

FLOODS UPON THE DRY GROUND:  
A HISTORY OF THE PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES OF NEWFOUNDLAND  
1910-39

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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BURTON KEITH JAMES, B.A.









FLOODS UPON THE DRY GROUND:  
A HISTORY OF THE  
PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES OF NEWFOUNDLAND  
1910-39

BY

© Burton Keith Janes, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate  
Studies in partial fulfillment of the  
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Master of Arts

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### ABSTRACT

The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland began in 1910 when 52-year old American Alice B. Garrigus, from a rural working class family, in response to what she perceived as a divine call, opened a storefront mission, Bethesda, in downtown St. John's. Her movement remained a modest urban phenomenon until 1922, when it was introduced into Conception and, later, Placentia, Bays. The year 1925 marked both the initiation of a west coast Pentecostal movement, begun by two laymen from Bethesda, and the formation of a denomination in eastern Newfoundland. (The western and eastern divisions later merged.) From the start, the sect-turned-church was fraught with inner dissension that stunted its growth; during the Great Depression, however, its subsequent growth pattern, primarily in western and central Newfoundland, was established. My thesis is a historical analysis of the first three decades of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland and Labrador. The following are significant conclusions. The Pentecostal movement, like the Salvation Army before, initially appealed primarily to dissatisfied Methodists, especially to those from

lower socioeconomic classes. Spreading to the rapidly changing industrial regions of western and central Newfoundland, it gained momentum. As the aging female founder receded into the background, the denominational leadership passed into the hands of younger male converts from Methodism; once the church was under indigenous leadership, it flourished and gained a firm foothold. The transition from a movement to a denomination was salutary, bringing with it cohesion.

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Rollmann of Memorial's Department of Religious Studies, with his own interest in Newfoundland religion, has been a constant source of challenge and encouragement. In the final stages of the paper, when I was looking for accomplished typists, my sister, Karen, and Susan White stepped in and took care of that concern. A note of thanks must go to Rev. Calvin T. Andrews and his secretary, Wanda Buckle, for helping with a draft copy of the thesis; and Linda Waterton for producing the final copy. I thank Austin Rogers for preparing the map in chapter 7. The last but by no means the least important people to whom I owe an inestimable debt are my wife, Sherry, and our children, Krista and Christopher, who endured an absentee husband/father for more hours than I care to compute.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	viii
EPIGRAM	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I	THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT IN
	HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT
	8
CHAPTER II	THE LIFE OF ALICE BELLE GARRIGUS
	38
CHAPTER III	BETHESDA MISSION--THE CREATION OF A
	NEWFOUNDLAND PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT
	65
CHAPTER IV	EXPANSION IN EASTERN AND WESTERN
	NEWFOUNDLAND (1922-5)
	95
CHAPTER V	THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT AND THE
	SALVATION ARMY: A COMPARISON
	145
CHAPTER VI	FROM MOVEMENT TO DENOMINATION
	180
CHAPTER VII	NEWFOUNDLAND PENTECOSTALISM IN THE
	GREAT DEPRESSION
	222
CONCLUSION	255
BIBLIOGRAPHY	262

APPENDICES	284
I. "BUILDING ACCORDING TO THE PATTERN" BY ALICE BELLE GARRIGUS	285
II. PENTECOSTALS IN ST. JOHN'S IN 1921	294
III. SALVATION ARMY CORPS OPENED IN NEWFOUNDLAND TO 1900	299
IV. "STATEMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS APPROVED BY THE PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES OF CANADA"	303
V. PENTECOSTAL DISTRIBUTION BY COMMUNITY (1935)	315

## LIST OF FIGURES

1.	THE 20TH CENTURY PENTECOSTAL/ CHARISMATIC RENEWAL, AD 1900-1990	13
2.	NEWFOUNDLAND'S RELIGIOUS DEMOGRAPHY IN 1911	69
3.	PENTECOSTAL POPULATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND (1935)	239
4.	PENTECOSTAL POPULATION BY CENSUS DISTRICTS (1935 TO 1945)	240
5.	NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR POPULATION BY RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS (1935 TO 1945)	243

All enthusiastic movements are fain to revive, in a more or less degree, the experience of Pentecost; a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit has taken place, and a chosen body of witnesses is there to attest it. What more likely than that they should aspire to imitate Pentecost in this, its most characteristic manifestation?

--Ronald A. Knox, Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950).

## INTRODUCTION

Pentecostalism is one of Newfoundland and Labrador's viable denominations that has, in each census since 1935, increased by more than one percent its share of the population, showing in 1981 a respectable 6.4%. This compares with a denominational growth rate of 30% over a ten-year period, while the population itself increased only by approximately 8%. At the same time it contrasts significantly with the decline of the island's established churches--the Anglican, Roman Catholic and especially the United. The Salvation Army, Pentecostalism's usual competitor, is seemingly holding its present strength of 8% of the population, without any large increase since the second world war.<sup>1</sup>

Although Pentecostalism is an important religious group in Newfoundland and Labrador, showing significant numerical strength, and exhibiting growing social respectability with its separate school system, there is little literature relating to it. There has been in the last decade an awakening of historical interest among individuals, but to date no definitive history of the phenomenon has appeared. This

thesis is an attempt to begin filling this lacuna.

In the pioneering days of any enthusiastic religious movement, there is a tendency to distrust the intellect. Only the spiritual side of humanity is deemed important. Education, commendable at best, unspiritual at worst, is de-emphasized. Such an attitude does nothing for the intentional chronicling of history. Those qualified to write an account of the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement were few; any stifling of the intellect reduced that number even further. Also, those intimately involved with the origin and development of the movement were too busy living history to record it for posterity. Having no conception of their role as history-makers, these potential recorders often made only casual reference to key events and individuals associated with the movement. The movement's growth after 1925 is fairly well documented, but hardly any primary materials from 1910 to October 1926 exist. A peculiar factor led to the lack. An early Pentecostal leader in Newfoundland, while destroying a mass of historical documents, commented that "it is time to get the dust-laden boxes of papers to the dump".<sup>2</sup> As a result, documentation for the early development of the movement is meagre.

There are several reliable histories of Pentecostalism as a worldwide phenomenon, but only two--Gordon F. Atter's The Third Force and John T. Nichol's Pentecostalism--contain an account of the Newfoundland movement. The more scholarly

Pentecostalism relies on Atter's Force.<sup>3</sup> Charles E. Jones' A Guide to the Study of the Pentecostal Movement briefly discusses the movement, but like Nichol, relies on Atter and repeats his errors.<sup>4</sup> The monumental Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements contains two satisfactory articles on the movement.<sup>5</sup>

There is an equal lack of scholarly materials from local writers. Morley F. Hodder's Our Christian Heritage devotes a chapter to the movement.<sup>6</sup> A Grade IX textbook, it is intended to stimulate further research among students. John W. Hammond's The Joyful Sound is the first book-length treatment of the topic.<sup>7</sup> While not receiving encouraging reviews,<sup>8</sup> it must be the starting point in Newfoundland Pentecostal historiography. Rushed into print, his work is unattractive, contains numerous inaccuracies and lacks interpretative material. The book's value rests in a chronological listing of the churches that were established, and tentative, though far from complete, bibliographical references. Eugene Vaters, the second General Superintendent of the movement, published the first volume of his autobiography, Reminiscence.<sup>9</sup> (Volume two was also written, but was never published.) Providing some useful personal information, and an abundance of superfluous material, the book is nevertheless worthwhile for an understanding of the post-1924 period. My The Lady Who Came and The Lady Who Stayed complete a popular biography of Alice B. Garrigus, the founder of the movement.<sup>10</sup> Written with the

Pentecostal lay-person in mind, these books will complement my forthcoming popular history of the denomination. In recent years Dr. Hans Rollmann of Memorial University's Department of Religious Studies has been devoting attention to Newfoundland religion, including Pentecostalism.

My thesis is a history of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland from 1910 to 1939. The cut-off date is not an arbitrary one. There is general agreement among Pentecostal historians that the period leading up to World War II changed significantly the fortunes of Pentecostals. By the time of the Great Depression, the movement had entered a different phase of development. As it became institutionalized, it drew upon higher levels of the class structure, a development that was particularly pronounced after the war. It was a period of denominational respectability, when churches replaced temporary quarters, liturgical order supplanted charismatic ardor, there was a growing interest in education and a concern for social problems, there was frequent self-criticism, and there was a shedding of sectarian tendencies. Once the movement became a denomination, it began moving towards an Evangelical middle-class religion, complete with efficient fund-raising structures, a streamlined ecclesiastical bureaucracy, and a Pentecostal conceptual theology. Since the war, growing affluence has markedly changed the face of some parts of the movement. It has undergone a slow but remarkable uniform acculturation towards the values of middle-class, mainstream



Protestantism. As a needed balance, however, Grant Wacker points out that working-class Pentecostalism still flourishes in inner-city missions and in small-town revival centres.<sup>11</sup> Although it is beyond the scope of this study, the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland and Labrador did not immediately shed its sectarian character, but it persisted beyond the period of World War II and in spite of its denominationalism. It has been shown convincingly that even as late as the 1960s Pentecostalism in rural Newfoundland was associated with the lower end of the socioeconomic scale, and that it did not differ significantly from the lower class appeal since the movement's debut in Newfoundland.<sup>12</sup> Hence, to continue this study beyond the cut-off date--1939--is merely to repeat largely the themes found in this thesis.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Hans Rollmann, Religious Studies 1901: Religion in Newfoundland and Labrador: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Course Manual (St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University, second edition 1990 [1988]), p. 6.33.

<sup>2</sup>Information provided by my father, Eric R. Janes.

<sup>3</sup>Gordon F. Atter, The Third Force (Caledonia, Ontario: Acts, 1970 [1962]), pp. 42, 103f., 204; John R. Nichol, Pentecostalism (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 162.

<sup>4</sup>Charles E. Jones, A Guide to the Study of the Pentecostal Movement [GSPM] (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow, 1983), 2 vols. See his entry on "Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland," vol. I, part 2, p. 621.

<sup>5</sup>James A. Hewett, "Alice Belle Garrigus," Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements [DPCM], eds. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, Patrick H. Alexander (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1988), p. 330; and *idem*, "Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, *ibid.*, pp. 699f.

<sup>6</sup>Morley F. Hodder, Our Christian Heritage (Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson, third edition 1983), pp. 111-8.

<sup>7</sup>John W. Hammond, The Joyful Sound: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador (St. Stephen, New Brunswick: Print'N Press, 1982).

<sup>8</sup>See Hans Rollmann's review in The Newfoundland Quarterly, vol. LXXIX, no. 4 (Winter 1984), p. 39.

<sup>9</sup>Eugene Vaters, Reminiscence, ed. Burton K. Janes (St. John's, Newfoundland: Good Tidings, 1983).

<sup>10</sup>Burton K. Janes, The Lady Who Came: The Biography of Alice Belle Garrigus, Newfoundland's First Pentecostal Pioneer [TLWC] (St. John's, Newfoundland: Good Tidings, 1982); *idem*, The Lady Who Stayed: The Biography of Alice Belle Garrigus, Newfoundland's First Pentecostal Pioneer [TLWS] (St. John's, Newfoundland: Good Tidings, 1983).

<sup>11</sup>Grant Wacker, "Pentecostalism." Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements, eds. Charles H. Lippy, Peter W. Williams, vol. II (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1988), p. 942.

<sup>12</sup>See, for example, Anthony P. Cohen's "Social Identity and the Management of Marginality," in The Changing Fortunes of Marginal Regions, ed. G. A. MacKay (Aberdeen, Scotland: Institute for the Study of Sparsely Populated Areas, 1977), especially pp. 115-7; and F. Frankel, "A Study of Religious Life in Newfoundland Fishing Communities, with Particular Reference to Pentecostalism" (unpublished Report for the Bachelor of Technology Degree, Brunel University, London, England, 1970).

## CHAPTER I

### THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT IN HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

## CHAPTER I

The particular religious expression of Pentecostalism is best understood through a historico-sociological study. This approach helps in establishing the origin, background and development of the movement and its impact as an agent of change within society, as well as the impact of the social surroundings on it. This chapter begins with a brief overview of the sociology of religion as seen through the eyes of Ernst Troeltsch and others. This is followed by a study of the growth of the Pentecostal movement, its theological origins and early development. The movement began as a marginal denomination to provide help--its adherents would say salvation--for those who live on the periphery of society, and it was consequently confined largely to lower socioeconomic classes.

Building on Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch<sup>1</sup> defined modern religions according to their original structure. He developed a typology of church and sect.<sup>2</sup> The church is a natural and exclusive social group that is frequently national in scope, emphasizing the universalism of the gospel. Membership is

socially obligatory; one becomes a member at birth. The sect, a voluntary association, is exclusive in character, appeals to the individualistic element in Christianity, emphasizes ethical requirements and demands specific religious experiences. Individuals join it.<sup>3</sup>

Elmer T. Clark<sup>4</sup> sub-divided the smaller American sects into these groups: pessimistic, perfectionist, charismatic, legalistic, egocentric and esoteric. The Pentecostal movement fits the charismatic category. Bryan R. Wilson<sup>5</sup> characterizes the movement as a conversionist sect; it encourages individuals to accept Christ as Saviour. The saved are expected to be totally transformed. This could bring about a transformation in society, turning Mammon into the City of God. The sect gradually begins to cooperate or compromise with Mammon. From this standpoint, the Pentecostal movement is a socio-economic movement which attempts to come to terms with an alien world system. Conversionist sects usually become denominations because they tend to compromise with the dominant value structure.<sup>6</sup>

Pentecostalism began as a Protestant, ecstatic, millenarian religious movement in which the practice of speaking in tongues was a distinctive feature of personal spirituality. According to Acts 2, the Holy Spirit descended on the fiftieth day (Greek, pentekostes) after the Jewish Passover festival. This event was marked by extraordinary phenomena--a sound like wind, cloven tongues like fire resting upon the believers, and

individuals speaking in languages unknown to them.<sup>7</sup> Theologically, the Pentecostal movement maintains that the experience outlined in Acts 2 is not relegated only to a specific historical period, but is repeatable in each succeeding generation.

Presbyterian theologian Henry P. Van Dusen, writing in Life magazine more than 50 years after the emergence of the Pentecostal movement, coined the phrase "The Third Force in Christendom" in describing the religion.<sup>8</sup> His point was that Pentecostalism was expanding so rapidly that it must be accorded separate consideration by students of religious history. David B. Barrett has followed Van Dusen's lead in a monumental work that he edited, World Christian Encyclopedia, and in a follow-up article.<sup>9</sup> Barrett's research provides the best statistical data presently available on Pentecostalism.

According to Barrett, Pentecostalism is most clearly understood within a broader context--that of a consecutive three-wave renewal within Christendom. The first wave, simply called Pentecostalism, is comprised of Christians who are members of explicitly pentecostal denominations. The major characteristic of these denominations is a rediscovery of the Holy Spirit, the third Person of the Trinity. All Christians, they insist, should seek a post-conversion religious experience called the baptism in the Holy Spirit, accompanied by one or more spiritual gifts.<sup>10</sup> Explicitly pentecostal denominations teach that the initial evidence of Spirit-baptism is

tongues-speaking. In the United States of America, first wave Pentecostals are usually called "Classical Pentecostals" to distinguish them from the subsequent "Charismatic Movement". The second wave--the Charismatic Movement or neopentecostalism--is made up of Christians who experience the Spirit more fully but who choose to remain within their older mainline denominations. Tongues-speaking is regarded as optional. This surge of revival dates from 1950. The third wave--Mainstream Church Renewal--comprises Evangelicals<sup>11</sup> and other Christians who, unconnected with either Pentecostalism or the Charismatic Movement, have recently been renewed by the Spirit, but not necessarily as the result of a Spirit-baptism separate from conversion. They too choose to remain part of their denomination.

Figure 1 shows the growth from 1900 to 1990 for the three waves of the Twentieth Century Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal. Barrett collected the data from 1900 to 1988 from statistics for these years. The 1990 figure is a projection based on current trends, conservatively estimated.<sup>12</sup> Today the three surges represent 21% of organized global Christianity. Barrett documents a 1988 total of 332 million affiliated church members. Of these, 176 million are Pentecostals, 123 million charismatics, and 28 million third-wavers. Some 29% of all members worldwide are white, and 71% nonwhite. Members are more urban than rural, more female than male, more children (under 18) than adults, more third World (66%) than



**FIGURE 1.** The 20th Century Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal, AD 1900-1990\*

	1900	1970	1975	1980	1985	1988	1990
FIRST WAVE: Pentecostalism	1,216,300	64,334,970	78,690,730	104,545,600	149,656,990	176,070,330	193,679,230
SECOND WAVE: Charismatic Movement	0	3,788,700	16,861,080	45,535,390	97,498,700	123,342,710	140,572,050
THIRD WAVE: Mainstream Church Renewal	0	50,000	1,000,000	4,000,000	20,700,000	28,080,000	33,000,000

\*SOURCE: David B. Barrett, "Global Statistics," Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, eds. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, Patrick H. Alexander (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1988, pp. 812f.

Western world (32%), more living in poverty (87%) than affluent (13%), and more family-related than individualist. The three waves are continuing to surge, growth and expansion accelerating at a current rate of 19 million new members a year. One-third of this number is solely demographic (births minus deaths);<sup>13</sup> and two-thirds are converts and other new members. Demographic increase implies a church, in Weber/Troeltsch's typology. Annual rates of growth have declined gradually to 5% per year for Pentecostals, 7% for charismatics, and 6% for the Renewal as a whole.<sup>14</sup>

Barrett's data reveal the numerical strength of Pentecostalism worldwide, but they should not be relied on in detail. Pentecostalism in Newfoundland and Labrador is one of the branches that emerged out of the first wave classical Pentecostal grouping. It traces its lineage to the 1906 Azusa Street revival,<sup>15</sup> and teaches a two-stage experience of conversion, followed by the baptism in the Holy Spirit and evidenced by speaking in tongues.

In tracing the origins of Pentecostalism, three tries at historical filiation emerge.<sup>16</sup> First, attempts are made to link the religion with an idealized continuum of Christianity in which tongues-speaking occurred uniformly. A second approach suggests a link with the American Wesleyan Holiness revival of the nineteenth century. A third seeks to understand the religion in a non-Wesleyan late nineteenth century milieu.

Proponents of the first, and least useful, view detect an unbroken line of tongues-speaking throughout church history. Stanley H. Frodsham, a Pentecostal writer, is representative of this view. "During the past nineteen centuries," he wrote, "in times when the spiritual life ran high, the Holy Spirit has been received just as at Pentecost, with the accompanying manifestation of speaking in tongues".<sup>17</sup> This view, which depicts a Pentecostal church dating from the Day of Pentecost, relies largely on forced interpretations of primary sources and often inconclusive secondary sources. There is no direct link between twentieth century Pentecostalism and enthusiastic religious movements throughout church history.<sup>18</sup>

The second approach to Pentecostalism's origins analyses the American Wesleyan Holiness revival of the nineteenth century. The Holiness movement, which dated from the end of the Civil War, was a reaction to a perceived deterioration of the Methodistic values of conversion and sanctification.<sup>19</sup> "John Wesley, the indomitable founder of Methodism," commented H. Vinson Synan in support of this approach, "was also the spiritual and intellectual father of the modern holiness and pentecostal movements which have issued from Methodism within the last century".<sup>20</sup> This view, which suggests that Pentecostalism's emphases issued primarily from Methodism, has its limitations.

Admittedly, John Wesley taught a doctrine of Christian perfection, holiness or sanctification. "I find it necess-

ary," he wrote in one of his letters,

to follow after perfection in every thing, in every place, and in every hour. There are many thoughts I think, many words I speak, and many of my works, I find are now perfect in their kind; that is, thought, spok<sup>g</sup>, and done with a single eye to the glory of God.<sup>21</sup>

As Donald W. Dayton pointed out, Wesley indeed understood sanctification as a crisis experience subsequent to conversion, but as a gradual rather than an instantaneous process, and explicated along the lines of the Holy Spirit rather than Christological lines.<sup>22</sup> Wesley did not advocate a doctrine of a baptism in the Holy Spirit, and certainly not the evidence of tongues-speaking. While it remains true that part of Pentecostalism's heritage was the American Wesleyan Holiness movement of the nineteenth century, we must seek its broader base elsewhere.

The third approach to Pentecostalism's origins underscores the emergence during the late 1800s of a doctrinal emphasis on the Holy Spirit among non-Wesleyan Evangelicals, and outside the Holiness movement.<sup>23</sup> Towards the end of the Second Great Awakening (1795-1835), Charles G. Finney (1792-1897) set revivalism on a new road through a series of fresh measures.<sup>24</sup> The Third Awakening (1875-99) produced a number of revivalists; two of the best-known are Dwight L. Moody (1837-99) and Billy Sunday (1862-1935). These individuals expressed their theology within the context of pre-millennialism, the belief that Christ could return for His Church at any moment. This conviction, popular within

contemporary American Fundamentalism,<sup>25</sup> served as an incentive for holy living and evangelizing. Rejecting the Holiness concept of a "second blessing," they stressed rather an "overcoming life". They taught that the Spirit "endued" or enabled the believer to live a victorious Christian life. In addition to the emphases of premillennialism and the overcoming life, the Reformed Evangelicals believed in divine healing, a doctrine that found its way into Pentecostal theology.

A composite approach to Pentecostalism's origins detects glossolalia or tongues-speaking only intermittently in history, and observes diverse emphases on holiness. Indeed, when Pentecostalism emerged, Holiness leaders recognized that only tongues-speaking set the newer movement apart from their own religious milieu.<sup>26</sup> The third approach places the Pentecostal movement in the larger tradition of American popular evangelicalism.<sup>27</sup>

These origins aside, Pentecostalism appeared in a specific social context. Its roots lie in the America of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries; the period was marked by profound social change.

It was during this era that the country shifted from an agrarian to an industrial economy, from a rural to an urban-centered population, from an anticolonial to an imperialistic nation, from a relatively homogeneous to a polygenetic people, and from a system of relative laissez-faire to the first stages of governmental social control.<sup>28</sup>

Nils Bloch-Hoell cited mass immigration, industrializ-

ation and the immense growth of cities at the expense of agrarian districts as factors which left America "spiritually and socially rootless".<sup>29</sup> City churches were often ill-equipped to deal with the sense of rootlessness experienced by the rural-to-urban migrant. The Pentecostal movement appealed to the poor and forsaken, whether dwelling in a rural or an urban setting.

Pentecostalism as a movement, and not merely a local religious revival, dates from an event that occurred in Topeka, Kansas in January 1901.<sup>30</sup> Kansas had been born in the midst of a fratricidal conflict. Its politics and religion were characterized by individualism, intense partisan loyalty and intolerance. It was a place where, in the words of Robert M. Anderson, "the career of prophet was avidly pursued by many".<sup>31</sup> In 1900 Charles F. Parham (1873-1929),<sup>32</sup> an itinerant non-denominational white evangelist, had opened the Bethel Bible School in Topeka. Parham was one in a long line of self-styled prophets produced in Kansas and elsewhere. On a tour of Holiness religious centres, he was impressed by sporadic reports of tongues-speaking. To him, xenolalic tongues or identifiable languages were conclusive proof of Spirit-baptism, because they made all recipients immediate missionaries.

Parham preached the attainment of holiness as an experience subsequent to conversion, and divine healing as a provision of the atonement, or the sufferings and death of

Christ. His school possessed one textbook, the Bible; one teacher, the Holy Spirit speaking through Parham; and an experiential philosophy of education. "The method of study," explained his wife,

was to take a subject, learn the [biblical] references on that subject, also where each quotation was found, and present to the class in recitation as though they were seekers, praying for the anointing of the Holy Spirit to be upon the message in such a way as to bring conviction.<sup>33</sup>

The 40 or so students, from Holiness backgrounds, sought new and novel spiritual experiences.

Parham assigned his students to search the Pentecostal Bible chapter, Acts 2, for the true evidence of Holy Spirit-baptism. "Though I honour the Holy Ghost in anointing power both in conversion and sanctification," he admitted,

yet I believe there is a greater revelation of His power....Now, students, while I am gone, see if there is not some evidence given of the baptism [in the Holy<sup>34</sup> Spirit] so there may be no doubt on the subject.

There had previously been no uniform evidence for this baptism in the Spirit. The students concluded that speaking in tongues was the indisputable initial physical evidence of the added experience. Parham admitted to astonishment at his students' conclusion,<sup>35</sup> but he had after all strategically directed their attention to Acts 2, where xenolalic tongues had sparked the first phase of Christian expansion.<sup>36</sup> Pentecostals thereafter associated tongues-speaking with Spirit-baptism.<sup>37</sup>

The first to speak in tongues at Parham's school was

Agnes N. Ozman (1870-1937).<sup>38</sup> A Methodist Episcopalian who had since refused all denominational labels, she espoused both premillennialism and healing. A restless individual, she sought unusual religious experiences, which climaxed at her Spirit-baptism about 11:00 p.m. on January 1, 1901. "I wanted the promise of the Father more than ever I did food or to sleep," she confessed many years later.<sup>39</sup> Ozman's experience is usually credited with establishing the validity of Parham's "discovery" that tongues-speaking was the evidence of Spirit-baptism.

Despite extensive newspaper coverage of the phenomena being experienced at Parham's school, the leader struggled for two years to retain his role. Once the excitement faded, Kansas was unresponsive to his teaching. In 1903 he shifted his doctrinal emphasis from tongues-speaking to physical healing.<sup>40</sup> In Galena, Kansas, at the centre of the Tri-State District (Kansas, Missouri and Oklahoma), he met with immediate success in the boom mining towns. By the Fall of 1905, after favourable response in the prosperous Texan towns of Orchard, Houston and Brunner, he and his workers fanned out southward to Galveston. Parham's small core of followers swelled to several thousand.

The Pentecostal movement had from 1901 to 1905 made a hesitant and undramatic start. It was still decentralized at the end of 1905, and would have remained that way had not greater cultural diffusion led to expansion. Two factors



converged to alter the face of the Pentecostal movement.

In December 1905 Parham opened a Bible school in Houston, similar to his earlier venture in Topeka. One student, William J. Seymour (1870-1922),<sup>41</sup> was instrumental in changing the Pentecostal movement both radically and racially. The leadership became black. An itinerant Baptist evangelist based in Houston, Seymour enrolled in Parham's school but was segregated outside the classroom door. He accepted Parham's initial evidence theory, although he did not receive the experience at the time. Unsatisfied spiritually and socially, he left in January 1906 for Los Angeles, where he had been invited to lead a church of disaffected black Baptists. Parham tried to persuade Seymour to remain in Houston to await the Spirit-baptism and work among his race, but Seymour nevertheless left with Parham's blessing. Rejected by the church in less than a week for his Pentecostal stance, Seymour then formed a predominantly black home prayer group that eventually experienced the long-awaited charismatic phenomena. The resulting crowds forced a move, first to 214 North Bonnie Brae Street and, on April 14, 1906, to 312 Azusa Street, the Pentecostal mecca, in a black ghetto. Worldwide Pentecostalism dates from the establishment of the Azusa Street Mission. The movement spread around the world through the mission's newsletter, The Apostolic Faith, and by those who visited the mission and experienced tongues.<sup>42</sup>

A second contributing factor that led to the movement's

expansion was the Welsh Revival of 1904.<sup>43</sup> The Wales Revival, which lasted a little more than a year, was synonymous with the name of Evan Roberts (1878-1947), a miner-blacksmith turned evangelist. In 1904-5 reports from Wales trickled into Los Angeles. Neither Roberts nor the Revival itself was Pentecostal, but both served as a catalyst of encouragement by creating a widespread expectation.

Los Angeles was a miniature world. Within a month of the opening of the Azusa Street Mission, hordes of people, representing virtually every race, nationality and social class, visited the mission. Many of them had already heard about the Welsh Revival, and drew a correlation between it and the mission. The latter was an interracial miracle that was bound to generate interest across America and elsewhere.

By mid-1906 Parham was at the height of his popularity, and he led a movement between eight and ten thousand strong. For a variety of reasons, the focus of the Pentecostal movement shifted from him to Seymour's Los Angeles mission. Parham began to exhibit spiritual and emotional immaturity. He was unwilling to relinquish leadership gracefully, and certainly could not envision working closely with a black. He began emphasizing private and esoteric interpretations of the Bible. He was accused of both financial irregularity and sexual misconduct. His influence in the Pentecostal movement subsequently waned, and when he died in 1929 he was almost unknown among the developing second generation of Pentecost-

als. But he had been undeniably the founder of the Pentecostal movement.<sup>44</sup>

In September 1906 The Apostolic Faith, the Azusa Street Mission's publication, reported graphically that the Pentecostal movement

...is spreading everywhere until churches [that] do not believe backslide and lose the experience they have. Those who are older in this movement are stronger, and greater signs and wonders are following them....We cannot tell how many people have been saved and sanctified, and baptised with the Holy Ghost, and healed of all manner of sicknesses. Many are speaking in new tongues, and some are on their way to the foreign fields, with the gift of the language.<sup>45</sup> We are going on to get more of the power of God.

By the end of the year Seymour had incorporated his mission as the Pacific Apostolic Faith Movement. The Apostolic Faith boasted a circulation of 50,000, many of whom lived outside the States. American visitors as well as individuals from foreign countries converged on the mission where they received the Spirit-baptism. Returning to their homes, they established the Pentecostal movement. Canadians Andrew H. Argue (1868-1959) and Robert E. McAlister (1880-1953) returned to their country as enthusiastic Pentecostals. David W. Faupel indicated that by 1908 the Pentecostal movement had taken root in over 50 countries.<sup>46</sup>

Initially, the Azusa Street Mission was racially integrated, almost an unheard-of phenomenon. Frank Bartleman (1871-1936), the primary chronicler of Pentecostal origins in Los Angeles, reported: "The 'color line' was washed away in

the blood [of Jesus]".<sup>47</sup> However, by 1908 Seymour's leadership role was in doubt. Personality clashes in effect ended his leadership within the Pentecostal movement, including his vision of an integrated church that could have had greater impact on a racially segregated America. By 1914 the mission had become a local black church, with an occasional white visitor, and gradually descended into oblivion. Douglas J. Nelson concluded: "The historical memory of Seymour's crucial leadership disappeared, and Seymour himself remained visible to history only in caricature form".<sup>48</sup> For decades after his death in 1922, Seymour's role in Pentecostalism's origins was dismissed as the denomination gained prominence among whites and in many Third World countries. However, it must be remembered that practically all early Pentecostals in the world trace their roots directly or indirectly to this black man's mission.<sup>49</sup>

The Pentecostal movement cannot be understood apart from its doctrine.<sup>50</sup> Salvation, the common affirmation of what Charles Hudson calls the Fundamentalist Christian belief-system,<sup>51</sup> is the act of one's asking forgiveness from God directly for one's sins and making peace with God. The phrase "born again" is used in the Johannine account of Nicodemus' encounter with Jesus. "Except a man be born again," Jesus explained, "he cannot see the kingdom of God".<sup>52</sup> The first question usually asked by a conscientious Pentecostal is, "Are you saved?" The Pentecostal movement is what Ronald A. Knox

called "an affair of the heart".<sup>53</sup> Everything else flows from this basic rite of passage. The second tenet is that conversion should be followed by an event known as the baptism in the Holy Spirit. First-wave Pentecostals assert that this experience is evidenced by tongues-speaking.<sup>54</sup>

The undergirding of the movement's belief-system is its understanding of history.<sup>55</sup> The movement's watchword, "Jesus is coming soon," offers a unified view of past, present and future. History is perceived as running downhill because of sin. God intervened by sending His Son. The institutional, established churches or denominations, which became increasingly marked by secularism and rationalism, failed in their mandate to win the world to Christ. The Pentecostal movement arose partly as a reaction against institutionalization.

The term "movement" is a useful one in that it describes the fluidity, spontaneity and unstructuredness that characterized early Pentecostals. I understand the term in the sense used by Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine:

...a group of people who are organized for, ideologically motivated by, and committed to a purpose which implements some form of personal or social change; who are actively engaged in the recruitment of others; and whose influence is spreading in opposition to the established order within which it originated.<sup>56</sup>

Pentecostals believe that through their movement God began to prepare a consummation to history that would be realized at the return of Christ. As Kenelm Burridge pointed out, this is not new:

...millenarian movements involve the adoption of new assumptions, a new redemptive process, a new politico-economic framework, a new mode of measuring the man, a new integrity, a new community: in short, a new man.<sup>57</sup>

The idea of radical transformation gave rise to the term "the full gospel" in describing the four basic tenets of Pentecostal doctrine: conversion, Spirit-baptism, divine healing and the imminent return of Christ.<sup>58</sup>

The early development of the Pentecostal movement is a prime example of a marginal religion, one that is on the periphery. A marginal group is a section of a society's population that is segregated, excluded, ostracized or "marginalized" from complete involvement in the existing society. Marginalization is caused by any or all of these factors: economics and sociology, politics, demography, culture and psychosociology.<sup>59</sup>

Groups are identified as outsiders because their social structures and economies are perceptibly different from those of the larger society. They are peripheral in the sense that there is considerable social distance between them and the majority--there is little or no social interaction--and this social gulf is usually, but not necessarily, reinforced by spatial separation.<sup>60</sup>

Walter J. Hollenweger pointed out that in 1936 American Pentecostal representation was centered primarily in the south. Females outnumbered males, and the black proportion was greater than in the population itself. The average income was lower than that of established church members, and even less than that for black church members.<sup>61</sup> Nils Bloch-Hoell observed that, although difficult to substantiate statistical-

ly, the early movement in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Canada, Oslo and two German cities was drawn from the less prosperous and the least educated.<sup>62</sup> The sociological structure that emerges is a movement confined largely to lower socioeconomic classes. Sects function sociologically to overcome the feeling of deprivation, status contradiction, loneliness, poverty, sickness, racial discrimination, speech and language difficulties and handicaps of character.<sup>63</sup> The movement's belief-system, with an emphasis on the hereafter, functioned as a distracting mechanism from present woes. Phenomena such as speaking in tongues established an alternate status system to the one existing in society at large.<sup>64</sup> The despised sought acceptance, which was often jeopardized by a marginal status in society. By restoring the power of expression to those without social identity, marginalized groups were relieved of their socioeconomic disadvantage.<sup>65</sup>

Liston Pope probed the church's role in social affairs and its frequent surrender to economic leaders, thereby providing the springboard for his understanding of the emergence of newer sects, including the Pentecostal movement. A number of theories have been advanced: the mobility of a family, ignorance and lack of education, failure of the traditional churches, economically weak sections of the population, and psychological categories. The last factor is most useful, Pope claimed. "Frenetic religious services," he wrote, "represent release from psychological repression,...

attempt to spread the full gospel message to Newfoundland.



fulfilling a need for self-expression and for identification of one's self with a greater power".<sup>66</sup> Nils Bloch-Hoell commented: "This desire for an emotional religion is partly due to the social background of the Pentecostal followers".<sup>67</sup> In short, both Pope and Bloch-Hoell pointed to the lower socioeconomic class structure of the early Pentecostal movement. At the same time, it is important to distinguish between the Pentecostal movement as a value-oriented movement as opposed to the Social Gospel movement which was a norm-related, or reform, movement. Pentecostals tried to influence values, redefine norms along value lines, reorganize the individual's motivation and redefine situational facilities. The Social Gospel advocated restructuring the basis of social organization through changing the laws governing behaviour. Robert M. Anderson draws a simple distinction between the salvation of individuals and the salvation of society. Pentecostals insisted that heart-change resulted in social change.<sup>68</sup>

The Pentecostal movement expanded rapidly during the first decade of the twentieth century. In light of the embryonic movement's growth, its introduction to Newfoundland in 1910 was not unusual. One factor facilitating the movement's early success was the conviction that made every believer a missionary, a proclaimer of the end-time, full gospel message. Without adopting a deterministic view of history, it was not unexpected that someone would eventually

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, trans. by Olive Wyon, 2 vols. (London: Geo. Allen and Unwin, 1931). See especially vol. I, pp. 331-81, and vol. II, pp. 993-1013. "Church" and "sect" are what Max Weber called "ideal types"; for a discussion of this methodological idea see From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and edited by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford, 1946).

<sup>2</sup>Troeltsch's third ideal type, mysticism, in vol. II, pp. 997-9, need not detain us here.

<sup>3</sup>See H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (Cleveland, Ohio: World, 1929), pp. 17-21.

<sup>4</sup>Elmer T. Clark, The Small Sects in America, (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, revised edition 1949). Clark's classification is discussed in David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker, second edition 1984), pp. 90ff. Clark's seven subdivisions are represented respectively by Jehovah's Witnesses, Wesleyan and Free Methodist Churches, Mormons (at the beginning), Shakers, Judaism, Christian Science and Swedenborgians.

<sup>5</sup>Bryan R. Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development," American Sociological Review, vol. XXIV (February 1959), pp. 3-15; idem, Religious Sects (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), pp. 41f.

<sup>6</sup>Idem, Religion in Sociological Perspective (Oxford: Oxford, 1982), p. 98.

<sup>7</sup>"And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance" (Acts 2:1-4). Scripture references are taken from the King James Version.

<sup>8</sup>Henry P. Van Dusen, "The Third Force in Christendom," Life (June 9, 1958), pp. 113-24. The other two "forces" are Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.

<sup>9</sup>David B. Barrett (editor), World Christian Encyclopedia (New York: Oxford, 1982); *idem*, "Statistics, Global," DCPM, pp. 810-30.

<sup>10</sup>Based on Romans 12:6-8; I Corinthians 12:8-10; Ephesians 4:11; and I Peter 4:10-12, spiritual gifts are enumerated as follows: instantaneous sanctification, the ability to prophesy, to practice divine healing through prayer, to speak in tongues (glossolalia), or to interpret tongues; singing in tongues, singing in the Spirit; praying with upraised hands; dreams, visions, discernment of spirits, words of wisdom, words of knowledge; emphasis on miracles, power encounters, exorcisms (casting out demons), resuscitations, deliverances, signs and wonders. See Barrett, "Statistics," p. 820.

<sup>11</sup>By Evangelical I refer to that school among Protestants which teaches that the Gospel consists mainly in the doctrines of man's sinfulness, God's salvation in Christ, the necessity of being born again, and participation in redemption through faith. See George M. Marsden, Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1991), pp. 1-6.

<sup>12</sup>Barrett, "Statistics," pp. 812f., 818.

<sup>13</sup>The children are counted Pentecostal in spite of Troeltsch's criterion. See note 1.

<sup>14</sup>Barrett, "Statistics," p. 811.

<sup>15</sup>The Azusa Street Revival is discussed below.

<sup>16</sup>Edith L. Walvogel [Blumhofer], "The 'Overcoming' Life: A Study in the Reformed Evangelical Contribution to Pentecostalism," Pneuma, vol. I, no. 1 (Spring 1979), pp. 7f.

<sup>17</sup>Stanley H. Frodsham, With Signs Following: The Story of the Pentecostal Revival in the Twentieth Century (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel, 1946 [1926]), p. 253. See also Atter, Force, pp. 10-23; Steve Durasoff, Bright Wind of the Spirit: Pentecostalism Today (Plainfield, New Jersey: Logos, 1972), pp. 31-60; Frank J. Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost (Hazelwood, Missouri: World Aflame, 1975 [1947]), pp. 47-58; Donald Gee, Wind and Flame (Croydon, England: Assemblies of God, 1967 [1941]), pp. 8-10; Gloria G. Kulbeck, What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (Toronto, Ontario: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958), pp. 17-23; and Thomas W. Miller, "The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada: Origins and Antecedents," The Pentecostal Testimony, Part I (July 1983), p. 15, 20.

<sup>18</sup>Robert M. Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism (New York: Oxford, 1979), pp. 26f. Klaude Kendrick, The Promise Fulfilled: A History of the Modern Pentecostal Movement (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel, 1961); and Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 21, readily admit this.

<sup>19</sup>H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto, Ontario: Ryerson, 1956), p. 310. See also Charles E. Jones, "Holiness Movement," DPCM, pp. 406-9; Cyril F. Williams, Tongues of the Spirit: A Study of Pentecostal Glossolalia and Related Phenomena (Cardiff, Wales: University of Wales, 1981), pp. 48ff.; and Douglas W. Frank, Less than Conquerors (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1986), pp. 111-3. Sanctification is discussed below.

<sup>20</sup>Harold V. Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1971), p. 13. See also Edith L. Blumhofer, "Purity and Preparation: A Study in the Pentecostal Perfectionist Heritage," Reaching Beyond: Chapters in the History of Perfectionism, ed. Stanley H. Burgess (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1986), pp. 256-82; Donald W. Dayton, "The Emergence of Pentecostalism," American Christianity: A Case Approach, eds. Ronald C. White, Jr., Louis B. Weeks, Garth M. Rosell (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1986), pp. 121-6; *idem*, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1987); and Melvin E. Dieter, "Wesleyan-Holiness Aspects of Pentecostal Origins: As Mediated through the Nineteenth Century Holiness Revival," Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins, ed. H. Vinson Synan (Plainfield, New Jersey: Logos, 1975), pp. 55-80.

<sup>21</sup>John Wesley, The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley (London: John Mason, 1840), vol. I (letter dated July 10, 1745), p. 485.

<sup>22</sup>Donald W. Dayton, "Theological Roots of Pentecostalism" Pneuma, vol. II, no. 1 (Spring 1980), p. 7. See also *idem*, "From Christian Perfection to the 'Baptism of the Holy Ghost'," Aspects, pp. 39-54.

<sup>23</sup>Blumhofer, "'Overcoming'"; *idem*, "American Pentecostalism in Historical Perspective," Paraclete, vol. XIX, no. 1 (Winter 1985), pp. 10-14; *idem*, The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel, 1989), vol. I, pp. 50-64; *idem*, "Purity," pp. 264-70; and William W. Menzies, "The Non-Wesleyan Origins of the Pentecostal Movement," Aspects, pp. 81-98.

<sup>24</sup>Preaching, for example, was more direct, and prayer was more intense and specific. See Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (New York: Harper and Row, 1965 [1950]), pp. 173-84.

<sup>25</sup>George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925 (New York: Oxford, 1980), pp. 55-62. By Fundamentalism I refer to that school among Protestants which accepts the literal truth and divine inspiration of every word of the Bible. See Marsden, Understanding, pp. 1-6.

<sup>26</sup>A clear example of this is Newfoundlander John Martin Pike (1840-1932), who relocated to the States where he became an important figure in the Holiness movement. He was impressed by the Pentecostal movement, but never accepted the necessity of tongues-speaking. See Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., "John Martin Pike," DPCM, p. 715; and Burton K. Janes, "The Holiness and Pentecostal Movements: The Newfoundland Connection (The Life and Ministry of John M. Pike)," unpublished paper. In author's files. Unless otherwise indicated, documents may be found in author's files.

<sup>27</sup>See Prudencio Damboriena, Tongues As of Fire: Pentecostalism in Contemporary Christianity (Washington, D.C.: Corpus, 1969), p. 19.

<sup>28</sup>William G. McLoughlin, cited in Frederick D. Bruner, A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1970), p. 47.

<sup>29</sup>Nils Bloch-Hoell, The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1964), pp. 9ff.

<sup>30</sup>Anderson, Vision, p. 4. There is a massive volume of material available on Pentecostalism. See Jones, GSPM. In addition to Anderson's indispensable Vision, I found the following useful: Atter, Force; Bloch-Hoell, Movement; Carl Brumbaugh, A Sound From Heaven: The Dramatic Beginning of the 20th Century Pentecostal Revival (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel, 1977 [1961]); Durasoff, Wind; Frodsham, Signs; Gee, Flame; Walter J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg, 1972); Nichol, Pentecostalism; Richard M. Riss, A Survey of 20th-Century Revival Movements (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1988); Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal. The best of these are Anderson, Hollenweger and Nichol. See also Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970); Gary Schwartz,

Sect Ideologies and Social Status (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago, 1970); Grant Wacker, "The Functions of Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism," The Best in Theology, eds. James I. Packer, Paul Fromer, vol. I (Carol Stream, Illinois: Christianity Today, 1987), pp. 151-70; and Martin E. Marty, Modern American Religion: The Irony of It All, vol. I (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago, 1986), pp. 237-47.

<sup>31</sup>Anderson, Vision, p. 48. See also Cross, District, chapter 20.

<sup>32</sup>See Sarah Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, Founder of the Apostolic Faith Movement (Birmingham, Alabama: Commercial, 1930). The best biography of Parham is James R. Goff, Jr., Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas, 1988). See also *idem*, "Charles Fox Parham," DPCM, pp. 660f.; and J. Gordon Melton, Biographical Dictionary of American Cult and Sect Leaders [BDACSL] (New York: Garland, 1986), pp. 216-8.

<sup>33</sup>Parham, Life, p. 58.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>36</sup>"Now when this was noised abroad [individuals speaking in tongues], the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language. And they were all amazed, and marvelled, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these which speak Galileans? And how hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judae, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the part of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabian, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God" (Acts 2:6-11).

<sup>37</sup>However, with the maturation of the movement, xenolalic tongues was played down, and was replaced by glossolalia, the phenomena of speaking in a language unknown to the speaker.

<sup>38</sup>See Agnes N. O. LaBerge, What God Hath Wrought (New York: Garland, 1985 [n.d.]); Edith L. Blumhofer, "Agnes N. Ozman," DPCM, p. 657.

<sup>39</sup>LaBerge, Wrought, p. 29. Parham himself did not speak in tongues until two days later (Goff, Fields, pp. 67f.; and Parham, Life, pp. 53f.). The phrase "the promise of the

Father" is taken from Acts 1:4.

<sup>40</sup>Parham, Life, p. 87.

<sup>41</sup>The best source on Seymour is Douglas J. Nelson, "For Such a Time as This: The Story of Bishop William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival--A Search for Pentecostal/Charismatic Roots" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1981). See Nelson's shorter summary, "The Black Face of Church Renewal: The Meaning of A Charismatic Explosion, 1901-1985," Faces of Renewal: Studies in Honour of Stanley M. Horton, ed. Paul Elbert (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1988), pp. 172-91. See also Harold V. Synan, "William Joseph Seymour," DPCM, pp. 778-81; James S. Tinney, "William J. Seymour: Father of Modern Day Pentecostalism," Black Apostles: Afro-American Clergy Confront the Twentieth Century, eds. Randall K. Burkett, Richard Newman (Boston, Massachusetts: G. K. Hall, 1978), pp. 213-25; and Melton, BDACSL, pp. 253f.

<sup>42</sup>See Harold V. Synan, "Classical Pentecostalism," DPCM, pp. 220f.

<sup>43</sup>See Hollenweger, Pentecostals, pp. 176-86; Sherwood E. Wirt, Luis Palau, Historic Revivals in Wales (Santa Ana, California: Overseas Crusades, 1977), pp. 1-50; David Matthews, I Saw the Welsh Revival (Jaspar, Arkansas: End-Time Handmaidens, n.d.); and Charles E. Jones, "Welsh Revival," DPCM, pp. 881f.

<sup>44</sup>See Goff, "Parham," p. 661; and Tinney, "Seymour."

<sup>45</sup>Anonymous, "The Old-Time Pentecost," The Apostolic Faith, vol. I, no. 1 (September 1906), p. 1.

<sup>46</sup>David W. Faupel, cited in Nelson, "Black Face," p. 175.

<sup>47</sup>Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles: As It Was in the Beginning, in Witness to Pentecost: The Life of Frank Bartleman (New York: Garland, 1985 [1925]), p. 54.

<sup>48</sup>Nelson, "Black Face," p. 178.

<sup>49</sup>Walter J. Hollenweger attributes Pentecostalism's subsequent growth precisely to its black roots which is comprised of the following:

- 1) orality of liturgy;
- 2) narrativity of theology and witness;
- 3) maximum participation at the levels of reflection, prayer and decision-making and therefore a form of community which is reconciliatory;

- 4) inclusion of dreams and visions into personal and public forms of worship; they function as kinds of icons for the individual and the community; and
- 5) an understanding of the body/mind relationship which is informed by experiences of correspondence between body and mind; the most striking application of this insight is the ministry of healing by prayer.

Walter J. Hollenweger, "After Twenty Years' Research on Pentecostalism," Theology, vol. LXXXVII, no. 720 (November 1984), pp. 405f. See also Iain MacRobert, The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA (New York: St. Martin's, 1988).

<sup>50</sup>On Pentecostal doctrine see Pentecostal Doctrine, ed. Percy S. Brewster (no publisher given, n.d.); and Bruner, Theology.

<sup>51</sup>Charles Hudson, "The Structure of a Fundamentalist Christian Belief-System," Religion and the Solid South, ed. Samuel S. Hill, Jr. (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon, 1972), pp. 122-42. For an exposition of conversion see Frank E. Manning, "The Conversion of a Drunk," American Ethnologist, vol. IV, no. 3 (1977), pp. 397-412.

<sup>52</sup>John 3:3.

<sup>53</sup>Ronald A. Knox, Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950), p. 2.

<sup>54</sup>See above.

<sup>55</sup>See Anderson, Vision, pp. 79-97.

<sup>56</sup>Gerlach, Hine, People, p. xvi. See also Richard Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics: The Origins, Development, and Significance of Neo-Pentecostalism (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976), pp. 5f.

<sup>57</sup>Kenelm Burridge, New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities (Toronto, Ontario: Copp Clark, 1971 [1969]), p. 13.

<sup>58</sup>The full gospel is discussed further in chapter 3. See Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 7.

<sup>59</sup>Gino Germani, Marginality (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction, 1980), p. 10ff.



<sup>60</sup>David Sibley, Outsiders in Urban Societies (New York: St. Martin's 1981), p. 4.

<sup>61</sup>Hollenweger, Pentecostals, p. 26.

<sup>62</sup>Bloch-Hoell, Movement, p. 172.

<sup>63</sup>Hollenweger, Pentecostals, pp. 465f.

<sup>64</sup>See Wilson, Sects, pp. 69ff.

<sup>65</sup>See Hollenweger, Pentecostals, p.459.

<sup>66</sup>Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University, 1942), p. 134.

<sup>67</sup>Bloch-Hoell, Movement, p. 173.

<sup>68</sup>Anderson, Vision, p. 229. See Jerry W. Shepperd, "Sociology of Pentecostalism," DPCM, pp. 796f.

## CHAPTER II

THE LIFE OF  
ALICE BELLE GARRIGUS

## CHAPTER II

Pentecostalism was introduced to Newfoundland in 1910 by Alice Belle Garrigus (1858-1949), a single American woman. This chapter retells the founder's life story, with an eye to establishing her origins, cultural and socioeconomic position, educational background, family relationships, occupations and religion. These factors lead to a composite portrait of her as a marginalized individual not unlike the founders of other localized Pentecostal denominations. Before getting into the details of her life, however, I look at the role of women in Evangelicalism itself at the turn of the twentieth century.

Garrigus' daring initiative was no insignificant feat considering the prevailing attitude of Christendom to women in leadership. Martin E. Marty noted that at the turn of the twentieth century, "church leadership still meant very much the survival of man's world...".<sup>1</sup> At least up to 1920, Pentecostalism afforded ample opportunity for women to assume leadership roles. After that date, there was a decline in female leadership. There are several reasons for this change. First, the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution,

which extended to women the right to vote, was ratified in 1920. This major victory ended much of the agitation for women's rights. Pentecostalism, which was not as concerned about women's rights as the Holiness movement had been, did not produce a comparable body of literature defending the subject. Secondly, the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy of the 1920s<sup>2</sup> aroused worry that changes in the traditional role of women might bring about the collapse of the home and the destruction of society. Fundamentalism began to drift away from the ordination of women. Lastly, a decline in spiritual vitality usually brings with it fewer opportunities for women and laity to preach. After the initial phase of the Pentecostal movement, bureaucratization and institution-alization resulted in a growing professionalism of the pastoral ministry and less female leadership in a society that considered the women's place to be in the home.<sup>3</sup>

Ruth A. Tucker and Walter Liefeld have argued that although women have been prominent in the history of the Church, their leadership roles have been flagrantly neglected. Women often held significant leadership roles during the pioneering days of religious movements, only to be replaced by men as the movements gained "respectability". The equality of women with men, observable in the New Testament,<sup>4</sup> diminished as hierarchical structure increased within the Church. It simply is untrue that women were more often the founders of cults or sectarian aberrations.<sup>5</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, a number of factors made female church leadership--especially within Pentecostalism--more favourable.<sup>6</sup> During the nineteenth century, industrialization and the rise of the urban family freed many women from traditional household demands that had made outside involvement nearly impossible. With smaller families and labour-saving devices, women could devote more time to social and religious causes.<sup>7</sup>

In the 1830s, during the movement for the abolition of slavery in the United States, many people began thinking in terms of freedom and equality not only for slaves but also for women. Sara Grimké, for one, spoke against slavery at a time when a woman addressing a mixed company was frowned upon. She complained that "in all ages and countries, woman has more or less been made a means to promote the welfare of man, without regard to her own happiness, and the glory of God, as the end of her creation".<sup>8</sup> The woman's rights movement helped pave the way for acceptance of women in church leadership. Frances E. C. Willard (1839-98) conceived her role in the women's suffrage movement as a divine calling.<sup>9</sup> Organizations like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Young Women's Christian Association made room for female leadership. By the turn of the twentieth century, women had gained greater status within Evangelicalism,<sup>10</sup> largely attributable to what Donald W. Dayton called an egalitarian thrust of nineteenth century revivalism.<sup>11</sup>

Part of Pentecostalism's heritage includes the Holiness movement of the nineteenth century, which boasted a long tradition of acceptance toward women in leadership.<sup>12</sup> Charles G. Finney spearheaded female involvement in mixed gatherings as early as the 1830s, despite social strictures against the practice.<sup>13</sup> Many women joined Pentecostalism after having exercised leadership in various Holiness denominations. The Holiness movement stressed social reform; equal rights for women was part of this thrust. Phoebe W. Palmer (1807-74), for example, made a sizeable impact on nineteenth century theology, revivalism, feminism and humanitarianism. She held in New York City from 1835 to 1874 "Tuesday Meetings for the Promotion of Holiness".<sup>14</sup> Another, Hannah W. Smith (1832-1911), helped spread the Holiness movement in Britain and throughout Europe. She was an ardent worker for temperance, peace and woman suffrage.<sup>15</sup> The feminist thrust of the Holiness movement is attributable to an experience-centered theology, a theology which emphasized spontaneous conversion, holiness and perfectionism; and experiences rather than training, education or spiritual exercises.<sup>16</sup> Since "formal training" was closed to women in any case, it is no surprise that they should gravitate to a theology that does not need it.

Early Pentecostalism was a revival movement which emphasized evangelism and a sense of extreme urgency. If Christ's coming is imminent, then time for winning the lost is

short. All available personnel are mobilized into action. The conviction of a divine call to preach supercedes formal training.<sup>17</sup> Pentecostalism early on assigned leadership roles to women. Maria B. Woodworth-Etter (1844-1924) was, at 68, at the height of an evangelistic and healing career.<sup>18</sup> Canadian Aimee S. McPherson (1890-1944) is considered the most prominent woman leader that Pentecostalism produced.<sup>19</sup>

In Vision of the Disinherited, Robert M. Anderson details the biographies of 45 individuals--five women and 40 men--who became recognized Pentecostal leaders during the movement's earliest years, all of them before 1914, and most before 1909.<sup>20</sup> On the basis of his sampling, he draws a composite picture of the early Pentecostal leader, who was

...a comparatively young man of humble rural-agrarian origins. Often a victim of physical as well as cultural and economic deprivation, he nevertheless managed to secure a smattering of advanced education of relatively low quality. Peculiarly subject to the loss or estrangement of those closest to him, his primary relationships deeply tinged with melancholy, cut loose from his roots in the soil, highly mobile and unstable in residence, occupation, and religious affiliation, hovering uncertainly between working class and middle class, he sought a resolution of the anxieties stemming from his social experience, not by clinging to the faith of his fathers but by the intensification of the pietistic, emotional, and world-rejecting elements of that faith.<sup>21</sup>

Anderson's prototype is characterized by spatial, occupational and religious mobility and marginality. Distinguished by perpetual geographical, occupational and religious rambling, the typical leader was made painfully aware of the temporality of existence. A parallel conviction was the inherent evilness

of the existing world system. The Pentecostal message, with its promise of a Second Pentecost which would give blessings and powers denied in the world, and with its watchword "Jesus is Coming Soon," framed the articulation for the leaders' social discontent.<sup>22</sup>

Alice Belle Garrigus does not exactly fit Anderson's scheme, but the general lines of his argument are discernable in her life and experience. Her life story, serialized in Good Tidings,<sup>23</sup> the magazine of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, is an example of spiritual autobiography in which the author "often emphasizes a theoretical or intellectual pattern larger than himself or seeks the coherence of his own character and attitudes".<sup>24</sup>

She began writing her spiritual autobiography in 1938 when she was 80, and after having spent 28 years in Newfoundland.<sup>25</sup> For four years she culled through a lifetime of memories of "Walking In The King's Highway". Her reminiscing is, like that of a typical spiritual autobiography, tendentious. After being asked repeatedly by friends to write her life story, she consented to the project

...with this one purpose: that the guiding hand of a loving God might be seen in its pages, and that some other soul might "launch out into the deep" and prove how sweet "is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God".<sup>26</sup>

She perceived the activities of the previous eight decades, not as "just a lot of accidental fragments," but in spiritual terms. "There is a divine harmony," she explained, "between



the Spirit and Providence".<sup>27</sup> Her testimonial, while not a definitive account of her life, provides the basis of her motivation in life. Garrigus' story is useful in analysing the origins of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland and Labrador. An anecdotal survey of her life, including actions and influences, reinforces the sociological theory developed earlier.<sup>28</sup> Sects function sociologically to overcome the feeling of deprivation; Garrigus' life fits well into this marginalized category.

Alice Belle Garrigus was born on August 2, 1858 at Rockville, Connecticut.<sup>29</sup> Located in the northeast corner of the town of Vernon, Rockville grew out of a textile industry that developed in the early nineteenth century along the banks of the Hockanum River.<sup>30</sup> Some of Alice's ancestors, who were French Huguenots, had in 1706 emigrated from Paris, France to Philadelphia and adopted the Quaker faith.<sup>31</sup> Her father, a blue-collar worker, was employed as a window sash and blind manufacturer in Rockville.<sup>32</sup> When Alice was born, the town was struggling for city status, and did not receive its city charter until 1889,<sup>33</sup> well after she had left the area. She spent her childhood in rural-urban surroundings and, except for a brief stay in Providence, Rhode Island after her mother died,<sup>34</sup> never saw a large city before reaching maturity. Her father worked for long hours at low wages; this is evidence for the economic uncertainty his young family suffered from. The family could not be classified as solidly middle-class,

but rather working class.

The details of Alice's early life are scanty, but it is more than coincidence that she began her autobiography with a vivid reference to her sickly mother. "Among my earliest recollections," she wrote grimly in 1938, "are those of tip-toeing softly around the room or sitting with fan in hand by the bedside of poor sick mamma, having to be so careful not to jar the bed as it made her worse".<sup>35</sup> Strong maternal ties exacerbated a sense of helplessness at the sight of an ailing mother. Her mother was in the house, but was cut off from her impressionable daughter. She provides no evidence of solid paternal ties. Before Alice was ten, her mother suddenly died.<sup>36</sup> The news, relayed insensitively to Alice by a childhood friend, was traumatic; she was "(s)tung to the quick".<sup>37</sup> Her initial reaction was one of denial and isolation. "She isn't dead, is she?" she plaintively asked her grandmother.<sup>38</sup> Depression over her loss made acceptance difficult. During the following weeks, she walked daily to a field where she stolidly gazed upward, longing to "die and go to mamma".<sup>39</sup> The sentimental hymn that had been sung at her mother's funeral intensified her hunger for heaven:

I would not live away,  
I ask not to stay  
Where storm after storm  
Rises dark o'er my way.<sup>40</sup>

A brother, born in 1864, became the object of attention. Alice also had lost a grandfather in 1865.<sup>41</sup> Her father's long work hours left her alone to dwell upon her loss. His

remarriage when Alice was ten led to further alienation.<sup>42</sup>

The immediate alterations to her life lingered into her teenage years. Robert M. Anderson observed that "personal tragedy so closely preceded the conversions of some [Pentecostal leaders] that one is all but compelled to recognize a causal relationship between these experiences".<sup>43</sup> Alice would for the remainder of her life seek stability and assurance in a multiplicity of denominations occupations and experiences. The journey would not be fully realized until her retirement at 84 to Clarke's Beach, Newfoundland. "This," she wrote to Elsie Morgan in 1943, "is one of God's beauty spots....It has been delightful after 32 years on New Gower Street"<sup>44</sup> to get my feet on the ground again".<sup>45</sup> She regarded her surroundings as idyllic, undoubtedly a reminder of her all-too-brief childhood with her mother.

Alice was raised in a nominally religious environment. Her family attended the Episcopal Church, and the rector recommended confirmation. Not one to spurn helpful advice, she was confirmed, and her "name was duly enrolled on the church book". However, the rite was inconsequential to her. She later admitted that she "sought the Lord (and I believe He accepted me), but there was always a hunger for something I did not have".<sup>46</sup> Her religion, though minimal, functioned as compensation for her misfortune in life.

Alice attended elementary and secondary school.<sup>47</sup> At 15 she began a day-school teaching career at Waterbury,

Connecticut.<sup>48</sup> A diminutive person--five feet tall<sup>49</sup>--the teenager was nevertheless a commanding presence. One imposing student offered an appraisal of his teacher: "She is a dreadful little thing, but there is something in her eye which tells me that I guess it wouldn't do to go too far!"<sup>50</sup> As the sole teacher in a one-room school, she keenly felt her educational limitations. She attended a normal school and in 1878 entered Mount Holyoke Female Seminary<sup>51</sup> in South Hadley, Massachusetts.

Founded by Mary Lyon (1797-1849), the institution offered women educational opportunity equal to that of men and advocated "an elevated standard of science, literature, and refinement; and a moderate standard of expense: all to be guided and modified by the spirit of the gospel".<sup>52</sup> Lyon's aim succeeded. The seminary, one of the "seven-sister" colleges founded in the nineteenth century<sup>53</sup> which gained prestige as the female counterpart to the Ivy League,<sup>54</sup> had a religious, though not sectarian, orientation.<sup>55</sup> Alice studied there from 1878 to 1881,<sup>56</sup> evidently financing her education from her own teaching and from her father who now had four other mouths to feed.<sup>57</sup> Her source of funds probably dried up, for she left college one year before graduation.<sup>58</sup>

At this point Anderson's prototypical portrait of the Pentecostal leader breaks down significantly. He questions the claims of advanced education among the most prominent leaders: "Given the economic status of their families, one

would hardly expect anything more than an average or below-average education as the norm for Pentecostal leaders".<sup>59</sup> Alice Garrigus' seminary training was by contrast of high quality and on par with other American colleges. "The course proposed was solid rather than showy," the seminary historian commented. "Considerable advancement in study, as well as some maturity of character, was needful in order to pursue it with advantage".<sup>60</sup> Alice's course consisted of, among other subjects, mathematics, history, theology, Latin, rhetoric, and the physical and biological sciences.<sup>61</sup> Logic and knowledge are evident in her extant writings. In her lifetime she wrote one booklet, as well as inspirational articles in a variety of Pentecostal and Holiness periodicals both locally and abroad.<sup>62</sup>

Leaving seminary, Garrigus resumed teaching. At Thomaston, Connecticut she became acquainted with a colleague, Gertrude Wheeler. Garrigus detected a radical difference between her life and Wheeler's. The latter claimed to be "born again". Garrigus, who saw her friend as living a fulfilled life, "began to seek the Lord very earnestly".<sup>63</sup> Her own life thereafter exhibited a vague restlessness, an anxiety induced by her inability to understand the spiritual route she was taking. "My ideals of Christian living were high," she admitted,

as I took THE BIBLE FOR MY STANDARD. Finding I could not measure up, I often became discouraged and came to the conclusion I could not belong to Christ, though I had many times given myself to

Him.<sup>64</sup>

She even bemoaned her failure as a disciplinarian.<sup>65</sup> This helps account for her flitting between religious groups and doctrines, occupations and spiritual experiences. Anderson hypothesized: "The fervent quest of the Pentecostals for absolute religious certainty was a measure of the intensity of their anxiety and insecurity...".<sup>66</sup>

A ten-month European vacation with Gertrude Wheeler in 1888-9 did nothing to alleviate Garrigus' restlessness. "Though in the place I had always wished to be [i.e., France]," she reminisced, "and with the one I loved best, such depression came over me I took no interest in anything, and wandered around glum and silent".<sup>67</sup> She diagnosed her problem as simply being "hungry for God and...not [knowing] it".<sup>68</sup>

One of the greatest influences on her life was Hannah W. Smith's book, The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life, which a friend had given her.<sup>69</sup> Smith's book had grown out of a dissatisfaction with her own Christian experience, which she characterized as a ceaseless round of sinning and repenting. The Christian life, she observed, is not a happy life for many people. Believing there was more to it, she asked "the Lord to show [her] the secret of a happy Christian life".<sup>70</sup> Her request granted, she glorified two dramatic spiritual experiences--salvation and sanctification. Smith explained:

Then [at conversion] we believed that Jesus was our Saviour from the guilt of sin, and according to our faith it was unto us; now we must believe that He is our Saviour from the power of sin, and according

to our faith it shall be unto us. Then we trusted Him for forgiveness, and it became ours; now we must trust Him for righteousness, and it shall become ours also. Then we took Him as a Saviour in the future from the penalties of our sins; now we must take Him as a Saviour in the present from the bondage of our sins. Then He was our Redeemer; now He is to be our Life. Then He lifted us out of the pit; now He is to seat us in heavenly places with Himself.

Smith had discovered the secret of victory over all known sin through faith. Conversion involved cleansing from the guilt of sin; and sanctification, from sin's power. The latter experience brought a happy Christian life.<sup>72</sup> Smith's book drove Garrigus to protracted bouts of prayer. "O God," she implored, "if there be such an experience, won't you bring me into it?"<sup>73</sup>

At Bridgeport, Connecticut, where they taught after returning from Europe, Garrigus and Wheeler surprisingly switched denominational allegiance to the Congregational Church, immersing themselves in church-related activity. Around 1889 Wheeler's father was converted in a Holiness mission, located in smelly, industrial Bridgeport.<sup>74</sup> As a result, the mission became Gertrude's place of worship, much to Garrigus' embarrassment and vehement pleadings. Out of curiosity, Garrigus eventually visited the mission, a small gathering for prayer characterized by holiness teachings and led by W. D. Fowler.<sup>75</sup> Smith's book and Fowler's teaching combined to alter the course of Garrigus' life. She listened rapturously as Fowler spoke "on Absolute Surrender, the key to victorious life," and the spiritual experience she sought.

"When the [altar] call was made," she recalled,

I did not wait to see if anyone else was going. I forgot about...all else but my great need.

Great doors swing on small hinges, and certainly a great door was opening before me. The consecration was deep and thorough, and the Spirit witnessed to it. I began to tremble and thought it was a nervous chill. Those around me understood, and said, "God's call is on her; she is a chosen vessel".

Still she "felt nothing of the call and went out to more earnestly seek a witness from God that He had come in". Shortly after, she received yet another, but short-lived, experience. She called it "perfect love," a synonym for sanctification. The drama of the experience--"this blissful state"--is couched in intense language, bordering on the sensual:

...suddenly the bottoms of my feet began to burn as by fire; this began slowly to pass upwards, and I became alarmed. Suddenly, these words came through my lips, "It is the Lord." And falling on my face, I began to worship Him as I had never done before, beseeching Him to let the heavenly fire go through my heart, sanctifying every part.<sup>76</sup>

In 1891 Gertrude Wheeler opened a "faith home".<sup>77</sup> The Holiness movement of the nineteenth century gave rise to numerous rest homes for the sick and terminally ill. Many were opened to others seeking healing, spiritual or material help, and to missionaries on furlough.<sup>78</sup> These homes were financed without any solicitation of funds. Wheeler's home was for homeless women and children. Garrigus gave up teaching and worked with her friend for six years, at which time Wheeler went to Africa as a missionary, and Garrigus to



the slums of Bridgeport to save the lost.<sup>79</sup> Their separation was traumatic for Garrigus. "Could it be possible," she mused,

that we two, who had worked together for 12 years, were to be separated! We seemed so to supplement each other. What I lacked, she possessed, and we had come to think we were necessary to each other.<sup>80</sup>

Wheeler died in Africa. "Short and sharp was the conflict," Garrigus wrote, "rough and steep the path she trod, but the Lord soon took her where there are no partings and no tears".<sup>81</sup> Thirty-nine year old Garrigus was alone again, after having lost her closest confidante; her mother's death had been no harder to accept.<sup>82</sup> She compensated for her loss by drawing close to the W. D. Fowlers, whom she had met a couple years before; she evidently worked with them from 1887-9.<sup>83</sup>

The lonely Garrigus moved from Connecticut, which was filled with memories of Gertrude Wheeler, to New Hampshire. In Rumney she heard about the First Fruit Harvesters Association.<sup>84</sup> The organization had been founded in 1897 by Joel A. Wright, a New England Freewill Baptist pastor turned Free Methodist evangelist. His interdenominational work sought to "strengthen the churches and send missionaries to the end of the earth". It

...was a call to consecration and a holy life in New England where for over a hundred years unitarianism had spread its blight over the churches, bringing indifference to the claims of Christ and closed churches all through New England.<sup>85</sup>

Garrigus responded to the association's emphases of consecration and holiness. She served from 1899 to 1905 as a full-time itinerant "worker"<sup>86</sup> with the group in New England, holding meetings in school houses and halls.

While she was preaching with the First Fruit Harvesters Association, news of the 1904 Welsh Revival<sup>87</sup> reached Garrigus. Cards, soliciting prayer for individual and corporate revival, were distributed widely. This was followed in 1906 by glowing reports from the Los Angeles Azusa Street Mission.<sup>88</sup> Garrigus confessed that her "heart responded to it".<sup>89</sup> Three thousand miles distant, she wanted to visit California and participate in the burgeoning Pentecostal revival. Instead, she "began most earnestly, with prayer and fasting, to seek for the experience He was giving His people". She meant "the precious baptism of the Spirit according to Acts 2:4...".<sup>90</sup> To her, this spiritual experience represented the totality of everything she had sought since childhood, something she had not found in the more formal, established, mainline denominations, but something she saw as attainable in a more "enthusiastic" religious group. Anderson commented: "The drift of the Pentecostal leaders, with few exceptions, was consistently toward religious groups that were more 'enthusiastic'".<sup>91</sup>

Following "nine months of deep humblings"<sup>92</sup>--the analogy to a woman in childbirth is striking--in 1907 she attended a camp meeting conducted by the Christian and Missionary

Alliance, a non-Pentecostal missionary denomination, in Old Orchard, Maine. There she met Frank Bartleman,<sup>93</sup> who encouraged Garrigus and others to continue seeking the Pentecostal baptism, despite opposition from the Christian and Missionary Alliance and other established denominations.<sup>94</sup> When Bartleman left, the seekers met in a dilapidated barn on the outskirts of town. "What a gathering it was," Garrigus wrote in 1939.

It was an individual matter, each after his full inheritance....Heavenly strains of music burst through yielded lips. Messages in many languages were given with interpretations; holy laughter and shouts of victory blended in one harmonious song of praise.

The Comforter had come and set His seal upon each yielded life, speaking for Himself in any language He pleased.

Eternity alone will disclose what those old barn meetings meant for the world. I can only trace the history of one of the <sup>95</sup>little ones whom God graciously met at that time.

The remainder of the year was a lonely time for Garrigus. In Rumney she struggled to explain to friends and relatives the Pentecostal baptism. "Opposition was great," she acknowledged. "Those who opposed grew lean in their soul; those who believed, received great quickening for soul and body".<sup>96</sup>

In October 1908, while Garrigus was staying with friends in Rumney, Maud Griffith, a single Gospel Worker with the First Fruit Harvesters Association,<sup>97</sup> approached Garrigus. "I knew God had a message for me, possibly a call," the latter recalled in 1940, "and my mind flew to China". Maud told Garrigus that she was "looking too far". Garrigus explained

founder of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland and Labrador is similar to the prototype developed by Robert M. Anderson. Garrigus was an older woman from a rural working class family. Despite losing her mother early in life and suffering economic hardship, she obtained advanced qualitative education. Constantly preoccupied with a feeling of inadequacy and spiritual malaise, she flitted between religions, occupations and experiences, culminating in the one experience she had so assiduously sought--the Pentecostal baptism. Her late career change and emigration to Newfoundland were significant accomplishments for a woman in 1910. Possessing a novel doctrine--the baptism in the Holy Spirit accompanied by speaking in tongues--she moved to a new location, thereby spreading the innovation to her new homeland.

what happened next: "Then followed a message in tongues and the word 'NEWFOUNDLAND' came forth. At that word, I bounded from my chair and went leaping and dancing and praising God".<sup>98</sup> Pentecostalism stresses what Ernst Troeltsch called "the direct intercourse of the individual with God...".<sup>99</sup> God had spoken through Griffith to Garrigus with a specific call to service; the only thing that now mattered was Garrigus' response. "From the hour God called me," she admitted in her life story, "my heart was in Newfoundland...".<sup>100</sup> Between October 1908 and December 1910 she prepared for her exodus to Newfoundland. Early in the fall of 1910 she received a letter from her Bridgeport friend, W. D. Fowler.<sup>101</sup> It read: "This morning, while at family prayers, God said to me, 'I want you and [your] wife to go to Newfoundland with Sr. Garrigus.' You see if the Lord has anything to say to you about it".<sup>102</sup> The letter was unexpected; Garrigus had planned to travel alone.<sup>103</sup> She accepted Fowler's generous offer. On Thursday, December 1, 1910 52-year old Alice Belle Garrigus and her retired friends, the W. D. Fowlers, arrived by train from Port-aux-Basques in St. John's, Newfoundland's capital city.<sup>104</sup> Garrigus had no doubt in her mind that God was satisfied with her decision to follow Him to Newfoundland. "Before removing my wraps," she wrote,

I dropped on my knees by my bed, thanking God for His care and saying, "Lord, You said 'Newfoundland,' and here I am." The heavens opened upon me, giving a witness God was well-pleased.<sup>105</sup>

The portrait that emerges from the biography of the

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Martin E. Marty, Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America (New York: Dial, 1970), p. 174.

<sup>2</sup>The Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy of the 1920s was a heated conflict between orthodox religion and modern science, represented by the two Protestant factions. Fundamentalists were fearful of liberalism's emasculation of the Gospel message. See Robert M. Miller, Harry Emerson Fosdick: Preacher, Pastor, Prophet (New York: Oxford, 1985), pp. 105-9.

<sup>3</sup>Richard M. Riss, "Women, Role of," DPCM, pp. 898f.; and C. H. Barfoot, G. T. Shepperd, "Prophetic Vs. Priestly Religion: The Changing Role of Women Clergy in Classical Pentecostal Churches," Review of Religious Research, vol. XXII (September 1980), pp. 2-17.

<sup>4</sup>"There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28).

<sup>5</sup>Ruth A. Tucker, Walter Liefeld, Daughters of the Church: Women and Ministry from New Testament times to the Present (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1987), pp. 13-7.

<sup>6</sup>See Riss, "Women," pp. 897f. On the role of women in Pentecostalism see Gary B. McGee, "Three Notable Women in Pentecostal Ministry," Assemblies of God Heritage, vol. VI, no. 1 (Spring 1986), pp. 3-5, 12, 16; Wayne E. Warner, "Mother Mary Moise of St. Louis," ibid., pp. 6f., 13f.; Edith Blumhofer, "The Role of Women in Pentecostal Ministry," ibid., pp. 11, 14; Adele Flower Dalton, "Mother Peace," ibid., vol. VII, no. 4 (Winter 1987-8), pp. 3-5, 18; Wayne E. Warner, "From the Floodlights to the Light of the Cross: The Story of Evangelist Edith Mae Pennington," ibid., pp. 6-9, 20; Darla Knoth, "Jane Schaffer-Blythe: Penetrating the Darkness," ibid., pp. 10-12; and Edith Blumhofer, "The Role of Women in the Assemblies of God--A New Look at an old Problem: Women's Rights in the Gospel," ibid., pp. 13-17.

<sup>7</sup>Janette Hassey, No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry Around the Turn of the Century (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1986), p. 7. On October 9, 1800 Mary Webb gathered together 14 Baptist and Congregational women and organized the Boston Female Society of Missionary Purposes. See R. Pierce Beaver, American Protestant Women in World Mission: A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1980

[1968]).

<sup>8</sup>Sara Grimké, cited in Donald W. Dayton, Discovering an Evangelical Heritage (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1988 [1976]), p. 90. Emphasis in original.

<sup>9</sup>Nancy Hardesty, Lucille Sider Dayton, Donald W. Dayton, "Women in the Holiness Movement: Feminism in the Evangelical Tradition," Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions, eds. Rosemary Reuter, Eleanor McLaughlin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), pp. 234f.

<sup>10</sup>See Hassey, Silence, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup>Dayton, Discovering, pp. 86f.

<sup>12</sup>See chapter 1.

<sup>13</sup>See Cross, District, pp. 177f.; Nancy A. Hewitt, "The Perimeters of Women's Power in American Religion," The Evangelical Tradition in America, ed. Leonard I. Sweet (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University, 1984), pp. 233-56; Tucker, Liefeld, Daughters, pp. 251-3; and Dayton, Discovering, pp. 88f.

<sup>14</sup>Charles Edward White, The Beauty of Holiness: Phoebe Palmer As Theologian, Revivalist, Feminist, and Humanitarian (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1986).

<sup>15</sup>Marie Henry, The Secret Life of Hannah Whitall Smith (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Chosen, 1984). Incidentally, Smith wrote the popular Holiness book, The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life (Old Tappan, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell, n.d. [1875]), a volume that set Alice B. Garrigus on a quest for "the deeper life" (see below).

<sup>16</sup>Hardesty, Dayton, Dayton, "Women," pp. 241-8.

<sup>17</sup>Riss, "Women," p. 898.

<sup>18</sup>Wayne E. Warner, The Woman Evangelist: The Life and Times of Charismatic Evangelist Maria B. Woodworth-Etter (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow, 1986).

<sup>19</sup>Aimee Semple McPherson, The Story of My Life, ed. Raymond L. Cox (Waco, Texas: Word, 1973).

<sup>20</sup>Anderson, Vision, chapter 6.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>22</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>23</sup>Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking In The King's Highway, Good Tidings (GT), September 1938-December 1942. On Garrigus see Burton K. Janes, TLWC; idem, TLWS; idem, "Alice Belle Garrigus: Newfoundland's First Pentecostal Pioneer," World Pentecost, vol. XII, no. 3, pp. 8-10; idem, "Walking in the King's Highway: Alice Belle Garrigus and the Pentecostal Movement in Newfoundland," Heritage, vol. VI, no. 2 (Summer 1986), pp. 3f., 14; idem, "Alice Belle Garrigus," Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador (ENL), editor-in-chief, Joseph R. Smallwood (St. John's, Newfoundland: Newfoundland Book Publishers [1967], 1984), vol. II, pp. 485f.; idem, "Alice Belle Garrigus," Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography [DNLB], eds. Robert H. Cuff, Melvin Baker, Robert D. W. Pitt (St. John's, Newfoundland: Harry Cuff, 1990), p. 121; James A. Hewett, "Alice Belle Garrigus," DPCM, p. 330; Michael McCarthy, "School Broadcasts: Interesting People of Newfoundland and Labrador (Alice Belle Garrigus)"; and Joseph R. Smallwood, "Alice B. Garrigus," The Book of Newfoundland [BON], ed. Joseph R. Smallwood (St. John's, Newfoundland: Newfoundland Book Publishers [1967], 1975) vol. V, p. 568.

<sup>24</sup>Ronald Rompkey, "Elements of Spiritual Autobiography in Sir Wilfred Grenfell's A Labrador Doctor," Newfoundland Studies, vol. I, no. 1 (Spring 1985), p. 17.

<sup>25</sup>See Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1940, p. 6. She returned to the States only for brief preaching engagements. See Elsie M. Carter, "August Camp Meeting Report," The Sheaf of the First Fruits, vol. XXIV, no. 10 (October 1926), p. 13.

<sup>26</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1938, p. 9. The Scriptural references are Luke 5:4 and Romans 12:2.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>See chapter 1.

<sup>29</sup>Not Boston, Massachusetts as stated by Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 162, and Atter, Force, p. 103; nor Hartford, Connecticut as stated by Arthus S. Winsor, "Things...Seen and Heard," GT, May-June 1972, Part I, p. 20; nor Old Orchard, Maine as stated by McCarthy, "Broadcasts." See copy of Alice Garrigus' Certificate of Birth, Bureau of Vital Statistics, State of Connecticut, issued October 14, 1915. I am indebted to John W. Hammond for this item.

<sup>30</sup>Anonymous, A Survey of Architectural and Historical Resources (Vernon, Connecticut: Vernon Historical Society, 1980), pp. 6-9; and idem, Know Your Town (Vernon, Connecticut: League of Women Voters, 1973), pp. 1-3.



<sup>31</sup>Anonymous, The Titles. Genealogical material provided by Eugene Vaters.

<sup>32</sup>See Garrigus' Certificate of Birth.

<sup>33</sup>Survey, p. 6.

<sup>34</sup>See below.

<sup>35</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1938, p. 9.

<sup>36</sup>The exact year of Mrs. Garrigus' death is unknown. However, Mr. Garrigus remarried in 1868 when Alice was ten. See note 31.

<sup>37</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1939, p. 9.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>40</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>41</sup>Titles.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Anderson, Vision, p. 104.

<sup>44</sup>The location of the Pentecostal mission she established in St. John's, Newfoundland. See below.

<sup>45</sup>Alice B. Garrigus to Elsie Morgan, January 12, 1943.

<sup>46</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, March 1939, p. 17.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., September 1938, p. 9.

<sup>48</sup>See Anonymous, Forty-Second Annual Catalogue of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in South Hadley, Mass. 1878-79 (Northampton: Bridgman and Childs, 1879), p. 14.

<sup>49</sup>See Alice Garrigus' passport, issued October 14, 1915, and supporting documents from the United States Department of State, September 28, 1982. U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

<sup>50</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1938, p. 9.

<sup>51</sup>Now Mount Holyoke College.

<sup>52</sup>Mary Lyon, cited in Mary O. Nutting, Historical Sketch of Mount Holyoke Seminary (Washington: Government Printing office, 1876), p. 11.

<sup>53</sup>The other colleges were Vassar and Barnard, New York; Wellesley, Smith and Radcliffe, Massachusetts; and Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

<sup>54</sup>William C. Ringenberg, The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America (St. Paul, Minnesota: Christian College Consortium, 1984), p. 95.

<sup>55</sup>Nutting, Sketch, p. 19.

<sup>56</sup>Elaine D. Trehub to the author, April 21, 1981.

<sup>57</sup>Titles.

<sup>58</sup>See note 56.

<sup>59</sup>Anderson, Vision, p. 101.

<sup>60</sup>Nutting, Sketch, p. 11.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>62</sup>Alice Garrigus' best-known article, "Building According to the Pattern," comprises Appendix I.

<sup>63</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1938, p. 12.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid. Emphasis in original.

<sup>65</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>66</sup>Anderson, Vision, p. 108.

<sup>67</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, March 1939, p. 7.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>69</sup>The chronology is uncertain at this point. Garrigus referred to Smith's book immediately after she mentioned her confirmation (which was bestowed upon her sometime between her eleventh and fifteenth birthdays), but the impression remains that the book's impact on her came after her European vacation (see ibid.).

<sup>70</sup>Smith, Life, p. 15.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 52. Emphasis in original.

<sup>72</sup>See Marsden, Fundamentalism, p. 75.

<sup>73</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, March 1939, p. 17.

<sup>74</sup>Again chronology is uncertain. The conversion of Gertrude Wheeler's father occurred after the 1888-9 European vacation.

<sup>75</sup>The W. D. Fowlers came with Garrigus to Newfoundland in 1910. See below.

<sup>76</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, March 1939, p. 18.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., June 1939, p. 2. Evidently in Bridgeport, Connecticut because in 1897 she left "the old scenes and field of labour" (ibid., September 1939, p. 10).

<sup>78</sup>Richard M. Riss, "Faith Homes," DPCM, pp. 298f.

<sup>79</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, June 1939, p. 2.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>82</sup>See above.

<sup>83</sup>See above. Garrigus wrote that the W. D. Fowlers "were closely associated with me" (ibid., September 1939, p. 10).

<sup>84</sup>Now The New England Fellowship of Evangelicals. Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>Muriel W. Evans, Elizabeth M. Evans, Incidents and Information of the First 48 Years Rumney Conferences 75th Anniversary (Rumney, New Hampshire: New England Fellowship of Evangelicals, 1978), p. 1. See also Elizabeth Evans, The Wright Vision: The Story of the New England Fellowship (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1991); and Joel Carpenter, "The Fundamentalists leaven and the Rise of an Evangelical United Front," Tradition, pp. 257-88.

<sup>86</sup>The association's workers were categorized as ordained elders, evangelists, gospel workers, Christian workers and missionaries (Sheaf, vol. XXV, no. 2 [February 1927], p. 24). Garrigus' category is unknown as the early issues of the Sheaf were destroyed. Elizabeth M. Evans to the author, October 11, 1985.

<sup>87</sup>See chapter 1.

<sup>88</sup>See chapter 1.

<sup>89</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1939, p. 10.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid. See note 7 in chapter 1.

<sup>91</sup>Anderson, Vision, p. 110.

<sup>92</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1939, p. 11.

<sup>93</sup>See chapter 1.

<sup>94</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1939, p. 11. Garrigus hinted that Bartleman took the initiative and "led God's hungry sheep out to the woods" (loc. cit.). However, Bartleman maintained in Pentecost, p. 107, that he did not plan the meeting: "There were so many hungry for 'Pentecost' they insisted on my preaching to them".

<sup>95</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1939, p. 11.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid.

<sup>97</sup>Sheaf, February 1927, p. 24.

<sup>98</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, March 1940, p. 9.

<sup>99</sup>Troeltsch, Teaching, vol. I, p. 342.

<sup>100</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1940, p. 6.

<sup>101</sup>See above.

<sup>102</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1940, p. 6.

<sup>103</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>104</sup>Little is known about Nellie Mahoney (1872-1946) who, soon after Garrigus' arrival in Newfoundland, moved in with her. It appears Nellie had been a guest at Gertrude Wheeler and Garrigus' faith home (see above). Her mother was dead, and her father, a drunkard. Pregnant in her teens, she had an incurable and painful disease. When Garrigus came to Newfoundland, Nellie was placed in a care home although she wanted to accompany Garrigus. Soon after, she checked out of the home and came to live with Garrigus (see Janes, TLWS, pp. 270f.).

<sup>105</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1940, pp. 6, 11.

**CHAPTER III****BETHESDA MISSION--  
THE CREATION OF  
A NEWFOUNDLAND PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT**

### CHAPTER III

The rapid expansion of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland during recent decades stands in stark contrast to a lack of expansion in its first decade. The focus of this chapter is the initial slow growth of the movement in Newfoundland. I begin with an overview of the island's religious landscape at the time of Alice B. Garrigus' arrival in 1910. The sect struggled for ten years to carve out its unique role as a proclaimer of the full gospel message in an intensely religious society. A study of the composition of Bethesda Mission to 1921 provides personal and social reasons for the protracted growth of the movement in its early years.

Newfoundland society was traditionally intensely religious. Religion's pervading influence is evident at every turn.

Religion has played a very central role in the cultural development of Newfoundland, and has often been regarded as one of the main traits in shaping social values. Throughout the nineteenth century and for most of the twentieth, religion was closely integrated with education, medicine, social life and politics. Many of the earliest missionaries served also as doctors, magistrates and educators....The importance of religion within most communities was given a landscape expression in

that the churches and schools and halls operated by them were usually the most impressive cultural landmarks and public buildings in the community.

Pre-twentieth century Newfoundland history was marked by strong prejudices among the major religious denominations making up the population. Paul O'Neill, in tracing the history of four St. John's denominations--the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches--described a "fascinating and contradictory tale of bigotry and co-operation...".<sup>2</sup> Not only in the capital city, but throughout the island, the denominations displayed strained relations as each gained in influence.<sup>3</sup> The comments of David G. Alexander--"the horrors of denominationalism"<sup>4</sup>--and Peter Neary--"fierce sectarian rivalries"<sup>5</sup>--attest the significance for good or ill of religion in Newfoundland society. A brief discussion of Newfoundland's religious landscape is integral to an understanding of the introduction of the Pentecostal movement to the island.

Newfoundland's population is descended largely from people from Ireland and from the West Country of England, particularly the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Dorset.<sup>6</sup> Attracted by the Newfoundland fishery as a solution to poor economic conditions at home, they emigrated in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. The two founding groups brought with them their religious legacy. S. J. R. Noel explained:

...the Irish brought with them a national heritage of poverty, Roman Catholicism, and hatred of their

English oppressors; while the English brought with them from the west country a heritage of puritanical Protestantism, social deference, and semi-feudal economic relationships. Thus the constituent elements of the new community from the very beginning contained in their respective traditions and memories from the old world the seeds of social conflict in the new.

Herein lay the roots of both religious sectarianism and social conflict in Newfoundland. As with most nineteenth century western societies, Newfoundland considered itself Christian, and religion was an expression of ethnic identity as much as anything else. State Anglicanism dominated the start of the nineteenth century. After 1832 Roman Catholics, with clerical backing, began reform and Catholic rights agitation. The Catholics were joined in time by the Methodists, a strong third church, which was strongly revivalistic and had outport roots. In 1855 Newfoundland became internally self-governing, largely because of the Roman Catholic/Methodist alliance. As a result Anglican dominance was broken. This was followed by the religious compromise of the 1860s when patronage and education were all divided proportionately. Thus religion was embedded in the state.<sup>8</sup>

The country that Alice B. Garrigus entered in 1910 was a deeply religious one (see Figure 2). The Roman Catholic Church was the largest denomination in 1911, with 33.8%. The Church of England, with a constituency of 77,075 or 32.2%, was not far behind. The Methodist portion of the population was 67,310 or 28.2%, followed by the Salvation Army, which had a membership of 10,136 or 4.2%. The Presbyterian and Congrega-



FIGURE 2. Newfoundland's Religious Demography in 1911

District	Population	R.C.	C.E.	Meth.	S.A.	Pres.	Cong.	Others
St. John's East	25,135	12,949	6,614	4,064	295	729	303	121
St. John's West	20,559	10,357	4,778	3,971	637	569	142	96
Harbour Main	9,471	6,626	2,543	214	74	1	--	13
Port de Grave	6,986	1,794	2,653	2,332	190	13	--	4
Harbour Grace	11,925	2,544	6,965	1,910	385	110	--	11
Carbonear	5,114	1,288	880	2,707	237	2	--	--
Bay-de-Verde	10,213	2,294	591	7,324	2	7	--	1
Trinity	21,788	1,525	10,508	8,390	1,294	14	32	25
Bonavista	22,894	3,201	9,451	8,563	1,660	12	--	7
Fogo	8,257	1,148	3,075	3,567	460	6	--	1
Twillingate	22,703	2,424	3,777	13,144	3,100	161	48	51
St. Barbe	10,481	2,411	4,645	2,951	413	24	2	35
St. George	11,861	7,265	3,571	722	91	204	--	8
Burgeo & La Poile	7,793	154	6,298	1,276	52	9	4	--
Fortune Bay	9,989	2,204	6,739	294	276	--	476	--
Burin	11,616	4,023	2,026	4,804	759	--	1	3
Placentia & St. Mary's	16,099	12,985	1,812	1,077	210	12	--	3
Ferryland	5,793	5,639	149	--	1	1	--	3
	238,670	80,831	77,075	67,310	10,136	1,868	1,008	442

SOURCE: Calculated from the Census of Newfoundland and Labrador (1911)

tional Churches reported .7% and .42% of the population respectively. Newfoundland in general, and St. John's in particular, exhibited a striking religious pluralism that has marked Newfoundland's history ever since.<sup>9</sup> Early in the twentieth century, when the Pentecostal movement was introduced to Newfoundland, denominational tension was an accepted way of life.<sup>10</sup> The movement's place in Newfoundland's religious demography was not a priori assured; it was forced to carve out its own peculiar niche in a society that, although intensely religious and conservative, was reticent too readily to accept a new religion. With the dawn of the twentieth century, the island's religious structure became more complex by the influence of movements in mainland North America, particularly the United States. The Pentecostal movement is such an example.<sup>11</sup>

Within two weeks of arriving in St. John's, the American trio--A. B. Garrigus and the W. D. Fowlers--spoke with a contractor, James R. Johnston. He offered to erect and sell to them a building, which would double as a mission and a home. Although appreciating Johnston's offer, they made it clear that they had no money with which to purchase a building. This was an unusual response in the light of Garrigus' experience of faith-living,<sup>12</sup> but it may have reflected the maturity of the older Fowlers. Johnston offered to rent living rooms in a house he was completing on New Gower Street in downtown St. John's. A cellar adjoined the house. "This,"

Garrigus wrote, "was the place God had chosen as the site for His House, and that was why it could not be secured for any other purpose".<sup>13</sup>

While the building was being renovated, Garrigus checked the religious landscape in the capital city. She attended "The Grapnel Church" on Hutchings Street, operated by Job House and Robert Laite, a former Salvation Army officer. An offshoot of the Methodist Church or the Army, the mission advocated holiness and sanctification. There, Garrigus testified to "her experience"--i.e., her life story to that time--and her God-given mandate "to give the full gospel--Jesus--Saviour, Sanctifier, Baptizer, Healer, and Coming King".<sup>14</sup>

The question may be legitimately asked: Why did Garrigus not associate permanently with one of the existing denominations, or at least one of the Holiness missions in St. John's?<sup>15</sup> The answer is twofold, the first being that she was an independent person, whose life exhibited a proclivity towards solo ventures.<sup>16</sup> She answered the question bluntly in a sermon she preached 16 years later at Rumney, New Hampshire. "When we got to St. John's," she recollected,

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.<sup>17</sup>

The more formal denominations--Roman Catholicism and the Church of England--were automatically excluded from her consideration; she had attended the Episcopal and Congregational Churches and found them unsuitable to her search for happiness.<sup>18</sup> Secularization, ritualism in worship, theological liberalism and socialized religion, which were anathema to her, tied established religion to a middle-class, status-conscious orientation.<sup>19</sup> In order for it to be functional, Christianity had to be a religion of the heart, not of the head. In another of her sermons preached at Rumney she said: "The hardest thing for God to get is the head. I pray that God will cause us to see that all our reasoning and our ideas, except what has been a revelation from heaven, are of no avail".<sup>20</sup>

She would have argued that the Methodist and the Salvation Army preached "half a gospel". Newfoundland Methodism had a strong tradition of revivalism. There had been sporadic revivals, but these are difficult to document.<sup>21</sup> For example, Rev. Henry Daniel wrote early in 1858, the year of Garrigus' birth, from St. John's to the English head office:

We have had a blessed outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Grates Cove<sup>22</sup>....Nearly all the community are now converted....Some were heard in their houses praying aloud and singing praises to God; others were out in the fields stricken down with terror, and crying aloud for mercy....At the chapel before the minister could proceed with his subject, people rushed to the altar crying for mercy....May it spread until the whole Island shall feel the "Great

Salvation".<sup>23</sup>

Another revival centered in Conception Bay, specifically Bay Roberts and Coley's Point, when Anglican and Methodist congregations united in the late 1800s for a series of meetings. The meetings soon outgrew local churches and homes and in 1887 a meeting house was built. "Bethel," an interdenominational building, was led by a locally-elected committee. "I think I am safe in saying," wrote Richard Bowering, "that there [have] been more people converted in the Bethel than in any other building in the community".<sup>24</sup>

An examination of the 1901-11 issues of The Methodist Monthly Greeting, the periodical of the Newfoundland Methodist Conference, confirms that the last vestiges of enthusiasm and revivalism had not yet disappeared from the Methodist Church. A few people were converted at Moreton's Harbour and Western Bay. Twenty professed conversion at Salmon Cove and Perry's Cove, 12 at Farmer's Arm and 13 at Flat Island, Bonavista Bay.<sup>25</sup> In March 1910, closer to the time of Garrigus' arrival in Newfoundland, the publication reported "a season of rich fruitage, and great joy" in the St. John's Wesley Methodist Church. Cochrane and George Street Methodist Churches "also have had the joy of reaping".<sup>26</sup> The lead story in the November 1910 issue discussed "The Church and Revivals".

It is to be feared [the author wrote] that many churches have been in a state of eclipse for a long time, i.e., they are not in right relationship with their Head, Jesus Christ. But there is no doubt that many churches are awakening to their real state. There is a feeling amongst the members

that special efforts must be made this winter to bring about [a] right relationship with Jesus Christ.<sup>27</sup>

A month later the publication reported on the General Conference of Canadian Methodism which gave "the lead in what is after all the fundamental work of the church--the work of Evangelization". Five practical recommendations guaranteed a renewed awareness of evangelism within the local church.<sup>28</sup> Charles Lench, a Methodist minister who preached in Newfoundland early in the twentieth century, wrote of "gracious manifestations of quickening power" on the Bonavista circuit. Revivals resulted in sinners trembling, feeling "that this gospel was indeed God's spell".<sup>29</sup>

The Methodist Church was later challenged by the Salvation Army, which was introduced to Newfoundland in 1885 by Captains Emma and Charles W. Dawson.<sup>30</sup> As the Army opened fire in the island, many people believed that Newfoundland, was ripe for a spiritual awakening. This feeling was reinforced by a cursory glance at the established churches, especially Methodism which had, Army officers and discontented Methodists contended, become formalistic and spiritually anaemic. Much of its evangelistic zeal had evaporated by the time the Army arrived. K. S. Inglis' comment about English Salvationism applied equally to Newfoundland: "Much in the history of the Salvation Army becomes intelligible only when it is seen as the creation of dissatisfied Methodists".<sup>31</sup> Those attracted to the Army regarded it as the epitome of what

Methodism should be. Clarence D. Wiseman explained:

As Methodist ardor cooled, it was replaced by Salvation Army enthusiasm. The dramatic conversion experience that characterized the Wesleyan revivals became part of Salvationism in Newfoundland which, unlike other parts of Canada, drew its original adherents from the churches rather than from British immigrants. The <sup>32</sup>majority came from the ranks of the Methodists....

At the time of its emergence in Newfoundland, the Army possessed a strongly evangelistic flavour. In the Victoria and Temperance Halls in St. John's during the initial meetings, "hundreds of seekers were recorded..."<sup>33</sup> Otto Tucker commented:

The personalities, the preaching, the message, the methods, the meetings and the miracles were all so unorthodox that by comparison not even the gospel revivalistic style of some of the <sup>34</sup>early Newfoundland Methodists could measure up.

By 1911, however, when the Pentecostal movement was introduced to Newfoundland, some individuals maintained that both Methodism and Salvationism had become institutionalized into a formal organization which stressed ritual rather than spontaneity. Part of the Army's attraction was what R. Gordon Moyles called "its reactionary adherence to basic Wesleyan beliefs".<sup>35</sup> As an evangelical church it taught traditional, orthodox doctrines,<sup>36</sup> but only the bedrock doctrines of conversion and holiness were regularly emphasized.<sup>37</sup> Baptism by immersion, the baptism of the Holy Spirit and divine healing were emphases that had come to mean so much to Garrigus personally and set her apart from other enthusiasts in the capital city. The imminent return of Christ was

certainly believed by Salvationists, but was not, in Garrigus' opinion, explicitly taught. If pressed, Methodists would have agreed that Christ was to return to earth for His Church. Eugene Vaters explained Garrigus' propulsion:

Though at that time the evangelical note and call to holiness were not as conspicuous for their absence as now, yet there was not [that] quickening note of the Second Coming of the Lord, the note most prominent during this Latter Rain outpouring. She felt, too, the need of the message on Divine Healing, a message about buried in the rubbish of the dead past.<sup>38</sup>

The full gospel, as she perceived it, was a soteriologically-oriented Christology combined with an apocalyptic eschatology.<sup>39</sup> It was not being preached in the city churches; this realization called for the establishment of a new one.

Bethesda Mission,<sup>40</sup> an unpretentious storefront building, located at 193 New Gower Street, was opened "for general gospel work"<sup>41</sup> on Easter Sunday, April 16, 1911. W. D. Fowler, Garrigus' American friend,<sup>42</sup> had been advertised "in charge".<sup>43</sup> Hans Rollmann noted: "one could well conjecture that the leadership responsibilities for the new mission rested not with the now mythical 'foundress' but with the retired missionary accompanying her".<sup>44</sup> Once the Fowlers returned home,<sup>45</sup> however, the mission became undeniably Garrigus' domain.<sup>46</sup> It is possible she may have felt that the public would only cautiously and slowly accept a female religious leader. "The devil had advertised us as three Christian Scientists who had come to town," she wrote in her life story.



This made some cautious about coming in, but there was a fair audience. How I did wish God would give me a powerful message; instead it was a very simple one just telling the people how God had sent me and that I came to preach the whole Word.

To her, the "full" or "whole" gospel was just that--simple and appealing to the "hungry ones".<sup>48</sup> In her opinion the initial service verified it.

During the service, several arose and said this was what they had been praying for, for years. At the close of the meeting, a sister took me by the arm and said, "I am wid ye, to live or to die!" A brother who was present went to church that night, paid his pew rent, and took his place as doorkeeper at Bethesda. He lived next door, and in his large sitting-room the saints had been wont to gather to pray that God would open up a place where the Holy Ghost might have His way. God always works at both ends.

Garrigus' preaching of the full gospel was convincing; her autobiography is brimming over with spectacular accounts of conversions, immersions, Spirit baptisms and healing that, in her opinion, supported her message. Pierce opposition to public water baptismal services served only to attract larger numbers of spectators.<sup>50</sup> Reports of individuals receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues elicited the inquisitive question, "What meaneth this?"<sup>51</sup> Garrigus maintained: "Cold, formal services have been transformed by the manifestations of the Spirit...".<sup>52</sup> Claims of physical healing were sure attention-getters. She specified the nature of healings: "Cancers, consumption, eczema, rheumatism, goitre, 'flu and many other ailments have had to disappear before Him...".<sup>53</sup>

The Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland did not expand outside St. John's in its initial dozen years (1910-22). Despite later attempts to gloss over this fact,<sup>54</sup> it remained a St. John's phenomenon--Bethesda Mission--during the period, formally reaching rural Newfoundland only after 1921. Even then the expansion was protracted. This is ironic and curious in light of the movement's biblical mandate to evangelize.<sup>55</sup> The version of Newfoundland Pentecostal history suggesting that the early movement grew by leaps and bounds must be studied in more detail.

The septuagenarian W. D. Fowler and his wife returned to his American home because of ill-health around mid-1912.<sup>56</sup> The burden of the mission then naturally fell on Garrigus who supervised the purchase of the building, largely through personal gifts to her from American friends<sup>57</sup> the Pentecostal nucleus in St. John's was evidently too small to finance the undertaking. A year later she oversaw the addition of an extension to the building.<sup>58</sup>

God was blessing His Word in Bethesda [she wrote in her autobiography], and it was not long before the hall was far too small. The doorkeeper would hold up his finger to know if we could make room for one more. I had to shake my head; I hardly had standing room. Sometimes we were told there were as many outside waiting to get in as there were inside.<sup>59</sup>

One source claimed that the original Bethesda Mission accommodated at least 250 people.<sup>60</sup> If this figure is accurate and Garrigus' claim correct, then at times a minimum of 500 converged on the mission. These figures are greatly exagger-

ated and cannot be borne out from contemporary census data.

The only Pentecostal mission in Newfoundland at the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century was Bethesda in St. John's. An analysis of the earliest Pentecostal congregation is illuminating. The 1921 census of Newfoundland for St. John's enables the researcher to tentatively create a sociological profile of first-generation Pentecostals in Newfoundland. The census is particularly useful in that it provides specifics on denominational affiliation, birthplace, age, occupation and family size on individuals. The 1921 census data shows a total of 74 Pentecostals residing in the capital city--64 in St. John's West, and ten in St. John's East, traditionally the area where the more prosperous lived.<sup>61</sup> The combined number demonstrates only minimal interest in Bethesda Mission after 11 years of operation. The inflated number of 500 people attending the mission must include a large number of spectators. Only a handful, however, publicly declared their allegiance to the full gospel in 1921.

The census furnishes information on 21 family surnames,<sup>62</sup> but the latter phrase must be used reservedly. Dearistas Pearce is listed as a "Clergyman (Pentecostal Tabernacle)". He evidently led a mission, unrelated to Bethesda, at the corner of Hamilton and Hutchings Streets.<sup>63</sup> George Gardener is listed as Pentecostal, but his wife's denomination is unknown. Alice B. Garrigus and her friend, Nellie Mahoney,<sup>64</sup>

were single. Sarah King is identified as Pentecostal, but her husband remained a member of another denomination. Emily Parrall was evidently single. Eliza Payton, but not her husband, was Pentecostal. Siblings Lucy and Charles Taylor were Pentecostal, but their spouses' affiliation is unknown. Abigail Tucker was 81 years old at the time of the census. Technically only a dozen Pentecostal couples is listed.<sup>65</sup> However, all the family surnames, except Pearce, are included in the following analysis, thereby assisting in determining the occupational composition of Bethesda's congregation.

The original appeal of the Pentecostal movement worldwide was to individuals living in rural settings, or those who had migrated to urban environments.<sup>66</sup> Luise Margolies commented:

Undoubtedly rural-urban migration, intra-regional migration, and out-migration have all contributed to the ease with which the Pentecostal movement has spread....Migrants are seen to have been especially likely candidates for Pentecostal churches in Columbia, Brazil, and Haiti....these persons by the very act of migrating, are proponents for change.<sup>67</sup>

The birthplace of the adults in the 1921 census bears out Margolies' observation. Thirteen were born in St. John's,<sup>68</sup> two in Connecticut,<sup>69</sup> one in England<sup>70</sup> and one unknown.<sup>71</sup> The remaining 16 were born in outport Newfoundland.<sup>72</sup> Seven of the 14 adult males were born in the capital city;<sup>73</sup> the others were born elsewhere in the island, except for John Williamson, who emigrated from England in 1910. Three of the 19 adult females were born in the capital city;<sup>74</sup> the remainder were born elsewhere in Newfoundland, except for Alice B.

Garrigus and Nellie Mahoney, who emigrated from Connecticut in 1910 and 1911 respectively. Thirty-nine percent of the total was born in St. John's; the others had moved into the city.

The census enumerates 15 adult males for whom a personal occupation is provided. These consist of a carpenter, a minister, a draper, two farmers, a jeweller, five labourers, a salesman, two shoemakers and a tailor. One-third of the sample worked as labourers.<sup>75</sup> The employers of C. Boone, I. Broomfield and Samuel Symmonds are unknown. J. Williamson worked as a labourer with the Reid Newfoundland company which, by the turn of the twentieth century, was the largest private employer in the island. W. Cooper worked with A. H. Murray and Company, and J. Hussey as a carpenter with the Reids. G. Gardener and J. Lidstone were shoemakers, G. Evans a salesman with Ayer and Sons, and C. Taylor a tailor. J. Marshall was a draper; in the 1920s he was a clerk with Bairds.<sup>76</sup>

Two family heads--A. Mugrige and J. Stanley--worked on their own account as farmers. St. John's residents were not directly involved in catching fish but nor were they independent of the fishery, Newfoundland's traditional economic mainstay. From 1900 to 1918 the island's population experienced a moderate increase, despite a steady emigration to Canada and the States. The capital city too was affected by this change. Newfoundlanders in general were encouraged to diversify the economy by trying, among other ventures, farming. "While few, if any, ever got rich," observed

Frederick W. Rowe, "at least they lived as well as the average Newfoundland fisherman's family did".<sup>77</sup> J. Stanley, for one, was forced to augment his income by express delivery. R. C. English, who became a Pentecostal leader in Newfoundland, is a step ahead of the others in this sampling. He took a jewellery trade in the States. Returning to St. John's, he and his father operated a jewellery business on Water Street.<sup>78</sup>

With the exception of English, these individuals found themselves in straightened economic positions. A proportion of Bethesda Mission's original membership drew upon migrants from the outports. The employee-working class struggled daily for sustenance. Making a comfortable living under these circumstances was difficult. Although Newfoundland was experiencing a slight economic upsurge, it was not evident in every sector of the population. English, who eventually inherited his father's business, was the sole member from the middle class.

Family size too is important in determining the make-up of the congregation. A study of complete families with children reveals one family with eight children, two with six, one with four, two with three and one with two.<sup>79</sup> The eight families comprised an average of 4.57 children each. The average age of the children--32 in all--in 1921 was 9.65 years. The adult congregation, made up of 32 individuals, averaged 44.75 years of age. This ties in partly with the

lack of expansion in the first decade of Bethesda's history; a middle-aged congregation was less likely to engage in pioneering.<sup>80</sup>

Educational qualifications of both the family heads and the children are not easy to determine from the census. Other than the phrase "at school" being used in relation to children between six and 14 years of age, there is no mention of academic achievements. David G. Alexander, looking for explanations for the island's economic problems, tried to tentatively measure literacy levels. His study, which he admitted was inconclusive, revealed that even with a generous definition of literacy--"a reported ability to read"--the picture is bleak. In 1891 68% of the island's population ten years of age and over was literate, but only 52% could both read and write. In 1935 only 82% could read, but the writing ability had increased to 79%. In 1891 a minimum of 32% of Newfoundland's population ten years of age and over was completely illiterate. Alexander also observed that the Eastern Avalon (St. John's East and West and Ferryland) possessed a high literacy rate in 1901. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Eastern Avalon could cautiously boast a 35% proportion of complete literates.<sup>81</sup> It is safe to say that in 1921 education had not received priority treatment in Newfoundland society.<sup>82</sup>

The picture that emerges from the 1921 St. John's census is similar to that of the early Pentecostal movement

these elements were present and contributed to an introspective phase in which the members may have cared more about their own congregation than evangelizing rural Newfoundland.<sup>86</sup>

Hans Rollmann observed that Garrigus'

...apocalyptic eschatology did not provide any significant impetus for a Newfoundland-wide mission. Rather, it resulted in a restrained and historicized vision of the near future, the religious energies of which were directed to the maintenance of the converted or those who came within the orbit of Bethesda Mission in St. John's.<sup>87</sup>

Certain other aspects of the answer as to why expansion did not take place in the first decade are rather simple. In 1921 64-year old Garrigus led a middle-aged congregation that may not have had the stamina to exert its influence outside the capital city until more advantageous circumstances eased the responsibility. The Pentecostal movement was a relatively new sect. More significantly, it was an American import, and was regarded by many as a foreign intrusion. A far-fetched example occurred during World War " when a rumor circulated that Alice Garrigus was a spy working for the American government! Her preaching about prophecy sounded esoteric to many.<sup>88</sup> A religion from a familiar culture--e.g., the Salvation Army--had a better chance of gaining the sympathies of the populace than one from another culture.

The Pentecostal movement was not an organized body when it made its debut in Newfoundland. No formal missionary society had sent or sponsored Garrigus. Although she had numerous American friends who often sent donations, there was



worldwide. Robert M. Anderson summarized:

Like the apostles and prophets whom he followed, the typical Pentecostal believer came from rural-agrarian beginnings...

Mobility and marginality, both spatial and social, were as characteristic of the Pentecostal faithful as of their shepherds...he stood outside or on the fringes of mainstream middle-class white Anglo-Saxon Protestant society.<sup>83</sup>

While the curiosity seekers crowded Bethesda Mission in its early days, this fact alone is insufficient to explain the low number of those who in 1921 accepted the mission label. The answer is more complex and is related to the factors discussed below.

None of Garrigus' writings refer directly to Bethesda Missions' lack of expansion into rural Newfoundland during its first dozen years, but it is safe to assume that she was conscious of the need to evangelize. At the same time she may have felt that she was providing inadequate leadership to initiate evangelism. A further possibility is that she felt hindered in extending the Pentecostal movement outside St. John's.<sup>84</sup>

Less than a dozen years after its opening, Bethesda experienced a lull. "For about seven years, from 1914 to 1921 or 1922 approximately," Eugene Vaters lamented in 1927, "our meetings passed through years of trial, testing, sifting, proving, and pruning...". In the same breath he referred to "controversy, dissension, fault-finding, criticism, boasting in numbers, glorying in achievements, having men's persons in admiration".<sup>85</sup> His statements imply that during 1914-22,

no external organization to which she could appeal for funds or personnel. In addition, the movement in Newfoundland was led by a woman, and fed on the subjective and emotional. Newfoundland remained a paternalistic society. Following the return of the W. D. Fowlers to their home, the female-led religious movement was unattractive to the people of St. John's.

A further factor is that St. John's was unpropitious to the Pentecostal movement at the turn of the twentieth century.

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.<sup>87</sup>

Newfoundland was relatively prosperous at the time, and the capital city was not undergoing any major dislocation. The St. John's churches were firmly established and were well-organized, and there was still some enthusiasm available from the Methodist Church and the Salvation Army. The doctrines of the Pentecostal movement traditionally functioned as an answer to disjointed existence experienced by people. Western Newfoundland's introduction to the movement in the mid-1920s experienced a different growth pattern, but St. John's in the first decade of the twentieth century was not characterized by social dislocation. As a result, the capital city was largely

unresponsive to Garrigus' preaching during that period and, from this standpoint, was not ripe for another enthusiastic religious sect. Alice Garrigus' contribution to Newfoundland Pentecostalism lay in her pioneering the denomination and concentrating on the capital city. Once centralization occurred, she was unable, because of age and limited resources, to generate enthusiasm for outreach into rural Newfoundland. It remained for male leadership to take the lead and activate the movement's raison d'être--evangelism.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>W. Gordon Handcock, Geography 2001 By Correspondence: Cultural Geography I. Course Manual, Part-Time Credit Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, first edition 1983, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup>Paul O'Neill, The Early Church History of St. John's (St. John's, Newfoundland: privately published, 1972), p. 1. See also idem, A Seaport Legacy: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland (Erin, Ontario: Press Porcepic, 1976), vol. II, p. 711.

<sup>3</sup>Harold Horwood's analysis of Newfoundland's contemporary religious landscape is even blunter than O'Neill's: "New World Island, like all northern Newfoundland, is still cursed with sectarianism, with various small fundamentalist sects all thriving on isolation and preaching their own special brand of the Hot Gospel" (Newfoundland [Toronto, Ontario: Macmillan, 1969], pp. 69f.).

<sup>4</sup>David G. Alexander, "Literacy and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland," Atlantic Canada and Confederation: Essays in Canadian Political Economy, compiled by Eric W. Sager, Lewis R. Fischer, Stuart O. Pierson (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto, 1983), p. 113.

<sup>5</sup>Peter Neary (editor), The Political Economy of Newfoundland, 1929-1972 (Toronto, Ontario: Copp Clark, 1973), p. 12.

<sup>6</sup>See Keith Matthews, Lectures on the History of Newfoundland 1500-1830 (St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland [Maritime History Group], 1973), pp. 219-36; John Mannion, "Irish Merchants Abroad: The Newfoundland Experience, 1750-1850," Newfoundland Studies, vol. II, no. 2 (Fall 1986), pp. 127-90; Michael J. McCarthy, The Irish in Newfoundland 1622-1800 (St. John's, Newfoundland: Harry Cuff, 1982); and W. Gordon Handcock, "English Migration to Newfoundland," The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography, ed. John J. Mannion (St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1977), p. 15-48.

<sup>7</sup>S. J. R. Noel, Politics in Newfoundland (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto, 1971), pp. 4f.

<sup>8</sup>See Frederick W. Rowe, A History of Newfoundland and Labrador (Toronto, Ontario: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980), pp. 225-50, 259-309; Gertrude E. Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland 1832-1864 (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto, 1966); Noel, Politics, pp. 3-25; Neary, Economy, pp. 9-20; John Pius Green, "The Influence of Religion in the

Politics of Newfoundland, 1850-1861" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970); Frederick Jones, "Religion, Education and Politics in Newfoundland, 1836-1876," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, vol. XII, no. 4 (1970), pp. 64-76; and Frederick W. Rowe, The Development of Education in Newfoundland (Toronto, Ontario: Ryerson, 1964), especially chapters 10 and 11.

<sup>9</sup>See Neary, Economy, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup>See Noel, Politics, p. 25.

<sup>11</sup>Handcock, Geography, p. 79.

<sup>12</sup>See chapter 2.

<sup>13</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1940, p. 11. See also Indenture, dated May 1935, p. 1. Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland [PAON] Head Office, St. John's.

<sup>14</sup>Myrtle Eddy, "Bethesda," GT, January-February 1975, Part I, p. 6. See also interview by Carl Verge with Myrtle Eddy.

<sup>15</sup>St. John's had at least two other Holiness missions. The Temperance Hall in the east end and the Odd Fellows Hall on Belle Street were branches of the Methodist Church (Eddy, "Bethesda," Part I, p. 7).

<sup>16</sup>E.g., Garrigus' years with the First Fruit Harvesters Association. See chapter 2.

<sup>17</sup>Garrigus, "Separation," Sheaf, February 1927, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup>See chapter 2.

<sup>19</sup>See Anderson, Vision, p. 45.

<sup>20</sup>Garrigus, "The Worm Company," Sheaf, October 1926, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup>Charles Lench, The Story of Methodism in Bonavista [And the Settlements visited by the Early Preachers] (St. John's, Newfoundland: Harry Cuff, 1985 [1919]), p. 72.

<sup>22</sup>A little-known revival, marked by conversion, tongues-speaking and divine healing, occurred in 1914-5 within the Methodist Church in Grates Cove. Although no Pentecostal mission was established there, the revival matched in intensity other twentieth century revivals. See Joshua Vey, "Outpouring of 'Latter Rain' at Grate's Cove, C.B., as early as 1914-15," GT, January 1964, p. 21; and Fern Dodds, Stella Dewey, "Chosen...Faithful...Dedicated," GT, January-February

1967, pp. 6-9.

<sup>23</sup>Henry Daniel, cited in Otto Tucker, "Fire a Volley! Salvation Army Beginnings in Newfoundland," The Newfoundland Quarterly, vol. LXXXV, no. 3 (Winter 1990), p. 7. See two other examples on p. 8.

<sup>24</sup>Richard Bowering, "'The Bethel' and the Men Who Built It," The Bay Roberts Guardian, vol. XXXIV, no. 35 (April 8, 1944), p. 3.

<sup>25</sup>The Methodist Monthly Greeting, vol. XII, no. 4 (April 1901), p. 5; vol. XX, no. 4 (April 1908), p. 5; vol. XX, no. 5 (May 1908), p. 5.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid. vol. XXII, no. 3 (March 1910), p. 8.

<sup>27</sup>C. W. L., "The Church and Revivals," ibid. vol. XXII, no. 11 (November 1910), p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>"First Things First," ibid., vol. XXII, no. 12 (December 1910), p. 8.

<sup>29</sup>Lench, Bonavista, pp. 72f. See also idem, An Account of the Rise and Progress of Methodism On the Grand Band and Fortune Circuits from 1816 to 1916 (St. John's, Newfoundland: Creative, 1986 [1916]), passim.

<sup>30</sup>On the Salvation Army in Newfoundland see R. Gordon Moyles, The Blood and Fire in Canada: A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion 1882-1976 (Toronto, Ontario: Peter Martin, 1977), pp. 79-87, 180; Arnold Brown, What Hath God Wrought? The History of the Salvation Army in Canada: 1882-1914 (Toronto, Ontario: Salvation Army, 1952), pp. 50f.; K. E. Brown, "The Salvation Army in Newfoundland," BON (1937), vol. II, pp. 299f.; Newfoundland 1937, vol. II, pp. 299f.; D. W. Prowse, "A History of the Churches in Newfoundland by various writers," A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records (London, England: Macmillan, 1895), pp. 55f.; Tucker, "Volley;" Clarence D. Wiseman, A Burning in My Bones: An Anecdotal Autobiography (Toronto, Ontario: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), pp. 77-98); and Arch R. Wiggins, The History of the Salvation Army (New York: Salvation Army, 1964, 1969), vol. IV (pp. 104ff.), and vol. V (pp. 101f.). The Salvation Army is discussed further in Chapter 5.

<sup>31</sup>K. S. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (London, England: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 176.

<sup>32</sup>Wiseman, Burning, p. 79.

<sup>33</sup>Wiggins, History, vol. IV, p. 104. "Seekers" denotes the searchers, but also includes those who accepted Salvationism--undoubtedly the majority of the hundreds.

<sup>34</sup>Tucker, "Volley," p. 7.

<sup>35</sup>Moyles, Blood, p. 20.

<sup>36</sup>See J. Leslie Dunstan (editor), Protestantism (New York: George Braziller, 1961), pp. 200-2.

<sup>37</sup>Moyles, Blood, p. 20.

<sup>38</sup>Eugene Vaters, "An Appreciation of Miss A. B. Garrigus" (unpublished manuscript), unpaginated.

<sup>39</sup>Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.35.

<sup>40</sup>Named after the pool of Bethesda in John 5:2, "Now there is at Jerusalem by the sheep market a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches".

<sup>41</sup>The Evening Chronicle, April 15, 1911, p. 7.

<sup>42</sup>See chapter 2.

<sup>43</sup>Chronicle (April 15, 1911), p. 7. See also The Daily News (April 15, 1911), p. 4.

<sup>44</sup>Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.35.

<sup>45</sup>See below.

<sup>46</sup>As late as 1918 Garrigus signed her name as "Evangelist in charge of Bethesda Mission" (Certificate of Dedication for Reginald B. Smallwood, dated March 14, 1918).

<sup>47</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1940, p. 11. The attribution to the Devil of only "a fair audience" was mentioned again in her Rumney, New Hampshire sermon in 1927: "That same gospel...stirred up the devil" ("Separation," Sheaf, February 1927, p. 4).

<sup>48</sup>Garrigus, "Separation," Sheaf, February 1927, p. 4.

<sup>49</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1940, p. 11.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.. December 1940, p. 8.

<sup>51</sup>Loc. Cit. This is an obvious reference to Acts 2:12.

<sup>52</sup> Alice B. Garrigus, Signs of the Coming of the King (Manning and Rabbits, 1928 [?]), p. 18.

<sup>53</sup> Garrigus, "Walking," GT, December 1940, p. 9.

<sup>54</sup> A. Stanley Bursey referred to the Pentecostal movement's "emphasis upon evangelism" as one of the factors of its "rapid" spread in Newfoundland (see transcript of interview between Lorne Winsor and Bursey, pp. 4, 10). Roy Roberts wrote: "as the Word of God was presented through the Bethesda Mission, people accepted and began to go out into the city and neighbouring towns: ('The Historical Development of the PAON' [unpublished Pentecostal History paper, Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, Peterborough, Ontario, March 13, 1987]), p. 4; Mervin Anthony wrote: "The desire to spread the Pentecostal movement to other parts of the Island could no longer be contained..." ("Pentecostalism in Newfoundland: The First 35 Years [1910-1945]" [unpublished History 3120 paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, April 14, 1982]), p. 7; and Eugene Vaters claimed that the years 1912-4 "were... the days of great missionary offering from Bethesda for the furtherance of the Gospel to the end of the earth" ("Appreciation"). None of these claims accounts for the lack of expansion from Bethesda Mission in 1910-21.

<sup>55</sup> "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations..." (Matthew 28:19).

<sup>56</sup> Garrigus, "Walking," GT, September 1940, p. 11. Another irony is that the leader of a sect that gave priority to divine healing left for health reasons.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. See also Vaters, "Appreciation"; and Alice B. Garrigus to the Superintendent of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and the Adjustment Committee, April 1937. PAON Head Office, St. John's.

<sup>58</sup> Garrigus, "Walking," GT, December 1940, p. 8.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Maud Whitt to the author, October 17, 1981.

<sup>61</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>62</sup> Gardener, Symmonds, Taylor, Boone, Broomfield, Garrigus, Mahoney, Tucker, Lidstone, English, Evans, Marshall, King, Williamson, Pearce, Parrall, Payton, Stanley, Mugrige, Cooper and Hussey.

<sup>63</sup> I am grateful to Maud Whitt for helping me to analyze the 1921 census.



<sup>64</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>65</sup> Symmonds, Boone, Broomfield, Lidstone, English, Evans, Marshall, Williamson, Stanley, Mugrige, Cooper and Hussey.

<sup>66</sup> See Anderson, Vision, pp. 114-36. See also chapter 1 of this thesis.

<sup>67</sup> Luise Margolies, "The Paradoxical Growth of Pentecostalism" Perspectives on Pentecostalism: Case Studies from the Caribbean and Latin America, ed. Stephen D. Glazier (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980), p. 11.

<sup>68</sup> G. Gardener, Samuel Symmonds, C. and L. Taylor, E. Lidstone, R. C. English, G. Evans, E. Parrall, J. and M. Stanley, A. and M. Mugridge and C. Hussey.

<sup>69</sup> A. B. Garrigus and N. Mahoney.

<sup>70</sup> J. Williamson.

<sup>71</sup> E. Payton.

<sup>72</sup> Susan Symmonds (Brooklyn, Bonavista Bay), C. Boone (Bareneed), S. Boone (Harbour Grace), I. and A. Broomfield (Flat Island, Placentia Bay), A. Tucker (Grate Harbour), J. Lidstone (Clarke's Beach), J. English (Northern Bay), M. Evans (Carbonear), J. Marshall (Bay Roberts), M. Marshall (Brigus), S. King (Little Bay Islands), H. Williamson (Port de Grave), W. Cooper (Grates Cove), L. Cooper (Grand Bank) and J. Hussey (Greenspond).

<sup>73</sup> G. Gardener, Samuel Symmonds, C. Taylor, R. C. English, G. Evans, J. Stanley and A. Mugrige.

<sup>74</sup> E. Lidstone, M. Stanley and C. Hussey.

<sup>75</sup> Samuel Symmonds, C. Boone, I. Broomfield, J. Williamson and W. Cooper.

<sup>76</sup> Eugene Vaters, "Josiah Marshall Passes On," GT, January-February 1973, p. 31.

<sup>77</sup> Rowe, History, p. 365.

<sup>78</sup> Interview by the author with R. C. English's daughter, Gladys Harris. R. C. English is discussed further in chapters 4 and 6.

<sup>79</sup> Lidstone, 8 children; Symmonds, 6; Evans, 6; Hussey, 4; Broomfield, 3; Marshall, 3; and Cooper, 2.

<sup>80</sup>Admittedly, Garrigus pioneered the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland when she was 52, but she was the exception rather than the rule.

<sup>81</sup>Alexander, "Literacy," passim.

<sup>82</sup>See Rowe, History, p. 367.

<sup>83</sup>Anderson, Vision, pp. 135f.

<sup>84</sup>While reading Mrs. Charles E. Cowman's devotional book, Streams in the Desert (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1966 [?]), Garrigus copied from it a series of statements about people who are fearful to forge ahead: "Hesitancy is not a characteristic of heroes." "After a thing is done everybody is ready to declare it easy, but before it has been done it is called impossible." "Let us not remain on the outskirts of the fray but plunge into the thick of the fight and possess our possessions." "After vision, comes decision." Garrigus, "Extracts from Streams In the Desert" (unpublished manuscript), p. 1.

<sup>85</sup>Eugene Vaters, "'Bestir Thyself'," Elim Pentecostal Evangel, vol. I, no. 4 (November 1927), p. 1.

<sup>86</sup>This helps to account for John W. Hammond's statement: "The work at Bethesda was maturing, but needed to be stimulated" (Sound, p. 54).

<sup>87</sup>Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.35.

<sup>88</sup>Interview by the author with Clarice Roberts.

<sup>89</sup>Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.36.

CHAPTER IV

EXPANSION IN  
EASTERN AND WESTERN NEWFOUNDLAND  
(1922-5)

#### CHAPTER IV

The Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland did not move outside St. John's until 1922. In the next four years, the movement spread to 14 communities. Two factors in particular caused Newfoundland Pentecostals to set their eyes on rural Newfoundland. An evangelistic campaign, held in one of the St. John's Methodist churches, resulted in a large number of young people joining Bethesda Mission. Many of them subsequently played a leading role in Newfoundland Pentecostalism. The amalgamation of Alice B. Garrigus and her mission with some of the converts from the campaign, and the transference of Pentecostal leadership from the aging Garrigus to a younger local man, contributed to a more systematic spread of the movement. Secondly, there was the impact of World War I on Newfoundland; people were then more receptive to a religion that promised solace. This chapter discusses both factors, and the expansion that came as a result.

The Newfoundland Pentecostal movement remained dormant during its "introspective phase" (1914-22).<sup>1</sup> This distinguishes the movement from American Pentecostal growth. Robert

M. Anderson asserted:

The Pentecostal revival reached a crest in 1907, began to lose its force in the following two or three years, and passed into relative obscurity soon after....it remained a little-known oddity outside the mainstream of American religious life until its sudden resurgence during the Depression of the 1930's.

....  
In all accounts of the Pentecostal movement, the theme of revival drops out after the first few years and is replaced by that of internal dissension and institutionalization.

The movement continued to grow after the initial revivalistic phase, but at a slower rate.<sup>2</sup> The Newfoundland movement does not fall neatly into Anderson's generalization. The elements of inner dissension and institutionalization were present from the beginning--especially during the 1920s--but the movement, rather than sinking into obscurity, spread despite them.

Eugene Vaters acknowledged that the lull in Bethesda Mission from 1914 to 1922 resulted in "much heart-searching, fasting and praying...".<sup>3</sup> The mission received a jolt from the campaign in the Methodist church. Although it helped to change the face of the Pentecostal movement in the capital city and led to rural expansion, the event itself has not to date received adequate treatment.

In 1919 the four city Methodist churches<sup>4</sup> united for a campaign to secure "large ingatherings into the Kingdom".<sup>5</sup> The meetings convened in Gower Street Methodist Church from January 5 to February 19, and were conducted by Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest (1889-1982).<sup>6</sup> She was a granddaughter of William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army. However,

her parents left the Army in 1902 since her father, a Quaker, disagreed with his father-in-law's absolute authority as well as the Army's British, authoritarian character. This, combined with doctrinal differences, led to the split. The Booth-Clibborns thereafter conducted independent evangelistic campaigns around the world.<sup>7</sup> Experiencing religious conversion at six, Victoria claimed to receive at 14 a supernatural call to preach. "I knew in my heart that I was called," she wrote, "and from that day to this I have never sought for my ministry the consent or approval of man".<sup>8</sup> She began accompanying her mother on preaching engagements. In 1918 Victoria married Cornelius A. Demarest (1882-1959), a Presbyterian layman. The couple then formed an evangelistic team. Cornelius became music director and manager, and Victoria, preacher.

In the winter of 1919 the Demarests<sup>9</sup> accepted an invitation from the St. John's Methodist churches to conduct a campaign. David G. Pitt suggested that the campaign was "thought necessary to recoup what were perceived as flagging spiritual energies, a result of the pressures and distractions of war".<sup>10</sup> Eugene Vaters characteristically maintained that Demarest "was God's instrument in the last great revival in the Methodist churches" in St. John's.<sup>11</sup> In his opinion, Demarest's preaching marked the climax to a long line of revivalism within Newfoundland Methodism.<sup>12</sup>

The church auditorium, which seated more than 1,600

people, was crowded each evening. "Mrs. Demarest," commented a reporter after the first meeting,

has a pleasing presence, displays much good taste in her deportment, and is happily at home in the delivery of her message. She is certainly a lady of careful training, and the impress of her early discipline is at once noticeable; and her insight into human nature gives her a personality that tells in her favour.

Her preaching, she reminisced, "was always aimed at bringing forth action on the part of the people".<sup>14</sup> There was no response to her appeals for conversion during the first week.<sup>15</sup> However, a break came shortly after.

A man in the top gallery rose and came all the way down to the front and into the seekers' room. He was followed by others, then others, until the room was filled. Those people were stolid, not the emotional kind who are easily moved and hysterical. They did not act until convinced, but once they began to respond, the change in the atmosphere of the meetings was extraordinary. The response became an avalanche. Sometimes people could not wait to get to the seekers' room; they fell on their knees right in the aisles.<sup>16</sup>

The meetings contained many of the characteristics that had marked Methodist revivalism. They continued late into the night; people who rarely attended church were present; inquiry rooms were filled; weeping, confession and restitution, even by preachers, was common.<sup>17</sup> Victoria wrote: "one realizes fully the difference between even a successful series of meetings and a God-sent revival".<sup>18</sup>

There is no evidence that Alice Garrigus attended the meetings, but Vaters claimed that "(s)he watched Sister Demarest's meetings and rejoiced in the awakening".<sup>19</sup>

Demarest was aware of Garrigus' mission work in St. John's.<sup>20</sup> Many Bethesda Mission members attended the campaign, which was similar to meetings being held in their own mission.<sup>21</sup> Vaters again noted that Demarest

...preached our Lord's Second Coming faithfully under much pressure and with great opposition. She preached total committal and allegiance to Christ....Sister Demarest was Pentecostal in experience and message.<sup>22</sup>

This is a key point. Victoria's brother, William E. Booth-Clibborn (1893-1969), claimed that his sister received the baptism of the Holy Spirit shortly after 1910.<sup>23</sup> This being so, then her sermons, especially "The Secret of Power," met with immediate reception by Pentecostals, convincing them that she was one with them doctrinally. The Daily News reported on the sermon:

The Apostles required divine power for their great work, and it was by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost that they were fitted for their ministry. By this inspiration they preached and were instrumental in establishing the Church throughout the world....In beginning this campaign it was well to bear in mind the great importance of the Spirit's place, and to seek for His help....<sup>24</sup>

The response to the Demarest campaign was overwhelming. Near the end of the event, The Daily News claimed, "the tabulated returns showed that exactly one thousand persons had by God's help determined to live better lives". This number was comprised of 684 Methodists, 126 from other denominations, and 190 giving no church affiliation.<sup>25</sup> There were 172 new conversions and 90 reclaimed backsliders at Gower Street church alone.<sup>26</sup> John Leamon pronounced the campaign "splendid



and successful...not soon to be forgotten".<sup>27</sup> Demarest's efforts immediately added members to existing city congregations, including Bethesda Mission. According to Eugene Vaters, Bethesda Mission "received a new breath of life and a new push ahead".<sup>28</sup> However, its greater impact on the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement came in the post-Demarest period.<sup>29</sup>

After the Demarest campaign concluded, many converts hoped its spiritual effects would spread. At various places throughout the capital city individuals grouped together for prayer meetings. Some of those who met in Methodist churches were, in Vaters' words, "harassed and edged out".<sup>30</sup> At the invitation of Robert C. English (1888-1942), himself a convert of the campaign, meetings were held at his home on 165 LeMarchant Road.<sup>31</sup> In one of the meetings, English and others received the Pentecostal baptism. When he began speaking publicly of his experience, English suddenly found himself unwelcome in his denomination, and in February 1920, he left the Methodist Church, taking with him some who later accepted his leadership; others aligned themselves with Garrigus' mission. English and his followers met in a hall just off New Gower Street, Bethesda's location.

Garrigus heard of English's meetings and, sensing a doctrinal closeness, requested an interview. Concluding that English and his group had discovered the Pentecostal baptism--the distinctive doctrine she had brought with her to Newfound-

land in 1910<sup>32</sup>--she recommended amalgamation, with English joining Bethesda Mission. English approved the idea, and a merger followed. At the time Bethesda's congregation was mainly a middle-aged one with grown families. Besides bringing with him a number of young married couples with children and teenagers,<sup>33</sup> English proved to be an asset to Garrigus in many ways. The 62-year old woman, remaining active in her work, felt the physical strain of her age and wished for somebody to share the load of responsibility. To her, the merger of the two missions was God's way of supplying help at a critical time. English was given the position of co-pastor with Garrigus, a role he filled from 1920 to 1927. In English, Garrigus found a confidant, someone to share the administrative work and oversee expansion into rural Newfoundland. In 1921 English, who early in life had wanted to be a Methodist minister, was granted ministerial credentials by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.<sup>34</sup> He and Garrigus cooperated in services, with the latter usually preaching. After joining with Bethesda, English sold his home; he and his family moved into the mission with Garrigus. English channelled the proceeds of the sale into the mission and its later expansion into rural Newfoundland.<sup>35</sup>

For now, the future of the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement seemed bright--a revitalized Bethesda Mission, a young assistant to Garrigus, a vision for expansion, and a more youthful congregation. The Demarest campaign had helped

to consolidate the movement in the capital city. One source listed at least 100 individuals who were converted during or shortly after Demarest's meetings and later joined Bethesda Mission.<sup>36</sup> Expansion had been stifled since the introduction of the Pentecostal movement to Newfoundland, but new life brought renewed motivation to spread the full gospel.

A second contributing factor to the expansion of the Pentecostal movement into rural Newfoundland was World War I (1914-18), which changed the island's society in a number of ways.<sup>37</sup> By 1914, when Newfoundland went to war, the island had already entered a transitional economic state. The traditional economy had been undergoing a difficult structural change at least since the late 1800s, and involved a switch from a solely maritime economy to a mixed oceanic and inland resource economy. The need for economic diversification had long been perceived. F. W. Rowe commented: "It was clear that diversification of the fisheries and of the economy generally had to be the watch-word if the experiences of the previous decade were not to be repeated".<sup>38</sup> Edward Morris declared that Newfoundlanders faced four options: starvation, emigration, confederation, or opening up the country.<sup>39</sup> By the early twentieth century people were leaving Newfoundland in substantial numbers for greener pastures in the States.<sup>40</sup> The possibility of reciprocity in trade with the States failed partly because of the opposition of the Government of Canada. Confederation was an unpopular choice, and had been tested and

defeated at the polls in 1869. The subject was raised again in 1895 when Newfoundland was hit by a sudden economic crisis, but the negotiations proved abortive. A start was made on the last option--opening up the country--with the completion of the narrow gauge trans-island railway in 1897. The project set the pattern for the island's industrial future.

Before the war, and especially at the time Alice Garrigus arrived in Newfoundland, the island--and certainly not St. John's--was experiencing no severe dislocation.<sup>41</sup> The fishermen in the outports were rallying around William F. Coaker (1871-1938) and his Fisherman's Protective Union, and his belief that they could collectively control their economic destiny.<sup>42</sup> However, the war changed the fortunes of the people. By the end of August 1914 there were more than 700 volunteers for the Newfoundland Regiment. The greatest single disaster in Newfoundland history occurred on July 1, 1916, near Beaumont Hamel, when the Regiment was depleted with wholesale slaughter as they were sent against the enemy. In the aftermath of the war Newfoundland was bankrupt and severely disrupted. The war took its toll on the lives of the island's citizens. There had been heavy losses; many were grieving the loss of loved ones. The conflagration left Newfoundland with a mass of problems. The country's national debt of \$13 million had to be serviced. Thousands of dependents had become the country's responsibility. "Not least in this legacy of woe," F. W. Rowe observed, "were the political

and economic upheavals that would react on Newfoundland's economy".<sup>43</sup> There was a feeling of disjointedness, and individuals instinctively began looking towards religion to help alleviate the sense of being unsettled in a world where anything could happen at any moment.<sup>44</sup>

Two distinct kinds of initiative resulted in the expansion of the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement to the island's rural areas. The first was a direct expansion from the St. John's Bethesda Mission; and the second, the initiative of Methodists who had become disillusioned with their church and had become influenced by the Pentecostal movement. Some of the latter group associated with Bethesda Mission, and others, with another Pentecostal organization, the Apostolic Faith in Portland, Oregon.<sup>45</sup>

With the welcoming of young blood from the Demarest campaign into Bethesda, and the Garrigus/English amalgamation, the mission's leadership undoubtedly discussed expansion into rural Newfoundland. Eugene Vaters reflected on "a rising tide of blessing" in St. John's beginning in 1922. "(S)howers are falling again," he declared, "days of revival are upon us...".<sup>46</sup> Alice Garrigus too was thrilled at the prospect of "a more aggressive move...to herald the full gospel over the island".<sup>47</sup>

Conception Bay was the first rural area to receive an official Bethesda Mission delegation to encourage the residents "to receive the Pentecostal showers".<sup>48</sup> In 1916

Garrigus had sent two converts to the Bay to spread the Pentecostal message; they went as far as Grate's Cove, but no mission was established,<sup>49</sup> and nothing more was done until the winter of 1922 when Garrigus and R. C. English, accompanied by a half dozen Bethesda members, visited Clarke's Beach.<sup>50</sup> This is a small, predominantly Methodist settlement where, according to Vaters, a Mr. Baker, a member of the Apostolic Faith,<sup>51</sup> had already introduced Pentecostal teaching. Baker had evidently held meetings in the Methodist church, but because of his peculiar beliefs, which included footwashing, he was refused further access. He and others had continued to distribute literature from the Apostolic Faith.<sup>52</sup>

The Bethesda delegation hired the Fisherman's Union Hall--a building often used by Pentecostal missionaries in rural Newfoundland--and established their headquarters in the home of a resident sympathetic to the mission. The mission work was financed by contributions from Bethesda's members and from R. C. English, who had continued operating his jewellery business.<sup>53</sup> The faithful then commenced their campaign. Garrigus provided a detailed account of the genesis of the Clarke's Beach mission.

The mornings were spent in prayer with full assurance of victory before we went into the service. On the tenth night<sup>54</sup> God gave a sister a beautiful baptism [in the Holy Spirit]. The tide began to rise till one night, soon after the opening of the service, a slight commotion occurred. A sister fell back in the lap of the one behind. Thinking it was a faint, we had her laid out on the floor, but before this was finished another fell back in like manner, then another, and another,

and another, and we were kept busy laying out the dead. Soon the floor of the old hall was strewn with the slain of the Lord....

Soon those who had been lying quietly began to show signs of life. Some were praising the Lord, some speaking in other tongues, while others were prophesying of the Great Tribulation and [the] reign of the Antichrist.<sup>55</sup> Pentecost was repeated.

Of course, this was "noised abroad," and many came to see the wonderful works of God. Extra seats were provided for the Sunday services, and we went to the hall expecting a full house. On arriving, we were told the Spirit had fallen in the [Salvation Army] barracks at their "knee drill,"<sup>56</sup> and souls were receiving the baptism<sup>57</sup> of the Holy Ghost as on the Day of Pentecost....

This quotation demonstrates the importance to the Pentecostal of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, with the accompanying evidence of tongues-speaking. The emphasis in a Pentecostal campaign was often placed, not so much on conversion, as on the subsequent experience of the Pentecostal baptism which, Pentecostals maintain, promises an added dimension of spirituality.<sup>58</sup> Admittedly, conversion was preached, and there were first-time converts to the full gospel, but early missions were often comprised of those from other denominations who had experienced the Pentecostal baptism--as occurred at the Clarke's Beach Salvation Army barracks--and felt ostracized by their home churches as a result.

The hall served as a meeting place until a mission was built. Early Pentecostal congregations were called "missions" or "stations," later acquiring the more formal terms, "assemblies" or "churches". A Pentecostal was identified with "the Mission," a clear reference to Bethesda. After the St. John's delegation returned home,<sup>59</sup> a "worker" was dispatched to

Clarke's Beach to lead the mission. Workers, who "lived by faith," evidently received meagre finances from Bethesda Mission, and subsisted from the collection plate.

A second Pentecostal mission was founded soon after at Georgetown, near Brigus. The moving force was William J. Bartlett (1888-1959), like Baker at Clarke's Beach, a discontented Methodist. His life story is typical of the Methodist-turned-Pentecostal model that, like Alice Garrigus, searched for a group that "really did believe the gospel as recorded in the New Testament".<sup>60</sup> His search eventually led him to Bethesda Mission, which provided the answer he sought.

Bartlett was, in his words, "reared in a quiet village with very little of this world's goods," and was "sheltered from many evils to which many are exposed" or "any of the outward sins which so blind humanity today". The latter included such vices as smoking, drinking, swearing and gambling. Despite his exemplary living, his "first 21 years were spent in total ignorance of God's saving grace". In 1909 he and others were converted in a revival meeting--presumably Methodist--in a school house. But their fervor began to wane; their "vision of God's holiness was so imperfect that [Bartlett] attended [his] first gambling party right in the church!" According to Bartlett, the Methodist minister ridiculed the Jonah and the fish story, and the virgin birth. In addition, Bartlett felt the same frustration as Garrigus in being unable to live a sinless life.<sup>61</sup> Despite his frustra-



tion he continued his duties as a layman in his church. His reading included William E. Blackstone's (1841-1935) Jesus Is Coming.<sup>62</sup> Blackstone, an American layman in the Methodist Episcopal Church, discussed Jesus' imminent return, as an "all important subject, about which [Bartlett] had been so ignorant before". The Bible then became a new book to him. He heard of Bethesda Mission which, he discovered, "stood for the full gospel as [he] had read about". He learned that similar meetings were being held in neighbouring Clarke's Beach. Visiting the mission in 1922, he found to his great delight "that God was verily with them".<sup>63</sup> He invited a woman from the St. John's mission to conduct services in his hay-loft. "While praying in the kitchen one night after the meeting," Bartlett remembered,

feeling my desperate need of power from on high, as I consecrated myself to Him to live or die for the gospel, Jesus Himself drew near and baptized me in the Spirit. It was wonderful! I felt that if all the armies of the world were around me, I would never be ashamed of the gospel.

He had reached the apex of his spiritual life. He then erected a mission on his property. Two women from Bethesda arrived in 1922<sup>64</sup> to lead the Georgetown mission, but it did not grow. In 1947 the work was closed, and the members transferred to the Clarke's Beach assembly.

In North Harbour, Placentia Bay, Julia Reid, a Methodist day school teacher who had been converted at an early age in her church, distributed literature from the Apostolic Faith in 1922-3. The residents, according to Eugene Vaters, "dis-

covered what God was doing for His children; and they hungered for a like portion".<sup>65</sup> Julia and another Methodist, Harriet Gilbert, began holding Sunday evening meetings in homes in the lower part of North Harbour where loggers lived with their families during the winter. More than 30 individuals were converted, and in the spring they continued services in the local Methodist church, until they were ousted. One of the women later wrote that "a big revival broke out, in Pentecostal likeness; yet no one had heard of a Pentecostal mission".<sup>66</sup> Evidently they heard of Bethesda for in 1922<sup>67</sup> two women from the St. John's mission, undoubtedly at the request of Reid and Gilbert, held meetings in a local home. A year later, R. C. English and another man from Bethesda oversaw the construction of a mission at North Harbour.

Another Conception Bay community, Port de Grave, was introduced to the Pentecostal movement in 1924.<sup>68</sup> A Bay Roberts merchant, Josiah Marshall (1890-1972), had converted from Methodism to Bethesda soon after the Demarest campaign.<sup>69</sup> Marshall, assisted by R. C. English and another man from Bethesda, established a mission in the community which was almost evenly split between Methodists and Anglicans.<sup>70</sup> The establishment in 1924 of a mission on Flat Island, Placentia Bay, is connected to a former Methodist, Ada Broomfield (1882-1969).<sup>71</sup> Converted at nine she moved as a young woman to St. John's, where she and a friend attended the holiness missions.<sup>72</sup> Because of ill-health she was unable to become a

Salvation Army officer. Disappointed, she returned to Flat Island. Following marriage, she and her husband relocated to St. John's and worshipped at Gower Street Methodist Church. In 1913 Ada and a friend attended Bethesda. Experiencing divine healing, she returned in 1915 to the mission and received the Pentecostal baptism. Soon after, she and others from the St. John's mission visited her island home and conducted six weeks of meetings in the Methodist church. More than 80 people were converted; a number of them received the Spirit-baptism.

The life of Eugene Vaters (1898-1984),<sup>73</sup> and the establishment of a mission in his hometown, Victoria, Conception Bay, introduced a new feature within the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement--a leader who had attended a Pentecostal educational institution. Vaters, a promising Methodist minister, turned his back on his denomination and set an independent course and, like R. C. English, amalgamated with Garrigus' Bethesda Mission. The union of Vaters and his mission with Garrigus and hers marked a turning-point in the history of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland and Labrador. The ascension of R. C. English, and later E. Vaters, to the highest executive position within the movement,<sup>74</sup> signalled the end of female-dominated leadership.

Vaters was born into a Methodist family. He received his early education in his hometown. At 11 he was converted in a meeting held in the home of a resident. Returning home, he

recalled, it seemed his "feet barely touched the ground. [He] felt so light and full of life".<sup>75</sup> Following graduation from school, he was sent at 17 by the Superintendent of Methodist Schools in Newfoundland, Dr. Levi Curtis (1858-1942), to Rantem Station, where he taught children of railway section-men. In the absence of the visiting minister he performed many of the clergyman's duties. In the fall he was appointed to the White Bay fishing settlement of Little Harbour Deep, where he assumed church-related responsibilities and served as itinerant preacher to nearby communities.

Applying for Methodist ministry in 1916, he was accepted and stationed on the Norris Arm circuit. At the same time, he began correspondence courses in music, Latin and Hebrew, and created a literature-distributing outlet. The following year he was placed on the six-community New Bay circuit in Notre Dame Bay. After helping to reorganize the local public schools, which were in disarray, he was asked to return for a second term (1918-9). The period proved, he wrote, "to be the most critical turning-point in my life".<sup>76</sup> His subsequent discontent stemmed from what he perceived as a radical shift in the theology of the Methodist church.

Initially he had been disturbed by what he called "the immediate ongoing scepticism, glossing it over, compromise--and yes, rank infidelity--going on within the Methodist ministry".<sup>77</sup> From his standpoint 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".<sup>78</sup> His probationer's<sup>79</sup> course required reading list included Harry Emerson Fosdick (1878-1969), Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82) and Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918). His opinion of Fosdick and Emerson was severe: "a scenario of sweet nothingness". Rauschenbusch's writings were, in his opinion, "plainly socialism".<sup>80</sup> He believed a Methodist minister's life should be characterized by "personal experience with complete committal--and that with ability".<sup>81</sup> Anything less was compromise with the enemy--the devil. Even his "churchiness...became a dead weight".<sup>82</sup> The prefix to his name--Reverend--became obnoxious to him. It was audacious of him to add the title to his name when the Bible clearly admonished: "holy and reverend is [God's] name".<sup>83</sup>

All public buildings were closed as a result of the scourge of Spanish influenza that raged throughout the world in 1918-9. Vaters had spare time to pray. He stated in 1977 that at the time he became convinced of everything for which he stood.<sup>84</sup> He meant the basic Pentecostal concepts of conversion, sanctification, baptism by immersion, the baptism in the Holy Spirit and the imminent return of Christ. He accepted in theory water baptism and Spirit-baptism, but experienced neither until later.<sup>85</sup>

In his third charge, the LaScie circuit in White Bay, he became confused. "(W)hat had I to give?" he asked himself. "Nothing....I was at a stop-gap. I could not give what I did

not possess--the note of victory--as I should have had".<sup>86</sup> It is significant that his memoirs from this point begin to sound strikingly similar to Alice Garrigus' and other spiritual autobiographies from Paul and Augustine on.<sup>87</sup> He wrote:

...I found myself in utter dejection....

It was bleak indeed. I was getting nowhere spiritually, and I was giving nothing to those for whom I was responsible before God and man. I was in a charade, was I not?

To be honest, I should fall out of line--give it all up.<sup>88</sup>

He could not, however, doubt that "God was still God--and [he] had experienced Him in [his] life".<sup>89</sup> He seemed revived during the winter, but again like Garrigus, the sense of fulfillment was fleeting and served only to drive him relentlessly.

Between his third and fourth appointments, Vaters and another probationer attended Bethesda Mission once. Vaters' rationale was simply to check out these "queer people". He was struck with "(t)he simplicity of this hole-in-the-wall" and the congregation's sincerity.<sup>90</sup> It is likely that he was likewise struck with their vibrancy as a congregation, and wished for the same. His fourth charge was the Bonne Bay circuit (1920-21). Detecting more clearly a tendency towards modernistic theology within Methodism, he realized he "was on a collision course within [his] Church....now the scuttlers were aboard, were in control, and the good old ship--Methodism--was about to go under".<sup>91</sup> He was determined not to be swallowed in the capsizing of his beloved church. He con-

ferred with his superiors in St. John's, Drs. Levi Curtis and Mark Fenwick (1858-1946), Superintendent of Missions. They suggested he take a study leave. "It will be the opening of a new world," they promised. "You will see things in a new light. After all, we are living in a new age".<sup>92</sup> The latter statement was not something that Vaters, the reactionary, wanted to hear, and it unsettled him all the more. He warned his mother of an impending rift with the family church. His subsequent decision set him on an independent path that characterized the remainder of his life.

My Bible was by my right hand, and I took it up and glanced it over. I held it up. "It is an ancient book," I mused. "That alone commands respect. It has come to us today, as it were, through floods of blood and tears. Myriads, over the ages, have pillowed their heads on it and died triumphant deaths." I continued to muse, "Great men and authors of the day are often discredited on the morrow. There may be mistakes in this book, as some aver today--I don't know. I am young and inexperienced. I shall wait and let it prove itself out." Then, I lifted my Bible, held it up, and vowed, "By the help of God, I shall stand by this Book until I find some fault with it; then, out it goes and everything else that is related to it." <sup>93</sup> I felt the divine presence, and inflow of new life.

In an effort to destroy everything that he considered contrary to the Bible, and to reinforce his decision to stick with the Bible, he burnt his "stuff books, directives and circulars".<sup>94</sup> Refusing ordination, he tendered his resignation, but it was not accepted. He was evidently still considered a promising candidate for Methodist ministry. His superiors, suspecting that Vaters would be at peace after

marriage, granted him permission to marry, and offered him a year's leave of absence and immediate ordination. Again he declined, this time by absenting himself from the Ordination Service, and left instead for his hometown.

By the spring of 1922 he had made a firm decision to break ties with the Methodist Church. Resigning, he left for the Chicago Moody Bible Institute,<sup>95</sup> an interdenominational college which he found insufficiently biblical. Add loneliness to his theological dissatisfaction.<sup>96</sup> An uncle in Montreal was an active Pentecostal, and here Vaters found a wife, who was visiting from the Conception Bay community of Coley's Point; a new denomination; and the name of a Pentecostal Bible College at Rochester, New York. Early in 1923 the newly married Vaters entered the Rochester Bible Training School. Elizabeth V. Baker (c. 1849-1915) and her four sisters founded the school in 1906 in conjunction with their Elim Missionary Home and Tabernacle just prior to their acceptance of the Pentecostal experience.<sup>97</sup> The day after arriving, the Vaterses were told by Susan A. Duncan (1854-1935), "Attend the classes at School as you feel to do". She was careful to point out: "Everything is on 'faith lines,' the Lord providing as He wills".<sup>98</sup> The School offered a two-year program with courses in theology, evangelism, history, homiletics, Biblical interpretation, Greek and rhetoric. Besides attending selected classes, Vaters also taught part-time homiletics and English. At the Fall Convocation on



November 28, 1923 he was ordained to the pastoral ministry. Vaters remained at the School for less than a year. Consequently, his training there was eclectic and fragmented.

In December 1923 Jennie Vaters decided after praying to return to Newfoundland to preach the full gospel. The next morning Susan Duncan told her she should go back to her homeland to preach. She left, and her husband soon followed, convinced that he too was called to preach on his native island. The couple headed for Newfoundland, "not of [their] own choice or design"; but, admitted Vaters, "there was no fear or uncertainty in us. We knew that we were in the centre of God's will for us, and He would continue to direct and provide. We were fully trusting Him".<sup>99</sup>

Their first Newfoundland stop was at Jennie Vaters' home, Coley's Point, where the couple conducted a week of services in the Bethel, the nondenominational hall constructed specifically for prayer meetings.<sup>100</sup> The Vaterses were reasonably pleased with their meetings; Jennie received the Pentecostal baptism, but Eugene did not. They detected a feeling of distrust among the leadership, sensing that they were being inaccurately linked with the St. John's Bethesda Mission and the Conception and Placentia Bay Pentecostal missions. Vaters insisted throughout life that he and his wife had come to Newfoundland with no intention of joining or even forming a separate denomination. He was aware of Bethesda Mission,<sup>101</sup> and undoubtedly the other missions in these two bays, but he

stated repeatedly that he had no interest in joining with any of them.

The Vaterses went on to Victoria, where in February 1924, they received permission to use the Orange Lodge rent-free for two weeks of meetings.<sup>102</sup> The residents readily accepted a former son. Vaters' attempt to cooperate with the Methodist minister ended when the latter began publicly ridiculing the meetings, which continued in the Orange Hall for the entire spring. "We knowingly shunned the spectacular, the emotional, sentimental," Vaters wrote in 1974. "We had no illusions; we could suffer no defeat". No offerings were collected in the initial meetings. "It must be all of God about us," he reasoned. "We would prove God".<sup>103</sup> Thursday evening, March 20, 1924, brought a response similar to that experienced in the 1919 Demarest campaign.<sup>104</sup>

There was the conscious brooding of the presence of the Holy Spirit; one must move cautiously and let the Spirit have His way. Then it was like "a rushing mighty wind"--from heaven--"and it filled all the house," and there was a rush toward the altar. Some could not get at the altar--it was filled just before they got so far--and they knelt where they could find place.

What crying out to God!<sup>105</sup>

Forty individuals--mostly young married men who later formed the nucleus of the Victoria mission--were converted. Another 40 were added to the number the next night.

In May 1924 Eugene Vaters began editing and publishing a monthly periodical, The Independent Communion. It was "dedicated to the work of God in Newfoundland, and elsewhere

as He may see wise to use it".<sup>106</sup> The paper presented a full gospel message, which Vaters understood as containing these elements common to the Pentecostal movement: salvation, separation from the world, complete dependence upon God, divine healing, the imminent return of Christ, and a walk in the Spirit.<sup>107</sup> It is significant that at this point no distinct doctrine of the Holy Spirit had been formulated in Vaters' theology. He still had not received the Pentecostal baptism, nor was he formally associated with any religious body--Pentecostal or otherwise.

Although from the beginning the Vaterses did not plan to start a church, Eugene began feeling that he might be forced into a separatist position.

We entertained no intention of calling out a people to follow after us [he explained in his 1983 autobiography], nor yet to side with another denomination. Indeed, from the beginning we had no intention of remaining in Victoria, nor indeed in Newfoundland for very long. We would be moving on--we did not know where, nor just when. We did know we were commissioned to preach, and as He may lead.<sup>108</sup>

During the spring of 1924 they discontinued using the Orange Hall, and met in a vacant store, until increasing crowds necessitated the construction of a building. The Vaterses were in touch with Rochester Bible Training School, from which they received prayer and financial support.

In fall 1924 Vaters asserted: "We believe the wealth of the Scriptures gathers about these elements of the gospel we preach".<sup>109</sup> He continued to advocate "the doctrines of no

particular school," but the earlier six-point statement of faith now included a seventh: sanctification and the baptism of the Holy Spirit. And, this, it must be emphasized, despite the fact that Vaters himself had not received the Pentecostal baptism. In the same issue of his periodical he wrote enthusiastically:

There are many spirits--embodied and disembodied--but there is one only Holy Spirit, and an honest heart need not be long in doubt about His manifestations. Meanwhile, if the claim be true--and we do not doubt it--that it is indeed the Latter Rain, then harvest, which Jesus called "the end of the age," is very near, and we may expect the return of our Lord at anytime.

He was theoretically championing "the old-time power"<sup>110</sup> and the full gospel. He and his mission were imperceptively moving towards Newfoundland's Pentecostal movement. Only one thing was needed: formal contact between his localized mission and Bethesda Mission. This came one evening in 1925, when Vaters was called to the telephone. "Praise the Lord, Brother Vaters!" 67-year old Alice Garrigus greeted him.<sup>111</sup> The statement has since passed into the mythology of Newfoundland Pentecostalism. She had heard of the Vaterses and the Victoria mission and, as with R. C. English five years earlier,<sup>112</sup> wanted to meet with them. Although Eugene Vaters had still not experienced the Pentecostal distinctive--speaking in tongues--and was therefore technically not Pentecostal, Garrigus was undoubtedly sure that he would shortly. They met and soon formed a close friendship.

Eugene became the son she never had, and eventually the

dominant personality (although overshadowed by his mentor until she died in 1949) within Newfoundland Pentecostalism. The face of the movement was radically altered; no longer was it led by a woman. Vaters moved from being the leader of an independent, nondenominational mission in Conception Bay to being the first Executive Officer of the denomination. "God," Garrigus wrote, "had His man to match the mountains; and many of them have become plains. 'A leader is a man [who] knows the road, who can keep it and pull others after him'".<sup>113</sup> In her opinion, Vaters was such a person. After a bitter power struggle with the other male leader, Robert C. English,<sup>114</sup> Eugene Vaters emerged as the dominant figure as the aging Alice Garrigus receded into the background.

Early in March 1925 the new mission at Victoria was opened. Ten nights later, again an evening that subsequently lodged in the collective memory of the pioneers,<sup>115</sup> a number of individuals received their personal Pentecost. Vaters reminisced:

...we were waiting upon God for the Pentecostal shower. Interest was waning for the night. Some were getting up from the altar and were standing around. The visiting brethren [from Bethesda Mission] were standing on the platform, and I below it, when "suddenly"--yes, it "came...from heaven"!

And, how shall I describe it? To me, there seemed to be a thickening of the atmosphere, and yet a clarification and enabling, empowering, and men and women began to fall flat on their backs--before the altar, in the aisle, between the seats, in many instances without uttering a word. Then, there was high praise, speaking with tongues and glorifying God.

It was most remarkable. In falling, no one touched another, nor fell over a seat. Women's

clothing fell in modest arrangement. Some, unrepentant, ran from the building and held themselves up by the side of the building to keep from falling....What a revelation of God! A certitude of His holy and glorious Presence! He was real!<sup>116</sup>

The scene was repeated both day and night for four weeks. Some people reported unusual occurrences, such as a bright light shining over the building and the structure itself shaking. An American newspaper allegedly contacted Vaters, seeking confirmation of the reports; he refused comment. A half century later, he recalled simply that "anything in God could have happened".<sup>117</sup> His preaching at Victoria was then revised to four dominant themes: salvation, baptism by immersion, the Pentecostal baptism and divine healing.

On January 14, 1924 Alice Garrigus responded to a request by her alma mater, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary,<sup>118</sup> for information on its alumnae. She reported glowingly on "eight stations which are standing for the fourfold gospel...".<sup>119</sup> The eighth mission is unknown, but what is known is the close link between the Methodist Church and the formation of the first Pentecostal missions outside the capital city. Two of them--Clarke's Beach and North Harbour--only secondarily were visited by members from Bethesda. Georgetown and Victoria were introduced to the Pentecostal movement independently of Bethesda, and by local individuals. The lives of Bartlett and Vaters suggest a gradual disillusionment with and move away from Methodism. Their church might be infected with a growing theological agnosticism, but both determined to uphold

biblical truths--i.e., the full gospel--until the Bible was proved wrong or insufficient. A mission was established on Flat Island after a resident contacted Bethesda and expressed a desire for a delegation to be sent to her home. Port de Grave too was visited by representatives from Bethesda after layman Marshall made the first move. The Pentecostal movement was especially attractive to Methodists who were disaffected with their own church which, they maintained, had lost its distinctive flavour of revivalistic enthusiasm.

Looking back upon the period since the Demarest Crusade, it seems that Newfoundland Pentecostals were able to breathe new life into their own movement by linking it with Methodist holiness groups catalyzed by the Demarest Crusade in St. John's and by recruiting a leadership from their ranks. Pentecostals were also able to establish relations with indigenous revivalistic Methodists in the Newfoundland outports, who had been alienated by the decline in religious fervour, a lack of community, and the absence of local ministers. The experiential proximity between the holiness-type Methodists and the early Pentecostals helped them bridge the theological gulf between Wesleyan Perfectionism and charismatic restitutionism.

The spread of the Pentecostal movement to western Newfoundland in 1925 marked the next phase in its development. The combined effort of two laymen, both members of the St. John's Bethesda Mission, resulted in the establishment of a mission on the west coast, but ironically without the blessing of their home congregation. The west coast expansion remained separate from St. John's for two years, and came close to joining an American Pentecostal denomination. In an important respect, west coast expansion marked a turning-point in the

movement's development. Hans Rollmann observed: "It is in this setting that the Pentecostals finally found their social purpose in Newfoundland".<sup>121</sup> The movement was introduced to a developing town. The environment there differed from St. John's in 1910 when Alice Garrigus arrived. Humbermouth was undergoing a degree of social dislocation, and the movement there experienced a different growth pattern. From this angle, Humbermouth was a more propitious locale for the movement than had been the capital city, which had been experiencing no major social dislocation.<sup>122</sup> If it is true that the movement traditionally functioned as an answer to disjointed existence experienced by individuals,<sup>123</sup> then western Newfoundland was an ideal spot to expect large dividends for a Pentecostal investment.

Born in 1870 at Old Perlican, Trinity Bay, and a Methodist by upbringing, Charles L. March later moved to St. John's. At 18 he was converted in Gower Street Methodist there, and became a member of the congregation. "Coming in contact with holiness teaching," Eugene Vaters wrote, March "became an ardent advocate of same and went out as a colporteur, selling Bibles and holiness books. As he went, he preached Christ, and had the joy of seeing many turn to the Lord".<sup>124</sup> Convinced that he had received a divine call to preach, he applied to the Newfoundland Methodist Conference. While waiting for an appointment, he used the knowledge gained as a colporteur and moved into commercial business. He later became proprietor of



expanding rapidly with the construction of a pulp and newsprint paper mill. What he saw impressed him from both a business and a spiritual viewpoint. He saw immediate opportunity for business investment and, at the same time, an ideal way to introduce the full gospel message to western Newfoundland.

Starting in 1910 or earlier, industrialists and governments expressed keen interest in establishing a paper mill in the Humber Valley. In 1922 the Newfoundland Power and Paper Company Ltd. was formed; a British firm, Armstrong, Whitworth and Co., was the major shareholder. A great influx of people came to the site in search of employment. By the end of 1923 some 5,000 people were working in Corner Brook, along the transmission line, at Deer Lake and at Main Dam. In 1924 a company town, which became known as Townsite, was laid out on bog and pasture land to serve the mill; 97 houses were constructed there that year.<sup>131</sup> Townsite was unable to meet housing demands, and most of the new people converging on the exploding industrial centre were forced to find or create their own living space wherever available. Some families purchased land in Curling (then called Birchy Cove), a town which had developed in an orderly manner. Others built houses in Humbermouth, or besides the river between Humbermouth and Corner Brook, where land was easier to secure. Many spread unevenly over the hills between Townsite and Curling. A separate town, Corner Brook West, was created, and it quickly

C. L. March High Class Furniture, on Water Street. His business involvement was not without cost to his spiritual life. "He gradually lost out with God," Vaters lamented, "and finally became a backslider,<sup>125</sup> being absorbed fully in his business".<sup>126</sup>

At 24 March married Amelia A. Moulton (1872-1965), who had been born in Pouch Cove. She prayed for 20 years--the latter years as a member of Bethesda Mission--that her husband would be reclaimed for God. On a Sunday morning in 1924, while Amelia was at the mission undoubtedly praying for Charles, he fell ill at home. He exclaimed to his wife when she arrived home that he had recommitted his life to God.<sup>127</sup>

The second layman, Herbert Eddy (1883-1959), had been converted in St. John's. He subsequently claimed to be healed at Bethesda of a crippling disease. He operated a sawmill at Come-by-Chance, Placentia Bay, and a general business at nearby Arnold's Cove. He and his family lived in the latter community, where Eddy conducted Pentecostal meetings, although no mission was established there at the time.<sup>128</sup>

March said that following his conversion he "got the 'Go-Tell' in [his] bones".<sup>129</sup> He became obsessed with telling others about what had happened in his own life. He and his friend, Herbert Eddy, often talked about Newfoundland's west coast. Myrtle Eddy described their obsession: "They ate west coast, slept west coast and lived west coast...".<sup>130</sup> Early in 1925 March made a business visit to Corner Brook, which was

developed into a business area. The town reached out indiscriminately on all sides of Broadway and Caribou Road over land that was not conducive to building.

At the same time as workers were flowing into the area, entrepreneurs were making their presence felt in Townsite and the surrounding area. At least 43 new businesses--most of them along Broadway, but a few in Corner Brook and Humbermouth, the rail centre--opened within a 15-month period. At the start of the 1920s Corner Brook had had a meagre population of 411, Curling 569 and Humbermouth 369. A decade later the population of the area extending from Curling on the west and Humbermouth on the east reached 10,000.

Charles March and Herbert Eddy made plans permanently to leave eastern Newfoundland and relocate to the west coast. Selling their business in St. John's and Arnold's Cove, they pooled their resources and arrived late in the summer of 1925 at Humbermouth, where they determined, in Myrtle Eddy's words, to cooperate "in the interest of the work of the Lord, putting God's work first and their business second".<sup>132</sup> Their commercial investment looked promising.

Their first item of business was to secure land for a building. Then Herbert Eddy's son, Lewis, who now operated his father's sawmill at Come-by-Chance, prepared most of the lumber which was shipped by railway across the island. Charles Lavender--"the Lord's carpenter" from Bethesda<sup>133</sup>--travelled to Humbermouth to oversee construction. The three-

storey structure, measuring 50' x 50', was ready for occupancy in the fall of 1925. It housed several apartments, two stores and a large auditorium on the top floor. The auditorium, which served as a meeting place for services and Sunday school, quickly earned a nickname, "The Ark". The building, which had been constructed foursquare, spoke to the pioneer Pentecostal of the full gospel message: Jesus as Saviour, Baptizer, Healer and Coming King.<sup>134</sup> A prayer-room was created next to the platform. A classroom accommodating a short-term Bible class for converts was included in the building's design. The front of the entire building advertised a variety of services: a restaurant, ice cream, The Home Furnishing Company and, directly in the centre, the Pentecostal Mission.<sup>135</sup>

On September 6 The Ark was officially opened, marking the first Pentecostal meeting west of North Harbour. The service was attended by fewer than a dozen people: the Marches, Eddys, John Gilletts and Samuel J. Winsors. Among the hundreds who moved to Corner Brook to work had been Samuel J. Winsor. Abandoning the fishery, he and his family left Triton, Notre Dame Bay, for the paper town. The parents and some family members who were converted soon attached themselves to March and Eddy's west coast venture. Guide and trapper John Gillett had been one of the earliest settlers in Humbermouth. He and his family, along with the Winsors, became the root families of the Humbermouth Per cecostal

Mission.<sup>136</sup> Eugene Vaters, who visited The Ark in the fall of 1925 as he and his wife were leaving Newfoundland for a brief period in Canada, remembered C. L. March as "deliberate, thoughtful, farseeing, careful". March began the services with a hymn, Scripture reading and brief commentary. He then turned the meeting over to H. Eddy who, despite a lack of formal education, "went straightforward in a clear, appealing voice" that later gained him the nickname "the Pentecostal trumpet". March's wife often preached and conducted Bible studies for the converts. March and Eddy, Vaters suggested, "made a proper team". The meetings at the mission "were unusual, stirring, unpredictable--but so really of God".<sup>137</sup> The Ark, in Hans Rollmann's words, "became the home for many an uprooted millhand from the outports".<sup>138</sup>

Although the Pentecostal movement was by its very nature evangelistic, the expansion on Newfoundland's west coast did not for two years receive the blessing of Bethesda Mission. This must have constituted the supreme insult to the two individuals who had established the new mission, and with the personal approval of Garrigus.<sup>139</sup> Opposition to the Humbermouth mission had two causes. First, it was rumored in St. John's that March and Eddy were fanatics. Second, Robert C. English, who in 1925 had become President of the denomination,<sup>140</sup> appears to have been jealous of their success.<sup>141</sup> Numerous people on the west coast had been converted. immersed in water and baptized in the Spirit. The west coast leaders

had not been ordained, and they decided to seek association with Bethesda. Two men from St. John's were sent to investigate the rumors of fanaticism. Oddly enough, they did not attend the Humbermouth Pentecostal Mission; instead, they stayed in Corner Brook and talked with people on the street. "If you asked anybody outside Pentecost what was going on in a Pentecostal meeting in Corner Brook at that time," one convert said, "I'm sure you'd get some queer things said!"<sup>162</sup> A caricature of the Pentecostal movement consisted of things like the "dark hour," crazy people performing antics, people rolling on the floor in search of the devil, others speaking in strange languages, and others fainting.

West coast representatives made three trips to St. John's and told Bethesda Mission they wanted "to get in with the church there, get them to take us in, give us the same rights as they have, make one body".<sup>163</sup> Their request was denied. If one further attempt failed, C. L. March explained to convert William Gillett, another option remained: to request recognition from the Apostolic Faith in Portland, Oregon.<sup>164</sup> March delegated Gillett to make the trip to the States. In the meantime, the fourth representation travelled to St. John's and made its case for amalgamation. In June 1927 R. C. English visited Humbermouth and held services at the mission. He repeatedly asked the west coast workers, whose group was larger than that in eastern Newfoundland, their impressions of C. L. March. When English was assured that the western

workers were simply interested in uniting with the east coast Pentecostals, and not interested in championing March as President, English relented. Official recognition for west coast expansion came in October 1927, when a resolution was passed by the east coast workers that

...the West Coast work and the East no longer be two works as formerly regarded but one co-operative ministry with the thought of independency abolished...and that we recognize Brother March as our special representative on the West Coast.<sup>145</sup>

Despite the initial non-acceptance of the Pentecostal movement on Newfoundland's west coast, the Humbermouth Pentecostal Mission expanded rapidly. Within a year of the mission's opening, another mission was established in Corner Brook West. Open-air services were held on Sunday afternoons on a place called "The Green," located on Caribou Road. In 1926 a building was erected there by Charles Lavender under March's supervision.<sup>146</sup> The establishment of two missions within such close proximity to each other and within such a short time was remarkable. Even in the capital city, a second Pentecostal mission was not erected until the 1930s.<sup>147</sup> But again it is attributable largely to the growth of the area itself.

In Perspectives on Pentecostalism: Case Studies from the Caribbean and Latin America,<sup>148</sup> the authors study the Pentecostal movement in four Caribbean countries (Puerto Rico, Trinidad, Haiti and Jamaica) and three Latin American countries (Columbia, Belize and Brazil). Rejecting single-factor

explanations for the recent and rapid growth of the movement in these countries, the contributors discuss the particular sociocultural conditions favouring its development. They show that the seemingly random emergence of the Pentecostal movement is irrefutably correlated with massive social changes occurring in today's developing countries. There is a close association between modernization and the transition from agrarian to urban society.<sup>149</sup> On a smaller scale, the growth of the Pentecostal movement in western Newfoundland was significantly different from its eastern counterpart in this respect. Corner Brook was in the mid-1920s in the throes of construction. William Wedenoja's chapter of Jamaican Pentecostalism is closest to the western Newfoundland situation.<sup>150</sup> Wedenoja demonstrates the role of religion in the modernization process that transformed Jamaica in a dramatic process.

Modernization...included techno-economic development, urbanization, increasing affluence and social mobility, a rising standard of living, new expectations for social progress, expansion of the middle class, more democratic politics and materialism. Communities were severely disrupted by modernization due largely to the replacement of subsistence by wage labor; economic achievement replaced personal ties as a basis for prestige, individual effort replaced communal and familial cooperative effort, and division of labor by skill replaced division by age, sex, and kinship. Economic cooperation was replaced by individual competitiveness, which fostered increasing inequality and exchange based on profit rather than sharing. Individual advancement in wealth and prestige undermined traditional patterns of authority in the family and community and migration to urban areas disturbed kin-based relationships. While many saw economic progress in these changes, they also perceived increasing conflict over goods and resources, a challenge to traditional norms,



greater personal insecurity and, in general, a rather anomic condition.<sup>151</sup>

The parallels are striking. There was a rising economy on Newfoundland's west coast in places like Corner Brook and Deer Lake, where job opportunities were relatively high, and stable incomes were available. As industrial development occurred, there was a process of centralization; Corner Brook became the dominant city on the west coast. There had been no such social dislocation in St. John's when the Pentecostal movement was introduced there in 1910. As a result, growth in the area was retarded, while the west coast work expanded more easily. A subsidiary factor is that no woman was in charge of the western Newfoundland Pentecostal movement. A couple of laymen with the full gospel may not have been perceived as the threat it was in St. John's and environs. Hans Rollmann observed that the "lay leadership and unencumbered mobility...gave Pentecostals an advantage over the traditional churches in the new towns".<sup>152</sup>

The absence of rapid social change and the demographic stability of the population in St. John's did not create a context for the Pentecostal movement to satisfy personal and social needs. Experiential religion abounded in the capital city; existing institutions adequately met religious needs. However, the lack of a pastoral presence and the decline of revivalistic Methodism in the outports created a religious vacuum. The absence of marginal presence of traditional churches in the emerging industrial regions of western

Newfoundland also created a religious need. The Pentecostal movement made inroads in Newfoundland only when new leadership, drawn from Methodist holiness ranks, presented the full gospel message in continuity with traditional Wesleyan revivalism, and as an alternative to an often ritualized Methodism. The indigenous leadership supported and complemented Garrigus' leadership and, in the outports and industrial towns, local leaders emerged as a result of the lay orientation of the movement. These individuals facilitated a regional spread of the movement, which still holds today, matching geographically the industrial development of Newfoundland.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See chapter 3.

<sup>2</sup>Anderson, Vision, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup>Eugene Vaters, "Our Beginnings: A History-Sketch of the First Days of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador," GT, May-June 1966, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup>Gower, George and Cochrane Streets churches, and Wesley church.

<sup>5</sup>Anonymous, "Evangelists Coming," Greeting, January 1919, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup>On Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest see her Sex and Spirit: God, Woman and Ministry (St. Petersburg, Florida: Valkyrie, 1977); idem, What I Saw in Europe (New York: Vantage, 1953); idem, "S[acred] A[rts] I[n]ternational]: Story of How it Came into Being" (St. Petersburg, Florida: Sacred Arts International, n.d.); and idem, Rays of His Splendor (unpublished autobiography). See also Janes, TLWS, pp. 189ff.; idem, "Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest," DNLB, p. 81; idem, "Tribute to a Special Lady," GT, July-August 1982, p. 40; and Rosemary R. Ruether, Rosemary S. Keller, Women and Religion in America 1900-1968 (San Francisco, California: Harper and Row, 1986), vol. III, pp. 235, 264f. The most complete file on her is found in the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America at Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts. See preliminary inventory from Elizabeth Shenton to the author, May 19, 1988.

<sup>7</sup>Demarest, Sex, p. 169. See Richard Collier, The General Next to God: The Story of William Booth and the Salvation Army (Scotland: William Collins Sons, 1965), p. 188. Demarest does not elaborate on the doctrinal differences, but they were evidently related to the fact that in 1901 her father joined John Alexander Dowie's (1847-1907) Zion City in Illinois (see Wiggins, History, vol. IV, p. 367). Dowie was a prominent advocate of divine healing, and a forerunner of the Pentecostal movement. On Dowie see Edith L. Blumhofer, "John Alexander Dowie," DPCM, pp. 248f.; Grant Wacker, "Marching to Zion," Church History, vol. 54 December 1985), pp. 496-511; Gordon Lindsay, John Alexander Dowie (Dallas, Texas: Christ for the Nations, reprinted 1980); and Edith L. Blumhofer, "The Christian Catholic Apostolic Church and the Apostolic Faith: A Study in the 1906 Pentecostal Revival," in Charismatic Experiences in History, ed. Cecil M. Robeck, Jr. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1985), pp. 126-446.

<sup>8</sup>Demarest, Sex, p. 116.

<sup>9</sup>David G. Pitt included a third person, "a musical accompanist"; however, Mr. Demarest served as musician. Windows of Agates: The Life and Times of Gower Street Church, St. John's, Newfoundland: 1815-1990 (St. John's, Newfoundland: Jespersen, 1990 [1966]), p. 158.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid. On Demarest's Newfoundland campaign see News (January 3-February 12, 1919).

<sup>11</sup>Eugene Vaters, unpublished article on Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest, p. 2. See also Maud Whitt, "Revival Came to St. John's," GT, November-December 1977, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup>See chapter 3.

<sup>13</sup>I. C. M., "The Evangelists," News, January 6, 1919, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup>Demarest, Rays, chapter 23, p. 7. Greeting (February 1919, p. 9 reported that Demarest, "like her Master, seeks to win the poor lost sinner to the fold".

<sup>15</sup>Demarest, Rays, chapter 23, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., chapter 24, pp. 1f.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>19</sup>Vaters, Demarest article, p. 2. See also Vaters, "Beginnings," p. 16.

<sup>20</sup>Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest to the author, September 21, 1981.

<sup>21</sup>See transcript of interview by the author with Clarice Roberts.

<sup>22</sup>Vaters, Demarest article, p. 2. Vaters wrote that Demarest reportedly "pled of her sponsors with tears to be permitted to freely preach the gospel, as she knew it" (Reminiscence, p. 32). I have been unable to corroborate his claim, which may represent his own subsequent disenchantment with the Methodist Church.

<sup>23</sup>William E. Booth-Clibborn, The Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Personal Testimony (Dallas, Texas: Voice of Healing, 1962 [1929]), p. 70.

<sup>24</sup>I. C. M., "The Evangelists," News, January 7, 1919, p. 4.

<sup>25</sup>I. C. M. [?], "The Evangelists," News, February 10, 1919, p. 3. Pentecostals have since inflated the number of converts at Demarest's St. John's meetings. Myrtle Eddy placed the total at 1,300 (Eddy, "Bethesda," GT, March-April 1975, Part II, p. 11), and Maud Whitt, 2,000 (Whitt, "Revival," p. 20).

<sup>26</sup>Pitt, Windows, p. 158.

<sup>27</sup>John Leamon, cited in ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Vaters, Demarest article, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup>See Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.37.

<sup>30</sup>Vaters, Reminiscence, p. 32. For example, one group, made up of members from the four St. John's Methodist churches, met in a building on Adelaide Street and called itself The Gospel Mission. See Eddy, "Bethesda," May-June 1975, Part III, p. 14.

<sup>31</sup>On Robert C. English see Burton K. Janes, "Robert Chauncey English," DNLB, p. 100f.

<sup>32</sup>See chapter 3.

<sup>33</sup>Pitt, Windows, p. 158.

<sup>34</sup>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.

<sup>35</sup>The fullest account of these developments is found in Eddy, "Bethesda," Part III, p. 14. See also interview by Verge with idem; R. C. English to Fred Morgan, January 30, 1928; Janes, "English"; and transcripts of interviews conducted by the author with Winnifred Taylor (July 13, 1981) and Clarice Roberts. In addition see chapter 3.

<sup>36</sup>Maud Whitt to the author, February 25, 1984.

<sup>37</sup>For what follows see Neary, Economy, pp. 9ff.; Noel, Politics, pp. 116ff.; David G. Alexander, "Development and Dependence in Newfoundland, 1880 to 1970" and "Economic Growth in the Atlantic Region, 1880 to 1940," in Atlantic Canada, pp. 3-31, 51-78; idem, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy in the Nineteenth Century," in Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and

Twentieth Centuries, eds. James K. Hiller, Peter Neary (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto, 1980), pp. 17-39; and Rowe, History, pp. 287-309.

<sup>38</sup>Rowe, History, p. 293.

<sup>39</sup>Neary, Economy, pp. 15ff.

<sup>40</sup>See W. G. Reeves, "'Our Yankee Cousins': Modernization and the Newfoundland-American Relationship, 1898-1910" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Maine at Orono, 1987); and idem, "Newfoundlanders in the 'Boston States': A Study in Early Twentieth-Century Community and Counterpoint," Newfoundland Studies, vol. VI, no. 1 (Spring 1990), pp. 34-55.

<sup>41</sup>See chapter 3.

<sup>42</sup>See Ian McDonald, "W. F. Coaker and the Fisherman's Protective Union in Newfoundland Politics 1908-1925" (D.Phil. dissertation, University of London, 1971).

<sup>43</sup>Rowe, History, p. 376.

<sup>44</sup>Anthony, "Pentecostalism," p. 6.

<sup>45</sup>The Apostolic Faith Church was founded in 1906 by Florence L. Crawford (1872-1936). Although a Pentecostal denomination, the church teaches a three-stage Pentecostalism: conversion, sanctification and the baptism in the Holy Spirit. No funds are solicited, and members are obligated to accept a strict moralistic code. The church sponsors no Bible training school. See Edith L. Blumhofer, "Apostolic Faith Mission (Portland, Ore.)," DPCM, pp. 18f.; Lewis F. Wilson, "Florence Louise Crawford," ibid., p. 229; and Staff, A Historical Account of the Apostolic Faith (Portland, Oregon: Apostolic Faith, 1965). There is a small Newfoundland pocket of the Apostolic Faith. See Stanley Hancock, To this End Was I Born (Richmond, British Columbia: J. Friesen, 1981); and Burton K. Janes, "Stanley Hancock," DNLB, p. 141.

<sup>46</sup>Vaters, "'Bestir'," p. 1.

<sup>47</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, March 1941, p. 6.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>See Janice Brown, "Salute the Saints: Lucy Taylor," GT, September-October 1978, p. 40. See note 22 in chapter 3.

<sup>50</sup>On the Clarke's Beach mission see Garrigus, "Walking," GT, March 1941, pp. 6f.; and Garrigus to Wilson Etsell, January 7, 1946.

<sup>51</sup>See note 45.

<sup>52</sup>Vaters, Reminiscence, pp. 139f. A number of questions regarding Baker must remain unanswered: Was he a Newfoundlander? How did he contact the Apostolic Faith? Evidently it was through literature from the denomination. Did he contact Bethesda?

<sup>53</sup>See chapter 3. One of English's daughters observed: "We would have been well-off if he hadn't [done this]!" Gladys Harris in an interview with the author. R. C. English's conflict of interest is discussed in chapter 6.

<sup>54</sup>Cf. the tenth night at the Victoria mission. See below.

<sup>55</sup>The Great Tribulation and Antichrist are terms that relate to prophecy.

<sup>56</sup>An early Sunday morning prayer meeting.

<sup>57</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, March 1941, p. 6.

<sup>58</sup>See the discussion of Pentecostal theology in chapter 1.

<sup>59</sup>The duration of the campaign is unknown, but it may have lasted two or three weeks. Likewise, the size of the congregation is unknown. The 1935 census showed 56 Pentecostals in a population of 526. See 1935 Census of Newfoundland and Labrador. All the census data may be found at the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's, Newfoundland.

<sup>60</sup>William J. Bartlett, "My Personal Testimony To the Unchanging Gospel," GT, March 1939, p. 11. The unidentified quotations in the Georgetown section are from these sources.

<sup>61</sup>See chapter 2.

<sup>62</sup>William E. Blackstone, Jesus is Coming (Old Tappan, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell, 1898).

<sup>63</sup>The chronology of events is uncertain, but 1922 is close.

<sup>64</sup>See note 63.

<sup>65</sup>Vaters, "Beginnings," p. 17.

<sup>66</sup>Cited in Vaters, Reminiscence, p. 141.

<sup>67</sup>See note 63.

<sup>68</sup>See note 63. In this case 1924 is close. On the Port de Grave mission see Hammond, Sound, pp. 72f; and Israel Marshall, "Prayer Saves from Falling Wire," Startling Incidents and Amazing Answers to Prayer, compiled by Gordon Lindsay (Dallas, Texas: Voice of Healing, n.d.), pp. 20f.

<sup>69</sup>On Josiah Marshall see Burton K. Janes, "Israel Marshall," ENL, vol. III (forthcoming); and Vaters, "Josiah Marshall".

<sup>70</sup>In 1921 Port de Grave had 107 Anglicans and 111 Methodists. Calculated from 1921 Census of Newfoundland and Labrador.

<sup>71</sup>On Ada Broomfield and the Flat Island mission see Myrtle Eddy, "Oh day of Gladness, Oh day unending! Beyond the Sunset...Eternal Joy!", GT, May-June 1969, p. 4.

<sup>72</sup>See note 15 in chapter 3.

<sup>73</sup>On Eugene Vaters see his Reminiscence and the second unpublished volume; Roy D. King, "Salute the Saints: Eugene Vaters," GT, September-October 1977, pp. 39f.; Burton K. Janes, "Eugene Vaters," DNLB, p. 346; and A. Stanley Bursey, Some Have Fallen Asleep, ed. Burton K. Janes (St. John's, Newfoundland: Good Tidings, 1990), pp. 230-8.

<sup>74</sup>See chapter 6.

<sup>75</sup>Vaters, Reminiscence, p. 12.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>79</sup>A probationer is a minister licensed to preach, but not ordained to a pastoral charge.

<sup>80</sup>Vaters, Reminiscence, pp. 40f.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>83</sup>Loc. cit. The biblical reference is Psalm 111:9. See also Eugene Vaters, "Notes," The Independent Communion, vol. I, nos. 5-6 (January-February 1925), p. 4.

<sup>84</sup>King, "Salute," p. 40.



<sup>85</sup> Eugene Vaters did not receive the Pentecostal baptism at least until fall 1925 (Reminiscence, p. 148).

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>87</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>88</sup> Vaters, Reminiscence, p. 52.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., pp. 69f.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., pp. 76f.

<sup>95</sup> Named after the American revivalist, Dwight L. Moody (1837-99). On the Moody Bible Institute see Robert G. Flood, Jerry B. Jenkins, Teaching the Word, Reaching the World (Chicago, Illinois: Moody, 1985).

<sup>96</sup> Eugene Vaters attended Moody from July 20 to November 7, 1922. See Donna Manis to the author, August 17, 1988.

<sup>97</sup> On Rochester Bible Training School see Elizabeth V. Baker et al., Chronicles of a Faith Life (no publisher given, n.d.); Susan A. Duncan, Trials and Triumphs of a Faith Life (Rochester, New York: Elim, 1910); Marion Meloon, Ivan Spencer: Willow In The Wind (Plainfield, New Jersey: Logos, 1974); and Lewis F. Wilson, "Bible Institutes, Colleges, Universities," DPCM, pp. 57-65.

<sup>98</sup> Vaters, Reminiscence, p. 97.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., pp. 115f.

<sup>100</sup> See chapter 3.

<sup>101</sup> Vaters, Reminiscence, p. 62.

<sup>102</sup> On the Victoria mission see Golden Anniversary 1924-74 (St. John's, Newfoundland: Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland Printing, 1974).

<sup>103</sup> "Former Pastors: Pastor and Mrs. Eugene Vaters (1924-5," ibid., p. 4.

<sup>104</sup> See above.

<sup>105</sup> Vaters, Reminiscence, pp. 121f.

<sup>106</sup> Communion, vol. I, no. 2 (June 1924), p. 3.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., Cf. chapter 1.

<sup>108</sup> Vaters, Reminiscence, p. 129. As late as mid-1925 they expected to go as missionaries to Africa. See Eugene and Jennie Vaters, "Faith and Faithfulness Rewarded," Trust, vol. XXIV, nos. 3-4 (May-June 1925), p. 22.

<sup>109</sup> Communion, vol. I, nos. 4-5 (August-September 1924), p. 3. See note 107.

<sup>110</sup> Eugene Vaters, "Doctrinal," Communion, ibid., p. 3.

<sup>111</sup> Alice B. Garrigus, cited in Vaters, Reminiscence, p. 130.

<sup>112</sup> See above.

<sup>113</sup> Alice B. Garrigus, cited in Vaters, unpublished autobiography, p. 48. Emphasis added.

<sup>114</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. the tenth night at Clarke's Beach. See note 54.

<sup>116</sup> Vaters, Reminiscence, p. 132.

<sup>117</sup> Golden Anniversary, p. 5. Interestingly, in his 1926 history of Pentecostalism Stanley H. Frodsham referred to these dramatic reports (Signs, p. 65). Evidently Eugene Vaters requested Frodsham to delete the Victoria reference in subsequent editions. I am grateful to Garry E. Milley for tipping me off about this item, and Joyce Lee of the Assemblies of God for providing me with a copy.

<sup>118</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>119</sup> Alice B. Garrigus to the Field Secretary, Mount Holyoke College, January 14, 1924. Emphasis added.

<sup>120</sup> Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.39.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> See chapter 3.

<sup>123</sup> See chapter 1.

<sup>124</sup>Eugene Vaters, "Charles L. March: An Appreciation of His Life," The Pentecostal Testimony, vol. XIV, no. 3 (March 1933), p. 5. On Charles L. March see also Burton K. Janes, "Charles L. March," DNLB, pp. 215f.; March's obituary in The Western Star, vol. XXX, no. 19 (August 10, 1932), p. 5; and Eugene Vaters, "A Tribute: Charles L. and Mrs. March," GT, January-February 1966, p. 22.

<sup>125</sup>A backslider is a believer who intentionally lapses from his commitment.

<sup>126</sup>Vaters, "Appreciation of His Life," p. 5.

<sup>127</sup>Gwen B. Le Shana to the author, February 12, 1983.

<sup>128</sup>On Herbert Eddy see Eddy, "Bethesda," GT, July-August 1975, Part IV, p. 16.

<sup>129</sup>C. L. March, cited in Winsor, "Things," Part I, p. 21.

<sup>130</sup>Interview by Verge with Eddy.

<sup>131</sup>See James K. Hiller, "The Origins of the Pulp and Paper Industry in Newfoundland," Acadiensis, vol. XI, no. 2 (Spring 1982), pp. 42-68; Harold Horwood, Corner Brook: A Social History of a Paper Town (St. John's, Newfoundland: Breakwater, 1986); and Percy Janes, House of Hate (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart, 1970).

<sup>132</sup>Eddy, "Bethesda," Part IV, p. 16.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid.

<sup>134</sup>See chapter 3. Not "Arche" as stated by Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.40.

<sup>135</sup>On The Ark see Winsor, "Things," Part I, pp. 21f.; and First Pentecostal Church: Our Year of Jubilee 1925-1975 (St. John's, Newfoundland: Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland Printing, 1975), pp. 13ff.

<sup>136</sup>First Pentecostal Church, p. 15.

<sup>137</sup>Vaters, Reminiscence, pp. 142f.

<sup>138</sup>Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.40.

<sup>139</sup>Eugene Vaters referred to "Sister Garrigus' full blessing, of course, and her prayerful support". He argued lamely that Bethesda could not afford to lose "these stalwarts" (Reminiscence, p. 134).

<sup>140</sup>See chapter 5.

<sup>141</sup>William Gillett, transcript of his taped life story.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid.

<sup>143</sup>Loc. cit. William Gillett did not provide names or dates.

<sup>144</sup>See note 43.

<sup>145</sup>Minutes of Meeting, held October 17-24, 1927. Minute 23. All PAON Minutes may be found in PAON Head Office, St. John's.

<sup>146</sup>The Pentecostal Tabernacle, Corner Brook, Newfoundland (St. John's, Newfoundland: Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland Printing, 1976), not paginated.

<sup>147</sup>See chapter 7.

<sup>148</sup>See note 67 in chapter 3.

<sup>149</sup>See chapter 1.

<sup>150</sup>William Wedenoja, "Modernization and the Pentecostal Movement in Jamaica," Perspectives, pp. 27-48.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>152</sup>Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.40.

CHAPTER V

THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT  
AND THE SALVATION ARMY:  
A COMPARISON

## CHAPTER V

Corner Brook subsequently became the base for expansion into western and central Newfoundland. Between 1925 and 1926 a number of individuals, without formal ministerial training and with limited practical pastoral experience, left the Humbermouth Pentecostal Mission and moved into other communities with the full gospel. In the late 1920s other converts carried with them the message to central Newfoundland communities. This development--the converted in one community becoming the proclaimers in another--is the subject of the first half of this chapter. The second part approaches the Pentecostal movement's early development in Newfoundland from an alternate angle. It was preceded by another evangelical, enthusiastic sect--the Salvation Army--which was introduced to the island in 1885. A comparison between the early growth of these two raises significant questions about the function of enthusiastic religion in Newfoundland society.

Among the Humbermouth converts who fanned out to western and central Newfoundland were William Gillett, Arthur S. Winsor and Thomas P. Mitchell. Largely through their efforts,

missions were established between 1925 and 1926 in seven additional communities.

William Gillett was born on June 18, 1906 at Humbermouth.<sup>1</sup> His mother was a Methodist, and his father, Anglican. By 1921 Corner Brook had two Roman Catholic churches and one Presbyterian church. In addition, there were three churches at Curling--Anglican, Methodist and Salvation Army, and one (Methodist) at Humbermouth.<sup>2</sup> Gillett visited most of them, but later admitted to receiving help from none.<sup>3</sup> In his spiritual autobiography he described his early life:

Somewhere in 1924 and 1925, when they started to do construction work there, there were very wild times in Corner Brook. I was 19 years of age, and I remember just starting to go out with some of the fellows a lot older than myself. I knocked around with fellows who had come back from the First World War. We used to drink and play cards and do many things that I knew I shouldn't be doing. My father didn't want me to do them. My mother was always after me. I'd come home some nights from scrapping and rowing, and Mother would say, "You're coming home one of these nights on a stretcher!" But I always got along.

Priding himself on his boldness, he attended the Humbermouth Pentecostal Mission to investigate outrageous reports of fanaticism circulating in the community.

I got a fright! I was so scared! I didn't know what to do! In fact, I think that was the only time I was ever scared in my life! When I was knocking around out in the world, I could go into beer parlors and every place where they were gambling...[and] nothing seemed to move [me]. But here I was in this place supposed to be a church, and I was too frightened to move! I wanted to bawl. I wanted to do something, and I didn't know what to do!

He was converted at the mission the following night.

Arthur Samuel Winsor was born in 1905 at Triton, Notre Dame Bay.<sup>6</sup> His parents had been converted in the Salvation Army. His father was a fisherman. "From my earliest recollections," Winsor wrote,

there was Bible reading and prayer in our home, every morning before breakfast. Men working with my father, getting ready to go to the fishery, they, too, would be in on the family prayer time.

Winsor left his hometown at 18 to look for work. Heading west, he stopped first near Deer Lake, where the Main Dam on Junction Brook was being constructed as part of Corner Brook's pulp and paper mill. He worked there briefly before moving to neighbouring Deer Lake, where he found work at the site of a power house. From there he went to Corner Brook and found work at the hospital. He was converted at an evangelistic meeting in the local Orange Hall. He then heard about the Humbermouth Pentecostal Mission and paid a single visit to the mission. He "was advised by [his] spiritual advisers not to go near those Pentecostal people--that there was something about them that draws".<sup>8</sup> Many townspeople attributed the success of the mission to "just someone with a different message, just a few middle-aged, feeble folk".<sup>9</sup> His second visit to the mission impressed him.

...I saw and heard men and women seeking for more of God. The testimonies were different. They were praising the Lord. They were so happy! The preaching of the Word of God was different because it was preached with power. I was there with an open heart and wanted more of God. I was converted but very weak. I found it hard to testify, but when the altar call was given for anyone seeking for the baptism [in the Holy Spirit] I found myself at the



altar with others that night. I felt the anointing for the first time.

Shortly after, he received the Pentecostal baptism and joined with Charles L. March and Herbert Eddy.

Thomas P. Mitchell (1900-80), born into an Anglican family not far from Corner Brook,<sup>11</sup> possessed no formal education.<sup>12</sup> "His religious background," A. S. Winsor observed, "gave him very little knowledge of the born again experience".<sup>13</sup> Mitchell attended the earliest meetings in the Humbermouth Pentecostal Mission and was converted there.

After the first individuals were converted in The Ark, Charles L. March's wife taught a three-week course on doctrine, designed to provide the converts with a solid biblical foundation. March and Eddy, obsessed with the idea of spreading the full gospel throughout Newfoundland, realized that the east coast was making no attempt to evangelize the island. They also realized that as long as the east coast continued to question their independent expansion in western Newfoundland, further growth was unlikely.<sup>14</sup> March and Eddy determined to invigorate the Pentecostal movement, even if it meant expansion from their mission and not from the St. John's Bethesda Mission.

By early spring 1926 a dozen people, ranging from teenagers to the middle-aged, had been converted and had received the Pentecostal baptism.<sup>15</sup> The converts had not intended to become preachers. "We did not know," one of them wrote, "that He was going to call us into full-time service,

but there seemed to be a reaching out. We too felt the 'go-tell'".<sup>16</sup> Thomas Mitchell was so intent on spreading the full gospel that he was, in A. S. Winsor's words, "willing to carry the suitcase for someone to preach the gospel".<sup>17</sup>

In 1926 Deer Lake was selected by March and Eddy as a potential mission field. The town, site of a major hydro development and a logging centre,<sup>18</sup> had been built in a hurry. People from across Newfoundland moved there in search of employment.<sup>19</sup> March and Eddy realized that expansion from their mission had to be accomplished without assistance--financial or otherwise--from St. John's.<sup>20</sup> The money subsequently came largely from March's pocket.<sup>21</sup> He went to Deer Lake and secured a building that had housed a restaurant. Returning to Humbermouth, he announced that he wanted some converts to travel to Deer Lake to conduct services. That was only the beginning, he emphasized; he wanted to see Pentecostal missions all over the island. March called a meeting to determine who would be sent to evangelize the new town. A dozen prospective workers met with him. He asked each of them to "write down the names of the ones we think would be ready in case we want them". The list finalized, the workers knelt to pray, seeking God's guidance as they prepared to invade new areas with the full gospel and, at the same time, ratify March's selection of Deer Lake as the first area of concentration outside Humbermouth.<sup>22</sup> The converted had become the preachers.<sup>23</sup>

On Saturday, June 10, 1926 a dozen individuals, including William Gillett, Arthur S. Winsor and Thomas P. Mitchell, left Humbermouth by train for Deer Lake. The people who were evangelizing the west coast were part of the industrial regime there. They thought of life there as along the track, rather than up or down the coast by boat. Their action initiated a new feature in the development of a west coast Pentecostal movement; these three especially evangelized almost exclusively on the railway line.

At Deer Lake one end of the building (Hinders Hall) was used for living accommodations, and the large part for services.<sup>24</sup> William Gillett, whose memories of the first meetings at Deer Lake are the most colourful, described them in detail.

We were there a couple of nights when it started! It wasn't very long before people started getting saved, and then they started getting their baptism [in the Holy Spirit]...[On Sunday] we opened the services at 10:30 a.m., and didn't close the door any more until 12:00 midnight or 1:00 a.m....At 12:00 noon or 1:00 p.m., so many of the crowd would go home for dinner; some more would come back. We had to take turns....By the time the morning crowd was gone, there was another crowd in for the afternoon and, before they were done, the crowds were back again for the night. The whole place was packed....It was one great, big revival!<sup>25</sup>

The positive response to the meetings was matched by the equally strong persecution which, for Pentecostals, was a sign of divine approval. The historian of the Deer Lake mission states that during the June and July meetings, "rotten eggs, tomatoes, and anything some of the sinners could get their

hands on would be hurled through the windows and doors".<sup>26</sup> Alice B. Garrigus described the mission in terms of the wild west: "Those were pioneer days and brought together a very rough element. The hall was in the business section of the town and became a target of the attacks of the lawless".<sup>27</sup>

At the end of two weeks William Gillett and some of the other Deer Lake workers returned to Corner Brook. Gillett began to work with Herbert Eddy at The Ark. While there Gillett claimed to be called by God to continue as a preacher. Jumping to his feet, he shouted, "That's it! I'm going to go somewhere!"<sup>28</sup> As peculiar as this sounds, the experience marked Gillett's motive for continuing in the pastoral ministry. C. L. March heard of Gillett's decision, and redirected him to Deer Lake. The history of the Pentecostal movement in western and central Newfoundland thereafter became largely the story of the exploits of these three--Gillett, Winsor and Mitchell. Gillett was the first to strike out on his own. Winsor and Mitchell decided to work together in establishing the movement elsewhere.

The Pentecostal workers were invited to conduct meetings at Humber Canal Village, where men were digging the canal that was to operate the power house at Deer Lake. On a Sunday in mid-July 1926 Winsor and Mitchell walked the seven miles to the community, where a meeting was held that night in a schoolhouse. They paid a return visit a few days after and continued the services; Gillett walked the line to be with his

Lake,<sup>33</sup> somebody gave a message in another language. The interpretation by one of those in attendance included the directive, "Send this gospel to Hall's Bay". Immediately after, Gillett claimed to have received a vision of a specific community. He sketched the place, which another person readily identified as Springdale. Based on the experience, he determined to visit the community and introduce it to the full gospel.<sup>34</sup>

The three left Grand Falls Station and went the 18 miles by train to Badger, where they ate breakfast at the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company staff-house. They then set out on foot for their destination--a distance of 35 miles--by way of Hall's Bay Road. Twenty-three hours after leaving Grand Falls Station, they arrived on August 1 at South Brook, where they hitched a boat-ride with a couple of fish wardens, to Springdale.

On Sunday they attended one of the community churches, and the following day advised people why they were in town. The public school was used for one evening meeting, followed by two weeks of meetings both on the streets and in homes. The men "preached the plain gospel, holding nothing back": conversion, baptism by immersion, the baptism in the Holy Spirit, divine healing, and the imminent return of Christ.<sup>35</sup> A. S. Winsor characterized their preaching as "a few facts on fire"--a phrase that has since entered the mythology of Newfoundland Pentecostalism.<sup>36</sup>

co-workers. No mission was established at Humber Canal Village; the believers attended the neighbouring Deer Lake mission.<sup>29</sup>

Charles L. March was the motivater on the west coast. After making contact with Deer Lake and Humber Canal Village, he suggested a central Newfoundland concentration. He ordered lumber from the Carbonear, Conception Bay, firm, Saunders and Howell, and had it delivered by train at Grand Falls Station,<sup>30</sup> where he planned to erect the next mission on a piece of land he had bought. Around the third week of July 1926 March, Eddy, Winsor and Mitchell left Humbermouth by train for central Newfoundland. Using horse and dray, the latter two transported the lumber to the building site. Charles Lavender again served as carpenter,<sup>31</sup> and by early fall the building was completed. In the meantime the workers stayed at a private home and made personal contact with both Grand Falls Station and Grand Falls. A local businessman permitted the use of an unfinished building; until the mission building was finished, Winsor and Mitchell held meetings there for 12 days.<sup>32</sup>

William Gillett joined Winsor and Mitchell and, on July 31, 1926, the trio left for South Brook and Springdale. Gillett especially felt that he had eventually to visit the latter community, because of an incident that had occurred earlier in the year. At the meeting that had been called by March to ascertain those who would be delegated to Deer

Gillett returned to Grand Falls Station; Winsor and Mitchell booked a ride on a passenger boat to Port Anson, nine miles from Springdale. Winsor's later description highlights how expansion--Pentecostals would say outreach--was often initiated:

No one knew we were coming...With suitcase in hand, we began to walk around the little community, not knowing where we were going, but looking for a place to stay, at least for the night. We were not walking long before we saw a lady wave her hand and call to us. We turned aside. She wanted us to come in and have something to eat, which we did. She was one of the ladies we met a few days before at Springdale. She was staying with a friend at Port Anson. Because of her introduction, we were able to stay in that home for two weeks. We learnt later it was the home that other ministers would stay in when on their circuit.<sup>37</sup>

The men held a service that evening in a discarded church building, but the town showed only minimal interest. News travelled over the weekend, however, and individuals arrived from Miles Cove and Boot Harbour. People were converted each night. The meetings continued for two weeks, after which Winsor and Mitchell left the community, leaving local leadership in charge of the house meetings. There was no surplus of workers at Humbermouth to appoint to Port Anson; the others had fanned out to other communities.<sup>38</sup> Winsor and Mitchell then held one or two meetings apiece in Miles Cove, Wellman's Cove, Pilley's Island, Triton, Lushes Bight, Little Bay Islands and Leading Tickles.<sup>39</sup> After two weeks Winsor and Mitchell returned to Port Anson, and in the fall of 1926, retraced their steps to Grand Falls Station, where the mission

was being led by two women workers.

In November 1926 March, Eddy, Winsor and Mitchell left for Twillingate, Notre Dame Bay, where they met a woman who had been converted in A. B. Garrigus' St. John's meetings. They hired the Fisherman's Union Hall for two weeks of meetings.<sup>40</sup> Winsor and Mitchell visited Botwood and started a mission.<sup>41</sup> Central Newfoundland was undergoing massive expansion which, like that in western Newfoundland, contributed to a ready reception to the Pentecostal workers. A Pentecostal visited Laurenceton and held house meetings,<sup>42</sup> and March and Eddy began a mission at Bishop's Falls.<sup>43</sup> There was in 1927 a hall in use at Northern Arm,<sup>44</sup> and in February the Springdale workers--Winsor and Mitchell--walked to Wild Bight (now Beachside), where they held house meetings.<sup>45</sup>

In 1928 missions were established in additional communities. At Swift Current, Placentia Bay and Western Bay, Conception Bay, Methodists influenced by Garrigus and her message returned to their hometowns and began missions.<sup>46</sup> In Middle Arm, Green Bay, T. P. Mitchell opened one in August.<sup>47</sup> Herbert J. Rideout (1893-1974), a former Methodist, visited Norris Arm North and established a mission.<sup>48</sup> W. Gillett and Eli Burton (1901-46) walked from Botwood to Point of Bay, and introduced the message of Pentecost.<sup>49</sup> In the capital city itself a second mission--Elim Pentecostal Mission--sprang up in February. This mission, under the leadership of Kenneth S. Barnes, played a key if controversial role in the dissemina-



tion of the full gospel message in St. John's.<sup>50</sup> By 1929 three other communities--Brookside, Carmanville and Point Leamington--had received visits from Pentecostals.<sup>51</sup>

There was no major pioneering effort on the east coast during 1926. Sophie Guy, a worker with the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement, visited New Chelsea, Trinity Bay from Victoria.<sup>52</sup> It is also known that as early as 1926 there was a mission that had been begun by two Taylor brothers at Cupids, Conception Bay. This one, like the one at Georgetown,<sup>53</sup> did not grow and, compounded by doctrinal problems, was closed in the late 1940s.<sup>54</sup>

On the eve of the Great Depression the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement was growing but struggling. Expansion was occurring sporadically almost at the whim of individual workers who felt "burdened" about certain areas of the island that had not been introduced to the cherished full gospel message. It remained for younger, vigorous, male leadership to effect a more systematic and consistent spread of the movement.<sup>55</sup>

\* \* \*

The Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland was preceded by another evangelical, enthusiastic sect--the Salvation Army--which was introduced to the island in 1885.<sup>56</sup> A comparison between the early growth of these two raises significant questions about the function of enthusiastic religion in Newfoundland society. The primary question is why the Army

made such impressive gains in its initial 15-year period, while the Pentecostal movement struggled, with negligible expansion to rural areas, in the same time-span. Though similar in motivation, the two movements grew disparately in their pioneering days in Newfoundland. The two movements are studied together here, not so much because of the time sequence of their activity, nor because the Army had given up its evangelistic efforts by the time the Pentecostal movement was introduced to the island, but because an understanding of the Army's role in Newfoundland is vital to an understanding of any subsequent enthusiastic religion in Newfoundland. With the introduction of the Pentecostal movement, competitive enthusiasm became a constituent part of Newfoundland society, reflected in the vast "sheep-stealing" from the Army to the Pentecostal movement. Two disparate, yet similar, religious movements vied for the allegiance of the people. The remainder of this chapter deals with the rapid growth of the Salvation Army, and the delayed expansion of the Pentecostal movement. It must be kept in mind that the historical appearance and development of these sects is admittedly confusing. Conflicting personal and social motives propel them.

Both the Salvation Army and the Pentecostal movement had holiness roots--a recognition that conversion was only the start of the Christian life--and both stressed the necessity of evangelism in response to Jesus' command, "Go...and teach

all nations...".<sup>57</sup> In its initial 15-year period (1805-1900), the Army made rapid progress, beginning 54 corps or separate congregations in 52 communities stretching from Channel in the southwest, to St. John's in the east, and as far north as Rocky Harbour.<sup>58</sup> In the 1902 census Salvationists in Newfoundland numbered 6,594 or 3% of the island's population, an increase over 2,092 or 1% of the population in 1891.<sup>59</sup> Enthusiastic religion, reminiscent of early Methodism, had again taken root in Newfoundland.

No battle was too fierce if men and women were being won away from lives of sin to God, and the fishermen and their families who were being soundly converted and giving glowing testimonies caused the brave Officers to rejoice.

In the corresponding number of years (1911-26), Pentecostal missions were established in 18 communities.<sup>61</sup> Few of these were direct branches from the St. John's Bethesda Mission; the majority were local ventures that eventually joined with Bethesda.

The Salvation Army may be partially understood as a reaction to denominationalism.

The loss of members by the churches to the Salvation Army represented not a shift of denominational attachments but a strengthening of a spirit of religious fellowship hostile to the whole position of religious denominationalism.<sup>62</sup>

It is not without significance that the Army was formed in Canada one year before the Methodist Church of Canada was created from the union of the Canada Methodist, Methodist Episcopal, Primitive Methodist, and Bible Christian Churches.

Many Methodists, dissatisfied with the union, expressed their discontent by attaching themselves to the new evangelical sect.

In Newfoundland the Army was partly the creation of dissatisfied individuals from the three established churches--the Methodist Church, the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church--especially the former two.<sup>63</sup> Salvation Army officers and discontented Methodists contended that the Methodist Church, at one time characterized by evangelistic zeal, had lost its spiritual vitality.

While the Methodists of Conception and Trinity Bays had started in the eighteenth century as a religious protest of the heart against established Anglicanism, they, too, had in due time become an institutional religion of mainstream Protestantism, once the ecclesiastical structures had become more firmly established and societal recognition had been secured.<sup>64</sup>

It is arguable that the Army experienced such rapid growth initially for this reason: it promised a form of worship that reminded believers of Methodism's basic beliefs--personal salvation and holiness.<sup>65</sup> It was recognizable even in doctrine.

Dissatisfied Methodists often wondered what had happened to the old-time religion, as some ministers played down the spontaneity and emotional fervour, once the warp and woof of Methodist services. In such places the Army was often warmly welcomed--even in instances where some members of established churches hotly opposed the upstarts.<sup>66</sup>

As an example, in the 1911 census, the population of Doting Cove, 453, was made up of 264 Methodists and 188 Salvationists.<sup>67</sup> It is fair to suggest that the community had been

easily persuaded of Army doctrine, probably by the conviction that the latter was not substantially different from old-time Methodism. Newfoundlanders, especially church people, were ripe for a spiritual awakening tied in with evangelical revivalism then sweeping Canada.<sup>68</sup>

It is again difficult to sort out the conflicting personal and social motives inherent in these movements. In both the Methodist and the Salvation Army case, there seem to be paired impulses working in opposite directions: one for release from this world's miserable grind (hence dancing and carrying on) and another for closer integration into it ("acceptance," the uniformity, abstinence from drink, thrift, etc.). These contradictions should not be regarded as something to reconcile, iron out or explain away, for they are present in the phenomena.

The Pentecostal movement too stressed the salvation experience, accompanied by holiness. Unlike the Salvationist, however, the Pentecostal was encouraged to participate in additional experiences--baptism by immersion, the baptism in the Holy Spirit with an unusual evidence--tongues-speaking, and Holy Communion or the Lord's Supper.<sup>69</sup> The Pentecostal movement preached the certainty the immanency of Christ's return which, while affirmed by the Salvation Army,<sup>70</sup> was not explicitly preached.<sup>71</sup> At least two Pentecostal emphases--tongues-speaking and the return of Christ--may have raised a warning flag within some people who only cautiously identified

with the Pentecostal movement, and who did not wish to be accused of fanaticism. But even this fails to account completely for the conflicting motives inherent within these movements. As the following quotation shows clearly, the Methodist Church itself was marked by enthusiastic outbursts:

In those old-time class meetings they used to have...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 given them cold water to drink to bring them to, but it was just the anointing of the Lord, and they didn't understand...it.

The Salvation Army encouraged individuals to worship God from their hearts. The War Cry, the Army's publication, provided in 1887 a vivid example of uninhibited worship in the Bay Roberts corps. After the Adjutant read the Bible,

off they went, all moving up and down together, and they were soon in good time, one brother bounding out into a very small place left open in front of the platform, and with a clap reeled round, soon to be joined by a sister, who whirled past us off the front row above us, but unluckily, before she got her joying through she sprained her ankle and had to sit on the edge of the platform...the singing on the platform went swinging on, with closed eyes and upturned faces...and very soon there was a horde in the pool, jumping, dancing, and jigging, from the youngest to the oldest...

The lack of formal technique in worship allowed for freedom of individual expression, spontaneity, loud singing and music, praying and testifying, as opposed to the formalistic requirements of the established churches. The report from Bay Roberts was no more dramatic than were those from William

Booth's evangelism among the poor in the East End of London. "When the gladness of all God's mighty deliverance burst upon some," the mission journal reported,

they laughed as well as cried for joy, and some of the younger evangelists might have been seen like lads at play, locked in one another's arms and rolling each other over on the floor.<sup>74</sup>

Charles B. Braden has suggested that sects provide the opportunity for emotional release, which fulfills a genuine psychological function within individuals.<sup>75</sup>

The Salvation Army provided a similar direct emotional relief and had appealed for this reason to Methodists across the island, who suffered under ecclesiastical formalism and a religious community increasingly devoid of experiential religion, personal intimacy and group support.<sup>76</sup>

Both movements helped meet psychological needs among converts--acceptance and recognition--but the Army did it before the Pentecostal movement. Usual avenues of emotional release--the theatre, sports, literature--were frowned upon. Revivalistic holiness meetings compensated for these "worldly" attractions. Converts were free to dance, shout, clap, sing and play musical instruments in church without feeling guilty.

The need of personal acceptance and recognition was especially evident in the Army. Priests and ministers of the established denominations wore easily recognizable uniforms which spoke of their authority, and generated respect. Those individuals attracted by uniforms could, by joining the Army, also wear distinguishable garb which would bring with it respect and recognition. Both the Salvationist officer and

the layperson were assured of status, ranging from Probationary Lieutenant to Commissioner, and from adherent to Songster Brigade. Those denied official status within the established churches were exalted in the Army. Such titles, observed R. W. Dillon, "carry a charm with them and exert a wonderful influence on the holders and covetors of the same".<sup>77</sup>

Where the sociologist might see, e.g., in the Salvation Army's military hierarchy an attractive substitute for a lack of social mobility, the members consider it an opportunity to improve an ordered and divinely sanctioned attack upon the evils of society, and, by so doing, establish and affirm their own identity.<sup>78</sup>

The Pentecostal movement had no distinct uniforms; its pastors dressed identically with the congregations. Leaders felt that uniforms separated too strictly the minister from the congregation. Neither were there special ranks and positions within Pentecostal missions; only two classes existed--ministers and laypeople. Even the term "Reverend" was not used as it reminded people of the denominations they had left.<sup>79</sup>

The methods of the Army were intended to allure, and succeeded in attracting attention. Street preaching and parades led by brass bands were assured of crowds. Outport fishermen regularly visited St. John's on business. In addition, in March of each year the sealing fleet headed to the ice from St. John's. While in town, many sailors from Bonavista Bay North were influenced by the Salvation Army.<sup>80</sup> The barracks were located near the waterfront, making it



convenient for sailors to drop into the meetings. Open-air meetings ("marches") were held weekly in the capital city. Returning to their homes, many of these sailors began unofficial and unofficered corps; this may have been true of Twillingate, Elliston, Greenspond and Catalina.<sup>81</sup>

The Pentecostal movement, like the Salvation Army, can be partly understood as a reaction to denominationalism, which was allegedly imbued with secularism and rationalism.<sup>82</sup> Pentecostals felt that the established churches, including the Salvation Army, by not preaching the full gospel had failed to meet the spiritual needs of individuals. The Army had a quarter century before said the same thing and reacted by offering a revitalized spirituality. The Pentecostal conviction, however, was felt more strongly around 1925, with the union of the Methodist Church in Canada and most Canadian Congregational and Presbyterian Churches.<sup>83</sup> This helps account for the expansion of the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement in 1925-6, rather than earlier. It has been shown that from 1921 to 1945 Newfoundland Methodism declined from 28.2% to 24.9% of the island's population, while the Army gained from 5% to 7%. In the same period the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church declined in strength, and the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches maintained steady growth.<sup>84</sup> From 1935 to 1945 Newfoundland Pentecostalism increased from 1.3% to 2.3%.<sup>85</sup> The evidence suggests that the emergence of sects in Newfoundland--the Salvation

Army and the Pentecostal movement in particular--caused a heavy drain on church people. The Army was the first to take advantage of the disaffection of Methodists with their church, and reap a sizeable harvest in Newfoundland--6,594 by 1901.<sup>86</sup> The Pentecostal movement gained momentum in Newfoundland starting in 1925--partly a reaction towards the formation of the United Church of Canada, and a perceived regression of the Salvation Army into a formalistic social welfare organization. The conventional sequence of Methodist-Salvation Army-Pentecostal seems to imply a constant reservoir of hunger for revivalist religious experience. This fits with the explanation which relies on rootlessness and dislocation--new factors--to account for Pentecostal successes as in western Newfoundland.<sup>87</sup> A constant reservoir can overflow periodically, and in response to local circumstances. This again highlights the conflicting personal and social motives that propel these sects.

Wherever the Salvation Army was introduced, especially in the cities, it created immediate support among the urban poor.<sup>88</sup> "The lower classes," noted N. J. Demerath III, "have an affinity for a movement of the elect, one that promises ultimate salvation despite present secular failure".<sup>89</sup> Among his early converts, William Booth wrote, were

...genuine working men. One has been a blacksmith, another a navvy, another a policeman, another a sailor, and the remainder have been engaged in similar callings. Consequently, they can speak to the working men as belonging to the same class, illustrating their exhortations with their own

experiences.<sup>90</sup>

These were uprooted people who had lost their sense of stability.<sup>91</sup> It was not only in the cities, however, that the Army made its greatest appeal. Accurate data is missing for the early development of the Army in Newfoundland, but the attraction to the fringe of society is evident from the 1911 census for the island. The majority of the family heads in Doting Cove, for example, who identified themselves as Salvationist, were fishermen (43), 37 of whom supplemented their income by agriculture.<sup>92</sup> According to H. Richard Niebuhr, religion provides the energy, goal and motive of sects, but social factors determine the occasion and specific form the religious movement takes.<sup>93</sup> Despite their demanding labour, these individuals often lacked social, economic and emotional security. A religion such as the Salvation Army is marked by emotional fervour and millenarian pursuits.

The initial appeal of the Pentecostal movement was to the lower socioeconomic classes.<sup>94</sup> At the same time, however, it lacked the social consciousness of the Salvation Army. By the time the Army reached Newfoundland it already had a worldwide reputation for helping the poor. In the Salvation Army

...the holiness piety was retained but supplemented by an aggressive missionary ethos and a focus on the social needs of society. This ethical orientation and lack of sacramental emphasis as well as the peculiar military organization of the Army...quickly led to the formation of a separate religious organization,...which proved successful worldwide in meeting the religious and social needs of the disadvantaged.<sup>95</sup>

William Booth had more in mind than a strictly religious organization. This became apparent with the appearance in 1890 of his In Darkest England and the Way Out. Convinced that poverty was a serious hindrance to personal salvation, he proposed a scheme of social salvation. "Darkest England" referred to society's impoverished people. A valiant attempt to apply the Christian ethic to industrialized society, his plan recommended the creation of labour exchanges, farm colonies, industrial towns, model residential villages, paid holidays and an intelligence service for categorizing social data. Despite the socially-oriented tone of his scheme, it retained religious overtones, but he intimated that social action could be viewed as an essential part of true religion.<sup>6</sup> Some Newfoundland politicians and Methodist clergy travelled to England and received a favourable view of the Salvation Army as a worthwhile philanthropical organization. Returning to the island, they undoubtedly publicized their impressions. In 1892 Brigadier John Read, editor of the Army's Canadian War Cry, and his wife arrived in Newfoundland to superintend the Army. Two years after arriving in St. John's, Blanche Read, stressing the need for a rescue home in the city, held "rescue meetings" in the corps hall. She visited the city's influential people, seeking support for the Army's social effort. Before the end of 1894 the Anchorage had been established as the first rescue home for girls. Many in St. John's, or those with outport connections, who may not

have been reached in a corps setting, learned of the Army through its social work in the capital city. The fact that such local figures as a former premier's wife, Lady Thorburn, supported the organization, contributed to its acceptance among the people. The late 1800s were marked by great economic uncertainty in Newfoundland.<sup>97</sup> It was in this period that the Salvation Army made its greatest inroads into Newfoundland society. The movement's social consciousness enabled it to appeal to those living through economic uncertainty.

The same reception to the Army was true in Canada. It had been a significant urban development, spreading rapidly in the country at least until 1898. By the end of the nineteenth century, few Canadian communities of any considerable size had remained untouched by the Army. Among the working class in the larger cities the movement had gained an important position in religious life. An English organization, it found early acceptance in Ontario, which had received an influx of British workers emigrating towards the end of the century. Many, already familiar with the Army, formed its nucleus in Canada in the initial years. Newfoundland, a British colony, was like Ontario easily persuaded to accept an organization from the mother country. As early as 1885 Salvationists in Newfoundland were being referred to as "the Premier's new friends".<sup>98</sup> The Army quickly crossed provincial and urban boundaries--as in Newfoundland--and became a force in relig-

ious life in both urban and rural areas. Even the Army's persecution received the support of local media, resulting in a sense of martyrdom and renewed evangelistic zeal.<sup>99</sup> The Pentecostal movement displayed no such public visibility. Social concern was not a priority of Pentecostals; society's problems were strictly religious. "For the converted," one asked, "are not most so-called social problems in fact resolved?"<sup>100</sup> Nor did the Pentecostal movement receive media exposure.

The Army was a familiar organization, but was more significantly an "established" religion. Its centralization aided the Army's evangelization techniques. A regimental organization ensured careful planning of "invasions," resembling a military campaign. The movement was in an advantageous position in terms of finance and personnel; funds and staff could be solicited from a variety of locations--England, Canada and the States. A new corps' personnel could be sent and supported by the home organization.

The peak of Salvation Army growth was reached at the turn of the twentieth century. Since then the organization has been solidifying. It has sought and gained a closer working relationship with, and respectability within, the community. By 1914, claimed S. D. Clark, the Army was no longer "a movement of the social masses".<sup>101</sup> The watchwords now are "sophisticated," "urbane" and "conservative".<sup>102</sup> Social status gained in importance. In local communities, though not

so much in Newfoundland, the movement developed into a social welfare organization. The population sector upon which the Army had depended became "proletarianized"; a growing working-class consciousness, adverse to the claims of enthusiastic religion, developed.<sup>103</sup> Newfoundland's economic history, with its high level of unemployment, resulted in pockets of lower class Salvationists, but by and large the Salvation Army is dominated by the middle class.<sup>104</sup> "Whenever Christianity has become the religion of the fortunate and cultured," H. R. Niebuhr cautioned,

and has grown philosophical, abstract, formal, and ethically harmless in the process, the lower strata of society finds themselves religiously expatriated by a faith which neither meets their psychological needs nor sets forth an appealing ethical ideal.<sup>105</sup>

In Newfoundland during the latter part of the nineteenth century the Salvation Army was an effective alternative to the religion of the fortunate and cultured. With the solidifying of the organization soon after the turn of the twentieth century, however, a paradox presented itself: a Hot Gospel religion lapsed into a philosophical, abstract, formal and ethically harmless religion. Pentecostals, like Salvationists before them, now asked whether the Army had gone the route of its spiritual mother--the Methodist Church. If this was indeed true, then a new sect should be expected, claiming to return Christianity to its original purity.

In outgoing nineteenth and early twentieth century Newfoundland, the decline of the experiential fervour in the religious life, the shortage of a trained ministry, and yet the continued presence of

a revivalist ideal and missionary ethos made especially the Methodist churches prone to proselytizing by religious needs in practical terms and in ways that were comprehensible to a religious tradition rooted in the holiness movement.<sup>106</sup>

This occurred with the appearance of the Pentecostal movement.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>On William Gillett see transcript of his taped life story; Elva Janes, "His Field Was Labrador: A Tribute to Pastor William Gillett," GT, July-August 1977, pp. 11-13; Roy A. Burden, "The Incarnational Approach to Communication" (unpublished paper, Ontario Theological Seminary, Willowdale, July 18, 1983); Byron Head, "Pastor Gillett's Influence on the Community of Postville" (unpublished Sociology 2220 paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland, n.d.); Randy Ames, "Land Use In the Postville Region," Our Footprints Are Everywhere: Inuit Land Use and Occupancy in Labrador, ed. Carol Brice-Bennett (Nain, Labrador: Labrador Inuit Association, 1977), pp. 206-10; Roy D. King, Burton K. Janes, "Pentecostal Personalities: Pastor and Mrs. William Gillett," GT, March-April 1983, pp. 38f.; Burton K. Janes, "William Gillett," DNLB, p. 123; and Diane P. Janes, "William Gillett," ENL, vol. II, pp. 526f.

<sup>2</sup>Horwood, Corner Brook, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup>Gillett transcript.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. See also William Gillett, "A Message by Bro. W. Gillett Given at Conference, 1937," GT, May 1938, pp. 3, 5f., 15.

<sup>5</sup>Gillett transcript.

<sup>6</sup>On Arthur S. Winsor see his "Things," GT, May-June 1972-July-August 1973, May 1986, Parts I-VIII; Roy D. King, "Testimonial and Presentation to Pastor and Mrs. A. S. Winsor" (St. John's, Newfoundland: Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, June 1982); Roy D. King, Burton K. Janes, "Pentecostal Personalities: Pastor and Mrs. A. S. Winsor," GT, May-June 1982, pp. 37ff.; Anonymous, "Faith rewarded" (supplement to the Grand Falls Advertiser, June 17, 1976), pp. 18, 20; and "PAON Chaplain for Institutions Retires After 19 Years" (Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland news release, 1982).

<sup>7</sup>Winsor, "Things," Part I, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., GT, July-August 1982, Part II, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid. For a similar experience in Alice Garrigus' life see chapter 2.

<sup>11</sup>Thomas P. Mitchell's hometown is unknown.

<sup>12</sup>On Thomas P. Mitchell see Bursey, Asleep, pp. 131-5; and Arthur S. Winsor, "Pentecostal Pioneer with the Lord," GT, September-October 1980.

<sup>13</sup>Winsor, "Pioneer," p. 23. On the born again experience see chapter 1.

<sup>14</sup>See chapter 4.

<sup>15</sup>Winsor, "Things," Part II, p. 14. Winsor puts the number between ten and 12.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid. "Go-tell" is a reference to Charles L. March's earlier statement. See note 127 in chapter 4.

<sup>17</sup>Winsor, "Pioneer," p. 23.

<sup>18</sup>See above.

<sup>19</sup>E.g., Arthur S. Winsor. See above.

<sup>20</sup>See above.

<sup>21</sup>Winsor, "Things," GT, January-February 1973, Part IV, p. 28. Winsor wrote of "C. L. March who was willing to give of his means to the work of the Lord in building churches". He did not refer in the same way to Herbert Eddy. See also Gwen B. Le Shana to the author, February 12, 1983.

<sup>22</sup>Gillett transcript.

<sup>23</sup>Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.40.

<sup>24</sup>On the Deer Lake missions see Anonymous, Emmanuel Pentecostal Church, Deer Lake, Newfoundland Souvenir Booklet (no publisher given, 1975 [?]).

<sup>25</sup>Gillett transcript.

<sup>26</sup>Deer Lake, p. 8.

<sup>27</sup>Garrigus, "Walking," GT, March 1941, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup>Gillett transcript. Emphasis added.

<sup>29</sup>On the Humber Canal Village meetings see Winsor, "Things," GT, November-December 1972, Part III, pp. 20ff.

<sup>30</sup>Later called Windsor, and yet later amalgamated as Grand Falls-Windsor.

<sup>31</sup>See chapter 4.

<sup>32</sup>On the Grand Falls Station mission see anonymous, Windsor Pentecostal Church Souvenir Booklet (St. John's, Newfoundland: Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland Printing, 1971); and "Windsor Pentecostal Tabernacle" (supplement to the Advertiser, June 17, 1976).

<sup>33</sup>See above.

<sup>34</sup>Gillett transcript; and Winsor, "Things," Part II, p. 14.

<sup>35</sup>Winsor, "Things," GT, March-April 1973, Part V, p. 17. On the Springdale mission see anonymous, Pentecostal Church, Springdale, Newfoundland Anniversary Booklet (St. John's, Newfoundland: Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland Printing, 1976 [?]).

<sup>36</sup>Winsor, "Things," Part V, p. 18. See also Arthur S. Winsor, transcript of a sermon preached to the Men's Fellowship, Elim Pentecostal Tabernacle, St. John's, Newfoundland, November 1, 1982.

<sup>37</sup>Winsor, "Things," Part V, p. 18. On the Port Anson mission see idem, pp. 18f.; and ibid., GT, May-June 1973, Part VI, p. 29f.

<sup>38</sup>Their names and contributions are unknown.

<sup>39</sup>A mission was later established in each of these communities, except Wellman's Cove.

<sup>40</sup>On the Twillingate mission see Calvary Pentecostal Church (Bedford, Nova Scotia: Koinonia Studios, n.d.), pp. 4-6.

<sup>41</sup>On the Botwood mission see Jubilee Pentecostal Temple (no publisher given, n.d.), p. 13.

<sup>42</sup>However, a mission was not established at Laurenceton until 1928. On the Laurenceton mission see Hammond, Sound, pp. 105f.

<sup>43</sup>On the Bishop's Falls mission see ibid., p. 89. Many Grand Falls residents were also converted; and formed the nucleus of an assembly that began there almost 40 years later. On the Grand Falls assembly see anonymous, "History of growth of Grand Falls Pentecostal Assembly" (supplement to the Advertiser, June 15, 1981), pp. 8ff.

<sup>44</sup>Charles L. March, "Our Tour of the Work," Elim Pentecostal Evangel, vol. I, no. 2 (September 1927), p. 4.

<sup>45</sup>On the Wild Bight mission see Hammond, Sound, p. 107.

<sup>46</sup>On the Swift Current mission see Our Year of Jubilee 1928-1978 (no publisher given, n.d.), unpaginated. On the Western Bay mission see Hammond, Sound, pp. 75f.

<sup>47</sup>On the Middle Arm mission see Hammond, Sound, p. 109.

<sup>48</sup>On the Norris Arm North mission see ibid., pp. 107ff.

<sup>49</sup>On the Point of Bay mission see Nellie Jones to Eugene Vaters, September 4, 1963.

<sup>50</sup>The significance of Elim Pentecostal Mission is studied in chapter 7.

<sup>51</sup>Brookside is mentioned under "Reports," Newfoundland Pentecostal Evangel, vol. III, no. 1 (February 1929), p. 5; and Carmanville under "Extracts," ibid., vol. III, no. 2 (April 1929), p. 6. On the Point Leamington mission see Hammond, Sound, p. 110.

<sup>52</sup>On the New Chelsea mission see Hammond, Sound, pp. 73f.

<sup>53</sup>See chapter 4.

<sup>54</sup>See Minutes of Meeting, October 20, 1926. Minutes 2 refers to the Cupids mission.

<sup>55</sup>On male leadership of the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland see chapter 6.

<sup>56</sup>See chapter 3.

<sup>57</sup>Matthew 28:19. See chapter 3 of this thesis.

<sup>58</sup>See Appendix III.

<sup>59</sup>The figures in the text are calculated from the 1891 and 1901 Censuses of Newfoundland and Labrador.

<sup>60</sup>Brown, Wrought, p. 51.

<sup>61</sup>St. John's (Bethesda Mission), Clarke's Beach, Georgetown, North Harbour, Victoria, Port de Grave, Flat Island, Humbermouth, Corner Brook West, Deer Lake, Grand Falls Station, Springdale, Port Anson, Twillingate, Botwood, New Chelsea, Cupids and Bishop's Falls.

<sup>62</sup>S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto, 1948), p. 386.

<sup>63</sup>Handcock, Geography, p. 79.

<sup>64</sup>Rollmann, Religion, p. 63.

<sup>65</sup>Clark, Church and Sect, p. 387.

<sup>66</sup>Tucker, "Volley!," p. 8.

<sup>67</sup>Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911.

<sup>68</sup>Clark, Church and Sect, p. 381. See also George A. Rawlyk, Champions of the Truth: Fundamentalism, Modernism, and the Maritime Baptists (Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University, 1990), chapter 1.

<sup>69</sup>See chapter 3.

<sup>70</sup>See Anonymous, The Salvation Army Handbook of Doctrine (Great Britain: Salvation Army, 1969), pp. 170f.

<sup>71</sup>Tenet ten of the doctrines of the Salvation Army states: "We believe that it is the privilege of all believers to be 'wholly sanctified', and that their 'whole spirit and soul and body' may 'be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ' (I Thessalonians 5:23)". Cited in Moyles, Blood, p. 252.

<sup>72</sup>Cited in Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.36. Witness, too, the enthusiastic Methodists in Newfoundland earlier. See chapter 3.

<sup>73</sup>Cited in War Cry, July 9, 1887. See Moyles, Blood, pp. 81f.

<sup>74</sup>Cited in Inglis, Churches, p. 180.

<sup>75</sup>Charles B. Braden, cited in Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 64.

<sup>76</sup>Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.36.

<sup>77</sup>R. W. Dillon, cited in Moyles, Blood, p. 15.

<sup>78</sup>Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.3.

<sup>79</sup>See chapter 4.

<sup>80</sup>Moyles, Blood, p. 80.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., pp. 80f.

<sup>82</sup>Quebedeaux, Charismatics, p. 4.

<sup>83</sup>See above.

<sup>84</sup>Colleen Shea, "The Influence of Methodism on the Growth of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland" (unpublished Religious Studies 3901 paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1974).

<sup>85</sup>See chapter 7.

<sup>86</sup>Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901.

<sup>87</sup>See chapter 4.

<sup>88</sup>Walsh, Church, p. 312.

<sup>89</sup>N. J. Demerath III, Social Class in American Protestantism (Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 40.

<sup>90</sup>William Booth, cited in Inglis, Churches, p. 179.

<sup>91</sup>Walsh, Church, p. 312; and Clark, Church and Sect, p. 419.

<sup>92</sup>Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911.

<sup>93</sup>Niebuhr, Denominationalism, p. 27.

<sup>94</sup>See chapters 1 and 3.

<sup>95</sup>Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.3.

<sup>96</sup>See Collier, General, p. 171; and Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28 (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto, 1971), p. 11.

<sup>97</sup>See chapter 3.

<sup>98</sup>Evening Telegram, September 9, 1885, p. 4.

<sup>99</sup>See letter to the editor, ibid., February 1, 1886, p. 4.

<sup>100</sup>Diettrich, cited in Hollenweger, Pentecostals, p. 467. See chapter 1.

<sup>101</sup>Clark, Church and Sect, p. 429.

<sup>102</sup>Moyles, Blood, p. 230.

<sup>103</sup>Clark, Church and Sect, p. 430.

<sup>104</sup>Moyles, Blood, p. 230.

<sup>105</sup>Niebuhr, Denominationalism, pp. 31f.

<sup>106</sup>Rollmann, Religion, p. 6.3.

## CHAPTER VI

FROM MOVEMENT  
TO DENOMINATION



Ernst Troeltsch's pioneering work in the sociology of religion.<sup>6</sup> The present chapter discusses this tendency--the transformation of the sect into a denomination, the problem of independency vs. organization. "The Church," Troeltsch maintained, "is an institution which has been endowed with grace and salvation as the result of the work of Redemption; it is able to receive the masses, and to adjust itself to the world..."<sup>7</sup> It is characterized by membership upon the basis of birth; administration of the formalized means of grace and their sociological and theological concomitants--hierarchy and dogma; inclusiveness of social structure, often coinciding with geographical or ethnic boundaries; orientation towards the conversion of all; and the tendency to adjust to and conform to the existing society and its values and institutions.<sup>8</sup> David O. Moberg helped clarify Troeltsch's definition of the church, which

...is conservative, to a certain extent accepting the secular order of society through claiming domination over it. In principle it is universal in that it desires to cover the whole life of humanity. It uses the state and the ruling classes to accomplish its goals; thus it becomes an integral part of the social order dependent upon the upper classes. The individual is born into the church and comes under its "miraculous influence" through infant baptism. It minimizes the need for subjective holiness and emphasizes objective treasures of Christ's grace and redemption, imparting the benefits of Christ's saving work to individuals through the clergy, the Word, and the Sacraments.

"The sect," Troeltsch continued, "is a voluntary society, composed of strict and definite Christian believers bound to each other by the fact that all have experienced 'the new

## CHAPTER VI

The Pentecostal movement began as a conversionist sect that encouraged individuals to accept Christ as Saviour.<sup>1</sup> Even before they recruit the second generation, conversionist sects tend to be transformed into denominations by conforming more or less completely to the social order.<sup>2</sup> New sectarian movements are prone to the process of institutionalization over time.<sup>3</sup> If, as Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine suggest,<sup>4</sup> the growth rate of most such movements is low at first, then the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland was a prime example. Bethesda Mission took years to expand into rural Newfoundland; the movement was too fluid to grow systematically or in an orderly fashion. The growth of a movement in eastern Newfoundland and, it was hoped, throughout the country, suggested a need for cohesion, uniformity and centralized leadership.<sup>5</sup> In 1925 the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland was crystallized into a distinct denomination.

The church-sect typology, and the almost inevitable tendency of millenarian movements either to split or to organize or become bureaucratic come out of Max Weber and

birth".<sup>10</sup> It is distinguished by separatism from the general society, and withdrawal from or defiance of the world and its institutions and values; exclusiveness both in attitude and in social structure; emphasis upon a conversion experience prior to membership; voluntary joining; a spirit of regeneration; and an attitude of ethical austerity, often of an ascetic nature.<sup>11</sup> At the time of its introduction to Newfoundland, the Pentecostal movement exhibited these characteristics common to movements: a segmented, polycephalous, cellular organization; face-to-face recruitment; personal commitment; an ideology; and real or perceived opposition.<sup>12</sup>

Sects tend towards the process of denominationalism over time.<sup>13</sup> There may be factors--ideological, organizational, social or purely adventitious--which prevent this development. However, certain types of sect are more disposed to undergo this process towards denominationalism than are others. For example, some sects are more inclined to accept outsiders. The conversionist sect is disposed to take in large numbers of outsiders, if it can win them over. What is crucial to sect development here is a recruitment policy. The conversionist sects, which adopted revivalist techniques, often won large numbers of converts, but at the cost of bringing in a great many people who had little knowledge of, and in some cases no special interest in, the distinctive teachings of the sect itself. In consequence, the conversionist sect is inclined to move towards a denominational position. However, the forces

that moved the Pentecostal movement towards the denominational position were those of revivalistic recruitment policies in association with other organizational elements. Another factor may be a failure of the second and subsequent generations to maintain the perspective of their predecessors. After the early period of their emergence, all sects which persist experience a process of institutionalization. This process is obviously one in the direction of the denomination. H. Richard Niebuhr maintained that sects develop into denominations in the course of a single generation.<sup>14</sup> Bryan R. Wilson points out that Niebuhr over-generalized. Some movements retained a distinct sectarian flavour, while others developed into denominations.<sup>15</sup> "Always the first fervors evaporate..." Ronald A. Knox noted perceptively, "and the charismatic is merged in the institutional".<sup>16</sup> Wilson described the process:

...sects that came into being as intense reaffirmations of an older religious tradition that was no longer being maintained in its pristine rigour were precisely those which were themselves most likely, in the course of time, to undergo a similar process of denominationalism to that of the old movement out of which they stemmed and which they sought to revive. These sects, which often began in revival campaigns in which the old-time faith was reaffirmed with emotional intensity, often began as rebukes to conventional Christians who were impugned for their failure to take their faith sufficiently earnestly....The people drawn into these sects remained in need of guidance in their religious lives and with respect to their moral comportment, and so it was that these sects tended, from quite early in their development, to need the services of religious specialists--that is to say, of a ministry of full-time counsellors and pastors....All of these tendencies led to a more

denominational position in the course of time.<sup>17</sup>

The same process was seen in the emergence of Methodism, which began as a revival movement within the established order of the Anglican Church. The movement's members, ostracized by local parishes, formed their own cellular organizations. Like the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement itself, growth was slow at first, but was followed by gradual organization.<sup>18</sup> The final result was a distinct denomination--the Methodist Church--which in time became incompatible with the fervour of its own beginnings. Many Methodists in Newfoundland and elsewhere withdrew and joined with the emerging Salvation Army and later Pentecostal movement.<sup>19</sup> Igor Kopytoff defined movements in this sense as "rapidly emergent institutions".<sup>20</sup>

In Newfoundland Robert C. English, Alice B. Garrigus' co-pastor at Bethesda, oversaw the mission's initial, modest expansion into rural areas.<sup>21</sup> Clarke's Beach had been the first site chosen. Other communities in Conception and Placentia Bays had been introduced to the Pentecostal movement, but only secondarily attached themselves to Bethesda. The western movement was entirely separate from its eastern counterpart. The organizational element was lacking; communication between the separate missions was minimal. "The little band in Bethesda," Eugene Vaters noted, "was in much isolation in those days; there was no going to-and-fro...".<sup>22</sup> Though English regularly visited the outport missions, communication remained inadequate. The Pentecostal movement had not been

registered as a denomination with the government. Mission members had no rights as part of a separate religious group; English himself was ordained by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.<sup>23</sup> Independent missions in Newfoundland, as elsewhere, had been operated on the loosest kind of congregational basis, a policy probably resulting from a type of spiritual idealism. The leaders assumed that their missions, led by the Holy Spirit, would naturally operate properly. Leaders were answerable to no governing authority. At least in western Newfoundland, capital investments had been deeded to an individual--Charles L. March--who had after all almost singlehandedly financed the endeavour. Over time a degree of local government developed, and a realization that God could work through human administration. The transition into a denomination promised central organization, providing a broader basis than the local mission. The larger body allowed for cooperative effort between the various missions in areas of mutual interest, primarily evangelism. Without a central voice, aberrant doctrinal and divisive issues arose to confuse the missions. In short, central organization brought about uniformity.<sup>24</sup> In Victoria, Conception Bay, around March 1925, Robert English discussed with Eugene Vaters the current status of the Pentecostal movement in eastern Newfoundland. Even though the fluid movement was beginning to broaden its base, it was still in need of cohesion. The pair concluded that after 15 years the time was ripe for the movement to be

registered with the Government of Newfoundland as a denomination. English accepted the responsibility of ironing out the details.<sup>25</sup>

In 1925, the year in which the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement sought and received official governmental recognition, Frank Bartleman,<sup>26</sup> possibly the most outspoken American Pentecostal opponent of denominationalism, observed:

I felt it were better not to have organized than to lose the ministry of prayer and spirit of revival as a body. It was for this they [i.e., Pentecostals] had been called in the beginning. They had become ambitious for a church and organization. It seemed hard to them not to be "like the other nations (churches) 'round about them".<sup>27</sup> And right here they surely began to fail. As church work increased the real issue was lost sight of. And the Pentecostal missions appear to be facing the same danger today.<sup>28</sup> Human organization and human programme leave very little room for the free Spirit of God. It means much to be willing to be considered a failure, while we seek to build up a purely spiritual kingdom....

It is very easy to choose second best. The prayer life is needed much more than even buildings or organizations. These are often a substitute for the other. Souls are born into the kingdom only through prayer.

I feared the New Testament Church might develop a party, sectarian spirit. A rich lady offered them the money to build a church edifice with. The devil was bidding high. But she soon withdrew her offer. I confess I was glad she did. They would soon have no time for anything but building then. It would have been the end of their revival. We had been called out to evangelize Los Angeles, not to build up another sect or party spirit. We needed no more organization nor machinery than what was really necessary for the speedy evangelizing of the city. Surely we had enough separate rival church organizations already on our hands. Each working largely for its own interest, advancement, and glory.<sup>29</sup>

This parallels the development of Canadian Pentecost-

alism. On November 17, 1906 Ellen K. Hebden, an English immigrant to Toronto, received the baptism in the Holy Spirit, evidently independently of the Los Angeles Azusa Street Missic.<sup>30</sup> According to Thomas W. Miller, Hebden was the first-known Canadian recipient of the Pentecostal baptism.<sup>31</sup> Within five months 60 people received a similar experience. Workers were dispatched to other communities, where churches--Pentecostal in doctrine--sprang up; six missions were established in Toronto alone. A worldwide missionary programme was initiated. The Hebden Mission became the rallying point for Canada's nebulous Pentecostal movement, and had the potential of remaining the centre. Instead, the mission declined in significance, and was bypassed in the subsequent development of Canadian Pentecostalism. Ellen Hebden abhorred any type of structure for the infant Pentecostal movement.

We desire to state most emphatically [she declared] that in the Lord's work..., we have no connection whatever with any general organization of the Pentecostal people in Canada. As a "missionary church" we stand alone in God's divine order, and extend the right hand of fellowship to every member of the body of Christ....and we decline absolutely all responsibility for any so-called representatives of the Pentecostal work in Canada.<sup>32</sup>

When the Canadian Pentecostal movement acquired a dominion charter in 1919, six years before the Newfoundland movement, it would have been reasonable to expect the Hebden to emerge as leaders within the denomination. However, Ellen's fear that organization would smother spontaneity was actually the factor that caused the Hebden Mission to fade into obscurity.



Ironically, even Eugene Vaters had been adverse to denominationalism a year earlier. "We are advocating," he declared in 1924,

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<sup>33</sup> that people a new impetus and fresh power....

He wrote in another context:

...since it is so evident that the Lord is leading His people th[e]se days out of every delusion of the past...he [as editor] sees none other for the Lord's servants but to come out heedlessly and fearlessly from inventions and superstitions<sup>34</sup> of the Dark Ages as the Lord gives them the light.

He was convinced that denominations in general had failed, and he had no intention of joining (or even starting) one. To him the ideal was "spiritual fellowship" without denominational structure. "In the meanwhile," he insisted, "we may enjoy, not only good doctrine, but the old-time power which attends it".<sup>35</sup> Although he was speaking only about his own situation as leader of an independent mission, he nevertheless expressed a sentiment among pioneer Pentecostals--denominationalism was to be avoided at all costs as it stifled enthusiasm by transforming the movement into a ritualized form. Carl Brumback noted that "no Pentecostal believer was even remotely interested in initiating a denomination which, in time, would compete with other denominations".<sup>36</sup> In 1924 Vaters agreed wholeheartedly with Brumback's assessment but, as a result of

discussion with Robert English, became convinced of the value of organization.

Many Pentecostals failed to realize that from the beginning there had been rudimentary forms of organization. Howard A. Goss explained:

Younger ministers...naturally grouped themselves around the more fatherly type of minister looking to him for counsel, example, and fellowship. These groups grew in ever-widening circles, until we really had an unwritten organization, with each group functioning separately, however much we had tried to avoid it.

In Newfoundland, individuals grouped around Fowler, Garrigus, English, March and Eddy, and Vaters, from whom they derived counsel, example and fellowship. The result was an unwritten organization and manual.

As the Pentecostal movement developed, the benefits of denominationalism became apparent. John T. Nichol explained:

...as the first decade of the 20th century drew to a close, it became quite obvious that the evils of independency far surpassed those that organization might create: there were no uniform regulations to deal with those who proclaimed spurious doctrines; there was no discipline for the emotionally unstable or the personally erratic; there was no legislation to prevent unscrupulous opportunists from preying on unsuspecting congregations, for they could claim that they were Apostolic Faith preachers who had been directed by the Spirit to minister to a particular congregation; there were no efficient fiscal policies which would provide monies for the expenses of those missionaries under appointment, many of whom had been raised by the large denominations as soon as it became noised abroad that they had been tainted with "pentecostalism"; there was no provision for replacing the sense of national and international fellowship which people had had as members of the established communions; and there was no adequate educational system for the training of ministers.

In a movement that sought Biblical precedent--speaking in tongues as the initial physical evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit--<sup>39</sup>the leaders now used Acts 6 and 8, which mention nominations, voting, officials and records; and the Jerusalem congregation exercising the function of overseer.<sup>40</sup> Talk of denominationalism brought with it memories of the abuse members had received when joining the Pentecostal movement. The dangers of independency, however, led many to realize that it was the abuse of organization, not organization itself, that must be avoided. The Pentecostal movement subsequently organized, but not into a homogeneous unit; a normative Pentecostalism is virtually nonexistent.<sup>41</sup> The Pentecostal denomination in Newfoundland became one of many small, regional groups around the world.

By seeking distinction as a denomination, the Pentecostal movement was exhibiting a willingness to conform to the dominant value structure and become integrated into the dominant society. A denomination competes with other denominations and with the larger society for loyalty from its members. It is an example of accommodation of the state legal system to religion. Christianity has this problem built in. It becomes an anomaly in that in Pentecostal doctrine the world system is at odds with God; the two are mutually exclusive. The believer is to be in the world but not of the world.<sup>42</sup> However, the benefits of denominationalism far outweighed the deficits of independency and, in 1925, the

Newfoundland Pentecostal movement took steps to be formalized into a separate denomination. The Companies' Incorporation Act of 1873 provided the legal framework for the establishment of the limited liability company.<sup>43</sup>

On November 10, 1925, 15 years after the Pentecostal movement started in Newfoundland, Colonial Secretary John R. Bennett (1866-1941) signed the licence granting government recognition to another religious denomination. The licence explained:

Whereas the Bethesda<sup>44</sup> Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland [has] made application for registration under the provision of Section 240 of the Companies Act,<sup>45</sup> as a Society formed for the teaching of religion, for the holding and disposal of property, and for the investment of monies;

And whereas the income, property and funds of the Association will be applied solely for the promotion of the objects of the Association as set forth in their Memorandum,<sup>46</sup> and no portion thereof shall be paid by way of dividend, bonus or otherwise to any members of the Association;

I issue this Licence under my hand, and under the provisions of Section 240 of the Companies Act, directing the registration of the said Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, as an Association with limited liability, without the addition of the word "limited" to its name.<sup>47</sup>

The newly-registered denomination, headquartered at St. John's, defined its principles as

...the promotion of the spiritual aims and endeavors of the Christian religion and the advancement and inculcation of the Christian lessons typified by the Scriptural allusions embodied in the name chosen by the Association.<sup>48</sup>

The denomination was now authorized to achieve specific objectives. The first permitted its members "to have vested in the Association the title to certain pieces or parcels of

land now vested in trustees for the Association".<sup>49</sup> The three original trustees of Bethesda Mission were Alice B. Garrigus, Charles Ryan, an early convert, and Margie B. Bowen from Canaan, New Hampshire.<sup>50</sup> Bowen, a Gospel Worker with the First Fruit Harvesters Association in Rumney, New Hampshire,<sup>51</sup> had spent some time with Garrigus in St. John's soon after the opening of Bethesda Mission.<sup>52</sup> Had it not affiliated as the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, the St. John's Mission, Bethesda, would have become part of "the great harvest field" of the Harvesters.<sup>53</sup> Instead, at a duly convened meeting of its members, Bethesda Mission affiliated with the denomination, and changed its name to Bethesda Pentecostal Assembly,<sup>54</sup> but retained its position as the initial Pentecostal assembly in Newfoundland and Labrador.<sup>55</sup>

The denomination's other objectives were to:

- 2) instruct the members of the association in the principles of the Pentecostal religion, to aid them in the practices, thereof, and to assist and further the objects of the religion itself;
- 3) take on lease, purchase, or take in exchange, for hire or otherwise acquire any real and personal property and any objects, or privileges which the association may think necessary or convenient for its objects, and in particular any land, buildings or easements;
- 4) borrow, raise or secure the payment of any money in such manner as the Association shall think fit;
- 5) draw, make, accept, endorse, discount, execute and issue promissory notes, bills of exchange and other negotiable or transferable instruments;
- 6) sell, improve, manage, develop, exchange, lease, mortgage, dispose of, turn to discount or otherwise deal with all or part of the real and personal property of the Association;

- 7) enter into any arrangement with any government or authority supreme, municipal, local or otherwise which may seem conducive to the objects of the Association, or to any of them; and
- 8) invest and deal with the monies of the association not immediately required upon such securities and in such manner as may from time to time be determined.<sup>56</sup>

On December 8, 1925 farmer James Stanley,<sup>57</sup> fireman Jacob Noseworthy (1875-1955),<sup>58</sup> and jeweller Robert C. English--members of Bethesda Pentecostal Assembly--witnessed by Solicitor Thomas P. Halley, signed the Memorandum of Association.<sup>59</sup>

The Articles of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland provide further insight into the organization of Pentecostalism on the island.<sup>60</sup> The Association's membership was declared to be 100. A member was defined simply as any person "who shall sign the roll of membership of the Association". In Pentecostal terminology, membership presupposed the foundational conversion experience; the unconverted were classified as adherents of the faith.<sup>61</sup> The figure of 100 Pentecostals throughout the island tends to support my study of the 1921 St. John's census, which listed a total of only 68 individuals associated with Bethesda Mission.<sup>62</sup>

The Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland had four executive offices--President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer. The first officers were Robert C. English (President), James Stanley (Vice President), and Alice B. Garrigus (Secretary and Treasurer). These, plus four of the

Association's members elected by ballot, constituted the Board of Management of the denomination.

Again on December 8, 1925 the names of Stanley, Noseworthy and English, witnessed by Solicitor Halley, were added to the Articles of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland. With the attaching of these signatures, the status of the Newfoundland Pentecostal movement changed dramatically. No longer could it be regarded as a fluid religious movement; it was now an "ism". Unlike Canadian Pentecostalism, which had initially hotly opposed denominationalism,<sup>63</sup> the transition from sect to denomination in Newfoundland did not meet with vociferous criticism.

In the mid-1920s the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland took steps to bring itself in line with its mandate as a limited liability company. The five-year period beginning with 1925 marked an institutionalization of the denomination on the east coast and, after 1927, also in western Newfoundland.<sup>64</sup> This involved, in Bryan R. Wilson's terminology, "a process of institutionalization in which customs are hardened, procedures are routinized, practices are stabilized and an even tenor of life is established".<sup>65</sup> The earliest extant minutes of the denomination are dated October 15, 1926; it is therefore possible to follow closely the inner operation of the denomination from that date.

The meeting, held on October 15, 1926 in eastern Newfoundland, was attended by a "goodly number".<sup>66</sup> Thirteen

individuals<sup>67</sup>--none from the west coast as expansion there had not yet been approved by Bethesda Pentecostal Assembly<sup>68</sup>--comprised the membership of the meeting. These evidently represented the leadership of the denomination at this period. The meeting, prefaced by a hymn and prayer, set the tone for subsequent business meetings of the denomination. One of the few items of business involved nominating officers for the outport assemblies. Surprisingly, only four--Georgetown, Clarke's Beach, Port de Grave and Victoria--are mentioned. It was automatically assumed that Alice B. Garrigus was in charge of Bethesda Pentecostal Assembly. Two deacons--James Stanley and N. Lidstone--and two deaconesses--Polly Stanley and Mrs. Mugridge--were appointed to assist in the St. John's assembly.

The Board of Management met five days later to discuss ways of alleviating "the urgent financial needs of the workers".<sup>69</sup> On January 14, 1924 A. B. Garrigus had divulged to her alma mater, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary: "We are supported by the free-will offerings of the people".<sup>70</sup> In 1926 four workers were dependent upon the Home and Foreign Missionary Fund, "which at present is very low".<sup>71</sup> The fund was strained further by a resolution making it responsible for 40 percent of the salary of the Overseer (previously called President), in addition to picking up "all travelling expenses incurred by the pastor".<sup>72</sup> Two methods were suggested to boost the sagging fund: pledges and free-will offerings. Obviously the free-will offerings Garrigus mentioned in 1924<sup>73</sup>



had failed to keep pace with the increase in the number of workers. (Twenty-two attended the 1927 meeting.)<sup>74</sup> The solution was to encourage the individual assemblies to pledge contributions to the fund. To ensure businesslike action, a bank account was opened for the fund.<sup>75</sup> Finances were placed on the agenda again in 1927. For the first time the tithe was mentioned. The membership decided that workers would tithe directly to headquarters to help defray the escalating costs of the fledgling denomination.<sup>76</sup> The 1928 Treasurer's Report of the Foreign Missionary Fund "was considered encouraging".<sup>77</sup>

Fourteen men and eight women attended the March 1927 meeting. The term "pastor" appears for the first time in these minutes.<sup>78</sup> Herbert Eddy and the Charles L. Marches were in attendance, indication that there was an amiable relationship between the east and west coasts, although the merger did not occur until October of that year.<sup>79</sup> Three classifications of workers were then recognized: ordination (a man with complete ministerial rights); gospel worker (a person with all ministerial rights, except performing the marriage ceremony); and a bearer of a letter (recognition for a man who wanted to enter into cooperation with the members of other assemblies).<sup>80</sup> A person seeking admittance to the pastoral ministry of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland submitted to examination by four elders. If the applicant was "found to be sound in doctrine and of a good report," the elders then recommended ordination. In the event of an

ordained worker "erring from the truth of God," the denomination retained the power to withdraw ministerial papers, which were renewable annually anyway. The denomination would, however, assume no responsibility for debts incurred by a worker asked to withdraw from ministry.<sup>81</sup>

According to Liston Pope, a religious movement begins to shed its sectarian character when it insists on academically qualified ministers, and supports a program of religious education rather than solely one of evangelism.<sup>82</sup> Early Pentecostals played down the role of education which, in the opinion of one, "is killing Christianity". Head knowledge "gets into religion. It makes young people query the virgin birth....The less education the more quickly you can accept salvation".<sup>83</sup> The antipathy towards education stemmed from the conviction that it is detrimental to spirituality; that the heavy cost of educational facilities would divert funds from "spiritual" enterprises (e.g., missionary work); that ministers would be judged for their scholarship rather than for their spiritual leadership; that ministers only had to rely on the Holy Spirit and not on either religious or secular training; and that since most converts were from the lower socioeconomic strata, they had little appreciation for advanced training.<sup>84</sup>

This is important to the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland because the October 1927 Convention, attended by 14 men and 14 women, mentioned for the first time a course

of prescribed training for prospective workers.<sup>85</sup> A Bible School Committee was established.<sup>86</sup> This is not to suggest that the evangelistic impulse had died. On the contrary, the emphasis was still on change of heart through conversion, not through education. But it reflects a growing awareness that education was not necessarily harmful to spirituality. The membership went from thinking education not harmful to advocating it as directly beneficial. This feeling was to develop in 1933 into a full-scale Bible College training program,<sup>87</sup> but for now the provision of a Correspondence Bible Course<sup>88</sup> indicated a perception that leaders needed at least minimal training. In 1928 the Executive Committee stipulated that before ordination, or full recognition as a gospel worker, individuals successfully complete an examination on Bible doctrine, distributed by the American Assemblies of God. The same course was to be completed as well by "all other recognized workers who have not had the advantage of study".<sup>89</sup> The leadership again realized the danger in sending individuals out as pastors without at least a minimum of training. One year later entry requirements into the ministry were streamlined. The process consisted of a thorough examination by a questionnaire, followed by further interrogation by a committee. The prospective worker was required to "promise to faithfully cooperate with, and stand by, the principles laid down by the Scriptures and as adapted by the Council...". Those unable to subscribe to these principles were requested,

"before doing anything contrary to the same,...interview those placed in authority, and if terms cannot be reached,...quietly withdraw, and return their credentials".<sup>90</sup> A worker who held doctrines contrary to the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland was entitled to have his case heard before the Overseer and, if necessary, three veteran workers.<sup>91</sup> While it is true that greater emphasis was placed on a trained ministry, the antipathy towards education never totally disappeared from Pentecostalism in Newfoundland and Labrador. As late as 1946 Alice B. Garrigus wrote another pastor, "Are you not glad we are babes, and not college bred?"<sup>92</sup>

There was a reason why the Executive Committee insured a smooth withdrawal of those who could no longer cooperate with the denomination. On the eve of the Great Depression, the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland had been growing but struggling. The years 1927-9 witnessed the establishment of new assemblies, but the main contributing factor leading to a lack of greater expansion and stability was an internal leadership problem that, over a four-year period, assumed a public face. The ensuing controversy revolved around the question, "Who was to be Chief Overseer of the Pentecostal work in Newfoundland, considered by Conference to be 'the most important work under heaven and under God'?"<sup>93</sup>

Since 1920, when Robert C. English and his group had amalgamated with Alice B. Garrigus and her Bethesda Mission, English was Garrigus' co-pastor.<sup>94</sup> When the Pentecostal

movement was established as a denomination in 1925, English was declared its President.<sup>95</sup> On October 15, 1926 he resigned as chairman of a workers' business meeting in order to make way for the election of the denomination's Executive Officers. Surprisingly, he then declined nomination for the position of Overseer, but reconsidered when another person declined as well. Elected by acclamation, he then resumed his former position as President of the denomination. The conference had previously agreed that no pastor should be involved in commercial business. English, who still operated his jewelry business, understood that he would be required to resign from his business and devote all his efforts to the denomination.<sup>96</sup>

In late March 1927 English abruptly tendered his resignation as Overseer of the church. A meeting placed on record a cautious minute:

Proposed that whereas God has called Bro. English to the [Pentecostal] work, and whereas God has used him in the saving of precious souls, resolved that we take our hands off [him] and leave him in the hands of God, that we will bear him up in prayer and pray that God will work out His own plan.

At the same time English's resignation was rejected.<sup>97</sup> At the start of the next business meeting, held in October, two names--R. C. English and Eugene Vaters--were nominated for the position of Overseer. English was re-elected by an 85.7 percent vote; and Vaters, Assistant Overseer, by 88.4 percent.<sup>98</sup>

English then enlisted the services of a friend to run his

business. Late in November, however, the new manager left unexpectedly for America which, English advised Vaters, "not only throws the business on my shoulders but added responsibilities". English immediately resigned "all activities in the movement," asking the church to forget him but keep him in its prayers.<sup>99</sup> Six days later English reiterated his resignation, assuring Vaters that his "decision has not been hastily arrived at...". He regretted his business involvement, but could see no immediate solution.<sup>100</sup> Vaters, not wanting to appear overly anxious to move into the Overseer's position, evidently suggested that English should have called a general meeting to allow the workers themselves to deliberate on the resignation and decide on a replacement.<sup>101</sup>

Vaters, carrying through on his own recommendation, called two special sessions to react to English's resignation. The eastern delegates passed a three-part resolution: the resignation was accepted; the earlier stipulation forbidding the Overseer from being engaged in commercial business was upheld; and they agreed to stand by Vaters until English gave up his business. Should English relinquish his business interests, the matter of his resuming executive duties would then be discussed on its own merit.<sup>102</sup> The western delegates simply adopted the resolution.<sup>103</sup>

A meeting to discuss the resignation with Bethesda, of which English was pastor, was scheduled for January 2, 1928. Early in the day English scribbled a note to Vaters. "If in

the meeting tonight," he stated, "the Bethesda people feel that they must be clear of a Pastor engaged in commercial work, and Sr. Garrigus desires the same, please let them settle matters".<sup>104</sup> The assembly was advised that their pastor was now alleging that his resignation had been "given on the spur of the moment," and that he wanted to retain his earlier position, which he interpreted to have been helper and not pastor in Bethesda.<sup>105</sup> Two nights later English attended Bethesda's business meeting, where he rationalized his resignation "from a standpoint of principle". Fifty-three percent of the membership then voted against retaining English as leader.<sup>106</sup>

On January 30 English wrote the Clarke's Beach assembly "to make [his] position clear before at least the Children of God in this Island". He then squarely placed blame for his loss of ministerial credentials on "Sister Garrigus and a few at St. John's local Assembly [who] thought they should have a Pastor out of business," and complained that he had been "by a secret ballot disqualified...as a Minister in Bethesda". He announced that on February 5 he would be opening his own assembly, which was located six minutes from Bethesda. "If there is broken fellowship," he confided, "by the grace of God I will give none occasion".<sup>107</sup> On May 21 English asked George A. Chambers, General Superintendent of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, to investigate Bethesda's meetings in which they had banished him as pastor.<sup>108</sup> Chambers responded

with a plea for concessions.

I am sure, dear brother that God wants reconciliation between His children and the present condition of affairs changed, and I am satisfied there is a way to do it....the man [who] will go down in acknowledgment of [his] weakness before God is the one who is going to have the honour of this task....<sup>109</sup>

Two weeks later, the Newfoundland denomination presented English with an ultimatum as "a basis of continued or extended fellowship". First, he was to apologize to the denomination for condemning Bethesda's January meetings, and for advertising his own assembly as being associated with the denomination and its Canadian counterpart. The second stipulation called for the relocation of his assembly to another part of St. John's, and that it be brought into harmony with the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland. The last requested a letter of regret to the Pentecostal conference.<sup>110</sup>

In his response English asserted that the January meetings had been "according to the unwritten constitution". He buttressed his argument by appealing to the denomination's Act of Incorporation, according to which, he explained,

...before a constitution could be laid down it had to be done by the main body or representatives from the general movement, which would then give the local Assembly a constitution to work upon....

In conclusion, brethren, I feel I would rather remove from every active part in this movement and in gospel work in general than to be a stumbling block to perishing souls....<sup>111</sup>

A letter, regretting what the denomination perceived as English's obstinacy, followed on June 8.<sup>112</sup> A terse statement of "disfellowship" arrived four days later. The Executive



Committee "unanimously voted that as you do not accept our basis of fellowship we have no other alternative but to put into effect our decision of disfellowship...".<sup>113</sup>

The English case was far from over, and the disruption to the denomination was immediate and long-lasting. The controversy left English bitter. He returned as a layman to the United Church, and continued his jewellery business. In 1940, two years before his death, he wrote Eugene Vaters and Alice B. Garrigus "regarding the misunderstandings". A year later he contacted Vaters again, requesting that

...if you think the matter closed to give me some kind of a note when needed to establish official fellowship...you don't know what a burden would be lifted if you gave this matter your immediate attention.<sup>114</sup>

Vaters' response is not extant, but it is fairly certain that fellowship was restored.

The controversy over the Overseer of the denomination was nothing more than a bitter power struggle. As Fall 1925 had arrived, Eugene and Jennie Vaters in Victoria felt it was time for them to move elsewhere as they continued seeking divine guidance regarding their life's work.<sup>115</sup> They went to Hamilton, Ontario, where they led a Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada church. While there, they received a decisive letter from Alice B. Garrigus which, Vaters remembered, urged them "to return to Newfoundland, as [they] were needed".<sup>116</sup> They returned to the island, where they were placed in the middle of what Garrigus later termed "troublesome times".<sup>117</sup> Vaters

and Garrigus had already become acquainted, with the latter looking upon him as her own child. He, in turn, revered the matriarch founder. She saw in him everything missing in R. C. English and, during the English controversy, she perceived Vaters as being the stronger of the two. For this reason, Vaters' return was, in her opinion, "through the providence of God...".<sup>118</sup> After the English incident, Vaters, by virtue of being Assistant Overseer, automatically moved into the First Executive position of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland. On June 6, 1928 Conference unanimously elected him Superintendent;<sup>119</sup> he remained in his position until his retirement in 1962.<sup>120</sup> He referred obliquely to "not too favourable circumstances" in the Fall of 1927. "But God is helping us," he insisted, "and we have been forging ahead in spite of odds".<sup>121</sup> Expansion within the denomination had been occurring almost at the whim of individual pastors who for a variety of reasons felt "burdened" about certain areas that had not been introduced to the full gospel message. It remained for young, energetic, vigorous Eugene Vaters, whose contribution to the growth of the denomination cannot be overestimated, to bring about a more systematic and consistent spread of the denomination. Significantly, the denomination did not explode until after the ascension to the helm of male leadership. At the same time, too much must not be made of the maleness of the new leadership. There is not a single reason to suppose that a woman or group of them, younger,

fresher and with different ambitions, could not have done what Waters did.

An overriding concern in the mid-1920s was the importance of doctrinal purity and separation from the world. In October 1927 the denomination rejected as aberrant such teachings as footwashing ("while we accept the words of Jesus<sup>122</sup> yet [we] can see no place where footwashing can be brought in as part of doctrine"), and baptism in Jesus' name only ("recognizing the baptism of those who have been baptized in Jesus' name with their recognition of the Trinity as valid"). A firm stand was taken against activities that in the opinion of the conference were worldly. The offenders were "pictures" and picnics!<sup>123</sup> The 1929 conference placed on record a minute safeguarding "the name of 'Pentecost' as used by us for the past years in [the] event of someone else registering same".<sup>124</sup>

Part of the internal organization of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland in this period included the forming of a relationship between two Pentecostal bodies--the Newfoundland denomination and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Newfoundland Pentecostalism evolved separately from Canadian Pentecostalism,<sup>125</sup> although they are doctrinal siblings, sharing closely today in foreign missions, the governing of Peterborough's (Ontario) Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, and other efforts.<sup>126</sup> Newfoundland Conference minutes reflect accord between the two bodies as early as

1928. It reflects an attempt by the smaller organization to seek recognition from a recognized, larger, established Pentecostal body. A fraternal tie brought with it a feeling of belonging and identity. From the standpoint of the Newfoundland denomination: "This brings us into closer touch and fellowship".<sup>127</sup>

On January 10, 1928 the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland expressed a "desire for closer fellowship and co-operation on our part in the Lord's work".<sup>128</sup> Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada General Secretary-Treasurer Robert E. McAlister suggested that a two-month visit by a Canadian representative to Newfoundland "would help to bring about that closer co-operation that is desired".<sup>129</sup> In June of the same year Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada General Superintendent George A. Chambers attended both the Executive Meeting<sup>130</sup> and the third annual conference of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland. At the latter function he assisted "as advisory to the chair," and also addressed the delegates. A formal request by the Newfoundland denomination was granted by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada: "to be recognized by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada as a District Council of that Body".<sup>131</sup>

The nature of the association between the two denominations was imprecise from the start. The perception of the Canadian organization towards the smaller one requesting District Council status is contained in a Chairman's Report

published in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada periodical, The Pentecostal Testimony. Chambers, a native of Ontario, described both Newfoundland and the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland in a condescending tone. The acquired status was not significant from the standpoint of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, which was firmly established by this time. As part of a "mission for the Master," Chambers spent a few weeks visiting "the dear folks of the Island". He wrote:

If the saying be true, "Variety is the Spice of Life," then there is plenty of spice in the work of the Lord and nothing monotonous as each place features a different phase peculiar to itself....the Newfoundland work in many respects differs from the work of the Dominion. Newfoundland is a religious country, though not a spiritual [one]; everybody belongs somewhere. This is a forced custom as the schools and cemeteries are owned and controlled by the various denominations (under the government, of course). This makes it quite difficult for our people to branch out much and become aggressive as they would like to. However, God has wonderfully blessed their efforts of the past and prospects are good for the future.

Most of the people on the Island are a very humble folk, not having much of this world's goods as there are few industries and very little agriculturing. Fishing being their main occupation, means much of the year there is very little income. The towns are quite small and scattered and the inland towns hard to reach because of transportation limitations. Notwithstanding they are a most wholehearted people and enjoy the old-fashioned gospel way.

There are about 15 Assemblies on the Island and most of them own their own little place of worship as they are compelled to build in order to get any kind of a suitable place for worship. It is almost an impossibility to get a hall to rent.<sup>132</sup> There are several businessmen there with a vision for God who are using their means to erect buildings and letting the poor assemblies pay for them as they can, and they are pushing into new

places all the time.<sup>133</sup>

Elsewhere he mentioned that although "(t)he work on the Island is in a good prosperous condition,"<sup>134</sup> Newfoundland itself was still a "needy Island".<sup>135</sup>

On the Newfoundland side, the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland immediately pledged to support a Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada overseas missionary.<sup>136</sup> It also adopted The Pentecostal Testimony,<sup>137</sup> and the "Statement of Fundamental Truths Approved by the Pertecostal Assemblies of Canada".<sup>138</sup> On September 12, 1930 the Eastern Ontario District of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada relayed warm words to the Newfoundland denomination, now "a home and foreign missionary centre District-Council of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada," and comprised of 19 assemblies:<sup>139</sup>

We are so delighted, and happy [A. E. Adams wrote to A. B. Garrigus], to welcome Newfoundland into our Canadian fellowship. We trust to work together harmoniously, unitedly for one great cause, and that to promote<sup>140</sup> and hasten the glorious Kingdom of our lover-Lord.

The District Council status remained vague and largely perfunctory. The Newfoundland denomination continued to operate as a corporation similar to that in Canada, with almost identical aims and standards.<sup>141</sup> Newfoundland Pentecostal assemblies have traditionally been different from their Canadian counterparts in that those on the island are less democratic. Assembly boards were a rarity in the early years of the denomination's history.<sup>142</sup> "The meetings of the Newfoundland [Pentecostal] churches," observed Gordon F. Atter,

"are noted for their sincerity, their enthusiastic Gospel singing, and for the ease with which the unsaved are attracted to the services".<sup>143</sup>

The 1932 General Conference of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada resolved that the Newfoundland denomination be designated as the Newfoundland Affiliated Council of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, with right of self-government according to the Charter of the smaller denomination, the right to send two delegates to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada General Conferences, affiliation on a cooperative basis, and independent functioning on a financial and business basis. The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada was welcome to send one or more delegates to the annual Newfoundland Conference.<sup>144</sup> That is, the larger body has never absorbed the smaller. Especially under Eugene Vaters' tenure as General Superintendent, Newfoundland Pentecostalism became a microcosm of the larger whole--the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. The formal association--District Council--as vague as it was, provided an added dimension to the Newfoundland denomination: a sense of belonging to a larger, established Pentecostal body.

The Newfoundland Pentecostal movement took a decisive step in 1925 by being formed into a distinct denomination. A radical altercation then followed with the leadership changing from a female to a male orientation. Following a bitter power struggle between two male leaders, the younger one who had

drawn close to the female founder won out. Once the denomination became an indigenous organization, it had greater potential for success; its native son linked the denomination to familiar themes found in Newfoundland. Indigenization led to the denomination's diffusion; the denominationalization and division of labour within the organization has succeeded remarkably well. The successful candidate's subsequent 35-year leadership shaped the future of the church; Eugene Vaters facilitated an efficient spread of the church which remains in effect today.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See chapter 1.

<sup>2</sup>Bryan R. Wilson, Religion in Secular Society: A Sociological Comment (London, England: C. A. Watts, 1966), p. 206.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 199ff.

<sup>4</sup>Gerlach, Hine, People, p. xv.

<sup>5</sup>See chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>6</sup>Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. by Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1958 [1930]); Ernst Troeltsch, Protestantism and Progress, trans. by B. A. Gerrish (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Fortress, 1986 [1912]). See also Frank, Conquerors, pp. 129-39; and Troeltsch, Teaching. See especially I, pp. 331-81, and II, pp. 993-1013.

<sup>7</sup>Troeltsch, Teaching, vol. II, p. 993.

<sup>8</sup>Thomas F. O'Dea, The Sociology of Religion (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 68. A helpful discussion is found in Pope, Millhands, pp. 117-40.

<sup>9</sup>Moberg, Church, p. 74.

<sup>10</sup>Troeltsch, Teaching, vol. II, p. 993. On the born again experience see chapter 1.

<sup>11</sup>O'Dea, Sociology, p. 68.

<sup>12</sup>Gerlach, Hine, People, p. xvii.

<sup>13</sup>See above. For what follows see Wilson, Religion, pp. 199ff.

<sup>14</sup>Niebuhr, Denominationalism, p. 19.

<sup>15</sup>See Wilson, Sociological Perspective, p. 97.

<sup>16</sup>Knox, Enthusiasm, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup>Wilson, Sociological Perspective, pp. 98f.

<sup>18</sup>See above.

<sup>19</sup>See chapter 1.

<sup>20</sup>Igor Kopytoff, cited in Gerlach, Hines, People, p. xv.

<sup>21</sup>See chapter 4.

<sup>22</sup>Vaters, "Beginnings," p. 17.

<sup>23</sup>See note 34 in chapter 4.

<sup>24</sup>Kendrick, Promise, pp. 73ff.

<sup>25</sup>Vaters, Reminiscence, pp. 133f.

<sup>26</sup>See chapter 2.

<sup>27</sup>Frank Bartleman's reference is to Deuteronomy 17:14: "When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me...".

<sup>28</sup>This sentence is omitted from a later abridgement of Frank Bartleman's book. See Frank Bartleman, What Really Happened at 'Azusa Street'?, ed. John Walker (Northridge, California: Voice Christian Publications, 1962), p. 15.

<sup>29</sup>Bartleman, Pentecost, pp. 33f.

<sup>30</sup>See chapter 1.

<sup>31</sup>Thomas W. Miller, "The Canadian 'Azusa': The Hebden Mission in Toronto," Pneuma, vol. VIII, no. 1 (Spring 1986), pp. 5, 26; and idem, "Portraits of Pentecostal Pioneers: Ellen K. Hebden," The Pentecostal Testimony, January 1987, p. 28. On the Hebden's see also Kulbeck, Wrought, pp. 33ff., 107f.; and Peter D. Hocken, "James and Ellen Hebden," DPCM, p. 374.

<sup>32</sup>Ellen K. Hebden, cited in Miller, "Canadian 'Azusa'," p. 21.

<sup>33</sup>Eugene Vaters, "Doctrinal," The Independent Communion, August-September 1924, p. 3. See chapter 4.

<sup>34</sup>Eugene Vaters, "Notes," ibid., January-February 1925, p. 4. See also Vaters' aversion to the title Reverend. See note 81 in chapter 4.

<sup>35</sup>Vaters, "Doctrinal," p. 3.

<sup>36</sup>Carl Brumback, Like a River: The Early Years of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel, 1977 [1961]), p. 1.

<sup>37</sup>Howard A. Goss, cited in Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 95.

<sup>38</sup>Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 96. See also Kendrick, Promise, pp. 73-6; and Blumhofer, Assemblies, vol. I, pp. 199f.

<sup>39</sup>See chapter 1.

<sup>40</sup>Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 87.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>42</sup>The biblical reference is John 17:15-16: "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil. They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world".

<sup>43</sup>Eugene P. Kennedy, "Companies Corporation Act," ENL, vol. I, p. 490. "At any time hereafter any Society or Association, formed for Religious, Charitable, Educational, or other lawful purposes, being desirous to promote the objects for which it is or may be established, may, through the Office Bearers, Trustees or Members, make, sign and acknowledge, before a Notary Public, and file in the Office of the Colonial Secretary, a Certificate in writing, in which shall be stated the proposed Corporate name of the said Society or Association, and the objects for which the same is or shall be formed, the name of its Office Bearers, Trustees or Members, and the Rules, Regulations, Orders and By-laws, thereof" (36 Vic., c. 8, section 39, pp. 17f.).

<sup>44</sup>The framers of the application for government recognition mistakenly inserted the name of the St. John's Bethesda Mission in the denomination's name. In 1930 the corporate name was shortened to Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, a name that has remained in use. See Alice B. Garrigus to the Minister of Justice, May 30, 1930; Deputy Colonial Secretary to Eugene Vaters, October 24, 1930; and Charles E. Hunt to Eugene Vaters, November 14, 1930. PAON Head Office, St. John's.

<sup>45</sup>"Where any association is about to be formed as a limited company, if it proves to the governor in Council that it is formed for the purpose of promoting commerce, art, science, religion, charity, or any other useful object, and that it is the intention of such association to apply the profits, if any, or other income of the association, in promoting its objects, and to prohibit the payment of any dividend to the members of the association, the governor in Council may, by license under the hand of the Colonial Secretary, direct such association to be registered with limited liability, without the addition of the word limited

to its name, and such association may be registered accordingly, and upon registration shall enjoy all the privileges and be subject to the obligation by this Chapter imposed on limited companies, with the exceptions that none of the provisions of this Chapter that require a limited company to use the word limited as any part of its name or to publish its name; or to send a list of its members, directors or managers to the registrar, shall apply to an association so registered.

"The license by the governor in Council may be granted upon such conditions and subject to such regulations as the Governor in Council thinks fit to impose, and such conditions and regulations shall be binding on the association, and may, at the option of the Governor in Council, be inserted in the memorandum and articles of association or in both or one of such documents" ("The Companies Act," The Consolidated Statutes of Newfoundland. Third Series [St. John's, Newfoundland: Robinson, 1919], Section 240, pp. 1345f.).

<sup>46</sup>See below.

<sup>47</sup>License registering the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland with the government of Newfoundland.

<sup>48</sup>Memorandum of Association of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland. Section IV.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., V. 1.

<sup>50</sup>Indenture Statement, May 1935.

<sup>51</sup>Sheaf, February 1927, p. 24. See also chapter 2.

<sup>52</sup>See Eddy, "Bethesda," Part II, pp. 10f.

<sup>53</sup>Sheaf, February 1927, p. 25. Elizabeth Evans wrote: "Alice [Garrigus] was one of the missionaries supported by the Harvester organization" (Vision, p. 8).

<sup>54</sup>See chapter 4. The change from "mission" or "station" to "assembly" or "church" itself marked a formalizing of the movement.

<sup>55</sup>This is drawn from Indenture statement.

<sup>56</sup>Memorandum, V. 2-8.

<sup>57</sup>On James Stanley see Eddy, "Bethesda," GT, July-August 1975, Part IV, p. 15.

<sup>58</sup>On Jacob Noseworthy see Jennie E. Greene to the author, January 9, 1983.

<sup>59</sup>Memorandum.

<sup>60</sup>What follows is drawn from the 22 Articles of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland.

<sup>61</sup>See chapters 1 and 4.

<sup>62</sup>See chapter 3.

<sup>63</sup>See above.

<sup>64</sup>See chapter 4.

<sup>65</sup>Wilson, Secular Society, pp. 207f.

<sup>66</sup>Minutes of meeting held October 15, 1926. Minute 1. The information in this paragraph is drawn from these minutes.

<sup>67</sup>R. C. English, J. Marshall, Mr. and Mrs. Mugridge, J. G. Barnes, N. J. Le Shana, A. B. Garrigus, W. J. Bartlett, A. Dawe, F. Morgan, J. and Mrs. Stanley, and N. Lidstone.

<sup>68</sup>See chapter 4.

<sup>69</sup>Minutes of meeting held October 20, 1926. Minute 2.

<sup>70</sup>Alice B. Garrigus to the Field Secretary, Mount Holyoke College, January 14, 1924.

<sup>71</sup>Minutes of meeting held October 20, 1926. Preamble.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid. Minutes 4 and 5.

<sup>73</sup>See note 70.

<sup>74</sup>Minutes of meeting held March 26 and 28, 1927. Preamble.

<sup>75</sup>Minutes of meeting held October 20, 1926. Minutes 1, 2, 3 and 6.

<sup>76</sup>Minutes of meeting held October 17-24, 1927. Minute 12. See also Minutes of Annual Conference held June 4-9, 1928. Minute 45.

<sup>77</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held June 4-9, 1928. Minute 27.

<sup>78</sup>Minutes of meeting held March 26 and 28, 1927. Preamble.

<sup>79</sup>See chapter 4.

8. <sup>80</sup>Minutes of meeting held March 26 and 28, 1927. Minute

<sup>81</sup>Ibid. Minute 1.

<sup>82</sup>Pope, Millhands, pp. 122ff.; 139f.

<sup>83</sup>Cited in Hollenweger, Pentecostals, p. 472.

<sup>84</sup>Nichol, Pentecostalism, pp. 230ff.

<sup>85</sup>Minutes of meeting held October 17-24. Minute 14.

<sup>86</sup>Minutes of executive meeting held February 15, 1928. Minutes 17 and 19.

<sup>87</sup>See Janes, TLWS, p. 212.

<sup>88</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held June 4-9, 1928. Minute 39.

<sup>89</sup>Minutes of executive meeting held June 4-9, 1928. Minute 18.

<sup>90</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held May 17-23, 1929. Minute 12.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid. Minute 14.

<sup>92</sup>Alice B. Garrigus to Wilson and Mrs. Etsell, January 7, 1946.

<sup>93</sup>Minutes of meeting held October 15, 1926. Minute 6.

<sup>94</sup>See chapter 4.

<sup>95</sup>See chapter 6. By 1926 the terms President and Overseer were being used interchangeably.

<sup>96</sup>See minutes of meeting held October 15, 1926.

<sup>97</sup>See minutes of meeting held March 26 and 28, 1927. Minute 5.

<sup>98</sup>Minutes of meeting held October 17-24, 1927. Minutes 5 and 7. Robert C. English received 24 out of 28 votes, and Eugene Vaters, 23 out of 26.

<sup>99</sup>Robert C. English to Eugene Vaters, November 30, 1927. PAON Head Office, St. John's. Notes 100, 101, 104, 108-114, 129, 134, 135 and 140 may be found in the same repository.

- <sup>100</sup>Robert C. English to Eugene Vaters, December 6, 1927.
- <sup>101</sup>Robert C. English to Eugene Vaters, December 16, 1927.
- <sup>102</sup>Minutes of special session of the Eastern Section held December 21, 1927. Minutes 7 and 8.
- <sup>103</sup>Minutes of special meeting of the Western Section held January 10, 1928. Minute 6.
- <sup>104</sup>Robert C. English to Eugene Vaters, January 2, 1928.
- <sup>105</sup>Minutes of general meeting held January 2, 1928; and minutes of Bethesda meeting held January 4, 1928.
- <sup>106</sup>Minutes of meeting held January 4, 1928. The vote was 26 out of 49.
- <sup>107</sup>Robert C. English to Fred Morgan, January 30, 1928.
- <sup>108</sup>Robert C. English to George A. Chambers, May 21, 1928.
- <sup>109</sup>George A. Chambers to Robert C. English, May 26, 1928.
- <sup>110</sup>Executive to Robert C. English, June 4, 1928.
- <sup>111</sup>Robert C. English to Newman J. Le Shana, June 5, 1928.
- <sup>112</sup>Conference to Robert C. English, June 8, 1928.
- <sup>113</sup>Eugene Vaters and Newman J. Le Shana to Robert C. English, June 12, 1928.
- <sup>114</sup>Robert C. English to Eugene Vaters, September 1, 1941.
- <sup>115</sup>See chapter 4.
- <sup>116</sup>Eugene Vaters, unpublished second volume of autobiography.
- <sup>117</sup>Alice B. Garrigus, cited in ibid.
- <sup>118</sup>Alice B. Garrigus, cited in loc. cit.
- <sup>119</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held June 4-9, 1928. Minute 22.
- <sup>120</sup>See Anonymous, "General Conference Elects New General Superintendent," GT, April 1963, p. 27.
- <sup>121</sup>Eugene and Jennie Vaters, Trust, March-April 1931.

<sup>122</sup>As found in John 13:8-10: "Peter saith unto him (i.e., Jesus), Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answered him, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me. Simon Peter saith unto him, Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head. Jesus saith to him, He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit: and ye are clean, but not all".

<sup>123</sup>Minutes of meeting held October 17-24, 1927. Minutes 20-22 and 27. "Pictures" refers to lantern slides or movies.

<sup>124</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held May 17-23, 1929. Minute 51.

<sup>125</sup>See Kulbeck, Wrought.

<sup>126</sup>See Atter, Force, pp. 103f.; Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 162; and Kulbeck, Wrought, p. 9, footnote 4.

<sup>127</sup>Eugene Vaters [?], "Notes: Council Jottings," The Pentecostal Herald, vol. I, no. 1 (June 1928), p. 5.

<sup>128</sup>Minutes of special meeting of the Western Section. Minute 9.

<sup>129</sup>Robert E. McAlister to Eugene Vaters, January 24, 1928.

<sup>130</sup>Minutes of executive meeting held June 4-9, 1928. Preamble.

<sup>131</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held June 4-9, 1928. Minutes 1, 4 and 13.

<sup>132</sup>George A. Chambers was obviously unaware that Pentecostals in Newfoundland often rented the Fisherman's Union and Orange Halls (see chapter 4).

<sup>133</sup>George A. Chambers, "Chairman's Report," The Pentecostal Testimony, August 1928, pp. 17f. The last sentence is an obvious reference to Charles L. March and Herbert Eddy and their Humbermouth Pentecostal Mission (see chapter 4). On the idea of "the poor assemblies" paying for the buildings see minutes of Annual Conference held June 4-9, 1928. Minute 33.

<sup>134</sup>George A. Chambers to R. A. Babcock, May 24, 1929.

<sup>135</sup>George A. Chambers to Robert C. English, May 26, 1928.

<sup>136</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held June 4-9, 1928. Minute 15.



<sup>137</sup> Ibid. Minute 16. A separate magazine, Good Tidings, was started in 1935. On GT see Burton K. Janes, "Good Tidings 1935-1985," GT, July-August 1985, pp. 4-11.

<sup>138</sup> Minutes of Annual Conference held June 4-9, 1928. Minute 16. See Appendix IV.

<sup>139</sup> The Pentecostal Testimony, January 1930, p. 20. Assemblies were located in St. John's, Bishop's Falls, Botwood, New Chelsea, Springdale, Twillingate, Carmanville, Brookside, North Harbour, Victoria, Humbermouth, Clarke's Beach, Deer Lake, Flat Island, Grand Falls Station, Port de Grave, Western Bay and Corner Brook.

<sup>140</sup> A. E. Adams to Alice B. Garrigus, September 12, 1930.

<sup>141</sup> Kulbeck, Wrought, p. 9.

<sup>142</sup> Atter, Force, p. 104; and Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 162.

<sup>143</sup> Atter, Force, p. 104.

<sup>144</sup> See 1932 Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada General Conference Minutes (p. 79). I am indebted to Douglas Rudd, Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Archives Director, for this information. PAOC National Archives, Mississauga, Ontario.

## CHAPTER VII

John W. Hammond prefaced his discussion of Newfoundland Pentecostalism in the 1930s with one of the few statements tying together the Great Depression and the denomination.

The physical hunger that engulfed the world caused people everywhere to see the uncertainty of material wealth. They saw that this spiritual vacuum could be filled only by Jesus.

The thirties was a period in which the denomination made significant gains, and established the pattern of its subsequent growth. As the church entered the third decade, leadership was struggling to concentrate on what was perceived as its mandate--expansion from a centralized headquarters. Consolidation of effort was needed desperately to correct the imbalance created by inner dissension. Two daring ventures--involvement in education and missionary work--stand out as potential solidifying features to bind together opposing forces and provide a focal point of emphasis. Each endeavour, however, was still overshadowed by further dissension that took its toll against presenting a unified front. By the end of the "hard days of depression which have hit Newfoundland so severely,"<sup>2</sup> Pentecostalism was nevertheless guaranteed a key

## CHAPTER VII

NEWFOUNDLAND PENTECOSTALISM  
IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION

role in Newfoundland's religious landscape.

The Great Depression (1929-39), signalled by the stock market crash of October 24, 1929, was a period of worldwide economic catastrophe. Canada was hit unusually severely.<sup>3</sup> Dependence on the export of a few staples made its economy vulnerable to fluctuations in world trade. Newfoundland, too, was hit a harsh blow.

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.'

The government was faced with decreasing revenue but increasing welfare demands. The island's borrowing sources dried up, and the government was confronted with the spectre of imminent bankruptcy.<sup>5</sup>

The government turned despairingly to Britain for assistance. A royal commission recommended the suspension of dominion status until the island was again self-supporting. In 1934 responsible government was replaced by a commission government appointed by Britain. In return, Newfoundland received funds from Britain's taxpayers and began to slowly recover from the worst stages of financial collapse.<sup>6</sup> However, in spite of an improvement in world conditions by 1935, the social and economic conditions of Newfoundland's population were largely unaffected; abject poverty still predominated in many Newfoundland communities. St. John's was

one of the slowest areas to recover, and the effects of the Depression were felt in outport Newfoundland up to and beyond 1939.<sup>7</sup>

Besides being a period of severe economic uncertainty, the Depression was marked by problems of faith and personal morality. Religious institutions felt immediately the full impact of the financial collapse. Collections dropped sharply; many churches faced the bleak prospect of foreclosure. Fundamentalists,<sup>8</sup> including Pentecostals, preached that the economic crisis was a sure sign of the imminent return of Christ. Religious leaders supposed in vain that the Depression would cause people to re-evaluate their spiritual needs and find solace in religion.<sup>9</sup> Between 1930 and 1940 American churches gained in membership at only one-half the percentage rate of the previous ten-year period. A decline in regular church attendance testified to the fact. "Only among the extremely evangelistic Protestant groups," noted Clifton E. Olmstead,

were there evidences of phenomenal gains during this period. The secret of their attractiveness was unquestionably in offering the financially distressed a better life in that glorious world which would be established with the return of Christ.

The Great Depression produced no classic revival, but Pentecostal and Holiness groups continued to preach a strongly revivalistic message.<sup>11</sup> American Pentecostalism experienced a sudden resurgence.<sup>12</sup>

The same was true in Canada. "It was not surprising,"

Rodney M. Booth wrote,

that sectarian revivalism should reappear at such a time. When people feel powerless, whether because of economic uncertainty, government oppression, impossible global problems, or insuperable personal ones, that is the time when revival occurs. The deeper the despair, the more charismatic, apocalyptic and biblically authoritarian the revival.<sup>13</sup>

Newer denominations, including Pentecostalism, continued to attract members. In Alberta fundamentalist faith and conservative politics combined to form a new political party, Social Credit. In 1935 a local fundamentalist preacher, William Aberhart, was swept into power as premier of Alberta.<sup>14</sup> During the Depression the Salvation Army in Canada lay practically dormant, surviving but unable to do much more.<sup>15</sup> Heavily dependent on public financial support, the Army was subject to the declines during the Depression. During the 1930s the Army's publications maintained a philosophical stance that "God's in His Heaven, all's right with the World".<sup>16</sup>

Pentecostalism's place in Newfoundland society is tied in closely with its involvement in education. During the early years of settlement the sole agencies providing any form of education were the churches, which worked through individual "societies".<sup>17</sup> The work of these societies indicated an increasing sense of responsibility in education, and helped awaken a demand for school facilities across Newfoundland. State aid to education began in 1836; government accepted the premise that education was partly its responsibility. The

situation changed dramatically in 1874, when a strictly denominational system was adopted. All recognized denominations were granted funds proportionately to their population for the establishment and maintenance of schools.<sup>18</sup> "Henceforth," summarized Frederick Jones,

education was an affair of individual churches with the help of the state. One religious issue was taken out of politics as education was admitted to belong to the churches. Politicians bowed to the churches in order to be able to ignore them on strictly political issues....The educational system created was unique in British North America for nowhere else did Protestant religious bodies have denominational state-subsidized schools.<sup>19</sup>

The situation at the beginning of the twentieth century was not without its critics.

As the new century opened, the quality and quantity of Newfoundland education was insufficient to meet the challenges of the new era, particularly those posed by the development of natural resources outside the fishery, symbolised by the opening of the new coast-to-coast railway. The educational system was of a typical colonial type--a small secondary sector in the capital catering to an elite, and under-funded and under-staffed primary schools for the remainder, tailing away to intermittent schooling (or no schooling at all) in the smaller and more isolated outports. Furthermore, educational provision was divided among three major denominations each running, in effect, its own educational system.<sup>20</sup>

F. David Rideout maintains that the "link between [the Pentecostal] church and school developed largely out of necessity more so than choice...".<sup>21</sup> Many people regarded the Pentecostal movement as nothing more than unbridled fanaticism. The education issue was considered an effective means of retarding the movement's growth. Existing churches did not

feel obliged to provide schooling for those of other denominations. Admittedly, education was not denied Pentecostal children on religious grounds, but from the standpoint of insufficient room. Nor did the denominations feel responsible to add on to the existing facilities to accommodate Pentecostals.<sup>22</sup> A clear-cut example is provided in Wild Bight (now Beachside), Green Bay. The Superintendent of United Church Schools in Newfoundland, Dr. Levi Curtis, dispatched a warning to a resident on March 13, 1929:

Evidently the people of Wild Bight have proven disloyal to the [United] Church, and have been running after something else. Now, let me say that we think no effort too great to make for people who are loyal to us, but when people prove disloyal they do not deserve much consideration....they must take that something else and make the best of it....If they have no more respect for their children than to have them grow up in ignorance for the sake of some fanatical movement, they do not deserve our consideration...<sup>23</sup>

Curtis promised that if the residents pledged to stand by the denomination, he would provide them with a teacher for the remainder of the school year. A second example is provided by the community of Point of Bay which in 1928 turned almost en masse to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland. The United Church, which had been operating the school, naturally ceased. The Pentecostals then tried to claim the building, but lost the case in a subsequent court battle.<sup>24</sup> Parents, forced to seek alternate schooling, used a former fish loft as a school in 1933. These examples point to the friction between these denominations on the volatile issue of educa-



tion. George A. Chambers, General Superintendent of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, spoke of Newfoundland's "religious caste system". This perhaps overstates the case. He elaborated:

The denominational churches [in Newfoundland] controlled the schools so to adopt anything outside the supported orthodox systems meant to be banished from all society, and children kept from school or pay an exorbitant amount, and then the children to suffer ostracism and the ridicule of other scholars.<sup>25</sup>

In 1930 the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland conference had set up a five-member Pentecostal Board of Education, of which General Superintendent Eugene Vaters was chairman.<sup>26</sup> In 1932 Pearle Clarke was sent to Point of Bay as the first Pentecostal teacher in Newfoundland. Marion McAllister wrote that the teacher

...travelled to the opposite side of the island [of Newfoundland] from her home to work with people she had never met. Few missionaries are required to make greater dedication than this young woman demonstrated. Board was provided--but no salary. A fisherman or logger might share a gift of money with pastor and teacher. Pupil fees were paid in fuel. Mrs. Clarke planned her own course of study for 35 pupils and eight grades. She worked hard with individuals--there seeming to be a prevalence of speech problems. Mrs. Clarke also taught piano and singing to her pupils during recess and lunch hours. She was the youth leader in the church and visited the sick--particularly of her school families. No discipline problems were experienced--and Mrs. Clarke attributes this to home training. Strangely enough the only religious instruction in the school was the reading of Scripture and repeating of the Lord's Prayer.<sup>27</sup>

Eugene Vaters petitioned the United Church for recognition for the primitive school that had been established at

Point of Bay. He requested "the money that belongs to us from the Government for the school...".<sup>28</sup> On May 5, 1930 Levi Curtis had written to Vaters that "our rule is to continue to provide for young people...even though they change their religious affiliations during the ten years [between censuses]".<sup>29</sup> The Wild Bight and Point of Bay examples show the reality of relations between the two denominations over education.<sup>30</sup> Curtis then assured Vaters that financial assistance would be forthcoming.<sup>31</sup>

Circumstances such as these led the General Superintendent to protest unfair treatment and embark on a 20-year struggle for governmental recognition in education. "It seems to me," he wrote to Vincent P. Burke, Secretary of Education, on August 25, 1933,

the Pentecostal people of this country have a right to some attention on the part of those governing them... .We as Pentecostal people, who now number some thousands, demand fair treatment and equal rights from our government... .The time has come for some practical co-operation.<sup>32</sup>

Marion McAlister coined the phrase, "the struggle of a minority group in a democratic society," to characterize the Pentecostal lobby for educational recognition. She explained:

...it is not difficult to understand why an educational problem arose for the Pentecostals who burst into a denominational school system established by geography and history, and steeped in tradition. With no representation in Government, and the representatives of other groups so antagonized, it is not difficult to see why the church and politics were entwined in the long denial of educational rights to the Pentecostals. It would be difficult for democracy to operate with emotions so strained.<sup>33</sup>

Eugene Vaters continued his impassioned plea following the introduction of Commission of Government in 1934. The matter was simple from his standpoint, and he laid out his rationale on April 11, 1935 in a letter to Frederick C. Alderice (1872-1936), Commissioner for Home Affairs and Education:

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,<sup>34</sup> and that church influence was lifted out entirely.

Government refused a 1936 request for an officially recognized Pentecostal board of education and a further proportional division of the Education Grant. Only the three major denominations--the Anglican, Catholic and United Churches--would benefit from the grant. Pentecostals were advised "to avail of the existing facilities" provided by the schools, boards or Department of Education.<sup>35</sup>

In the September 1936 issue of Good Tidings, the denomination's publishing arm which had been begun the year before, Eugene Vaters editorialized on "Our Public School Policy". With a comment that sounds strikingly similar to his aversion to denominationalism in 1924 he assured his readers that

...we have at no time felt nor desired our separate school system. We have seen the ill's of this antiquated system all too plainly and have been too often the victims of such ill's.

He then categorized the educational question as a religious, not a civil, one. "We are conscious, also," he declared solemnly, "that the child of God must suffer;...we have proven

it...".<sup>36</sup>

In the late 1930s, when there were Pentecostal schools also at Samson's Island, Salt Pond (now Embree), Black Island, Horse Island and Windsor, an attempt was made to accommodate Pentecostals in community schools. They were under the control of the Department of Education, and were located in areas where none of the recognized denominations operated schools. A contributing factor was the 1935 census, which reported a Pentecostal constituency of 3,721.<sup>37</sup> Funding and, whenever possible, Pentecostal teachers were provided in such communities. Largely through the indefatigable efforts of Secretary of Education Israel J. Samson (1864-1943), whom Eugene Vaters referred to as "a father to us in educational affairs,"<sup>38</sup> Pentecostals were accorded fairer treatment in educational matters.

The arrangement, although appreciated by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, remained unsatisfactory. A minute from the 1938 conference expresses frustration at the situation:

Resolved that in dealing with the dayschool problem, for the time being we seek to arrange in each place as best we are able under the present circumstances along the lines we have been moving on so far.<sup>39</sup>

Pentecostals still had only an indirect voice in the management of community schools, which remained community buildings and could be used for events that Pentecostals considered taboo (e.g., dances, "times," bingo, card games). As early as

June 1932 the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland had objected in conference to school textbooks, some of which were "not fit to read".<sup>40</sup> The Commissioner for Home Affairs and Education, Harry A. Winter (1889-1969), insisted in 1941 that Pentecostals could have no direct control over the community schools. He wrote: "all other matters pertaining to the control and management of Community Schools must remain with the Department". Furthermore, Winter argued, Pentecostals refused to contribute towards the maintenance of these schools.<sup>41</sup> It was an absurd situation from Eugene Vaters' angle and, in the same year, he again petitioned for "something practical".<sup>42</sup> At the same time he encouraged his people to

...co-operate to the fullest extent necessary in meeting the running expenses of schools where our children attend when these expenses are beyond the local income from the Government... .<sup>43</sup>

Vaters' appeal for a satisfactory alternative was not realized until August 11, 1954, when the provincial Government agreed to recognize the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland for educational purposes. The lobby for Pentecostal educational rights gave the Newfoundland denomination a greater visibility in society. Educational involvement by the church, in the words of Gordon F. Atter, "tended to solidify the entire work".<sup>44</sup> During the Great Depression the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland took further steps to expand its sphere of influence, not only on the island of Newfoundland in relation to education, but also in foreign missionary work.

Since the District-Council status with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada,<sup>45</sup> Newfoundland Pentecostalism had supported the missionary programme of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. The Newfoundland leadership hoped that the new emphasis would "mean encouragement to us all"<sup>46</sup> by turning people's minds away from dissension within the denomination to a broader perspective. In 1928 Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada missionary Kenneth S. Stevenson (1900-80) was sent "to needy souls in dark Africa".<sup>47</sup> His support came from the Newfoundland Pentecostal denomination.

One year later a Newfoundland pastor, Newman J. Le Shana, told conference about "his call to India".<sup>48</sup> Conference members pledged to support him as their foreign missionary. He arrived in India in Autumn 1929, praying that he would not "lose [his] love for this poor, benighted, suffering people".<sup>49</sup> Following language study, he and his new wife took up the English missionary work in Lucknow. To meet the financial demands in supporting a couple in a foreign land, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland began to infuse its churches with a proselytizing spirit: "all workers should...endeavour to create a missionary emphasis in their assemblies...".<sup>50</sup>

In 1933 the Methodist Mission of Lucknow offered La Shana the pastorate pro tem of the English Methodist Church. Without conferring with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, which was completely supporting him, he accepted

what he thought was a generous offer, taking with him his own small Pentecostal assembly. He hoped to bring "Pentecost and its precious teaching into this large church".<sup>51</sup> General Superintendent Eugene Vaters, who seemed totally unaware of Le Shana's new arrangement, reported as late as January 1936 that "our hearts have been made glad"<sup>52</sup> by the Le Shana's work. At the same time, however, he was setting his own sight on a mission field not far from home--Labrador.

Pentecostals believe in acting on what are understood as divine impulses,<sup>53</sup> Alice B. Garrigus explained in relation to the initiation of Labrador missionary work:

This seems to be a missionary church and rich in the spirit of prophecy. At different times the Spirit brought forth messages, the burden of which was Labrador.

One message was, "Who will take the true light to Labrador? Go, go, go quickly".

A sister coming through to her baptism [of the Holy Spirit] began to be much burdened and cried out, "Who will go quickly and tell the Eskimos Jesus died for them?" Another message was that the Eskimos would rise up against them in the day of judgment, if they did not bring them the light.<sup>54</sup>

Such a strong conviction resulted in their plunging into the area under discussion. Soon after, Eli Burton and Thomas P. Mitchell made a round trip by coastal boat to Labrador "to spy out the land".<sup>55</sup>

William Gillett, the Humbermouth convert, feeling strongly inclined towards Labrador missionary work, decided that the most effective method of introducing Pentecostalism there was by boat. In 1930-31 the Gospel Messenger was constructed. It sailed its maiden voyage in the summer of

1932 and went as far north as Rigolet, Labrador. Finding no "professing" Christians, the crew nevertheless "made quite a number of contacts for the Lord".<sup>56</sup> Gillett held a service at Cartwright Point; this was the beginning of an assembly that was later transferred to Cartwright. Each summer from 1933 to 1936 and in 1939, Gillett and D. Claude Young (b. 1910) sailed to Labrador. In 1934 an assembly was begun at Ailik. Eight years passed before Gillett witnessed a single conversion. In 1936 he took his family and, with Aleck C. Palmer (1913-38), relocated to Labrador. An assembly was established at Port Hope Simpson. A number of people at Hopedale also, he said, "have come out for the Lord, and are really interested".<sup>57</sup>

While a Labrador Pentecostal work was evolving, reports of the true nature of Newman J. Le Shana's efforts in India--hobnobbing with the Methodists--began seeping back to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and, declared Eugene Vaters, "it took time to think them through".<sup>58</sup> The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada began seeing things Vaters' way, and it withdrew its support of the Le Shanas. The 1936 Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland conference recorded: "we appreciate the work done by Bros. Gillett and Young on the Labrador and officially recognize same as part of our foreign missionary work".<sup>59</sup> A year later the Newfoundland Pentecostal body discontinued Le Shana's support and concentrated "on Labrador as our interest in Foreign Missionary Work".<sup>60</sup>



Following the Le Shana embarrassment, Eugene Vaters saw Labrador as being a saner area of investment, and he emphasized the idea of Labrador as a mission field right on the island's doorstep. He informed his Good Tidings readers of his rationale for a change of missionary emphasis:

...God has put Labrador on our hearts. We never felt the call to labour in India... We merely pledged support of our Brother [Le Shana] on the field, at the suggestion of Bro. [G. A.] Chambers....This was discontinued through lack of finances during the height of the depression.

But God has called to Labrador. If we know anything of the Spirit of God, we know He has called...long and loudly, using the lips of others in our Assemblies...in a manner He has not spoken on any other thing, except the near return of the LORD JESUS. As one said..., "It's a wonder the dear Lord did not leave us altogether to ourselves. He called Labrador, and we have been sending anywhere else but to the place He called".

We do not grudge what has been done for other fields... Nor would we desire to lose interest in the world-field. We desire to keep a prayerful interest in all true missionaries and keep in touch with their activities... But we feel clear that for the time being our field is LABRADOR. There is no other agency there preaching the full Word as we have it. If Labrador is to hear it must be through us unless the Lord sends from over our heads. This is our privilege and responsibility. If we fail--what?...Let us discharge our duty and calling with all the energy of our beings and resources.

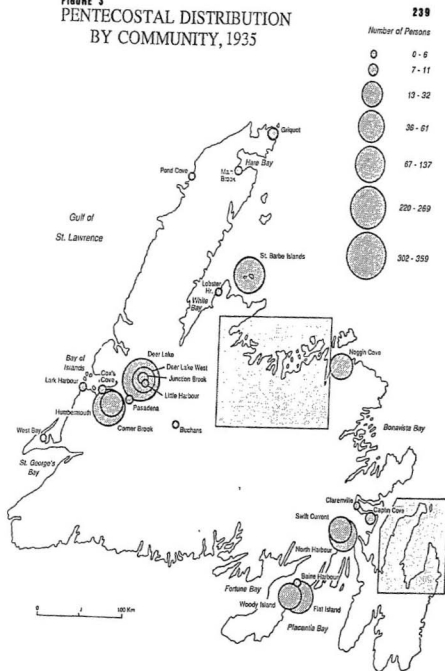
With Vaters' discovery of Labrador as a fertile field for missionary work, his estimation of the William Gilletts knew no bounds. He placed William "(i)n God's list of Who's Who"<sup>62</sup> and compared him with David Livingstone. "Not in the numbers he will contact or the prominence he will attract from the world-view," he was careful to point out, "but in the qualities which show the missionary--vision, endurance, steadfast-

ness and utter selflessness".<sup>63</sup>

From the standpoint of interpersonal relations, the decade of the 1930s was a discouraging one for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland: recovering from the Robert C. English fiasco, ongoing antagonism over educational matters, and furor over Newman J. Le Shan's actions. Especially in this period, however, the pattern of the denomination's growth was established. By 1935 it was possible to pinpoint the areas, primarily in western and central Newfoundland, where Pentecostals were thriving. Although the church expanded to other parts of the island and throughout Labrador after the Great Depression, it continued to experience the bulk of its growth in these areas.<sup>64</sup>

The 1935 census indicated a total of 3,721 Pentecostals in Newfoundland.<sup>65</sup> (Figure 3 along with Figure 4 show the distribution of Pentecostals according to the census divisions.)<sup>66</sup> The census contributed to a feeling among Pentecostals that God had raised up the denomination and that it had grown precisely because of His blessing. The numbers indicated a viable, strong church that had in a quarter century come to include 1.3 percent of the island's population. Late in 1936 a Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland pastor, E. Raymond Pelley (1907-76), asked Good Tidings' readers how many of the island's population "are members of the Church of Jesus Christ?" Conceding that only God really knew, he went on: "Doubtless, it is safe to say that the

**FIGURE 3**  
**PENTECOSTAL DISTRIBUTION**  
**BY COMMUNITY, 1935**





**FIGURE 4.** Pentecostal Population by Census Districts (1935 and 1945)\*

Census District		Population (1935)	Population (1945)	% Increase
1.	White Bay	114	526	361
2.	Green Bay	554	1,238	123
3.	Grand Falls	856	2,027	142
4.	Twillingate	344	881	156
5.	Fogo	14	203	1,350
6.	Bonavista North	-	11	-
7.	Bonavista South	-	-	-
8.	Trinity North	15	121	706
9.	Trinity South	223	269	20.6
10.	Carbonear-Bay de Verde	317	392	23.6
11.	Harbour Grace	20	15	-25
12.	Port-de-Grave	384	416	8.3
13.	Harbour Main-Belle Island	65	51	-21.5
14.	St. John's West	216	279	29.1
15.	St. John's East	53	75	41.5
16.	Ferryland	-	-	-
17.	Placentia-St. Mary's	-	1	-
18.	Placentia West	143	108	-24.4
19.	Burin	-	-	-
20.	Fortune Bay-Hermitage	-	-	-
21.	Burgeo-La Poile	-	-	-
22.	St. George's-Port au Port	4	28	600
23.	Humber	398	735	84.6
24.	St. Barbe	1	54	5,300
25.	Labrador	-	83	-

\*Calculated from the 1935 and 1945 Censuses of Newfoundland and Labrador.

greater part by far the 289,516 church members are not members of the Church of God in Christ Jesus". The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, he felt, "perhaps has the largest percentage of any organization actually Christian...".<sup>67</sup>

A couple of features are immediately evident from the census. First, although Pentecostalism had originated in St. John's and had remained there until 1922, there were in 1935 only 269 Pentecostals in the capital city. The denomination's greatest growth lay elsewhere. In central and western Newfoundland, a number of new towns, such as Corner Brook, Windsor, Grand Falls and Botwood, had recently emerged and were fertile grounds for the growth of local Pentecostal assemblies. Secondly, Pentecostalism was conspicuously absent from the southwest coast of Newfoundland. In the absence of definitive reasons, speculation suggests that the area was not easily accessible, nor was it as heavily populated as were other districts. Consequently, it would have been prohibitively costly to open assemblies there. The converse is that, for an evangelical, enthusiastic movement-turned-denomination, one would think that no cost was considered too large to introduce the full gospel to new areas. In 1935, halfway through the Great Depression, Pentecostalism was still relatively young, was embroiled in controversy at home and overseas, and lacked sufficient funds to embark on such a venture. As foreign missionary work was temporarily phased out<sup>68</sup> and as the denomination moved into Labrador, funds were

often unavailable even to assist William Gillett and others; at such times they subsisted on their own meagre resources, and sailed on wind and faith.<sup>69</sup>

It should be observed that by 1945 Newfoundland Pentecostalism had experienced a substantial membership increase (103 percent since 1935), while Newfoundland's population increased only 11 percent during the same period (see Figure 5).<sup>70</sup> (Figure 4 indicates areas where the denomination experienced both an increase and a decline in its constituency.) The pattern that had emerged ten years previously remained intact; the denomination continued to experience its greatest growth in the island's central and western districts. Two possible factors help account for the significant Pentecostal increase during this ten-year period. Natural increase obviously resulted from new births in Pentecostal families. A more significant factor was that Pentecostalism continued to gain converts. This is vividly indicated by the sizeable Pentecostal increase in districts such as Green Bay (123%), Grand Falls (142%) and Twillingate (156%). During this period Pentecostals experienced only negligible growth in areas such as Bonavista North, Trinity South and Labrador. There were still no Pentecostals in the districts of Ferryland, Bonavista South and Burin. By 1945 Pentecostalism represented 2.2 percent of Newfoundland's population.<sup>71</sup> However, the denomination was growing rapidly while some of the major religious denominations in the island saw only modest membership

increase (see Figure 5). There is probably nothing unusual about the information presented in this table, since it is common for new religions to experience dramatic growth in their formative years.

**FIGURE 5.** Newfoundland and Labrador Population by Religious Denominations (1935 and 1945)\*

Denomination	1935	1945	% Increase
Pentecostal	3,721	7,558	103.1
Roman Catholic	93,925	106,006	12.8
Church of England	92,709	100,878	8.8
United Church	76,134	80,094	5.2
Salvation Army	18,054	22,571	25

\*Calculated from the 1935 and 1945 Censuses of Newfoundland and Labrador.

From 1930 to 1937 Newfoundland Pentecostalism was established in another 19 communities, in addition to three in Labrador.<sup>72</sup> In Alice B. Garrigus' opinion, however, the figure of 3,721 Pentecostals in Newfoundland and Labrador in 1935 was "a very low estimate". She was pleased that assemblies had "sprung up practically all over the island". She then compiled her own list of growth factors. First, the contribution of missionary boats, two of which operated along the Labrador coast and the French shore, and the southern shore. Secondly, a missionary emphasis challenged people to evangelize. Thirdly, assemblies were "in charge of conse-



crated young men and women...". Lastly and, in her opinion, most importantly was the belief in the imminent return of Christ. This eschatological, apocalyptic understanding of the world system climaxing at the return of Christ provided its own evangelistic incentive, driving believers relentlessly to reach their world with the full gospel.<sup>73</sup>

While she was thrilled about the spread of her cherished denomination, she expressed concern at the same time about the direction she felt it was taking. "For a few years," she wrote in April 1937,

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 the matter with Bethesda? It is not at all as it used to be".<sup>74</sup>

Her comments stem from a further controversy surrounding the opening of a second Pentecostal assembly in St. John's. This development is an intriguing case study in that the two assemblies--Bethesda and the Pentecostal Tabernacle--represented two distinct approaches to Pentecostalism. Bethesda, the core Newfoundland assembly personified by Alice B. Garrigus, catered to the more reactionary, while the Tabernacle, to progressive, less legalistic individuals.

In the early 1930s septuagenarian Garrigus was physically incapable of continuing to lead the assembly she had founded a quarter century before. Bethesda called as its pastor

Harold J. Snelgrove (1898-1980), a Newfoundlander preaching in the States. Accepting the invitation, he assumed his new charge in November 1934. Under his leadership, Bethesda's members decided to erect a new church building. The plan was first discussed with Garrigus, who indicated that she would abide by the decision, provided it had the support of two-thirds of the assembly. Between 75 and 80 percent of the members favoured the plan, and a building was completed in 1936. The Pentecostal Tabernacle, located on Casey Street, was opened on January 14, 1937. Garrigus herself was the guest speaker. The New Gower Street Bethesda building was immediately vacated. Shortly after, however, Garrigus had a change of heart and started meetings in her apartment, appealing for the doors of old Bethesda to be re-opened. She suggested that 20 percent of the Tabernacle's congregation would follow her. Her idea received the immediate and harsh condemnation of the Tabernacle and, in the midst of acrimonious words, resulted in two separate Pentecostal assemblies in the capital city.<sup>75</sup> The issue at stake was more than individuals wishing for sentimental reasons to re-open old Bethesda. The reasoning went much deeper and revolved around a matter as basic as an alternate approach to Pentecostalism.

George Hudson, a member of Bethesda since the 1930s, saw Snelgrove as a "jolly" person, but his incessant humour was not well-received by the more sedate and solemn members, primarily from Clarke's Beach and Bay Roberts. Hudson

maintains that the 20 percent of the Tabernacle's congregation that returned to Bethesda was comprised of Snelgrove's "conservative" critics, under the leadership of "ringleader" Isaac Bowering.<sup>76</sup> If Bethesda were to close, Bowering communicated to the Adjustment Committee of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland in mid-1937, "it will finish Pentecost in St. John's...and I for one want Pentecost in reality".<sup>77</sup>

The perceived tension between the old and the new, the reactionary and the progressive was not confined to this single controversy, but is seen in the desire for Pentecostal education, and the friction between Eugene Vaters and Newman J. Le Shana. It was an attempt to keep the church pure and unspotted from the world, and to ensure that the full gospel was not being diluted by any who were being unduly influenced by the world system which was considered antithetical to Christian living.<sup>78</sup> For example, in 1936 Le Shana advertised a slide presentation to be held at Gower Street Methodist Church. To make matters worse, Le Shana's wife appeared on stage in native Indian costume. Eugene Vaters dashed off an emotional letter in which he denounced Le Shana's acting "contrary to our principles and general usages".<sup>79</sup> Again, "Pentecost in Newfoundland is not going that way, though we may be called 'narrow' and 'small' for refusing".<sup>80</sup> Vaters expressed the same view in a Good Tidings editorial:

Our danger is to forget...as time pass[es] by and we grow and increase, and thus become like all

others about us... We must remain as we began,<sup>81</sup> a spiritual people, dealing with spiritual things."

It is the same attitude that caused Alice Garrigus to write to a friend on January 21, 1941, "Bethesda is much changed, few of the old members left. Some are rejoicing in His presence".<sup>82</sup> The need to avoid any hint of worldliness carried over into a strict dress code, especially for women preachers. Specific dress guidelines were perceived as "ways and means of getting back to the old time power of Pentecost and seeing God arise as in the early days...".<sup>83</sup> As promising as the future was for Pentecostalism, it was, in Garrigus' opinion, only as individuals turned back to Pentecost that there would be "floods upon the dry ground".<sup>84</sup>

During the Great Depression the Newfoundland Pentecostal denomination made significant gains, establishing the pattern of its subsequent growth. As an antidote to inner dissension, which seemed to dog the church at every turn, two daring initiatives--education and missionary activity--served as potential solidifying features. By 1935 it was possible to plot the areas, primarily in western and central Newfoundland, of Pentecostal concentration. The foothold gained during the Depression still holds in Newfoundland today.

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<sup>18</sup>Rowe, Development, pp. 202-6.

<sup>19</sup>Jones, "Religion," p. 73.

<sup>20</sup>McCann, "Twentieth Century," p. 60.

<sup>21</sup>Frederick David Rideout, "Attitudes of Pentecostal Teachers in Newfoundland Toward Appropriate Strategies for Resolving Impasses in Collective Bargaining" (M.E. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1986), p. 54.

<sup>22</sup>Telephone interview by the author with F. David Rideout, April 5, 1991.

<sup>23</sup>Levi Curtis to Robert Young, March 13, 1929. Cited in Rideout, "Attitudes", p. 56.

<sup>24</sup>The Evening Telegram, January 14, 1932, p. 13.

<sup>25</sup>George A. Chambers, "Pentecostal Work in Canada Before 1919" (unpublished manuscript), p. 24.

<sup>26</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held September 18-26, 1930. Minutes 44-49. The other members of the Board were Charles L. March, William Gillett, Josiah Marshall and Fred L. Chorley.

<sup>27</sup>Marion McAlister, "The Pentecostal Schools in Newfoundland: The Struggle of a Minority Group in a Democratic Society" (unpublished B.Ed. essay, University of Toronto, 1967 [?]), p. 15.

<sup>28</sup>Eugene Vaters, unpublished second volume of autobiography.

<sup>29</sup>Levi Curtis to Eugene Vaters, May 5, 1930. Cited in Frederick David Rideout, A History of Pentecostal Education in Newfoundland and Labrador (forthcoming).

<sup>30</sup>See above.

<sup>31</sup>See note 29.

<sup>32</sup>Eugene Vaters to Vincent P. Burke, August 25, 1933. Cited in Rideout, "Attitudes", p. 56.

<sup>33</sup>McAlister, "Struggle," pp. 23f.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Hammond, Sound, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup>Eugene Vaters, "In Explanation--Our Missionary Policy," GT, September 1936, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>See Michael Horn, The Great Depression of the 1930s in Canada (Ottawa, Ontario: Canadian Historical Association, 1984).

<sup>4</sup>J. M. S. Careless, Canada: A Story of Challenge (Toronto, Ontario: Macmillan, 1970 [1953]), p. 398.

<sup>5</sup>Rowe, History, p. 385.

<sup>6</sup>See Noel, Politics, chapter 15; Neary, Political Economy, pp. 21f.; and Careless, Canada, p. 398.

<sup>7</sup>Wayne C. Stockwood, "Depression and Destitution, Effects of (the Great Depression)," ENL, vol. I, p. 612.

<sup>8</sup>On Fundamentalism see chapter 2.

<sup>9</sup>See Moberg, Church, p. 165.

<sup>10</sup>Clifton E. Olmstead, Religion in America--Past and Present (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1961), pp. 145f.

<sup>11</sup>Thomas A. Askew, Peter W. Spellman, The Churches and the American Experience: Ideals and Institutions (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker, 1984), pp. 188f.

<sup>12</sup>Anderson, Vision, p. 137.

<sup>13</sup>Rodney M. Booth, The Winds of God (Winfield, British Columbia: Wood Lake, 1982), p. 70. See also James W. Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era (Burlington, Ontario: Welch, 1988 [1972]), p. 148.

<sup>14</sup>Booth, Winds, pp. 70f.; and Grant, Church, pp. 142f.

<sup>15</sup>Moyles, Blood, pp. 184-91.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 185.

<sup>17</sup>See Philip McCann, "The Politics of Denominational Education in the Nineteenth Century in Newfoundland" and "Denominational Education in the Twentieth Century in Newfoundland," William A. McKim (ed.), The Vexed Question: Denominational Education in a Secular Age (St. John's,

<sup>34</sup>Eugene Vaters to Frederick C. Alderice, April 11, 1935. Cited in Rideout, "Attitudes," p. 57.

<sup>35</sup>See ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Eugene Vaters, "Our Public School Policy," GT, September 1936, p. 7.

<sup>37</sup>See Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1935.

<sup>38</sup>Pentecostal Brief, cited in Rideout, "Attitudes", p. 58.

<sup>39</sup>Minutes of General Conference held July 11-16, 1938. Minute 64.

<sup>40</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held June 10-16, 1932. Minute 75.

<sup>41</sup>Harry A. Winter to Eugene Vaters, May 19, 1941. Cited in Rideout, "Attitudes," p. 59.

<sup>42</sup>Eugene Vaters to Educational Council, October 28, 1941. Cited in ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Eugene Vaters [?], "Notes: The Question of Co-operation," GT, March 1942, p. 8.

<sup>44</sup>Atter, Force, p. 104.

<sup>45</sup>See chapter 6.

<sup>46</sup>Vaters [?], "Council Jottings," The Pentecostal Herald, June 1928, p. 5.

<sup>47</sup>Kenneth S. Stevenson, "From Our Missionary," Herald, vol. I, no. 2 (December 1928), p. 4.

<sup>48</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held May 17-23, 1929. Minute 29.

<sup>49</sup>Newman J. Le Shana, "First Night in India," GT, December 1936, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held June 10-16, 1932. Minute 65.

<sup>51</sup>Anonymous, "India" (mimeographed lecture #6, Ontario Pentecostal Bible College. Studies in Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada: Missions), p. 4.

<sup>52</sup>Eugene Vaters [?], GT, January 1936, p. 5.

<sup>53</sup>Witness, for example, Alice Garrigus' "call" to Newfoundland in chapter 2.

<sup>54</sup>Alice B. Garrigus, "Gleanings from the Pentecostal Fields of Newfoundland," Elim Pentecostal Evangel, vol. I, no. 2 (September 1927), p. 2.

<sup>55</sup>Transcript of an interview by Roy D. King with William Gillett, in Special Labrador Sunday (no publisher given, n.d.), unpaginated.

<sup>56</sup>E. Raymond Pelley, Ways and Works of God, ed. George H. Dawe (St. John's, Newfoundland: Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland Printing, 1976), pp. 27f.

<sup>57</sup>"Letter from Bro. Gillett," GT, September 1936, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup>Eugene Vaters to A. G. Ward, June 26, 1936. PAON Head Office, St. John's.

<sup>59</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held June 12-22, 1936. Minute 101. Emphasis added.

<sup>60</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held June 24-July 2, 1937. Minute 43.

<sup>61</sup>Eugene Vaters, "Editorial Notes," GT, September 1937, p. 4. Emphasis in original.

<sup>62</sup>Eugene Vaters, "A Trip to Labrador," The Pentecostal Testimony, December 15, 1943, p. 7.

<sup>63</sup>Eugene Vaters, "Superintendent's Letter," GT, September 1941, p. 4.

<sup>64</sup>I am indebted here to the groundbreaking work done by Mervin Anthony, "Pentecostalism in Newfoundland", and "Pentecostalism: A Cultural Study" (unpublished Geography paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982).

<sup>65</sup>The first mention in GT of the 1935 census is: "The recent census shows there are 3,721 Pentecostal people in Newfoundland" (May 1936, p. 6).

<sup>66</sup>Consult Appendix v.

<sup>67</sup>E. Raymond Pelley, "Newfoundland's Spiritual Condition and Remedy," GT, December 1936, p. 7.

<sup>68</sup>Foreign missionary work was reactivated soon after, and has continued vigorously since.



<sup>69</sup>Eugene Vaters [?], "The Labrador Work," GT, December 1936, p. 3. See also D. Claude Young, "When the Gas Went Astray," GT, May-June 1982, Part I, pp. 7f.

<sup>70</sup>The 1945 Newfoundland census.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>The Newfoundland communities are Hant's Harbour, Black Island, Samson's Island, Salt Pond (now Embree), Birchy Bay, Bay Roberts, Cottle's Island (now Cottlesville), Campbellton, Horse Island, Griquet, Badger, Long Pond, Seal Cove, C.B., Little Heart's Ease, Pool's Cove, Brown's Arm, Stanhope, Robert's Arm and Roddickton. The Labrador communities are Cartwright, Ailik and Port Hope Simpson. Brief histories of the assemblies in these communities is found in Hammond, Sound, pp. 111-34, 136f., 142, 144f.

According to Alice Garrigus, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland had in 1937 become established in 48 communities. But as census evidence suggests (see Appendix V), Pentecostal preaching had penetrated many more communities. Evidently, however, a church building had been constructed in only these 48 communities:

#### Eastern Division

St. John's  
Long Pond  
Seal Cove  
Georgetown  
Pool's Cove  
North Harbour  
Woody Island  
Cupids  
Clarke's Beach  
Port de Grave  
Bay Roberts  
New Chelsea  
Swift Current  
Flat Island  
Juniper Stump  
Victoria  
Western Bay  
Hant's Harbour  
New Melbourne  
Little Heart's Ease

#### Western District

Twillingate  
Cottrell's Island  
Birchy Bay  
Stanhope  
Deer Lake

Grand Falls  
 Brown's Arm  
 Black Island  
 Badger  
 Campbellton  
 Laurenceton  
 Humbermouth  
 Bishop's Falls  
 Point of Bay  
 Samson's Island  
 Lark Harbour  
 Salt Pond  
 Norris Arm  
 Corner Brook  
 Botwood  
 Point Leamington

Green Bay and Labrador District

Port Anson  
 Brookside  
 Horse Island  
 Middle Arm  
 Wild Cove  
 Springdale  
 Griquet

(Alice B. Garrigus, "Pentecostal Assemblies in Newfoundland," BON, vol. II, p. 403.) Interestingly, the following have not been encountered thus far in my thesis: Woody Island, Juniper Stump, New Melbourne, Lark Harbour, Point Leamington and Brookside. Also, evidently no building had been erected in Cartwright, Ailik and Port Hope Simpson.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. On the latter concept see chapter 1.

<sup>74</sup> Alice B. Garrigus to Eugene Vaters and the Adjustment Committee, April 1937.

<sup>75</sup> This account is an amalgam of a number of documents too numerous to cite here, but are provided in the bibliography.

<sup>76</sup> Interview by Hans Rollmann with George Hudson.

<sup>77</sup> Isaac Bowering to Frank G. Bursey and the Adjustment Committee, May 18, 1937. PAON Head Office, St. John's.

<sup>78</sup> On the Pentecostal attitude towards the world system see chapter 6.

<sup>79</sup> Eugene Vaters to Newman J. Le Shana, December 7, 1936. PAON Head Office, St. John's.

<sup>80</sup>Eugene Vaters to A. G. Ward, February 16, 1937. PAON Head Office, St. John's.

<sup>81</sup>Eugene Vaters, "Education: Our Public School Policy," GT, September 1936, p. 7.

<sup>82</sup>Alice B. Garrigus to Elsie Morgan, January 2, 1941.

<sup>83</sup>Minutes of Annual Conference held June 12-20, 1931. Minute 46.

<sup>84</sup>Alice B. Garrigus to "Fellow-Workers and Saints of like precious faith," March 16, 1944.

## CONCLUSION

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Pentecostalism began as a Protestant, ecstatic, millenarian religious movement in which the practice of speaking in tongues was a distinctive feature of personal spirituality. A composite approach to the movement's origins detects tongues-speaking only intermittently in history, observes a diverse contribution of emphases from the American Wesleyan Holiness revival of the nineteenth century, and places it in the larger tradition of American popular evangelicalism. Its social roots lie in the America of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, a period marked by profound change. Arising partly as a reaction against institutionalization, it promised spontaneity. Its early development is a prime example of a marginal religion, one that is on the periphery. It appealed to the poor and forsaken, whether living in a rural or an urban setting, with its offer of salvation including meaning in life. Historians point to the lower socioeconomic class structure of the early movement.

The movement was introduced to Newfoundland in 1910 by a single American woman, no insignificant feat. At the turn of

the twentieth century, church leadership was largely man's domain. The movement, which stressed the imminent return of Christ, mobilized into action all available personnel, including women. Alice B. Garrigus, the typical Pentecostal leader, was an older woman from a rural working class family. Although a victim of maternal and economic deprivation, she nevertheless succeeded in obtaining advanced education of a high quality. Preoccupied with a sense of inadequacy, she flitted between religions, occupations and experiences, climaxing in the Holy Spirit baptism, which to her represented everything she had sought since childhood, and which she had not found in established religion. She was saturated in the emerging Pentecostal ethos, which propelled believers into immediate missionary work, and she felt called by God to introduce the movement to Newfoundland.

Arriving in Newfoundland with a retired minister couple, Garrigus began in downtown St. John's Bethesda Mission, which was dedicated to proclaiming the full gospel--Jesus as Saviour, Baptizer, Healer and Coming King. Her mission struggled for a decade to carve out its unique role in an intensely religious society. There were in St. John's in 1921 74 Pentecostals, indication of only minimal interest in Bethesda. The typical Pentecostal, like elsewhere, came from rural-agrarian surroundings, and was characterized by mobility and marginality. Personal and social reasons for the movement's initial growth are diverse. The aging Garrigus may

have provided inadequate leadership, or possibly she felt hindered by her middle-aged congregation. The movement, an independent, female-led American import, was still relatively new. Perhaps more significantly, St. John's was undergoing no major social dislocation. The churches were firmly established and well-organized, and there was still some enthusiasm available from the Methodist church and the Salvation Army. Garrigus' contribution to Newfoundland Pentecostalism lay in her pioneering the movement and concentrating on the capital city. Once centralization occurred, however, she was unable to generate enthusiasm for outreach into rural Newfoundland.

Two factors caused Pentecostals to set their eyes on rural Newfoundland. The 1919 Demarest crusade in St. John's resulted in a large number of young married couples, some of whom later played a leading role in the Pentecostal denomination, joining Bethesda. The amalgamation of Garrigus and her mission with converts from the campaign, and the transference of leadership from Garrigus to a younger generation of local men from the Methodist holiness fringes contributed to a more systematic spread of the movement. In the wake of World War I, which severely disrupted Newfoundland society, people were more receptive to a religion promising solace. Two types of initiative led to expansion across the island. The first, limited in scope, was from Bethesda; and the second, from Methodists who, disillusioned by their own denomination, had been influenced by the Pentecostal movement. However, there

was still no growth west of Placentia Bay. In 1925 the combined effort of two Bethesda laymen, ironically at first without the imprimatur of their home congregation, established the movement in western Newfoundland. In an important respect, this development was crucial; Pentecostals found their social purpose in spreading the full gospel to industrial towns, where massive social changes were occurring.

The leaders and converts in the industrial towns quickly became the proclaimers in other towns. Expansion from the western Newfoundland base was immediate and far-reaching in comparison with its east coast counterpart from 1910 to 1925. This readily invited comparison with the early development of another evangelical, enthusiastic sect--the Salvation Army--which made impressive gains in its initial 15-year period. The Army, too, was partly the creation of dissatisfied Methodists who contended that their denomination was infected with a secular, rationalistic theology. In the Army they found what they perceived as lacking in their church. The Army, which was the first to take advantage of this, succeeded well because of an aggressive missionary policy, and reaped a sizeable harvest in Newfoundland. The Pentecostal movement, like the Army before, appealed to the lower socioeconomic classes, but lacked the well-defined social consciousness of the Army. Pentecostals championed heart-change which resulted in social change, whereas the Army cared for people's social needs before making an appeal for heart-change. This was



guaranteed to speak directly to those on the fringe of society. The Army swept the island, whereas the Pentecostal movement struggled until 1925 to establish a social identity, after which it, too, gained a firm foothold in Newfoundland.

New sectarian movements tend towards the process of denominationalism by conforming more or less completely to the social order. The Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland was no exception. Its fluid and unstructured nature, partly responsible for a lack of growth, suggested a need for cohesion, uniformity and centralized leadership. The dangers of independency intensified, and fear of denominationalism began to evaporate. The transformation into a denomination in 1925 spawned centralized organization, and provided a broader basis than the local mission. Ironically, by seeking distinction as a denomination, the movement was expressing a willingness to conform to the dominant value structure and become integrated into society. Immediately after, steps were taken to bring the denomination into line with its mandate as a limited liability company. Although there were still examples of inner dissension, these were now dealt with, not as matters peculiar to individual missions, but as part of a denomination. To give greater credence to its public image, the denomination sought and received recognition from the larger and longer established Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Once the Newfoundland denomination was formed, leadership changed entirely from female to male orientation. This indigenization

helped link the denomination to familiar themes found in Newfoundland society, and hence facilitate greater diffusion.

As the Great Depression began, the Newfoundland Pentecostal denomination was again struggling to concentrate on its mandate to expand, this time from a centralized headquarter. The church became involved in the thorny issue of education and missionary activity, areas that helped Pentecostals to see the broader issues facing the church--the training of their children, and the winning of the lost in "foreign" lands. The General Superintendent's lobby for a separate educational system provided a Pentecostal philosophy of life and consequently a broader awareness of the church's role in society. Missionary activity gave Pentecostals a sense of being needed by supporting the cause of winning the lost, first in a foreign country and later in Labrador. The latter also provided a "hero of the cross"--William Gillett--who had gamely undertaken evangelism in the inhospitable north. By the end of the Depression, Pentecostalism had gained a place in the religious demography of Newfoundland and Labrador. The pattern of its subsequent growth, mainly in western and central Newfoundland, was established in areas where the church continued to experience the bulk of its growth.

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**APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX I

"BUILDING ACCORDING TO THE PATTERN"  
BY ALICE BELLE GARRIGUS

## APPENDIX I

Building According to the Pattern<sup>1</sup>

by Alice Belle Garrigus

Two Scriptures come to my mind: the last clause of Ezekiel, 43:10--"let them measure the pattern"; and the first clause of Jeremiah 2:3--"Israel WAS holiness unto the Lord...".<sup>2</sup>

Ezekiel, a captive by the river of Chebar, tells us "that the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God."<sup>3</sup> To him was granted to see not only the departing of the glory from the temple that then was, but the returning of the glory to a temple that should be erected in the Millennium age.

First, a man, whose appearance was like the appearance of brass, appeared with a measuring reed and a line of flax in his hand.

Starting from the sanctuary, he measured 500 reeds north, 500 south, 500 east and 500 west--and formed a wall around it. He tells us this was done to make a separation between the sanctuary and the profane place.<sup>4</sup>

This was a distance of nearly a mile on each side; and all within the wall should be "most holy".<sup>5</sup> So slow of heart has been the natural man to recognize the holiness of God. He has often used object lessons to impress this truth.

The burning bush is an example. The command was, "Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground".<sup>6</sup>

Likewise, the fiery mount quaking with its thunder and lightning which, if even a beast touched, it must be thrust through. Also, the house with its moving pillars and clouds of smoke.

A vision of the holiness of God was given to Ezekiel by this wall of separation, enclosing a square nearly a mile each way. The command was, "the whole limit thereof round about shall be most holy. Behold, this is the law of the house".<sup>7</sup>

This has always been the law of God's house, but alas men have ever been guilty of doing what Israel had done. "In their setting of their threshold by my thresholds, and their post by my posts, and the wall between me and them, they have even defiled my holy name by their abominations that they have committed...".<sup>8</sup>

In the matters of daily life and worship, God has left nothing for men to decide. All has been arranged for him, and his part is to build according to the pattern.

Accordingly, Ezekiel is told to "show the house to the house of Israel, that they may be ashamed of their iniquities:

and let them measure the PATTERN".<sup>9</sup> He is to "show them the form of the house, and the fashion thereof, and the goings out thereof, and the comings in thereof, and all the forms thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and all the forms thereof; and all the laws thereof: and write it in their sight, that they may keep the whole form thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, AND DO THEM".<sup>10</sup> No wonder they are told to "measure the pattern"! Standards of their own would never do. God's one standard for all time and eternity is "MOST HOLY".

Through the grievous failures from the time sin entered into the world to the present, God has been trying to get a holy people who would be willing to accept His PATTERN and live by it. After repeated failures because of man's bent to sinning, He chose Abraham that through him there should be brought forth a holy seed to whom He could reveal Himself in a special way. Jeremiah 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.

We do not know just when it was. Possibly it was while they were gathered around the sacred mount with the pillar of fire by night and of cloud by day resting on the tabernacle, and while they were receiving instruction from Moses as he received them from God.

How the heart of God was made to rejoice as He looked down upon them with the border of blue on their garments, lest they should forget they were a heavenly people, and saw them walking according to the pattern, a holy people.

But sad to say, it is possible to lose whatever experience we may have. So in this case, the time came when, from a broken heart, all God could say was, "Israel WAS holiness unto the Lord".

Was there ever a sadder requiem written!

Hear the tender moanings of rejected love: "I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness....What iniquity have our fathers found in me, that they are gone far from me, and have walked after vanity...?"<sup>11</sup>

Oh, the sadness of that word "WAS"!

Is there a WAS in your life? Do you say, "I WAS ONCE A CHRISTIAN, once I knew what it was to live a holy life, ONCE I WAS separated from the world and found all I needed in HIM?" HAS GOD CHANGED?

Israel is not the only people who have disappointed GOD. It is a true saying that every stream is purest at its beginning.

It is a joy to read of the early Church, made up of Jew and Gentile, "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners".<sup>12</sup> Nothing could stand before them. Kings feared and trembled, signs and wonders were done in the

name of the Holy Child Jesus, and great multitudes turned from sin unto holiness.

How sad that a "WAS" should ever have come into what had been so lovely--but so it was. Even during the lifetime of some of the apostles, apostasy--the falling away from God--had set in. The leaven began to work until the whole was leavened and, for a thousand years, darkness and sin reigned in the professing Church.

However, God had a REMNANT HIDDEN away in dens and caves who still built according to the pattern.

Since [Martin] Luther's day, many sects have risen that, according to their light, have sought to build according to the pattern. While they did so, they had the smile of God and the frown of the world upon them.

What a pity that in each case there came a "WAS" to mar the beauty! The first love had been left; standards of their own had been set up and the way of holiness was forsaken. Even the so-called Holiness churches drifted from the pattern and became "holy" only in name.

In 1906 God renewed the vision of the pattern by pouring out His Spirit as on the Day of Pentecost. Mr. A. B. Simpson,<sup>13</sup> desiring to know the truth concerning the Pentecostal baptism, sent one of his spiritual workers to investigate. He returned with the verdict, "It is the river of God, but not yet as clear as crystal".

Twenty-nine years have passed, and what do we find? Is

the stream purer and deeper than at its beginning, or is there a "WAS" in the history of Pentecost?

I was privileged to see this outpouring at its beginning and, from personal observation, I must say with deep sorrow, "I believe God is saying of the Pentecostal movement as of Israel, 'Israel WAS holiness unto the Lord'."

What heart-searchings! What confessions! What separations! What humblings seekers passed through until one, being asked what the new experience was, replied, "It is the new death". The shekinah glory burned as a flame in the heart of the baptized one, and holiness was the atmosphere in which he lived.

At a campmeeting of thousands, many of whom were opposed to the Latter Rain experience, one was heard to say, "I can pick out every one of them by their faces. They are different from others."

Who of us have not seen many professing to have the baptism of the Holy Ghost, whose life and appearance contradicted their statement? I do not know what they have, but I do know they are not measuring the pattern.

Perhaps there is a "WAS" in their lives.

No matter what standards man may set up, God's pattern still calls for heart purity and utter separation from the world.

It is good to know that the time is not far off when the desire of God's heart is going to be met fully.



Holiness, not sin, is to reign. Even the bells on the horses, and every pot and pan shall have written over them, "Holiness to the Lord".<sup>14</sup>

Lord, hasten the day!

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Alice B. Garrigus, "Building According to the Pattern," GT, April 1935, pp. 2,4.

<sup>2</sup>Emphases are added throughout by Garrigus.

<sup>3</sup>Ezekiel 1:1.

<sup>4</sup>Ezekiel 23:38.

<sup>5</sup>Ezekiel 43:12.

<sup>6</sup>Exodus 3:5.

<sup>7</sup>Ezekiel 43:12.

<sup>8</sup>Ezekiel 43:8.

<sup>9</sup>Ezekiel 43:10.

<sup>10</sup>Ezekiel 43:10f.

<sup>11</sup>Jeremiah 2:2,5.

<sup>12</sup>Song of Solomon 6:10.

<sup>13</sup>Albert B. Simpson (1844-1919), the founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

<sup>14</sup>Exodus 28:36; 39:30; Zechariah 14:20f.

APPENDIX II  
PENTECOSTALS IN ST. JOHN'S IN 1921

## APPENDIX II

### Pentecostals in St. John's in 1921\*

Name	Address	Marital Status	Year Born	Age in 1921	Birthplace	Relationship	Personal Occupation
<u>St. John's West, Section 1</u> George Gardener	81 Pleasant Street	M	1873	48	St. John's	head	shoemaker
<u>St. John's West, Section 2</u> Samuel Symmonds	Pleasant Street	M	1872	49	St. John's	head	labourer
Susan Symmonds	Pleasant Street	M	1873	48	Brooklyn, B.B.	wife	
Ida Symmonds	Pleasant Street	S	1902	19	St. John's	daughter	tailoress
Maud Symmonds	Pleasant Street	S	1903	18	St. John's	daughter	
Gordon Symmonds	Pleasant Street	S	1908	13	St. John's	son	at school
Robert Symmonds	Pleasant Street	S	1910	11	St. John's	son	at school
Dorothy Symmonds	Pleasant Street	S	1911	10	St. John's	daughter	at home
Ethel Symmonds	Pleasant Street	S	1915	6	St. John's	daughter	at home
Charles Taylor	Pleasant Street	M	1899	22	St. John's		tailor
Lucy Taylor	Pleasant Street	M	1895	26	St. John's		
Phyllis Taylor	Pleasant Street	S	1921	1	St. John's	grand-daughter	
Charles Boone	Brazil Square	M	1869	52	Barenced	head	labourer
Sophia Boone	Brazil Square	M	1871	50	Harbour Grace	wife	
Isaac Broomfield	Flower Hill	M	1879	42	Flat Island	head	labourer
Ada Broomfield	Flower Hill	M	1882	39	Flat Island	wife	
Myrtle Broomfield	Flower Hill	S	1907	14	Flat Island	daughter	at school
Reginald Broomfield	Flower Hill	S	1909	12	Flat Island	son	at school
George Broomfield	Flower Hill	S	1915	6	Flat Island	son	at school

Name	Address	Marital Status	Year Born	Age in 1921	Birthplace	Relationship	Personal Occupation
Alice Garrigus	New Gower Street	S	1858	63	Rockville, Ct.	head	at home
Nellie Mahoney	New Gower Street	S	1872	49	Bridgeport, Ct.	boarder	at home
Abigail Tucker	New Gower Street		1840	81	Great Harbour		at home
John Lidstone	New Gower Street	M	1873	48	Clarke's Beach	head	shoemaker
Emily Lidstone	New Gower Street	M	1883	38	St. John's	wife	
Bessie Lidstone	New Gower Street		1904	17	St. John's	daughter	
John Lidstone	New Gower Street	S	1908	13	St. John's	son	
Florence Lidstone	New Gower Street	S	1910	11	St. John's	daughter	at school
Tessie Lidstone	New Gower Street	S	1912	9	St. John's	daughter	at school
Muriel Lidstone	New Gower Street	S	1914	7	St. John's	daughter	at school
Eva Lidstone	New Gower Street	S	1915	6	St. John's	daughter	at home
Robert Lidstone	New Gower Street	S	1917	4		son	at home
Albert Lidstone	New Gower Street	S	1921	1		son	at home
Robert English	LeMarchant Road	M	1887	34	St. John's	head	jeweller
Jessie English	LeMarchant Road	M	1886	35	Northern Bay	wife	
<u>St. John's West</u>							
<u>Section 3</u>							
George Evans	Gear Street	M	1885	36	St. John's	head	salesman
Madeline Evans	Gear Street	M	1889	32	Carbonear	wife	
Maud Evans	Gear Street	S	1907	14	St. John's	daughter	
Corbett Evans	Gear Street	S	1910	11	St. John's	son	
Catherine Evans	Gear Street	S	1912	9	St. John's	daughter	
Margaret Evans	Gear Street	S	1914	7	St. John's	daughter	
Hunter Evans	Gear Street	S	1915	6	St. John's	daughter	
George Evans	Gear Street	S	1917	4	St. John's	son	
Josiah Marshall	Boncloddy Street	M	1885	36	Bay Roberts	head	draper
Mary Marshall	Boncloddy Street	M	1885	36	Brigus	wife	
Doris Marshall	Boncloddy Street	S	1913	8	St. John's	daughter	
Louise Marshall	Boncloddy Street	S	1915	6	St. John's	daughter	

Name	Address	Marital Status	Year Born	Age in 1921	Birthplace	Relationship	Personal Occupation
Eric Marshall	Boncloddy Street	S	1918	3	St. John's	son	
Sarah King	Mundy Pond	M	1870	51	Little Bay Is.	wife	
John Williamson	23 Hamilton Street	M	1866	55	England	head	labourer
Henrietta Williamson	23 Hamilton Street	M	1869	52	Port de Grave	wife	
Dearistas Pearce	3 Hamilton Street	M	1879	42	Catalina	head	clergyman
Lana Pearce	3 Hamilton Street	M	1879	42	St. John's	wife	
Roland Pearce	3 Hamilton Street	S	1904	17	St. John's	son	salesman
Eric Pearce	3 Hamilton Street	S	1907	14	St. John's	son	salesman
Gladys Pearce	3 Hamilton Street	S	1909	12	St. John's	daughter	at school
Maud Pearce	3 Hamilton Street	S	1912	9	St. John's	daughter	at school
Emily Parrall			1903	18	St. John's		domestic
Eliza Payton	16 Brennan Street	M	1860	61		wife	
James Stanley	Waterford Bridge Rd.	M	1877	44	St. John's	head	farmer/express delivery
Mary Stanley	Waterford Bridge Rd.	M	1878	43	St. John's	wife	
Aaron Stanley	Waterford Bridge Rd.		1884	37	St. John's	brother-in-law	farmer
Mildred Mugrige	Waterford Bridge Rd.		1889	32	St. John's	sister-in-law	
Jean Mugrige	Waterford Bridge Rd.		1910	11	St. John's	niece	at home
Nina Mugrige	Waterford Bridge Rd.	S	1919	2	St. John's	niece	at home
<u>St. John's East,</u>							
<u>Section 1</u>							
William Cooper		M	1873	48	Grates Cove	head	labourer
Louise Cooper		M	1876	45	GranJ Bank	wife	
Amy Cooper		S	1900	21	St. John's	daughter	at home
Sydney Cooper		S	1910	11	St. John's	son	at school

Name	Address	Marital Status	Year Born	Age in 1921	Birthplace	Relationship	Personal Occupation
St. John's East, Section 2							
James Hussey		M	1856	65	Greenspond	head	
Clara Hussey		M	1886	35	St. John's	wife	carpenter
Scelena Hussey		S	1906	15	Bay Island	daughter	
Pearl Hussey		S	1909	12	Bay St. George	daughter	
Barbara Hussey		S	1917	4	Bay St. George	daughter	
Rosie Hussey		S	1921	1	St. John's	daughter	

\*SOURCE: Census of Newfoundland 1921

## APPENDIX III

SALVATION ARMY CORPS  
OPENED IN NEWFOUNDLAND TO 1900



## APPENDIX III

Salvation Army Corps Opened in Newfoundland to 1990

Community	Date Corps Opened	Opened by Whom	When Closed
St. John's	January 1, 1886	Staff Capt. Young & Capt. Phillips	before 1914
Brigus	April 11, 1886	Lt. Collins & Cadet Halfyard	
Carboncar	April 11, 1886	Capt. Kimble	
Twillingate	December 25, 1886	Capt. J. Collier	
Elliston	January 26, 1887	Capt. Willar	May 5, 1971
Bay Roberts	March 15, 1887	Capt. Fry	
Greenspond	March 15, 1887	Capt. Cook	
Grand Bank	November 17, 1887	Lt. A. Baldwin	
Catalina	December 17, 1887	Capt. Crook	May 5, 1971
Hant's Harbour	June 15, 1888	Capt. Collins	April 30, 1912
Little Bay	June 18, 1888	?	
St. John's II (18 Pennywell Road)	?	Capt. Collins	
Gooseberry Island	May 23, 1889	Capt. Gouby	
Seal Cove	May 23, 1889	Capt. James Bowering	Oct. 27, 1944
Burin	May 23, 1889	Capt. A. Baldwin	
Harbour Grace	May 23, 1889	Capt. Garnet	
Fortune	May 28, 1889	Capt. James Bowering	

Community	Date Corps Opened	Opened by Whom	When Closed
Western Head	May 28, 1889	?	
Moreton's Harbour	March 1, 1890	Lt. Churchill	
New Chelsea	June 10, 1891	Lt. A. Bradbury	
Pilley's Island	July 1, 1891	Capt. Freeman	
Tilt Cove	October 7, 1891	Capt. Freeman	Sept. 1, 1920
Garnish	December 3, 1891	Capt. T. Spencer	
Winterton	November 1, 1892	Capt. E. Edwards	
Charlottetown	July 21, 1893	Capt. T. Hoddinott	
Dildo	December 5, 1893	Capt. Emma Mercer	
Channel	December 31, 1893	Capt. J. Ehsary	
Wesleyville	December 31, 1893	Capt. S. Soper	
Heart's Content	December 31, 1893	?	Jan. 5, 1931
Exploits	April 4, 1894	Capt. Baird	
Old Perlican	December 22, 1894	Capt. E. England	April 12, 1907
Botwoodville (now Botwood)	March 1, 1895	Capt. Arch Baker	
Clarenville	October 16, 1895	Capt. G. Thompson	
Herring Neck	January 1, 1896	Brig. Sharpe	Oct. 31, 1955
Triton	February 1, 1896	Capt. E. Chafe	
Lamaline	April 4, 1896	Capt. B. Moss	May 21, 1947
Campbellton	June 7, 1896	Lt. Pollett	
Jackson's Cove	July 15, 1896	Capt. Emily Mercer	
Heart's Delight	June 15, 1896	Capt. M. Milley	May 25, 1946
Little Bay Island	September 15, 1896	Capt. R. Pugh	
Point Leamington	June 1, 1898	Capt. Peter Oxford	
Gambo	October 10, 1898	Capt. M. Clark	
Hare Bay	January 1, 1899	Adj. Arthur Brown	
Musgravetown	June 6, 1889	Capt. J. Greenland	
St. John's III	August 23, 1899	Brig. Sharp	

Community	Date Corps Opened	Opened by Whom	When Closed
Bonne Bay	October 10, 1899	Capt. Peter Oxford	Dec. 22, 1949
Rocky Harbour	November 6, 1899	Capt. E. Sheppard	
Clarke's Beach	January 1, 1900	Capt. Jessie Moore	
Harry's Harbour	June 1, 1900	Capt. J. Higdon	
Little Ward's Harbour	July 6, 1900	Capt. J. Higdon	
Paradise Sound	July 6, 1900	Capt. S. Cummings	
Trout River	July 6, 1900	Capt. Peter Oxford	
Newton	July 16, 1900	Capt. P. Mercer	?
Comfort Cove	August 1, 1900	Capt. Caleb Reader	

SOURCE: R. Gordon Moyles, The Blood and Fire in Canada: A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion 1882-1976 (Toronto, Ontario: Peter Martin, 1977), pp. 270-81.

## APPENDIX IV

"STATEMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL  
TRUTHS APPROVED BY THE  
PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES  
OF CANADA"

## APPENDIX IV

### Statement of Fundamental Truths

#### Approved by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada<sup>1</sup>

The Bible is our all-sufficient rule for faith and practice. Hence this Statement of Fundamental Truths is not intended as a creed for the Church, nor as a basis of unity for the ministry alone (*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 nor 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 and 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 (2 Tim. 3: 15, 16; 1 Pet. 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: 29; 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 Scriptures, 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 "Gods 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: Matt. 2: 6; 8: 16, 17; Acts 15: 15-18).

## (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, because unexplained (Luke 1: 35; 1 Cor. 1: 24; Matt. 11: 25-27; 28: 19; 2 Cor. 13: 14; 1 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 is 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 divided in respect of the Godhead; nor opposed as to co-identical as to Person; nor confused as to relation; nor 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; 2 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; 1 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; 2 John 3; 1 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 (2 John 9; John 1:1, 2, 14, 18, 29, 49; 8: 57, 58; 1 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 made 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. In the end, the Son shall become subject to the Father, that "God may be all in all" (Heb. 1: 3; 1 Pet. 3: 22; Acts 2: 32-36; Rom. 14: 11; 1 Cor. 15: 24-28).

(j) Equal Honor 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 honor 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 honoring the Son even as we honor the Father (John 5: 22, 23; 1 Pet. 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. Original or Birth-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 own 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 or 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" (1 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 towards God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." The faith which brings justification is simply 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 for 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. (2 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. (1 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; 1 Pet. 1: 15,6; 1 Thess. 5: 23, 24; 1 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 the 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 (2 Pet. 1: 4; a memorial of His suffering and death 1 Cor. 11: 26); and a prophecy of His second coming (1 Cor. 11: 26); and is enjoined upon all believers "until He comes."

#### 14. Baptism in Water

Water Baptism is an outward sign, seal or expression of an inward death, burial and resurrection, signifying the believers 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, 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 command of the Lord for the evangelization of the world and the chief concern 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).

#### 18. The Blessed Hope

The Resurrection of those who have fallen asleep in Christ, the rapture of believers which are alive and remain, and the translation of the true church, this is the blessed hope set before all believers (1 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 false prophet, and whosoever is not found written in the Book of Life, the fearful and unbelieving, and abominable, and murderers and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters 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; Rev. 20: 10-15).

#### 20. The New Heavens and New Earth

We look for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness (2 Pet. 3: 13; Rev. 21 and 22).

#### 21. Marriage and Divorce

First: 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.

Second. Whereas, Low standards on marriage and divorce are very hurtful to individuals, to the family and to the cause of Christ, therefore it is recommended that in the future we discourage divorce by all lawful means and teaching, and that we shall positively disapprove of Christians getting a divorce for any cause except for 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 1 Cor. 7).

Third. 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 ordain to the full gospel ministry those who have remarried, and are now living in the state of matrimony, while former companions are living (Ezek. 44: 22).

Fourth. And as a means of making the above more effective, 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. We also especially warn all our people that unions made in the future in the face of this warning between any of our ministers and such divorced persons will effect the standing of

both the minister who performs 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 on which side the divorce lies.

## 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 or more than law demanded. Regular systematic giving is clearly taught in the New Testament. It is known as the Grace of giving. The gage 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.

## 23. Regarding Secret Societies.

All ministers affiliated with us should refrain from identifying themselves with any of the secret orders which we recognize as essentially of the world, worldly, and we advise any who may have identified themselves with such orders to sever their connection therewith.

## 24. Civil Government

WHEREAS, we have accepted the Word of God as our rule of conduct and purpose to be governed by its Divine principles, and as our Assemblies for the past twelve years or more have always accepted and interpreted New Testament teaching and principles as prohibiting Christians from shedding blood or taking human life.

RESOLVED, That in time of persecution, or ill-treatment at the hands of an enemy, we should not "avenge ourselves", but rather give place to wrath; for it is written, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord" (Rom. 12: 19; Deut. 32: 35). Neither shall we take up any weapon of destruction to slay another, whether in our own defence, or in defence of others, for it is written, "Do violence to no man" (See Luke 3: 14; Matt. 26: 52; John 18: 36; 15: 18, 19). We should rather suffer wrong than to do wrong.

RESOLVED, That all civil magistrates are ordained of God for peace, safety, and for the welfare of the people (Romans 13: 1-10). Therefore it is our duty to be in obedience to all requirements of the law that are not contrary to the Word of God. It is our duty to honor them, pay tribute, or such taxation as may be required, without murmuring (Matthew 17: 24-27; 22: 17-21), and show respect to them in all lawful requirements of the Civil Government.

## 25. Ministerial Courtesy

RECOMMENDED, That Ministers be advised not to interfere with others who may have charge of an Assembly whether it be going in upon the work without consent of the one in charge or by such correspondence with members of the Assembly as will affect the influence of the leader, and that correspondence which concerns the Assembly, such as visiting the field, holding meetings, etc., should be addressed to the pastor; but where there is no pastor, letters concerning the work should be addressed to the deacons of the Assembly.

Workers visiting a place where there is an established Council Assembly or Assemblies are requested not to lend their influence or support to Assemblies of Workers which are in opposition to the Canadian Council in that place.

Violation of this recommendation will seriously effect the standing of any worker and may be the ground for withdrawal of Fellowship Certificate or credential.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Copied from the document distributed by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, then located in London, Ontario.

<sup>2</sup>Eugene Vaters added at this point: "in conjunction with Overseer (or Superintendent)". This is the only change made to the document by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland.

APPENDIX V  
PENTECOSTAL DISTRIBUTION  
BY COMMUNITY (1935)



## APPENDIX V

Pentecostal Distribution by Community (1935)\*White Bay

St. Barbe Islands	96
Lobster Harbour	6
Main Brook	3
Griquet	9

Green Bay

Point of Bay	73
Point Leamington	26
Triton West	7
Brighton Island	6
Pilley's Island	3
Port Anson	51
Miles Cove	4
Little Bay Islands	28
Springdale	220
Dock Cove	11
Ward's Harbour	11
Woodford's Cove	10
Little Bay	2
Wild Bight	19
Southern Arm	21
Harry's Harbour	7
Nickey's Nose Cove	2
Jackson's Cove	5
Silverdale	1
Middle Arm	45
Nipper's Harbour	2
Stanhope	11
Mason's Cove	67
Salt Pond	41
Lewisporte	8

Twillingate

Exploits	2
Black Island	47
Samson's Island	67
Michael's Harbour	5
Campbellton	98
Cottle's Island	49
Luke's Arm	26
Moreton's Harbour	1
Crow Head	1
Wild Cove	9
Black Harbour	2
North Side	4
South Side	10
Hart's Cove	1
Jenkin's Cove	1
Gillisport	9
Bluff Head Cove	6
Wild Cove Road	1
Ragged Point	5

Fogo

Noggin Cove	14
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Trinity North

Caplin Cove	11
Clareville	4

Trinity South

New Melbourne	41
Hant's Harbour	75
New Chelsea	88
Heart's Content	1
South Dildo	8
Markland	9
Whitbourne	1

Grand Falls

Buchans	2
Grand Falls	9
Grand Falls Station	102
Bishop's Falls	359
Peter's Arm	58
Botwood	41
Northern Arm	6
Badger	53
Norris Arm	45
Laurenceton	36
Brown's Arm	18

Carbonear-Bay de Verde

Carbonear	3
Victoria	302
Flatrock	1
Western Bay South	8
Western Bay North	3

Harbour Grace

Shearstown	20
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Port de Grave

Georgetown	9
Cupids	10
Salmon Cove	2
Turk's Water	29
Juniper Stump	5
Springfield	3
South River	21
Broads	24
Clarke's Beach	56
Hall's Town	20
Black Duck Pond	5
Sandy Cove	13
Port de Grave	11
Ship Cove	40
Blow-Me-Down	9
Hibb's Hole	27
Pick-Eyes	32
Coley's Point	24
Country Road	8
Bay Roberts East, Central & West	36

St. John's West

Ward 1	17
Ward 2	61
Ward 3	6
Ward 4	53
Ward 5	36
Freshwater Valley	6
Boggy Hall Section	30
Mental Hospital	2
Goulds	5

St. John's East

Ward 1	5
Ward 2	9
Ward 4	38
Ward 5	1

Placentia West

North Harbour	40
Swift Current	32
Woody Island	31
Baine Harbour	1
Flat Island	39

St. George's-Port au Port

West Bay	4
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Humber

Junction Brook	9
Deer Lake West	15
Little Harbour	4
Pasadena	6
Deer Lake	250
Humbermouth	28
Corner Brook	77
Lark Harbour	3
Cox's Cove	6

St. Barbe

Pond Cove	1
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Harbour Main-Bell Island

Long Pond	19
Foxtrap	1
Upper Gullies	3
Lance Cove	4
Seal Cove	25
Indian Pond	5

\*Calculated from the 1935 Newfoundland and Labrador Census







