservative nature of the Pentecostal sect.

It was the influx of Methodists and Salvationists into the Pentecostal sect that resulted in a decline in the introversionist ethos of the original group. Obviously, with the infusion of Methodists and Salvationists came tendencies that were to challenge the original ethos of the Garrigus sect. Given the fundamental nature of the Methodist and Salvation Army churches, such tendencies would have a "conversionizing" effect on the introversionist nature of the original Pentecostal group. Practices that were acceptable in the Methodist and Salvation Army churches, for example, became issues of contention as the leadership of the movement tried to define what practices were acceptable for Pentecostals. Resolutions addressing issues such as Sunday School picnics and appropriate dress for women began appearing in conference minutes. Over time, the increased need to define acceptable practices, as well as the need to address a variety of issues related to the numerical growth of the movement, created the impetus to organize. By 1925, with the Apostolic Church competing for prospective members, the leadership of the Pentecostal movement applied for a denominational

charter, thus initiating the first real step towards institutionalization.

Subsequent to the registration of the movement as a denomination in 1925, there developed a conflict which illustrated the two distinct sectarian emphases. Essentially this distinction was manifested in the competing views of two potential leaders. Former Methodist layman R. C. English maintained that the movement should be lead by a self-employed individual. Such an arrangement would not put unnecessary financial demands on the movement. In contrast, former probationary Methodist minister E. Vaters felt that an individual should be employed by the Assemblies to administer the development of the movement on a full time basis. He believed that due to the significant numerical growth of the movement and the associated needs of new converts, a full-time leader was necessary. In the introversionist sect of Bethesda, English could have retained his part-time leadership. Given the development of a conversionist ethos of evangelism that began to infiltrate the movement, the decision was made to employ Vaters as its full time leader.

Garrigus would later in life come to associate the workings of the movement's leadership with the desire of man to control the development of the Assemblies, rather than allowing God absolute control. This development, for Garrigus, contributed to the increase of more formalized worship and even to the demise of experiential worship. It also resulted in a general forsaking of stringent standards of holiness and separation. This new ethos in no way reflected the earlier history of Bethesda Mission. Differences were to become much more pronounced when in 1937 Garrigus took a small band of followers and left the newly constructed Elim Tabernacle to return to the former Bethesda Mission. Although fellowship with Elim was eventually restored, Garrigus's decision to return to Bethesda clearly indicated that the movement was quite of a different character than what it had been.

Following 1925, changes which Garrigus saw in the ethos of the movement intensified, when there occurred a significant shift towards a patriarchal domination of ministry. Up until 1924, almost all communities in which Pentecostal missions were eventually established had been initially contacted by female preachers. This early acceptance of women in leadership roles appears to have been related to the general acceptance of women ministers in the holiness movement, as well as to the pure type of charisma these women possessed. This pure type of charisma, which was independent of economic considerations, constituted a primarily religiously motivated call to ministry. That call of women to ministry was then legitimated by community acknowledgement. After claiming official status as a denomination in 1925, however, males assumed most major positions of authority. These authoritative positions were no longer confirmed by expressions of pure charisma but rather legitimatized by the power ascribed to official charisma.

The legitimation of office charisma was part of the growing development of an official hierarchy which required a paid ministry that was responsible for the maintenance of doctrine and practice. At the top of this hierarchy was the office of the General Overseer. Over time, the powers and privileges of the General Overseer increased as he was freed from ministerial duties to administer the church on a full time basis. By 1929, the General Overseer, E. Vaters, had sole authority to appoint all committees at conferences, authorize all evangelistic endeavours, and personally approve or reject candidates for ministry. Candidates for ministry were eventually required to seek formal education and training prior to being accepted for ordination. Training and education for ministers, along with administrative realities, necessitated the development of a financial structure for the organization.

Such organizational changes reflect the fundamental transformation which occurred in the

ethos of Newfoundland Pentecostalism in the first 20 years of its existence. These changes were to become even more pronounced with the effects of secularization. In short, secularization would result in a deterioration of distinct doctrines and practices that had so identified the character of the early sect under the leadership of Garrigus. A comparison of data from the 1935 Newfoundland Census, and the 1991 Canada Census, gives credence to the argument that secularization has had a significant effect on the ethos of the Pentecostal Assemblies. The social mobility of Pentecostals has been enhanced significantly as a result of changes in occupation. In turn, it has been argued that social mobility has also resulted in changes in traditional worship practices and the architectural appearance of Pentecostal churches. Moreover, these changes have affected the experiential character of Pentecostalism. With the development of a denominational education system, the emotional fervour of the movement has been replaced by rationalization, leading to the decline of traditional practices such as the tarrying service, Jericho march, dancing in the Spirit and wave offering.

Secularization has also affected the development of Pentecostal doctrine. With an increase in the incidence of divorce and remarriage, the Pentecostal Assemblies has altered its doctrine to accommodate this new segment of its membership. Such moves, however, have done nothing to inhibit a decrease to its membership and the number of churches in operation. Social, economic and demographic changes have been blamed for the group's decline. With no revival, a decline in membership and an aging population, it seems likely that what growth the movement experienced subsequent to the 1920's and 1930's was a result of internal birth rates. The demographic pressures that Pentecostalism is currently experiencing are transforming the denomination into a marginal phenomenon in a secularized society. Pentecostal distinctiveness is also deteriorating due to external

religious and secular associations. With formal associations being developed with religious and secular organizations, Pentecostal distinctiveness related to doctrine and practice has diminished. Traditional stances of the movement regarding such things as ecumenicity and separation are being questioned by pastors. The secularizing influence has done much to transform Pentecostalism from a group possessing sectarian characteristics, to an established organization possessing denominational characteristics.

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9.0 APPENDICES

9.1 Appendix A - Statement of Fundamental Truths (1973)

ARTICLE V

Statement of Fundamental and Essential Truths

The Bible is our all sufficient rule for faith and practice. Hence this statement of Fundamental Truths is intended as a basis of fellowship among us (i.e., that we all speak the same thing, I Cor. 1:10; Acts 2:42). The human phraseology employed in this statement is not inspired or contended for, but the truth set forth is held to be essential to a full gospel ministry. No claim is made that it contains all the truth of the Bible; only that it covers our present needs as to these fundamental matters.

1. The Holy Scriptures

All Scripture is given by inspiration of God and is infallible, absolutely supreme and sufficient in authority in all matters of faith and practice. The Bible does not simply contain the Word of God, but is in reality, the complete revelation and very Word of God inspired by the Holy Ghost. Christian believers today have spiritual illumination to enable them to understand the Scriptures, but God does not give new revelations apart from or beyond the Bible (II Tim. 3:15,16; I Peter 2:2).

2. The One True God

The one true God has revealed Himself as the eternally self-existent, self-revealed "I AM"; and has further revealed Himself as embodying the principles of relationship and association, i.e., as Father, Son and Holy Ghost (Deut. 6:4; Mark 12:2; Isa. 43:10,11; Matt. 28:19).

The Essentials as to the Godhead

(a) Terms explained:

The terms "Trinity" and "Persons" as related to the Godhead, while not found in the Scripture, yet are in harmony with Scripture, whereby we may convey to others our immediate understanding of the doctrine of Christ respecting the Being of God, as distinguished from "God's many and Lords many." We, therefore, may speak with propriety of the Lord our God, who is One Lord, as a Trinity or as one Being of Three Persons, and still be absolutely Scriptural (Examples, Matthew 2:6; 8:16,17).

(b) Distinction and Relationship in the Godhead:

Christ taught a distinction of persons in the Godhead which He expressed in specific terms of relationship, as Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and that this distinction and relationship as to its existence, is an eternal fact, but as to its mode it is inscrutable and incomprehensible, being unexplained (Luke 1:35; I Cor. 1:24; Matt. 11:25-27; 28:19; II Cor. 13:14; I John 1:3,4).

(c) Unity of the One Being, of Father, Son and Holy Ghost:

Accordingly, therefore, there is that in the Father which constitutes Him the Father and not the Son; there is that in the Son which constitutes Him the Son and not the Father; and there is that in the Holy Ghost which constitutes Him the Holy Ghost and not either the Father or the Son. Therefore,

the Father is the Begetter, the Son the Begotten; and the Holy Ghost is the One proceeding from the Father and the Son. Therefore, because these three eternally distinct and related Persons in the Godhead are in a state of unity and one in essence, there is but one Lord God Almighty and His name One (John 1:8; 15:26; 17:11,21; Zech. 14:9).

(d) Identity and Co-operation in the Godhead:

The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are never identical as to Person; nor confused as to relation; nor divided in respect of the Godhead nor opposed as to co-operation. The Son is in the Father and the Father is in the Son as to relationship. The Son is with the Father and the Father is with the Son as to fellowship. The Father is not from the Son, but the Son is from the Father, as to authority. The Holy Ghost is from the Father and the Son, proceeding, as to nature, relationship, co-operation and authority. Hence no Person in the Godhead exists or works separately or independently of the others (John 5:17-30).

(e) The Title, Lord Jesus Christ:

The appellation "Lord Jesus Christ" is a proper name. It is never applied, in the New Testament, either to the Father or to the Holy Ghost. It therefore belongs exclusively to the Son of God (Rom. 1:1-3, 7; II John 3).

(f) The Lord Jesus Christ, God with us:

The Lord Jesus Christ, as to His divine and eternal nature, is the proper and only Begotten Son of the Father, but as to His human nature, He is the proper Son of Man. He is, therefore, acknowledged to be both God and man; who, because He is God and man, is "Immanuel," God with us (Matt. 1:23; I John 4:2,10,14; Rev. 1:13, 14-17).

(g) The Title, Son of God:

Since the name "Immanuel" embraces both God and man in the one Person, our Lord Jesus Christ, it follows that the title, Son of God, describes His proper Deity, and the title, Son of Man, His proper humanity. Therefore, the title, Son of God, belongs to the order of eternity, and the title, Son of Man, to the order of time (Matt. 1:21,23; II John 3; I John 3:8; Heb. 7:3; 1:1-13).

(h) Transgression of the Doctrine of Christ:

Therefore, it is a transgression of the Doctrine of Christ to say that Jesus Christ derived the title, Son of God, solely from the fact of the incarnation, or because of His relation to the economy of redemption. Therefore, to deny that the Father is a real and eternal Father, and that the Son is a real and eternal Son is a denial of the distinction and relationship in the being of God; a denial of the Father and the Son; and a displacement of the truth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh (II John 9; John 1:1,2,14,18,29,49; 8:57,58; I John 2:22,23; 4:1-5; Heb. 12:3,4).

(i) Exaltation of Jesus Christ as Lord:

The Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, having by Himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; angels and principalities and powers having been made subject unto Him, and, having been both Lord and Christ, He sent the Holy Ghost; that we, in the name of Jesus, might bow our knees and confess that Jesus is Lord to the glory of God the Father, that "God may be all in all" (Heb. 1:3; I Peter 3:22; Acts 2:32-36; Rom. 14:11; I Cor. 15:24-28).

(j) Equal Honour to the Father and the Son:

Therefore, since the Father has delivered all judgment unto the Son, it is not only the express duty of all beings in heaven and in earth to bow the knee, but it is an unspeakable joy, in the Holy Ghost, to ascribe unto the Son all the attributes of Deity, and to give Him all the honour and the glory contained in all the names and titles of the Godhead (except those which express relationship, see

paragraphs b, c and d) thus honouring the Son even as we honour the Father (John 5:22,23; I Peter 1:8; Rev. 5:6-14; Phil. 2:8,9;

Rev. 7:9,10; 4:8-11).

3. The Resurrection of Christ

Christ did truly rise again from the dead and took again His body, with flesh, bones and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature: wherewith He ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth until His Second Coming.

4. Man, His Fall and Redemption

Man was created good and upright, for God said, "Let us make man in Our image and in Our likeness." But man, by voluntary transgression, fell, and his only hope of redemption is in Jesus Christ the Son of God (Gen. 1:26-31; 3:1-7; Rom. 5:12-21).

Man's fallen, hopeless, and helpless condition is at the foundation of the Christian religion, for, if man be not fallen, he needs no Saviour. The Word of God clearly reveals the fall and it is abundantly proven by the history of his earthly career. Man, as he came from the hand of his Creator was perfectly holy and happy. In him shone the following attributes of the Deity - Love, Righteousness, Holiness, Justice, Goodness and Truth; but by one voluntary act, He entailed upon Himself the sure wages of sin, which is death - Death temporal - Death spiritual and Death eternal. Man's body, that day, became mortal. His soul became spiritually dead. Eternal death was ever imminent. His unhappy offspring, born in his image, inherited the same depravity in their nature and consequently entailed the sure wages of sin, which is death.

5. Sin

Sin is not simply the following of Adam but is the corruption of the nature of every man through the sin of our first parents passed down from generation to generation, thus perpetuating this evil principle so that man is wholly gone from original righteousness and is of his nature inclined to evil. Yea, all men have sinned and come short of the glory of God and are under condemnation and unable to please God without His grace.

6. The Atonement of Christ

The sacrifice of Christ upon the cross once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, satisfaction and substitutionary atonement, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone.

7. Regeneration of the New Birth

Regeneration is the creative act of the Holy Ghost, whereby He imparts to the soul a new spiritual life. This is absolutely necessary to salvation and becomes a reality in experience through faith in Christ in response to the power of the Word of God, for as the Scripture saith, we are "born again, not of corruptible seed but of incorruptible, by the Word of God, which liveth and abideth forever" (I Peter 1:23).

8. Repentance and Faith

The repentance required by Scripture is a change of mind toward God, and is the effect of the conviction of sin worked in us by the Holy Ghost. St. Paul summed up his gospel as "repentance

toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." The faith which brings justification is simple reliance or dependence on Christ, which accepts Him as the sacrifice for our sins and as our righteousness. The instruments through which faith is created are the Word of God and the Holy Ghost.

9. Justification of Man

Justification is a judicial act of God whereby the sinner is declared righteous; thus we are pardoned and accounted righteous before God, only on the merit of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, by faith and not for our own works or deservings. "He who knew no sin was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him."

10. The Believer's Obedience to God

The dangerous doctrine called Antinomianism, found in the early centuries of the Christian Church, is quite prevalent today, viz., that because grace is free the professing believer is exempt from moral obligations and thus can go on committing sins and living a spiritually indifferent life, still hoping that all is well. All who make a Christian profession of conversion and later commit sins and go back into the world must repent of their sins and seek forgiveness through faith in the cleansing blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in order to get right with God. It is true that God has promised to keep that which we have committed unto Him against that day (II Tim. 1:12); also that we are kept by the power of God through faith unto Salvation ready to be revealed at the last time (I Peter 4:4). But man's responsibility is shown in the first epistle of St. John, chapter 1, verse 7, where it distinctly states that "IF WE WALK IN THE LIGHT as He is in the light we have fellowship one with another

and the blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin."

11. Sanctification or the Holy Life

Entire sanctification is the will of God for all believers, and should be earnestly pursued by walking in obedience to God's Word (Heb. 12:14; I Peter 1:15,16; I Thess. 5:23,24; I John 2:6). In experience this is both instantaneous and progressive. It is wrought out in the life of the believer by his appropriation of the power of Christ's blood and risen life through the person of the Holy Spirit, as set forth in the Word.

12. The Baptism of the Holy Ghost

The Apostolic Baptism in the Holy Ghost as recorded in the second chapter of Acts is the privilege of all God's people, for the Scripture saith, "the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call."

The Evidence

The Baptism of believers in the Holy Ghost is indicated by the initial physical sign of speaking with other tongues as the Spirit of God gives them utterance (Acts 2:4; 10:46; 19:6).

Our Distinctive Testimony

We consider it a serious disagreement with the Fundamentals for any minister among us to teach contrary to our Distinctive Testimony that the baptism of the Holy Spirit is regularly accompanied by the initial physical sign of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit of God gives utterance, and we consider it inconsistent and unscriptural for any minister to hold credentials with us who thus attacks as error our Distinctive Testimony.

13. The Lord's Supper

The Lord's Supper, consisting of the elements, bread and the fruit of the vine, is the symbol expressing our sharing the divine nature of our Lord Jesus Christ (II Peter 1:4); a memorial of His suffering and death (I Cor. 11:26); and a prophecy of His second coming (I Cor. 11:26) and is enjoined upon all believers "until He comes."

14. Water Baptism

Water Baptism is an outward sign, seal or expression of an inward death, burial and resurrection. signifying the believer's identification with Christ, in that he has been planted in the likeness of His death, raised by the might of His power to walk in newness of life, yielding his members as instruments of righteousness unto God as those that are alive from the dead. It is not a saving ordinance, but is essential in obedience to the Gospel. Baptism, according to the Scripture, should be administered by single immersion, and according to the command of Jesus in Matthew 28:19.

15. The Church a Living Organism

The Church is the Body of Christ, a habitation for God through the Spirit, with divine appointments for the fulfillment of her great commission. Every true believer and every true local assembly are integral parts of the General Assembly and Church of the First-born, whose names are written in heaven (Eph. 1:22.23; 2:22; Heb. 12:23).

16. The Ministry and Evangelism

A divinely called and a scripturally ordained ministry is the provision of the Lord for the

evangelization of the world and the edification of the Church (Mark 16:15-20; Eph. 4:11-13).

17. Divine Healing

Deliverance from sickness is provided for in the atonement, and is the privilege of all believers (Isa. 53:4,5; Matt. 8:16,17; James 5:13,16).

18. The Blessed Hope

The Resurrection of those who have fallen asleep in Christ, the rapture of believers who are alive and remain, and the translation of the true Church, this is the blessed hope set before all believers (I Thess. 4:16,17; Rom. 8:23; Titus 2:13). The rapture, according to the Scriptures, takes place before what is known as the Great Tribulation. Thus, the saints, who are raptured at Christ's coming, do not go through the Great Tribulation.

The premillennial and imminent coming of the Lord to gather His people unto Himself, and to judge the world in righteousness while reigning on the earth for a thousand years is the expectation of the true Church of Christ.

19. The Lake of Fire

The devil and his angels, the beast and the false prophets, and whosoever is not found written in the Book of Life, the fearful and unbelieving, and abominable, and murderers and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolators and all liars shall be consigned to everlasting punishment in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death (Rev. 19:20; 20:10-15).

20. The New Heavens and New Earth

We look for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness (II Peter 3:13; Rev. 21, 22).

21. Marriage and Divorce

First: Marriage has been instituted and ordained by God. The marriage relationship is honorable and pure. God's original plan is that it be a permanent, monogamous relationship (Matt. 19:4-6).

Second: There are now among Christian people those who became entangled in their marriage relations in their former lives of sin, and who do not now see how these matters can be adjusted; therefore, we recommend that these cases be left in the hands of the Lord, and that they walk in the light as God lets it shine on their souls.

Third: Whereas low standards of marriage and divorce are very hurtful to individuals, to the family, and to the cause of Christ, therefore it is recommend that we discourage divorce by all lawful means and teaching, and that we shall positively disapprove of Christians getting divorced for any cause except fornication (Matthew 19:9), and that we recommend the remaining single of all divorced Christians and that they pray God so to keep them in purity and peace (see I Corinthians 7).

Fourth: Whereas divorced and remarried persons in the ministry usually cause stumbling, reproach and division, whatever may have been the cause of divorce, therefore, we advise and recommend that our ministers and Assemblies do not accept to the Full Gospel Ministry those who have remarried

and are now living in the state of matrimony, while former companions are living (I Timothy 3).

Fifth: And as a means of making the above effective, we further advise our Pentecostal ministry not to perform a marriage ceremony between any believer, or other person, and a divorced person whose former companion is still living. We also especially warn all people that unions made in the future in the face of this warning between any of our ministers and such divorded persons will affect the standing of both ministers who perform the ceremony (unless he is innocently deceived into doing the same), and also, that of the minister entering into such union, whether man or woman, no matter which may be the innocent party.

22. Tithing

Tithing was divinely instituted by God under the old covenant and was compulsory upon the people who worshipped God. Under the new covenant we are not bound by arbitrary laws, but the principles of right and wrong, as expressed by the law, are fulfilled in the believer's life through grace. Grace should produce as much as or more than law demanded. Regular systematic giving is clearly taught in the New Testament. It is known as the grace of Giving. The gauge or rule of this systematic giving is defined in the Old Testament, known as the Law of Tithing. All Christians should conscientiously and systematically tithe their income to God.

9.2 Appendix B - Statement by Roman Catholic and Pentecostal Churches on 1995 Referendum Results

STATEMENT by the ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS of NEWFOUNDLAND and LABRADOR, CATHOLIC EDUCATION COUNCIL, GENERAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES of NEWFOUNDLAND and LABRADOR and the PENTECOSTAL EDUCATION COUNCIL

Yesterday, Premier Wells announced his government's intention to introduce in the House of Assembly on Monday, October 16, a resolution which will seek to amend Term 17 of the Canadian Constitution effectively to abolish the fundamental rights in education currently held by Roman Catholics, Pentecostals and adherents of other denominations in this Province. This action is being taken by Mr. Wells' government on the basis of an affirmative vote by only 28% of the eligible voters in Newfoundland and Labrador.

The Church leaders of the Roman Catholic and Pentecostal Churches whose members collectively represent 44% of the province's population wish to assure the over 90,000 voters who oppose the government's plan to amend Term 17 and who affirmed their desire to preserve their rights within a reformed and more cost efficient structure that we will not abandon our duty to vigorously defend their wishes.

When Premier Wells first suggested to us that a referendum would be a possible course for government to take, he expressed confidence that an overwhelming majority of eligible voters would support his proposal to amend Term 17 and that government polls confirmed his position.

Nevertheless, having rejected our position that fundamental reform could be achieved without a constitutional change, Premier Wells, with the support of his Cabinet, unilaterally and without public debate even in the House of Assembly, ordered a referendum to confirm his belief that overwhelming support existed for his plan to amend Term 17.

Even political analysts who clearly supported the government's position, publicly acknowledged that the referendum question was worded in a manner that was favorable to the "YES" vote that the government was seeking. The referendum question read as follows: "Do you support revising Term 17 in the manner proposed by the Government to enable reform of the denominational education system, Yes or No?" The question was very unfair since it clearly suggested that the only way to substantially reform our education system was to amend Term 17. After the referendum was announced, the Premier acknowledged to the media and others that a substantial majority of favorable votes for his proposal would be the proper basis for a mandate to move forward.

Notwithstanding this fact and the stated intent of the government not to engage in a

campaign, the government conducted an intensive campaign with numerous radio and newspaper ads and with Premier Wells and Minister Decker involved in numerous radio open-line programs and in television interviews to explain their position and to argue against our own campaign effort. Government, in the last days before the vote, produced an incomplete bus study and a seriously flawed legal opinion to gain public support without providing a fair opportunity for our people to reply, Another significant factor was that government had editorial support from virtually all the major print and electronic media. Despite all of these actions by and advantages for government, only 28% of all eligible voters in this Province went to the polls and expressed their support for the Premier's proposal.

While admitting that he was disappointed by the low voter turnout, Premier Wells has in the days since the referendum engaged in what we believe to be an extraordinary distortion of the results to justify moving forward with a plan to abolish constitutionally protected minority rights.

The Premier's allegations regarding our campaign to defend our rights in a referendum that was forced upon us is unworthy of our leader especially when his comments are used to excuse the narrow vote margin. Even worse is the Premier's suggestion that on referendum day all of the "No" supporters voted, but that those Newfoundlanders and Labradorians that did not vote in his words "are prepared to accept the results of the referendum" and in effect support the "Yes" side. We certainly believe that this is a completely unacceptable position for the Premier to take to excuse the fact that out of the 52% of the eligible voters who went to the polls there was such a narrow margin in favor of the government's position.

During door-to-door and telephone canvassing of eligible voters by our volunteer workers, many voters indicated that they were undecided and would likely not vote either because they were confused by the complexity of the issues or they felt that they were insufficiently informed about all of the implications of approving a constitutional amendment. Also we have strong evidence to indicate that many persons who advised us that they would vote "Yes" would do so not because they supported a constitutional amendment but because they felt it was the only way in which they could express support for substantial reform in education. Where is the evidence of clear and substantial support from the vast majority of the people of the Province for the government's plan to amend Term 17 as the Premier had said that he was seeking and was confident in obtaining?

Over 90,000 Newfoundlanders and Labradorians oppose this unnecessary action. Also, our government is showing complete disregard of the many districts in which "No" votes substantially outpolled "Yes." There are significant numbers of Roman Catholics or Pentecostals in these districts. Also, other districts with significant numbers of members of other denominations decisively voted "No" on referendum day. From our perspective, it is both important and more appropriate to consider the wishes of the voters who opposed the government's plan to amend Term 17 since it is their constitutional rights that the Wells' government proposes to eliminate.

There is no example in Canadian history where constitutionally protected minority rights have been taken away by a decision or vote of the majority and without the consent of the minority affected. This is so because such action would be fundamentally undemocratic and would threaten rights of all minorities. It is therefore unthinkable that Premier Wells and his government could now seek to remove the rights of Roman Catholics and Pentecostals based not even on a vote by a majority of eligible voters in this Province but by a vote of only 28% of them. It is particularly distressing that our legislature will be asked on or before October 16th to vote to abolish educational rights which were granted to one denomination by unanimous resolutions of our House of Assembly and Parliament of Canada as recently as 1987.

It is regrettable that the Premier and his government are intent on removing denominational rights now honestly and faithfully held and exercised. The desire to retain and continue to exercise these rights was affirmed by over 90,000 of our members as well as by members of other denominations on September 5th.

Our defense of these rights will continue and we are confident that when this matter is fully debated in our House of Assembly and the Parliament of Canada, we will find the necessary support to protect them.

We remain ready not only to continue discussions on reform but wish to work with government to implement immediately so many reform measures that have been derailed by this unnecessary government action.

8 September, 1995

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