



THE ESCHATOLOGY OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

EARLY PENTECOSTALS:

“JESUS IS COMING SOON,” 1910-1949

by

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ABSTRACT

Eschatology is a core tenet of early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism. Advocates wove their belief in the imminent return of Christ and an impending apocalypse into periodical articles, correspondence, church décors, sermons, and songs. The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador (PAONL) was influenced by the wider Premillennial, Holiness and Pentecostal movements as well as Newfoundland and Labrador's own religious traditions, especially those deriving from Methodism and the Salvation Army. The significant contributions of Holiness evangelist Alice Belle Garrigus, former Methodist minister Eugene Vaters, and other key leaders through the formative period, make their life and teaching vital to understanding the role eschatology played in the theology, spirituality and rhetoric of the movement. Throughout the 1910-1949 period Pentecostals interpreted historical events, societal challenges and their own ecstatic experiences as evidence that God had a special role for them to play on the cusp of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

State of the Question

Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism celebrated its centennial anniversary on Easter Sunday 2011. One hundred years earlier, three evangelist-missionaries from New England opened Bethesda Mission in the western end of downtown St. John's. Miss Alice Belle Garrigus, William D. Fowler and Julia E. Fowler¹ had arrived in the capital city by train on 1 December 1910. They subsequently secured accommodations, visited local churches and holiness missions, arranged for the leasing of a new property on New Gower Street, and soon thereafter opened Bethesda. From the mission's opening service on 16 April 1911, the five-fold message of early Pentecostalism was proclaimed—Jesus as “Saviour, Healer, Sanctifier, Baptizer and Coming King.” The last component “Coming King” represented the eschatological focus of the movement, however all aspects of Pentecostalism's “full gospel” were influenced by the movement's eschatology. Walking into the sanctuary, parishioners and visitors alike would read a sign over the platform proclaiming, “Jesus is coming soon. Get ready to meet Him.”² From its inception the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador (PAONL)³ has been an eschatologically motivated religious movement. This thesis will consider the significant influence eschatology played in the development and expression of

¹ Julia E. Fowler is identified as William D. Fowler's wife in the United States 1910 census. This is the only document I have discovered stating her name. Alice B. Garrigus is listed at the same residence. See United States of America, 1910 United States Federal Census, “Bridgeport, Fairfield, Connecticut,” Roll: T624_129; Page 12A; Enumeration District: 0046; Image: 312; FHL microfilm: 1374142.

² Alice B. Garrigus, “Extract from a letter of Sister Garrigus,” *Word and Work* 23, no. 6 (June 1911): 188. Garrigus reports in this correspondence, written two months after Bethesda's opening, that “Sister Fowler had made some pretty mottoes of red cardboard.” This is the only published reference I have seen crediting Julia Fowler with a tangible contribution to Bethesda Mission.

³ Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador, hereafter “PAONL.”

Pentecostal theology, spirituality and rhetoric in Newfoundland and Labrador from 1910 to 1949.

Historical Perspectives of Pentecostalism

Though academic attention has been given to Premillennialism, the Pentecostal movement, and the PAONL, no study to date has considered the particular influence eschatology has had upon Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism. This thesis will fill that void by examining the context of early PAONL eschatology, by considering the significant eschatological influences experienced by its earliest leadership, by identifying the scope of eschatology across the 1910-1949 period, by providing an analysis of the theological development of eschatology during that time, and by describing the role eschatology played in the spirituality and rhetorical tradition of the movement.

In recent decades Pentecostalism has received significant attention by historians and academics both within and beyond the tradition. One of the earliest Assemblies of God (AG)⁴ denominational historians Stanley F. Frodsham published *With Signs Following: The Story of the Latter-Day Pentecostal Revival* in 1926.⁵ Significantly, Frodsham included Alice Garrigus' account of a service in Victoria, a Newfoundland and Labrador community, which was marked by supernatural signs, including "a distinct noise resembling thunder" and a "white mist."⁶ Myer Pearlman's 1937 systematic

⁴ The Assemblies of God, hereafter "AG," is the largest Pentecostal denomination in the world. The PAONL has held a close relationship with the AG, relying on the denomination for much of its printed resources.

⁵ Stanley H. Frodsham, *With Signs Following: The Story of the Pentecostal Revival in the Twentieth Century* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1926).

⁶ The anecdote in the 1926 first edition was removed in later editions. "Evidently, [Eugene] Vaters asked Frodsham to delete the Victoria reference from the second and third editions of his book." See Burton K. Janes, *History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland* (St. John's, NL: Good Tidings Press, 1996), 66, footnote 14. The earliest edition of the book "contains a fantastic account, full of colorful pictures of the event." See Kurt O. Berends, "A Divided Harvest: Alice Belle Garrigus, Joel Adams Wright, and Early New England Pentecostalism" (Masters thesis, Wheaton College Graduate School, 1993), 71.

theology, *Knowing The Doctrines of the Bible* provided early Pentecostals with a theological survey sensitive to their charismatic perspective.⁷ Particularly during the 1960s and 1970s numerous historical and theological monographs were published on Pentecostalism, including Carl Brumback's 1961 denominational history *Suddenly... from Heaven: A History of the Assemblies of God*.⁸ That same year another AG scholar Klaude Kendrick published *Promise Fulfilled: A History of the Modern Pentecostal Movement*.⁹ Kendrick was one of the first historians to identify the Wesleyan Holiness movement as foundational for North American Pentecostalism and also emphasize the importance of Charles F. Parham's theological contribution. Building on Kendrick's work, John T. Nichols in his 1966 monograph *Pentecostalism*¹⁰ identified the significance of Evangelicalism for Pentecostalism and surveyed the movement's presence outside of the North American context.¹¹ William Menzies released in 1971 *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God*,¹² in which he observes that not all early converts were originally Holiness advocates but that many migrated to Pentecostalism in response to perceived theological and devotional liberalizing trends in their home

⁷ Myer Pearlman, *Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1937).

⁸ Carl Brumback, *Suddenly From Heaven... A History of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961).

⁹ Klaude Kendrick, *The Promise Fulfilled: A History of the Modern Pentecostal Movement* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961).

¹⁰ John T. Nichol, *Pentecostalism* (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1966). See idem, *Pentecostals* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1971).

¹¹ Pentecostalism studied from a global perspective includes Donald Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement* (London, UK: Elim Publishing Company, 1941); Nils Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character* (London, UK: Allen & Unwin, 1964); Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing, 1973); Allan H. Anderson and Walter J. Hollenweger, ed., *Pentecostals after a Century: Global Perspectives on a Movement in Transition*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series, vol. 15 (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd, 1999); Allan H. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2007); and, Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹² William Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971).

denominations. That same year both *The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church* by Edward D. O'Connor chronicling the origins of the Charismatic movement,¹³ and *The Holiness Pentecostal Movement in the United States* by Vinson Synan, tracing the history of various Pentecostal groups and emphasizing the role social and economic conditions played in the early days of Pentecostalism,¹⁴ were released.¹⁵ Robert Mapes Anderson's 1979 monograph *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism*¹⁶ would become the seminal work evaluating the influence socio-economic variables had upon early Pentecostalism. Anderson argues that most Pentecostal converts were primarily individuals who felt disenfranchised by society and discovered in the movement an eschatological hope that inspired them amidst their despair. He further rejected the notion that Wesleyan Holiness groups were the most important influences on early Pentecostalism, pointing instead to both Keswick teaching,¹⁷ and the larger fundamentalist movement.

¹³ Edward D. O'Connor, *The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church* (Notre Dame, IN: Ave Maria Press, 1971). See also Michael P. Hamilton, ed., *The Charismatic Movement* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975).

¹⁴ Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1971).

¹⁵ Other Pentecostal denominations in the United States have published histories and theological works including the Church of God, see Charles Conn, *Like a Mighty Army Moves the Church of God* (Cleveland, TN: Pathway, 1977); Church of God in Christ, see Charles H. Pleas, *Fifty Years Achievement from 1906-1956- A Period in the History of the Church of God in Christ* (Memphis, TN: Church of God in Christ, 1956); International Church of the Foursquare, see Nathaniel M. Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches: A History of the International Church of the Foursquare* (Los Angeles, CA: International Church of the Four Square, 1994); The Apostolic Faith, see The Apostolic Faith Mission of Portland, Oregon, *The Apostolic Faith: History, Doctrine and Purpose* (Portland, OR: The Apostolic Faith Mission of Portland, Oregon, 2005); and, The United Pentecostal Church, see Daniel Butler, *Oneness Pentecostalism: History of the J* (Antioch, TN: Pentecostal Publishing House, 2004).

¹⁶ Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1979).

¹⁷ See Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987; reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996), 104 (page citations are to the reprint edition). Dayton identifies the English "Keswick" movement as "a parallel and interconnected development" to the American Holiness movement. Whereas the latter group's "perfectionism" viewed "entire sanctification" as an "eradication" of sin, Keswick leaders promoted "the fullness of the Spirit," teaching the "second blessing" was a "suppression" or "answer to sin." Holiness leaders including Albert B. Simpson and

More recent examinations include Donald Dayton's 1987 monograph *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*,¹⁸ which viewed the "Five-fold Full-gospel," Jesus as "Saviour, Healer, Sanctifier, Baptizer and Coming King," as the foundation of early Pentecostal theology, Margaret Poloma's 1989 work *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads: Charisma and Institutional Dilemmas*,¹⁹ which considered the role charismatic gifts played in AG congregations, and Edith L. Blumhofer's 1993 text *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture*²⁰ which focused upon the movement's restorationist orientation. That same year, Church of God (COG) theologian Steven Land released *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom*,²¹ in which he examines the relationship between Pentecostal theology and spirituality. Harvey Cox's 1995 work, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century*,²² argues that early Pentecostalism rediscovered a primal spirituality that resonated with early advocates and continues to do so to the present. Building on Dayton's earlier thesis, D. William Faupel argued in his 1996 monograph *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought*²³ that eschatology was the central theme of early Pentecostalism. Grant Wacker also focused upon the restorationist

Adoniram J. Gordon were viewed to be American "Keswicks." The AG was significantly influenced by Keswick teaching.

¹⁸ Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots*.

¹⁹ Margaret Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads: Charisma and Institutional Dilemmas* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

²⁰ Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993.)

²¹ Stephen J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993; reprint 2001) (page citations are to the reprint edition).

²² Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995).

²³ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series, 10 (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

ideals of Pentecostalism in his monograph *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture*²⁴ published in 2001.²⁵

An Early Canadian Pentecostal historical work was Gordon F. Atter's *The Pentecostal Movement: Who We Are and What We Believe*, first published in the 1920s and advertised as "a brief outline of the history, doctrine, and practices... of our Canadian churches."²⁶ Subsequent contributions have included Gloria Grace Kulbeck and Walter E. McAlister's 1958 text *What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada*,²⁷ Atter's 1962 monograph *The Third Force*, which claimed to be "a Pentecostal answer to the question so often asked..." "Who are the Pentecostals?"²⁸ William Miller's 1994 work *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada*,²⁹ Ronald A. N. Kydd's article "Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*,³⁰ Douglas Rudd's 2002 release *When the Spirit Came Upon Them: Highlights from the Early Years of the Pentecostal Movement in Canada*,³¹ and the 2010 collection of essays *Canadian*

²⁴ Grant A. Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001). See also idem, "Playing for Keeps: The Primitive Impulse in Early Pentecostalism," in *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 196.

²⁵ For a more complete summary of the Pentecostal scholarship noted see Augustus Cerillo, "The Beginnings of American Pentecostalism: A Historiographical Overview," in *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism*, ed. Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, and Grant A. Wacker (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 229. Much of the above survey is based on this essay.

²⁶ Gordon F. Atter, *The Pentecostal Movement: Who We Are and What We Believe: a brief outline of the history, doctrine, and practices of the Pentecostal movement, as taught and believed by the Pentecostal people of our Canadian Churches* (Humberstone, ON: by the author, 1957).

²⁷ Gloria Grace Kulbeck and Walter E. McAlister, *What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Toronto, ON: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958). Hereafter, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada is identified as "PAOC."

²⁸ Gordon F. Atter, *The Third Force* (Peterborough, ON: College Press, 1962).

²⁹ Thomas William Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Mississauga, ON: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994).

³⁰ Ronald A. N. Kydd, "Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. G. A. Rawlyk (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 289.

³¹ Douglas Rudd, *When the Spirit Came Upon Them: Highlights from the Early Years of the Pentecostal Movement in Canada* (Burlington, ON: Antioch Books, 2002).

Pentecostalism: Transition and Transformation, which examines the influence of institutionalization, and globalization and the role of women, indigenous peoples and immigrants within the movement.³²

Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism in Newfoundland and Labrador has received both denominational and academic attention. In 1982 former PAONL minister John W. Hammond published an historical survey of the movement's beginnings and the establishment of individual congregations titled *The Joyful Sound: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador*.³³ Burton K. Janes, a minister, archivist and PAONL historian published a two-part biography of PAONL co-founder Alice Belle Garrigus, beginning with the 1982 release of *The Lady Who Came: The Biography of Alice Belle Garrigus—Newfoundland's first Pentecostal Pioneer: Volume 1: 1858-1908*³⁴ and followed in 1983 with the sequel *The Lady Who Stayed: The Biography of Alice Belle Garrigus—Newfoundland's first Pentecostal Pioneer: Volume 2: 1908-1949*.³⁵ In 1996 Janes released the denomination's official *History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland*.³⁶ Janes has subsequently written journal articles³⁷ and individual histories

³² Michael Wilkenson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism: Transition and Transformation* (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queens, 2010).

³³ John W. Hammond, *The Joyful Sound: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. Stephen, NB: Print N' Press Ltd, 1982).

³⁴ Burton K. Janes, *The Lady Who Came: The Biography of Alice Belle Garrigus—Newfoundland's first Pentecostal Pioneer: Volume 1: 1858-1908* (St. John's, NL: Good Tidings Press, 1982).

³⁵ Burton K. Janes, *The Lady Who Stayed: The Biography of Alice Belle Garrigus—Newfoundland's first Pentecostal Pioneer: Volume 2: 1908-1949* (St. John's, NL: Good Tidings Press, 1983).

³⁶ Burton K. Janes, *History*.

³⁷ Burton K. Janes, "Walking in the King's Highway: Alice Belle Garrigus and the Pentecostal Movement in Newfoundland," *Assemblies of God Heritage* 6, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 3; and, idem, "William J. Mitchell: A Pentecostal Pioneer in New England," *Assemblies of God Heritage* 12, (Winter 1992-1993): 12.

of local churches within the PAONL,³⁸ including *From Hinder's Hall to Emmanuel: An Informal History of Emmanuel Pentecostal Church, Church Street, Deer Lake, Newfoundland*,³⁹ and *A Journey of Faith and Grace: The History of Elim Pentecostal Tabernacle*.⁴⁰ Other publications on PAONL history focus upon individuals, such as Edgar Raymond Pelley's 1975 booklet *Ways and Works of God*,⁴¹ Eugene Vaters' 1983 autobiography *Reminiscence*,⁴² and A. Stanley Bursey's 1990 collection *Some Have Fallen Asleep: A Tribute to Our Faithful Pentecostal Pioneers Now Asleep in Christ*.⁴³

Academic treatment of the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland and Labrador extends from Garrigus' early years in New England to an evaluation of the institutionalization of the PAONL in the present. Kurt O. Berends focused his attention on Garrigus' life prior to coming to Newfoundland including her conversion and participation in the holiness ministry in Bridgeport, Connecticut, her experiences as an evangelist with the First Fruit Harvesters of Rumney, New Hampshire, and her entrance into the Pentecostal movement. Berends' writings include the studies "Social Variables and Community Response,"⁴⁴ "A Divided Harvest: Alice Belle Garrigus, Joel Adams

³⁸ Burton K. Janes, *Reflections From Ship Cove Pond to the Harbour Hills: The History of the Pentecostal Tabernacle, Port de Grave, Newfoundland* (Port de Grave, NL: Pentecostal Tabernacle, 2000); idem, *The Ancient Landmarks of Happy Cove and the Faithful Seven: The History of Beacon Tabernacle, Birchy Bay, Newfoundland* (Birchy Bay, NL: Beacon Tabernacle, 2001); idem, *The Jug in the Window: The History of the Pentecostal Church, Springdale, Newfoundland and Labrador* (Springdale, NL: Pentecostal Church, 2003); and, idem, *From the Cottage to the Tabernacle: The History of Glad Tidings Tabernacle, Embree, NL: Celebrating 75 Years of God's Faithfulness* (Embree, NL: Glad Tidings Tabernacle, 2006).

³⁹ Burton K. Janes, *From Hinder's Hall to Emmanuel: An Informal History of Emmanuel Pentecostal Church, Church Street, Deer Lake, Newfoundland* (St. John's, NL: Robinson-Blackmore Printing and Publishing, 1996).

⁴⁰ Burton K. Janes, *A Journey of Faith and Grace: The History of Elim Pentecostal Tabernacle* (St. John's, NL: Elim Pentecostal Tabernacle, 2011).

⁴¹ Edgar Raymond Pelley, *Ways and Works of God*, ed. George H. Dawe (St. John's, NL: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland Printing Department, 1975).

⁴² Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence* (St. John's, NL: Good Tidings Press, 1983).

⁴³ A. Stanley Bursey, *Some Have Fallen Asleep: A Tribute to Our Faithful Pentecostal Pioneers Now Asleep in Christ*, ed. Burton K. Janes (St. John's, NL: Good Tidings Press, 1990).

⁴⁴ Kurt O. Berends, "Social Variables and Community Response," in *Pentecostal Currents in*

Wright, and Early New England Pentecostalism,”⁴⁵ “A Mixed Harvest: The First Fruit Harvesters’ Ministry in Rural New England,”⁴⁶ and “Cultivating For A Harvest: The Early Life of Alice Belle Garrigus.”⁴⁷

Hans Rollman’s essay, “From Yankee Failure to Newfie Success: The Indigenization of the Pentecostal Movement in Newfoundland,” considers why the movement failed to expand in its first decade but subsequently experienced “stupendous growth and great vitality” in the years that followed. Rollmann’s thesis is that early growth was inhibited by the introversionistic nature of the mission’s apocalyptic message, the lack of economic dislocation in the city, and the existence of holiness-evangelical sects in St. John’s, a situation that was only reversed through a second-generation of leaders, when Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals found a social purpose in central and western Newfoundland. Rollmann observes that it was only when these former Methodists shifted the movement’s message from introversion to evangelism, that the PAONL realized significant growth among dislocated migrant workers in the dominion’s burgeoning western and central industrial communities.⁴⁸

Burton K. Janes’ thesis, *Floods Upon the Dry Ground: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, 1910-1939*, documents the introduction and early development of the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland and Labrador and

American Protestantism, ed. Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler and Grant A. Wacker (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 68.

⁴⁵ Kurt O. Berends, “A Divided Harvest.”

⁴⁶ Kurt O. Berends, “A Mixed Harvest: The First Fruit Harvesters’ Ministry in Rural New England,” 1994, private collection.

⁴⁷ Kurt O. Berends, “Cultivating For A Harvest: The Early Life of Alice Belle Garrigus,” *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 37.

⁴⁸ Hans Rollmann, “From Yankee Failure to Newfie Success: The Indigenization of the Pentecostal Movement in Newfoundland,” in *Religion in Newfoundland and Labrador: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Religious Studies 3901 Course Manuel*, 2ed., ed. Hans Rollmann (St. John’s, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland School of General and Continuing Studies, 1990 [1988]).

analyzes its growth, beginning with a survey of early Pentecostal history, Garrigus' life in New England prior to her arrival in St. John's and the establishment of Bethesda Mission.⁴⁹ Adding to Rollmann's observations, Janes suggests Garrigus' advanced years, her focus on the "subjective and emotional" elements in a paternalistic society, and general infighting at the mission all contributed to Bethesda's initial limited success.⁵⁰ The thesis then charts the PAONL's growth across the island under the direction of the second-generation leadership, suggesting that World War I and the Depression made people "more receptive to a religion that promised solace."⁵¹ Janes further analyzes the vital relationship between the Salvation Army and the PAONL and discusses the gradual shift of the movement from a conversionistic sect to an institutional denomination.

Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism has been further examined in David Milley's D.Min. thesis, "A Study of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland's Message of Separation," which is a survey of the influence of holiness teaching in the movement, and Brenda Hattie-Longmire's Masters thesis, "Sit down, brother!": Alice B. Garrigus and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland," a consideration of the role of women in the early PAONL.⁵² Finally, in Paul Pinsent's M.A. thesis "The

⁴⁹ Burton K. Janes, "Floods Upon the Dry Ground: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, 1910-1939" (Masters thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991).

⁵⁰ Ibid., 83-6.

⁵¹ Ibid., 96.

⁵² David B. Milley, "A Study of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland's Message of Separation" (D.Min. thesis, Providence Theological Seminary, 1999); and, Brenda Hattie-Longmire, "'Sit down, brother!': Alice B. Garrigus and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland" (Masters thesis, Mount Saint Vincent University, 2003). See also F. Frankel, "A Study of Religious Life in Newfoundland Fishing Communities, with Particular Reference to Pentecostalism," 1970, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador; Merv Anthony, "Pentecostalism in Newfoundland: The First Thirty-five Years (1910-1945)," 1982, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador; and, Christian A. Cartwright, "Charismatic Culture in St. John's, Newfoundland: A Cross-denominational Study of Religious Folklife in Three Groups" (Ph.D. Diss., Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1983). Regarding the PAONL and the Newfoundland and Labrador denominational education system see Frederick David Rideout, *History of Pentecostal Schools in Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's, NL: Good Tidings Press, 1992).

Institutionalization of Experiential Religion: A Study of Newfoundland Pentecostalism,”⁵³ the PAONL’s transition from “Introversionistic Sect (1910-1920)” to “Conversionistic Sect (1920-1937),” is charted until it became thoroughly institutionalized. Pinsent notes that the latter phase of institutionalization is characterized by internal conflict, organizational changes, the influence of secularization and the eventual deterioration of distinctive teachings. Providing an example of the latter, Pinsent makes the observation that whereas early Pentecostal apocalyptic doctrine connected the ecumenical movement with the rise of the Antichrist, current Pentecostal ministers regularly participate in services involving clergy from other denominations.⁵⁴

Eschatology in the PAONL One Hundred Years After Bethesda Mission’s Opening

One hundred years after Garrigus and the Fowlers opened Bethesda Mission every issue of *Good Tidings* publishes the PAONL’s “Statement of Faith,” including the eschatological declaration, “We believe in the Blessed Hope—the Rapture of the Church at Christ’s coming.”⁵⁵ In view that the official eschatological emphasis of the PAONL remains strong, a logical question arises, “Is the denomination’s prioritization of premillennial eschatology shared by its advocates and congregants?” Or put another way, “Is there any evidence of a de-emphasis of eschatology in the PAONL when we compare the period 1910-1949 and the present?” Pinsent argued that the PAONL experienced a

Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals have considered other areas of Pentecostalism including, Ronald E. Osmond, “A Study and Evaluation of the Anointing of the Holy Spirit in Relation to Preaching the Word of God: A Pentecostal Perspective,” 1992, private collection; Garry E. Milley, “The Theological Self-understanding of the Azusa Street Pentecostals (1906-1908): A Study of the Azusa Street Papers,” n.d., private collection; Bradley Truman Noel, “Pentecostal and Postmodern Hermeneutics: Comparisons and Contemporary Impact” (Th.D. thesis, University of South Africa, 2007); idem, *Pentecostal and Postmodern Hermeneutics: Comparisons and Contemporary Impact* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2010); and, Clarence Buckle, and Rick L. Walston, *The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland View of Divorce and Remarriage* (St. John’s, NL: Good Tidings Press, 2006).

⁵³ William Paul Pinsent, “The Institutionalization of Experiential Religion: A Study of Newfoundland Pentecostalism” (Masters thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1998).

⁵⁴ Ibid., 174.

⁵⁵ “Statement of Faith,” *Good Tidings* 67, no. 5 (September-October 2011): 2.

de-emphasis of distinctive teaching as the group moved through the latter stages of the process of institutionalization.

One of the few resources available to compare and contrast PAONL doctrine over its long history, are the denomination's periodicals. The editors of these journals printed articles that supported PAONL doctrine and policies. If a doctrine was addressed regularly in a periodical then it is reasonable to assume the editor and writers of that time believed it was a priority. A quantitative analysis for the presence of "Spirit baptism" and "eschatology"⁵⁶ within the Newfoundland Pentecostal journal *Good Tidings* and its precursors⁵⁷ provides evidence supporting Pinsent's thesis that a de-emphasis of distinctive teaching has occurred in the PAONL. In regard to articles on eschatology, 75% of the issues published from 1924-1929 contained at least one article addressing the doctrine. The editors at this time prioritized eschatology in their journals. By the 1935-1959 period only 33.3% of issues included an eschatology article. These percentages dropped again to 23% in the 1960s, 18.6% in the 1970s, 9.5% in the 1980s and only 4.7% in the 1990s. Again, if the presence of a specific doctrine in a denomination's periodical is reflective of how important that generation of advocates view the subject, then, despite the continued publishing of the PAONL "Statement of Faith," a de-emphasis of eschatology has definitively occurred.

⁵⁶ David Lorne Newman, "The Pentecostal Movement in Newfoundland: The Post 1960 De-emphasis of Original Characteristic Distinctives," p. 26, private collection.

⁵⁷ Precursors to *Good Tidings* which were published by Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals prior to 1935 include *The Independent Communion* (1924-1925), published by Vaters during his ministry at the independent Victoria Mission; *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* (1927) and *Pentecostal Evangel* (1928), both published by Kenneth S. Barnes while directing his independent Elim Mission; *The Pentecostal Herald* (1928), published by the PAONL; and, *Newfoundland Pentecostal Evangel* (1929), which was an amalgamation of the *Pentecostal Evangel* and, *The Pentecostal Herald*, and printed by Barnes. From 1929 to 1935 no periodical was published by the PAONL due in part to the Great Depression. Newfoundland Pentecostalism was reported in the PAOC periodical *The Pentecostal Testimony* as early as 1929. See G. A. Chambers, "Newfoundland Annual Conference," *The Pentecostal Testimony* 10, no. 6 (June 1929); and, Eugene Vaters, "Newfoundland Section: Superintendent's Report," *The Pentecostal Testimony* 10, no. 9 (September 1929): 10.

If the periodical analysis accurately reveals a de-emphasis of eschatology occurring in the PAONL than a corresponding de-emphasis should be occurring in other areas of denominational activity, such as preaching themes. A 2002 survey of PAONL personnel seems to suggest that though eschatology remains intellectually significant, it is declining as a pulpit subject. Though most respondents identified “the imminent return of Christ” as a cardinal truth and overwhelmingly considered “pretribulationism” as their eschatological position, the doctrine on a practical level received limited attention in monthly sermons.⁵⁸ In 2008 Reverend Paul Foster, the sixth General Superintendent of the PAONL, presented a report titled “The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador: Reflections on Historical Trends, 1991-2007.” In no uncertain terms Foster declares that a de-emphasis of distinctive teaching, including eschatology, has occurred in the PAONL when he states:

Historically our main teaching/preaching themes were the “Foursquare Gospel,” Jesus as Saviour, Healer, Baptizer and Coming King... Much emphasis was placed on preaching prophecy and the soon return of Jesus Christ. This expectancy affected people’s relationship with God and people, and caused believers to live in purity and readiness and with an eternal perspective. When one preached prophetically, the results were often salvation, healing, baptisms and renewal in the one service... The subjects of divine healing, the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the return of Jesus seem to be heard less and with some lost passion and enthusiasm. There seems to be a downplaying of our “distinctives” and the style of church evangelism we were once known for.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ David Lorne Newman, “A Brief Survey of The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador regarding Eschatological-Pneumatological Issues: General Conference 2002,” private collection.

⁵⁹ H. Paul Foster, *The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador: Reflections on Historical Trends, 1991-2007, PAONL Discipleship Conference Report, 2008* (Lewisporte, NL: PAONL Discipleship Conference, 2008), PAONL Archive. Foster encouraged PAONL ministers to have an eschatological focus. See H. Paul Foster, to “Fellow Pastors,” 3 February 2005, PAONL Archive. “In reality we cannot even allow issues to seriously distract us from our mission of fulfilling the Great Commission. Prophecy is being fulfilled before our eyes in these “last days” and we are not surprised with the happenings around us. Meanwhile, we too are upholders of righteousness and avail of avenues to raise Biblical standards in the midst of our pluralistic society.” See also H. Paul Foster, to “Friends,” 9 December 2011, PAONL Archive. Foster’s Christmas correspondence to PAONL ministers encourages them to “Celebrate the coming of a Saviour!,” and “Anticipate His next coming for His Church!” The PAOC is also demonstrating concern regarding a de-emphasis of imminent eschatology. See Randall Holm, “Apocalypse Deferred: Recovering

At a subsequent conference that same year, Reverend Clarence Buckle, PAONL General Secretary-Treasurer presented a demographic analysis of the PAONL entitled “State of the Fellowship Address,” in which attendance and financial concerns were identified. Buckle responded in part by connecting the data and eschatology, calling for a “missional theology... rooted in a deep unshakeable eschatological hope. This is God’s world and God’s future. Therefore, we do not lose hope or give up- we live toward a new future.”⁶⁰ Margaret Poloma’s analysis of the AG revealed a similar de-emphasis, leading to her evaluation that the denomination was becoming “a cultural Pentecostalism that increasingly assumes an Evangelical identity at the expense of Pentecostal experience.”⁶¹

Although a decline of eschatology at the centennial mark of the movement is a significant development, and is in part a product of the period 1910-1949, evaluating such a de-emphasis in the present is beyond the purview of this thesis. A future researcher might consider what factors from early decades led to such an eschatological de-emphasis in the periodical literature and whether the denomination as a whole is experiencing the same decline. The present thesis focuses on documents from the 1858 to 1949 period. From these primary materials the thesis will provide evidence of the significant role that eschatology played in the theology, spirituality and rhetoric of Newfoundland and Labrador’s Pentecostals during their first forty years.

the message of Christ’s return,” *Testimony Magazine* 93, no. 1 (January 2012): 27. Holm writes, “At the beginning of the 20th century, Pentecostals were convinced that the burst of charismatic activity they were experiencing was a harbinger of the soon return of Christ... That was one hundred years ago. All those early pioneers have gone home to be with Jesus—by more conventional means. Jesus has not yet returned.”

⁶⁰ Clarence Buckle, *State of the Fellowship Address, 51st General Conference* (Lewisporte, NL: PAONL General Conference, 2008), PAONL Archive. See also H. Paul Foster, *Response to General Conference 2008 “State of the Fellowship Address” at General Conference 2010* (Lewisporte, NL: PAONL General Conference, 2010), PAONL Archive. Foster concludes his response with a list of actions for “moving forward” including, “a renewed awareness of the soon return of Christ and all that it entails for the church, particularly an urgency towards God’s plan for His church.”

⁶¹ Margaret M. Poloma, *Charisma and Structure in The Assemblies of God: Revisiting O’Dea’s Five Dilemmas*, Uakron.edu.www3.uakron.edu/sociology/AoGPastors02.pdf, 19.

Primary Sources

Primary materials from Garrigus' life in New England are limited to her serialized autobiography "Walking in the King's Highway,"⁶² the First Fruit Harvester's periodical *The Sheaf of the First Fruits*, and a limited number of institutional and government documents. The early years of Bethesda are referenced in Garrigus' correspondence in New England, the "Walking in the King's Highway" series, recorded memories of participants, and secondary materials related to the mission, such as municipal data. Significantly, minutes, correspondence and other official documents related to Bethesda Mission in the period 1910-1926 are virtually non-existent. An individual connected with the early years of the mission claimed a Bethesda leader was seen destroying the mission's official documents with the justifying statement, "it is time to get the dust-laden boxes of papers to the dump."⁶³ Descriptions of the Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest crusades that spurred Pentecostal growth in Newfoundland and Labrador were published in the St. John's newspaper *The Daily News*. Garrigus and other Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals also wrote essays on various subjects that were published in PAONL and other periodicals. Material from Garrigus' latter years is largely limited to correspondence to friends and colleagues.

Primary sources pertaining to Reverend Eugene Vaters' life prior to leading the PAONL include his ministry reports in the *Methodist Monthly Greeting*, his letters to the Rochester Bible Training Institute, reprinted in *Trust*, the school's periodical, and his personal publication of the *Independent Communion* at Victoria in 1924 and 1925. Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism is reflected more widely in subsequent

⁶² Alice B. Garrigus serialized autobiography was published under the title "Walking in the King's Highway" in *Good Tidings* issues September 1938-December 1942.

⁶³ Burton K. Janes, "Floods Upon the Dry Ground," 1.

journals, including Kenneth Barnes' 1927 periodical *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* and his 1928 successor *Pentecostal Evangel*. In 1928 the PAONL published *The Pentecostal Herald* before amalgamating in 1929 with Barnes' journal to release the *Newfoundland Pentecostal Herald*. Though as short-lived as these periodicals were, they include articles and ministry reports by Garrigus, Vaters, Barnes, Robert C. English, the latter being the PAONL's first General Superintendent, and many other early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal leaders. In April 1935, the PAONL under Vaters' direction commenced publication of *Good Tidings*, which remains the official organ of the denomination. It is the single most important source of primary written material by Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals prior to 1950 and beyond.

Other primary documents include circular correspondence from General Superintendent Vaters to PAONL ministers, correspondence between Pentecostal participants, denominational minutes, published and unpublished memoirs, and a logbook from a missionary marine vessel. Each of these primary sources will be used toward the goal of demonstrating the significance of eschatology in early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism.

Task of this Thesis

While extant literature has touched briefly on Pentecostal eschatology, no special study has yet appeared that examines its vital importance for Pentecostal origins and its early development in Newfoundland and Labrador. This thesis will demonstrate the significant role eschatology played in Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal theology, spirituality and rhetoric from 1910-1949. Following the introduction, the thesis establishes in chapter two, "The Context of Early Newfoundland and Labrador

Pentecostalism,” providing an overview of the Premillennial movement, the Holiness movement, the North American Pentecostal movement, and the relevant Newfoundland and Labrador Christian traditions prior to the arrival of Garrigus and the Fowlers. It is from and within this religious milieu that Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal eschatology will be situated. Following the description of the context, the thesis considers in chapter three, “Eschatology Among the Earliest Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal Leadership: Alice Belle Garrigus (1858-1910) and Eugene Vaters (1898-1927).” The thesis first surveys eschatological influences in Garrigus’ life, from her early years in New England to her departure for Newfoundland and Labrador and any eschatological views she may have brought with her to the dominion. The chapter continues with a survey of Eugene Vaters’ life to 1927 prior to his taking over the leadership of the PAONL as well as his exposure to eschatology and apocalypticism prior to joining the Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals. With the context of PAONL eschatology established and the influences upon the early leadership noted, the thesis will then identify the presence of eschatology within the growing institution and examine how it was used.

In chapter four, “The Scope of Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal Eschatology, 1910-1949,” the thesis will examine the importance and pervasiveness of eschatology in the early years of the PAONL. During the period 1910-1923 the first generation of leadership established Bethesda Mission as a centre of Latter Rain eschatological teaching and experience but failed to see it become a missionary enterprise. Though eschatology remained a vital component of Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism, the thesis will demonstrate significant changes that occurred in

its articulation during the 1924-1949 period, including the popularization of dispensational premillennialism, the gradual decline of Latter Rain teaching, and the practical disappearance of “entire sanctification” from the PAONL.⁶⁴ In chapter five, “The Theological Development of Eschatology in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador,” the thesis will identify the theological expressions of eschatology presented by early advocates. Donald W. Dayton’s *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*⁶⁵ and D. William Faupel’s *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought*⁶⁶ will be used to contextualize and provide a conceptual framework for early Pentecostal eschatology. The chapter closes by observing that early Pentecostals used dispensational writers from around the world in an effort to popularize its eschatology. In Chapter Six, “The Spirituality and Rhetoric of Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador Eschatology,” the thesis will demonstrate the significant influence that eschatology had upon the spirituality of church members and how early Pentecostal advocates presented their eschatology rhetorically. Regarding the relationship between eschatology and spirituality, the observations presented in Steven J. Land’s *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion For The Kingdom*⁶⁷ and Harvey Cox’s *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century*⁶⁸ are considered. Grant Wacker’s *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture*⁶⁹ and Steven D.

⁶⁴ David Lorne Newman, *A Brief Survey*. A survey of PAONL ministers in 2002 asked the question, “How does ‘sanctification’ occur?” Of the 106 respondents 100 identified “Positional at salvation, progressive in life, complete at glorification,” and only 3 individuals “A second work of grace- ‘entire sanctification’- experience.”

⁶⁵ See footnote 17.

⁶⁶ See footnote 23.

⁶⁷ See footnote 21.

⁶⁸ See footnote 22.

⁶⁹ See footnote 24.

O’Leary’s *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric*⁷⁰ will be applied to the early Newfoundland Pentecostal context to demonstrate the role of rhetoric in the presentation of early PAONL eschatology.

⁷⁰ Stephen D. O’Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1994).

CHAPTER 2

THE CONTEXT OF EARLY NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR PENTECOSTAL ESCHATOLOGY

To determine the influence that eschatology has had on the development and expression of early PAONL theology, spirituality and rhetoric, the context must first be established. Eschatological themes have been prevalent in the denomination from the Easter Sunday 1910 inception of Bethesda Mission to the close of 1949, the year when Newfoundlanders and Labradorians entered into Confederation with Canada and Alice Belle Garrigus, “co-founder” of the PAONL, died at Clarke’s Beach, Newfoundland and Labrador. The movement’s vibrant hope of the imminent return of Christ and its experiential approach to pneumatology produced a dynamic tension between doctrine and spirituality that is consistent with other Pentecostal denominations. Douglas Jacobsen notes:

Within early Pentecostalism, theology and experience went hand in hand... Experience alone was considered dangerous. Every pentecostal leader worth his or her salt knew that... Experience alone did not make one a pentecostal. It was experience interpreted in a pentecostal way that made one a pentecostal.⁷¹

Pentecostal ecstatic spirituality was itself part of a long tradition of experiential religion. Peter W. Williams writes: “Pentecostalism was the true successor in many ways to the enthusiastic movements that had characterized the religion of the frontier during the first two Great Awakenings.”⁷² The context of Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal eschatology is dominated by the significant influence of the religious traditions that theologically and culturally contributed to early Pentecostalism, including

⁷¹ Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003), 3.

⁷² Peter W. Williams, *Popular Religion in America: Symbolic Change and the Modernization Process in Historical Perspective* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 143.

premillennialism, the Holiness and Pentecostal movements, and the region's own religious history. The first promoters of Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal eschatology heralded their message to a community associated with some of North America's oldest Christian traditions⁷³ and most recent evangelical movements.

The Premillennial Movement

Premillennial eschatology is an essential component of Newfoundland Pentecostalism expressed in both the five-fold and four-square versions of the full gospel as "Jesus—Coming King." A summary of the history and teaching of the Premillennial Movement will contribute to understanding the context of Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal eschatology.

Millennialism has been present throughout Christian history. Christian millennialism may be subdivided into three groups—amillennialism, postmillennialism, and premillennialism—each defined by its distinctive interpretation of biblical passages describing the millennium, a prophesied thousand-year period of earthly peace. Amillennialists view the biblical millennium as a figurative event and, therefore, often interpret millennial passages allegorically. Postmillennialism includes allegorical and biblical literalist traditions. Postmillennialists that subscribe to biblical literalism teach that an actual millennium will be inaugurated after the Church has successfully transformed the world into a Christian society. In this system, the Parousia—the Second Coming of Christ—occurs following the millennium. Premillennialists are biblical literalists and teach that only Christ can establish a sustained era of global peace and

⁷³ Mark A. Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World: The History of North American Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2002).

Christian piety. Therefore, the millennium will be inaugurated upon his return to the earth.⁷⁴

By the mid-eighteenth century, postmillennialism had become the prevalent eschatological position in North America, in part through the ministry of Congregational revivalist, Jonathan Edwards.⁷⁵ Many American Christian leaders, in view of global missionary outreach, the social gospel, and technological advancement, were convinced that the world was on the cusp of the millennium.⁷⁶ Unlike North America, the European Church taught eschatology in the shadow of the French Revolution. This environment fostered historicist premillennialism, according to which eschatological passages provided a symbolic history of Christianity and were applied to contemporary events using a “millennial arithmetic.”⁷⁷ William Miller,⁷⁸ an upstate New York farmer and Baptist layman, employed his own version of historicist premillennialism and publicly

⁷⁴ Robert G. Clouse, ed., *The Meaning of the Millennium: Four Views* (Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1977). The volume presents four eschatological positions—Historical Premillennialism (George Eldon Ladd), Dispensational Premillennialism (Herman A. Hoyt), Postmillennialism (Lorraine Boettner) and Amillennialism (Anthony A. Hoekema). Advocates of each position present an essay followed by a response from the other three writers. See also Mal Couch, ed., *Dictionary of Premillennial Theology: A Practical Guide to the People, Viewpoints, and History of Prophetic Studies* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1996); Millard J. Erickson, *Contemporary Options in Eschatology: A Study in the Millennium* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1983); Anthony A. Hoekema, *The Bible and the Future* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1984); and, Robin A. Parry and Christopher H. Partridge, ed., *Universal Salvation? The Current Debate* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003).

⁷⁵ For an historical survey of revivalism in North America see William Warren Sweet, *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth and Decline* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944); William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1978); George A. Rawlyk, *Wrapped Up In God: A Study of Several Canadian Revivals and Revivalists* (Burlington, ON: Welch Publishing Company, 1988); Paul K. Conkin, *Cane Ridge: America's Pentecost* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); and, Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall Balmer, ed., *Modern Christian Revivals* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

⁷⁶ Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 68.

⁷⁷ I use this phrase to denote the complicated computations advocated applied in an effort to determine the timing of the Parousia. Garrigus applied a variation in *Signs of the Coming of the King* a document Bethesda Mission distributed in the downtown and to harbour. See Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King* (St. John's, NL: Manning and Rabbits Printers, 1928?), 4, PAONL Archive.

⁷⁸ David T. Arthur, “Millerism,” in *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Edwin G. Gaustad (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1974), 154.

rejected postmillennialism by preaching throughout the northeastern United States that the Parousia would occur “about the year 1843.” When Christ failed to return that year, or on the revised date of 22 October 1844, date setting⁷⁹ became unfashionable in view of the “the Great Disappointment.”⁸⁰ For many the postmillennial vision of the United States leading the planet into an age of righteousness was also proved unattainable by the horror of the Civil War,⁸¹ which was declared as divine punishment for the crime of slavery.⁸²

Premillennialism’s hope in an imminent Parousia now seemed the only viable alternative. In England, the Plymouth Brethren promoted futurist premillennialism, an eschatological system that avoided date setting by interpreting prophetic passages as being the largely unfulfilled “last days” prior to the Parousia. Plymouth Brethren leader, John Nelson Darby, developed a variation of the futurist position, dispensationalism.⁸³ His system argued that history is a series of epochs that begins with God aiding humanity and which ends with humanity rejecting him. What separated dispensationalists from other futurists was a literal interpretation of prophetic scriptures, a radical dichotomy between Israel and the Church, and the creation of a postponement theory, according to which Christ turned his attention to the Gentiles after his rejection by the Jews.⁸⁴ Darby taught that a seven-year period of divinely imposed judgment upon the earth would occur prior to Christ’s return. In response to concern regarding the place of the church during

⁷⁹ See Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 3. Garrigus quotes Matthew 24.36, stating “no man knows the day nor the hour” of Christ’s return.

⁸⁰ Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 81.

⁸¹ James H. Moorhead, *American Apocalypse: Yankee Protestants and the Civil War, 1860-1869* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1978).

⁸² Orville Vernon Burton, *The Age of Lincoln* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2007), 49.

⁸³ Peter E. Prosser, *Dispensational Eschatology and Its Influence on American and British Religious Movements* (Queenston, ON: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1999).

⁸⁴ Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism 1875-1982* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 17-9.

this “Great Tribulation,” Darby developed the doctrine of a “secret rapture.” Christians would be “caught up” to be with Christ prior to the Great Tribulation. With the aid of Cyrus I. Scofield, the influential editor of the *Scofield Reference Bible*, North American evangelicalism became enamoured with Darby’s dispensationalism.

The Civil War, urbanization, industrialization, and the immigration of large numbers of Roman Catholics and non-Christians profoundly altered North American culture.⁸⁵ In response, premillennialists and other conservative Protestant leaders gathered in New York City in 1868 to discuss a religious programme that would resist such changes. Subsequent annual conferences took place at a variety of locations. Finally, from 1833 to 1897 in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, a series of meetings known as the Niagara Bible Conference took place.⁸⁶ In 1878, premillennialists initiated their own eschatological symposium—the First American Bible and Prophetic Conference—after which dispensationalism became the commanding eschatological position. The interdenominational representatives of late-nineteenth century dispensationalism included Presbyterian James H. Brookes, Christian and Missionary Alliance founder Albert B. Simpson, Baptist Adoniram J. Gordon, Reformed George Bishop, Congregationalist Cyrus I. Scofield, and revivalists Dwight L. Moody and Billy Sunday. These leaders spread dispensationalism locally through preaching, conferences, publications and training colleges. A declaration by Reuben A. Torrey, that the “premillennial doctrine of the second coming was the ultimate antidote for all fidelity and the impregnable bulwark against liberalism and false cults”⁸⁷ was affirmed by many Protestant conservatives, who

⁸⁵ Ibid., 24.

⁸⁶ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 1970), 132-4.

⁸⁷ Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow*, 28.

appreciated the movement's opposition to higher criticism, commitment to historical primitivism, acceptance of supernaturalism, and promotion of a millenarian hope.⁸⁸

The Holiness Movement

The Holiness Movement would provide early Pentecostalism with an evangelical-ecstatic tradition, a theological foundation, and its first generation of leadership and congregants. The Holiness Movement represents an essential contribution to early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal eschatology.

The North American Holiness movement, an interdenominational hybrid of Wesleyan and Reformed Holiness traditions, emerged in the aftermath of the Second Great Awakening. The fourfold doctrine of the movement was summarized by Albert B. Simpson as "Jesus—Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer and Coming King."⁸⁹ The Wesleyan wing of the Holiness movement arose in response to changes within Methodist doctrine and piety. Conservative advocates, calling for a reaffirmation of traditional ideals, were successful in promoting their goals through both a network of home-based teaching centres, inspired by Sarah Lankford's "Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness," and her sister Phoebe Palmer's "altar theology," an Americanized version of Christian Perfection that taught an instantaneous experience. Mass distribution of publications, such as Timothy Merritt's *The Guide to Christian Perfection*, provided an influential voice for the movement at the end of the nineteenth century.⁹⁰ The Reformed wing of the Holiness movement was initiated at Oberlin College in the form of Oberlin Perfectionism, a call to individual and church-wide sanctification. Initially, the movement

⁸⁸ Ibid., 36-41.

⁸⁹ C. Nienkirchen, "Simpson, Albert Benjamin," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), 786-7. See Albert Benjamin Simpson, *The Fourfold Gospel* (Goodyear, AZ: Diggory Press, 2007).

⁹⁰ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 61-4.

was marked by its participation in social causes, such as the abolition of slavery and the temperance movement. By the end of the American Civil War, however, it had primarily become a spiritual quest.⁹¹ *The Higher Christian Life*, written by the Presbyterian William E. Boardman inspired many non-Wesleyans to become part of the Holiness movement.⁹²

The Holiness movement reached its peak during the North American 1857-1858 Revival. Sparked by Phoebe Palmer's ministry in Hamilton, Ontario, a firestorm of prayer meetings swept across the continent's northern cities. The postmillennial vision provided an interdenominational incentive to encourage entire sanctification as a personal preparation for the millennium. Imagery from Acts 2 became prevalent as a united Holiness movement anticipated that "a Pentecostal outpouring would culminate rapidly in the establishment of the millennial kingdom."⁹³ Wesleyan and Reformed leaders worked together, despite a definitive difference in how they viewed entire sanctification. Wesleyans understood the experience as substantive, catalyzed by a cathartic single event subsequent to salvation and resulting in an actual change within an individual's nature. Reformists saw the experience relationally, leading to a freedom from the power of sin. These differences became more obvious with the popularity of the "Keswick solution," which swept the Reformed wing. Affirming much of Wesleyan doctrine, it also proved Calvinist-friendly, stating "the sinful nature is rendered inoperative as the believer yields to the power of the Spirit."⁹⁴

⁹¹ Ibid., 64-9.

⁹² Ibid., 71.

⁹³ Ibid., 70-5.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 68-9. See footnote 14.

The proliferation of the “Pentecostal-power” theme however, eventually led to divisions within the Holiness movement. In what became known as “the Classical solution,” Palmer taught that the Wesleyan theme of “cleansing” and the Pentecostal theme of “power” reflected the “negative and positive aspects of the baptism of the Holy Spirit.”⁹⁵ This was significantly different from the Reform-based Keswick formulation, which, by removing Spirit Baptism completely from Christian Perfection, saw sanctification occurring throughout life in dramatic and gradual experiences. American revivalists such as Reuben A. Torrey focused on these dramatic moments, teaching that a transfer of power occurred, identifying this as “the baptism with the Holy Spirit.”⁹⁶ The “Third Blessing” theory offered an experience subsequent to both justification and entire sanctification. Applying the eschatological framework of John Fletcher, John Wesley’s designated successor, preachers such as Benjamin H. Irwin and Ralph C. Horner linked sanctification with Christ and the cross, and Spirit Baptism with the Holy Spirit and the Day of Pentecost.⁹⁷

Although the Reformed wing was the first to make the eschatological shift to premillennialism after the Civil War, eventually the position held the allegiance of much of the Wesleyan wing, as well. The acceptance of premillennialism created a new expectation for holiness advocates—an imminent Parousia. “As the movement neared the turn of the century,” Faupel writes, “expectations arose that God was about to restore apostolic authority and power to the church to enable it to accomplish his end-time purposes.”⁹⁸ Despite divisions, Holiness advocates could boast by the end of the

⁹⁵ Ibid., 84-5.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 85-7.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 87-90.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 114.

nineteenth century of a network of independent city missions, revivalistic camp-meetings, and a “new genre of Holiness-experience songs.”⁹⁹ At the centre of the movement’s theology and spirituality was an imminent premillennial eschatology and a vibrant experiential pneumatology.

Accompanying the Premillennial and Holiness movements were other interweaving spiritual campaigns. Nancy A. Hardesty observes the “divine healing movement in the United States is also rooted in the various Holiness movements of the nineteenth century, especially the theology and practice of John Wesley.”¹⁰⁰ The conservative nature of these movements, make them natural forerunners and contributors to the developing Fundamentalist-Evangelical movement.¹⁰¹ Whereas the ecstatic nature of Holiness teaching would be a point of conflict for some Fundamentalist teachers, it would become the launching point of Pentecostalism.¹⁰²

North American Pentecostalism

Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism is a branch of the larger North American Pentecostal Movement. The Azusa Street Revival, understood to be the birthplace of the Pentecostal Movement, began in April 1906. Only five years later Bethesda Mission opened in St. John’s. The events leading to Azusa Street, a description of what occurred in Los Angeles, and the early growth of the Pentecostal movement prior

⁹⁹ C.E. Jones, “Holiness Movement,” in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), 406.

¹⁰⁰ Nancy A. Hardesty, *Faith Cure: Divine Healing in the Holiness and Pentecostal Movements* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 27.

¹⁰¹ See Ernest R. Sandeen, *Roots of Fundamentalism*; George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1980); and, idem, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1991).

¹⁰² Newfoundlander John M. Pike played a significant role in the North American Holiness movement. See Burton K. Janes, “The Holiness and Pentecostal Movements: The Newfoundland Connection (The Life and Ministry of John M. Pike),” private collection.

to its arrival in Newfoundland and Labrador contribute to the context of Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal eschatology.

Charles Fox Parham is viewed by many as the theological pioneer of Classical Pentecostalism's most distinctive teaching, tongue-speaking as the initial evidence of Spirit Baptism.¹⁰³ After, leaving the Methodist Church to become an independent Holiness evangelist and opening a series of unsuccessful faith-based healing and ministry training missions, Parham established the Beth-el Healing Home in Topeka, Kansas, in 1898. In December 1900, prior to leaving for a three-day preaching tour, he instructed his students to pray, fast and study the book of Acts in an effort to identify the biblical sign of Spirit Baptism. Upon his return, he was informed that each student had arrived at the same conclusion, that the repeated sign was tongue-speaking. During a New Year's watch-night prayer meeting, Agnes N. Ozman requested Parham to pray that she would receive Spirit Baptism with the accompanying sign. Parham claimed that Ozman began to speak and write in the Chinese language.¹⁰⁴ The restoration of the charismatic gifts identified in Acts would become a focal point of Pentecostalism. Early Pentecostal advocates would scan church history to identify examples of a faithful ecstatic remnant.¹⁰⁵

Closing his mission, Parham travelled for four years across the Midwest, preaching the distinctive doctrine. He taught that Spirit-baptized believers spoke actual

¹⁰³ Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, 18.

¹⁰⁴ James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville, AK: University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 66. Parham's account of the experience is related in Sarah E. Parham, *The Life of Charles F. Parham, Founder of the Apostolic Faith Movement* (Baxter Springs, KS: by the author, 1930), 51-6.

¹⁰⁵ See D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 37; Alice B. Garrigus, "Signs of the Coming of the King," *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 2 (December 1928): 7; and, Ronald A.N. Kydd, *The Charismatic Gifts in the Early Church* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1984).

languages—xenoglossia—in preaching to foreign peoples,¹⁰⁶ and that only Christians who experienced Spirit Baptism would be “sealed” to escape the Great Tribulation.¹⁰⁷ If one adds conditional immortality,¹⁰⁸ British Israelism, dispensational premillennialism and Latter Rain Pentecostal teaching, the result will be what Grant Wacker calls, “The labyrinthine prolixity of Charles Parham’s eschatological ponderings.”¹⁰⁹ In 1905, Parham opened a Bible school in Houston, Texas, where the future leader of the Azusa Street Revival, William Joseph Seymour,¹¹⁰ first heard Parham’s Pentecostal theology.¹¹¹

Seymour, like Parham, was affiliated with a Methodist congregation¹¹² but converted to the Holiness group called the “Evening Light Saints” after attending their meeting at the Church of God Reformation Movement (Anderson, Indiana). In 1903 he moved to Houston and accepted an invitation to become the pastor of a Holiness church, later enrolling in Parham’s school. After hearing Parham’s teaching, Seymour accepted the call to minister at another Holiness congregation in Los Angeles on the corner of 9th and Santa Fe. En route, he preached Parham’s version of Spirit Baptism, although he had yet to experience it himself. When he continued to preach Spirit Baptism evidenced by tongue-speaking at the Los Angeles church, his host, Pastor Julia W. Hutchins locked Seymour out. Undeterred, he taught in the home of Richard Asberry on Bonnie Brae

¹⁰⁶ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 174-6; James R. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, 15-6, 72-5, 133, 154.

¹⁰⁷ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 26.

¹⁰⁸ Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 41.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹¹⁰ Craig Borlase, *William Seymour: A Biography* (Lake Mary, FL: Charisma House, 2006).

¹¹¹ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 197-8; James R. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, 107-11; and, Craig Borlase, *William Seymour*, 81-4. Due to racially inspired segregation practices Seymour had to listen to Parham’s lectures separate from the white students.

¹¹² Seymour converted to the Methodist Episcopal Church sometime following his move to Indianapolis in 1894. See Vinson Synan, “Seymour, William Joseph,” in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1998), 778-81. Following Parham’s conversion to Congregationalism, he became a minister with the Methodist church in Kansas. See James R. Goff, Jr., “Parham, Charles Fox,” in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1998), 660-1.

Street. Seymour and others subsequently received the tongues experience, the resultant tumult bringing notoriety.¹¹³ Seymour and his new congregation arranged for services at an old building at 312 Azusa Street that had housed an African Methodist Episcopal church, but had been more recently used as a stable and warehouse. The ecstatic events that had occurred at Bonnie Brae Street were repeated at Azusa Street.¹¹⁴ The varied response from the Los Angeles holiness community identified both God and the devil as the source of the primal speech and interracial worship.¹¹⁵ The *Los Angeles Times* covered the ecstatic happenings at Azusa Street in the 18 April 1906 issue.

The devotees of the weird doctrine practice the most fanatical rites, preach the wildest theories and work themselves into a state of mad excitement in their peculiar zeal. Colored people and a sprinkling of whites compose the congregation, and night is made hideous in the neighborhood by the howling of the worshipers, who spend hours swaying back and forth in a nerve-racking attitude of prayer and supplication. They claim to have the “gift of tongues,” and to be able to understand the babel.¹¹⁶

On the day Los Angeles was introduced to what would become the spiritual epicenter of the burgeoning Pentecostal movement, San Francisco was decimated by an earthquake.

The possibility of coincidence for the participants was unimaginable.¹¹⁷ Simon

Winchester writes,

Frank Bartleman, a wandering preacher who had come to Azusa Street and was helping Seymour deal with the throngs knew immediately what the onset of seismic mayhem truly meant... “When thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness...” The earthquake convinced him of the wisdom and truth of the Pentecostal approach... Thousands of copies of Frank Bartleman’s hastily written tract, in which he claimed excitedly but with impressive sincerity, that the

¹¹³ Vinson Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal, 1901-2001* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001), 46-50.

¹¹⁴ See Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 16.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 50-61; and *idem*, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 110-1. G. Campbell Morgan described the Azusa happenings as “the last vomit of Satan.” See Randall Herbert Palmer, *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 391.

¹¹⁶ *Los Angeles Times*, 18 April 1906.

¹¹⁷ See Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 6.

earthquake was “the voice of God,” gave Seymour’s group an aura of respectability and of divine imprimatur.¹¹⁸

Amid the controversy, people from across North America and elsewhere visited the Azusa Street mission. Many experienced tongue-speaking before returning home to promote the doctrine. Others accepted the teaching through the mission’s periodical *The Apostolic Faith*.¹¹⁹ Met with antagonism by religious leadership, proponents of tongue-speaking often abandoned their associations to establish independent missions or unite with more sympathetic denominations. Many such groups simply added the Pentecostal distinctive of tongue-speaking to their doctrinal repertoire. Those purporting a “fourfold gospel” including the COG upgraded to a “fivefold gospel,” by adding “Baptizer” thus yielding Jesus—Saviour, Healer, Sanctifier, Baptizer and Coming King. Ministers and churches with historical ties to Methodism generally subscribed to the fivefold rubric. Those who insisted on only one “work of grace” subsequent to salvation united the activities of Jesus as “Sanctifier” and “Baptizer” into the latter, thus creating a revised “fourfold gospel.” Many with Reformed roots were influenced by William Durham’s “Finished Work” theory and accepted the fourfold designation.¹²⁰ The AG, and PAOC would evolve into what became known as “foursquare” organizations. Though the PAONL originated from and was established as a “fivefold” ministry, it too transitioned into a “fourfold” denomination. Both fivefold and fourfold groups subsequently identified themselves with the early Pentecostal title “full gospel.” Spreading quickly,

¹¹⁸ Simon Winchester, *A Crack in the Edge of the World: America and the Great California Earthquake of 1906* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 2006), 335-42. It is interesting that one hundred years after the Azusa Street Revival, a popular nonfiction writer would include a significant section of his treatment of the San Francisco earthquake on the origins of the Pentecostal movement.

¹¹⁹ See Garry E. Milley, “The Theological Self-understanding of the Azusa Street Pentecostals (1906-1908): A Study of the Azusa Street Papers,” private collection.

¹²⁰ See R.M. Riss, “Durham, William H.,” in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1998), 255-6; and, idem, “Finished Work Controversy,” in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, 306-9.

Pentecostal missions were soon present in most major urban North American centres. The network established by the Holiness movement was the web through which the Pentecostal message was disseminated. Women in particular would play significant leadership roles. “As with the holiness movement,” Pope-Levison argues, “Pentecostals recognized the power of the Holy Spirit as validating and authorizing men and women to preach.”¹²¹

Newfoundland and Labrador Christianity

Finally, a key aspect of the eschatological context of early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism is the religious traditions of the dominion prior to the arrival of Garrigus and the Fowlers in 1910. Though Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism have historically been the most influential denominations in Newfoundland and Labrador politics and culture,¹²² their influence on Pentecostalism was minor. Pentecostalism thrived in communities with a history of revivalism extending from evangelical Anglicanism, to Methodism, to Salvationism. Pentecostalism was the latest renewal movement to ignite these “revival-villages.”¹²³ The greatest influence on Pentecostalism would come from the Methodist and Salvation Army communities.¹²⁴

Methodism and Its Contribution to PAONL Eschatology

The Methodist Church made a major contribution to the leadership and membership of the PAONL in its earliest years. Until the mid-eighteenth century, the

¹²¹ Priscilla Pope-Levison, *Turn the Pulpit Loose: Two Centuries of American Women Evangelists* (New York, NY: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2004), 9.

¹²² John P. Greene, *Between Damnation and Starvation: Priests and Merchants in Newfoundland Politics, 1745-1855* (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999).

¹²³ David Lorne Newman, “Revival-Villages: A Tradition of Ecstatic Religion,” private collection. I apply the term “revival-villages” to denote communities in Newfoundland and Labrador that demonstrate an historical presence of evolving ecstatic-revivalistic religion as expressed in the Anglican, Methodist-United Church, Salvation Army and Pentecostal traditions.

¹²⁴ See Burton K. Janes, “Floods Upon the Dry Ground: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, 1910-1939” (Masters thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991).

Newfoundland Anglican church had quelled a move toward the experiential and religious teachings of George Whitfield and other enthusiasts. In 1746, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary William Peaseley stated, “We have not, I thank God, as yet been troubled with that Enthusiastik Spirit, which has rag’d so violently in other parts of America.”¹²⁵ Two decades later, Laurence Coughlan moved to Harbour Grace resulting in Methodism’s first missionary enterprise (1765) and the beginning of revivalism in Newfoundland and Labrador.¹²⁶ This transatlantic evangelistic endeavour occurred in the wake of John Wesley’s criticism of Coughlan’s emphasis of “the subjective elements in religion,” and after Coughlan’s earlier ordination by the controversial Greek Orthodox Bishop, Erasmus, although prior to coming to Newfoundland, Coughlan had received proper ordinations as deacon and priest in the Church of England.¹²⁷ Despite positive reports from 1766, demonstrating a rising spiritual interest, “alienation between the merchant elite and Coughlan’s evangelical flock” was growing.¹²⁸ Under Coughlan’s leadership, a revival occurred, during which “the intensity of the religious manifestations surprised and even alarmed” the ministers. Worshippers cried out in meetings for God’s mercy, and there were deathbed converts who considered their final fate.¹²⁹ Hans Rollmann states:

Coughlan’s “Methodism” was not defined in doctrinal terms. It was experiential. He emphasized personal conversion and temperance in

¹²⁵ William Peaseley, to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), 27 October 1746, U(nited) SPG Letters, Series B; vol. 14, fol. 83-4 (microfilm 95870/9, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, microfilm #471). Cited in Hans Rollmann, “Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland,” in *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, ed. Charles H. H. Scobie and John Webster Grant (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992), 53.

¹²⁶ Hans Rollmann, “Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland,” in *Religion in Newfoundland and Labrador: The Beginnings* 4d., ed., ed. Hans Rollmann (St. John’s, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland, School of General and Continuing Studies, 1988), 4.13.

¹²⁷ Hans Rollmann, “Laurence Coughlan: *The Contribution*,” 54-8.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

effective hellfire and brimstone sermons, organized the believers into classes, and demanded public observance...¹³⁰

Following Coughlan's disillusioned and forced return to England in 1773,¹³¹ a series of lay people and clergymen with varying aptitude and success conducted services in the area. Noteworthy are John Stratton in the Harbour Grace area and John Hoskins in Old Perlican. John McGeary, in Carbonear was Newfoundland's first official Wesleyan Methodist missionary prior to William Black's visit, during which he attempted to organize the Newfoundland region.¹³² Subsequent important events in Newfoundland and Labrador Methodism include the 1814 building of a chapel in St. John's, the union of the six Methodist missions into a district, the joining of Newfoundland and Labrador Methodists to "the Conference of Eastern British America," the division of the island into two regions, and the support of the creation of the Methodist Church of Canada.¹³³ Significant developments in St. John's Methodism to 1910 centre around the establishment and life of the four Methodist congregations that quickly grew, in part due to immigration from the outports—Gower Street,¹³⁴ George Street,¹³⁵ Cochrane Street,¹³⁶ and Wesley¹³⁷ churches.¹³⁸

¹³⁰ Hans Rollmann, "Laurence Coughlan: *Religion*," 4.3. The quote is from the "Introduction to Chapter 4," entitled "Methodism and Congregationalism."

¹³¹ For an evaluation of Coughlan's teaching and the early Methodist piety of Conception Bay see Dawn Barrett, "Revivalism and the Origins of Newfoundland Methodism: 1766-1774" (Masters thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1993); and, Calvin Hollett, *Shouting, Embracing, and Dancing with Ecstasy: The Growth of Methodism in Newfoundland, 1774-1874* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

¹³² Hans Rollmann, "'The Pillars Fall, Yet the Building Stands.' Methodist Lay Preachers and Missionaries in Newfoundland After Coughlan: 1773-1791," in *Religion in Newfoundland and Labrador: The Beginnings*, 4.33-62.

¹³³ James Dove, "The Methodist Church in Newfoundland," in *A History of the Churches in Newfoundland* in *A History of Newfoundland from English, Colonial and Foreign Records*, ed. D. W. Prowse, (London, UK: Macmillan and Co., 1895; reprint, Portugal Cove-St. Philip's, NL: Boulder Publications, 2002), 39-42 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

¹³⁴ David G. Pitt, *Windows of Agate: The Life and Times of Gower Street Church, St. John's, Newfoundland 1815-1990*, 2d ed. (St. John's, NL: Jespersen Press, 1990).

Methodism provided a primary source of leadership and congregants for the early PAONL. Many outport Methodists viewed their leaders in Canada and St. John's with suspicion due to changes in doctrine and piety. Subsequently they found in Pentecostalism, as others had earlier found in the Salvation Army, an arena in which to experience their religion.¹³⁹ At the turn of the nineteenth century, Newfoundland and Labrador Methodism in the outports was experientially oriented: "religion was a 'way' rather than a 'truth.'"¹⁴⁰ Through worship and other sacred means, congregants expressed their eschatological beliefs and commitments.¹⁴¹ Eschatological concerns were not far from early Newfoundland Methodists. Sandra Beardsall notes that the "fear of damnation and apocalypse... could result from a steady stream of hell fire preaching." When a rumour spread in one community that "it was the end of the world... everybody got converted, including "a lot of old people," to ensure "they'd reach the pearly gates."¹⁴² Arthur W. Kewley's study of outport Methodism suggests an ecstatic religion reminiscent of Coughlan's revivalism, hallmarked by

¹³⁵ G.M. Story, *George Street United Church 1973—One Hundred Years of Service* (St. John's, NL: George Street United Church, 1973).

¹³⁶ Douglas Burgess, *Cochrane Street United Church* (St. John's, NL: Cochrane Street United Church Memorial Fund, 2002).

¹³⁷ David G. and Marion Pitt, *Goodly Heritage: A Centennial History of the Congregation of Wesley United (formerly Alexander Street Methodist) Church, St. John's, Newfoundland, 1884-1984* (St. John's, NL: Jespersen Press, 1984).

¹³⁸ J.W. Nichols, ed., *A Century of Methodism in St. John's, Newfoundland: 1815-1915* (St. John's, NL: Dicks & Co. Ltd., 1915), 19, 22.

¹³⁹ Arthur E. Kewley, "The Influence of Isolation on the Theology of Methodism in Newfoundland 1874-1924," Lecture presented to the Canadian Society of Church History, May 1971, p. 1, Centre for Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, NL. For a response to Kewley's observations see Calvin Hollett, *Shouting, Embracing, and Dancing*, 17-9 and 113-8. Hollett challenges many of Kewley's suppositions including that outport Methodists felt profoundly isolated, that Newfoundland Methodism was not "authentic Wesleyanism," that outport Methodism was unique, that Coughlan and Wesley's theology were very different, and the claim that later administration-focused ministers "rescued" the movement from the emotion-centred religion of its founder.

¹⁴⁰ Arthur E. Kewley, "Influence of Isolation," 9.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁴² Sandra Beardsall, "Methodist Religious Practices in Outport Newfoundland" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto School of Theology, 1996), 142.

Emotionally directed revival meetings and after meetings, resulting in conversions, singing, exhortations, and often uncontrolled hysteria when sins were forgiven... often the depth of experience was gauged by the degree of impossibility of describing it...¹⁴³

By contrast, as early as 1860, Canadian Methodist leadership taught that a “gradual growth in grace, within an evolutionary framework, appeared as legitimate and much more rational than the seemingly hysterical, enthusiastic conversion,” suggesting “that continuing revivals control fanatical conduct” and concentrate instead on adding “permanent members to the institutionalized Church.”¹⁴⁴

Some Newfoundland ministers attempted to encourage the revival of early Methodist teaching. Reverend Willey asked in *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* that greater attention be accorded the doctrine of entire sanctification.¹⁴⁵ Reverend Charles Lench, President of the Newfoundland Methodist Conference, lamented: “[I]t will be a sorry day for [Methodism] when she forgets her great and essential mission: ‘to save souls and to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land.’”¹⁴⁶ For many Methodists, however, such voices were too few,¹⁴⁷ resulting in a migration of the spiritually

¹⁴³ Arthur E. Kewley, “Influence of Isolation,” 11.

¹⁴⁴ Neil Semple, “The Decline of Revival in Nineteenth Century Central-Canadian Methodism: The Extraordinary Means of Grace,” p. 18, Canadian Historical Papers, Methodist Society 2 [1977-1980]), private collection.

¹⁴⁵ Arthur E. Kewley, “Influence of Isolation,” 23. Sandra Beardsall notes that by the early twentieth century “temperance had replaced perfection on the editorial pages” of the *Methodist Monthly Greeting*. Sandra Beardsall, “Methodist Religious Practices,” 142.

¹⁴⁶ Charles Lench, *The Story of Methodism in Bonavista—And the Settlements Visited by the Early Preachers* (St. John’s, NL: Harry Cuff Publications, 1985 [1919]), 204.

¹⁴⁷ Garrigus related her thoughts on Newfoundland and Labrador Methodism in August 1926. “It makes a difference what kind of spiritual parents you have. In Newfoundland we had a brother who gave this testimony. ‘I am a Methodist born and a Methodist bred and when I am gone there will be a Methodist dead.’ He took very naturally of the spirit of modern Methodism, not that which used to be. It is a real fact that we do partake of the very nature of those who brought us forth.” See Alice B. Garrigus, “Separation,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 25, no. 2 (February 1927): 1. Garrigus applied the term “sprinkled” in her serialized autobiography in 1939 regarding her own Episcopal baptism. See Alice B. Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 17.

unfulfilled to newer revival-oriented groups, including the PAONL.¹⁴⁸ For Methodists, longing for experiential religion that connected the worshipper with the transcendent, the PAONL provided “a holy language” through Spirit Baptism. “This intimacy enabled them to view the world from ‘above,’ and thus to separate themselves from both earthly society and its cares and woes.”¹⁴⁹ Hans Rollmann states that

The decline of the experiential fervour in the religious life, the shortage of trained ministry, and yet the continued presence of a revivalist ideal and missionary ethos especially made the Methodist churches prone to proselytizing by religious competitors who offered a fulfillment of these religious needs in practical terms and in ways that were comprehensible to a religious tradition rooted in the holiness movement.¹⁵⁰

Migration from Methodism to Pentecostalism continued following the 1925 formation of the United Church of Canada.¹⁵¹ In 1945 a PAONL minister reported to Eugene Vaters that United Church adherents were being spiritually drawn to his services. “Conviction seems to just settle down... all over, Sunday nights... The unsaved all feel it. We get a lot of the [United Church] crowd, they don’t go to their own church at all now.”¹⁵² Early Pentecostal leaders including Robert C. English and Eugene Vaters converted from Methodism to Pentecostalism. Bethesda Mission and the mission in Victoria, Conception Bay, are among the many early congregations that experienced a significant migration from Methodism to the PAONL.

¹⁴⁸ John Stephenson, “The Decline and Fall of a Revival Movement (Methodism in the 19th Century and its Relationship to 20th Century Pentecostalism),” *Eastern Journal of Practical Theology* 2, no. 2 (Fall 1988): 11. Stephenson views changes occurring in Methodism during the 19th century as key to understanding similar changes occurring in Pentecostalism in the 20th century.

¹⁴⁹ Sandra Beardsall, “Methodist Religious Practices,” 234.

¹⁵⁰ Hans Rollmann, ed. *Religion in Newfoundland and Labrador: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Religious Studies 3901 Course Manual*, 2ed. (St. John’s, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland School of General and Continuing Studies, 1990 [1988]), 6.3. The quote is from the “Introduction to Chapter 4,” entitled “Methodism and Congregationalism.”

¹⁵¹ Newfoundland and Labrador Methodist churches became a part of the United Church on 10 June 1925. The United Church was a union of the Methodist Church, Canada, the Congregational Union of Canada, the General Council of Union Churches and 70 percent of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

¹⁵² (Patsy) Clarke, New Melbourne, to Eugene Vaters, 27 February 1945.

The Salvation Army and Its Contribution to PAONL Eschatology

The Salvation Army provided a second wave of leadership and congregants for Newfoundland and Labrador's fledgling Pentecostal movement. The Salvation Army was founded in 1878 when William Booth left the Methodist New Connexion Church to work among the poor of London's East End.¹⁵³ Seven years later, Emma Dawson, while visiting from Canada on her honeymoon, held the Salvation Army's first services in Newfoundland and Labrador in both her hometown of Portugal Cove and in St. John's. She later became the eleventh officer commissioned in Canada.¹⁵⁴ Following the Dawsons' departure, Arthur Young and a group of Canadian officers arrived in St. John's to establish the church. In February 1886, following a conflict with the public at open-air meetings on the Parade ground,¹⁵⁵ the group moved their services to a former furniture store on Springdale Street, later to become "St. John's I, the 'mother' corps."¹⁵⁶ Tales of abuse experienced by early Salvationists bordered on the apocryphal.

When officers left a house they had visited they were sometimes met by a crowd armed with hatchets. Women would attempt to stab the officers with knives, scissors and darning needles, and time and again only police intervention saved them from serious injury and perhaps death. One night a woman-Salvationist was attacked by a gang of three hundred ruffians, thrown into a ditch and trampled on. She managed to crawl out only to be thrown in again. Women shouted "Kill her! Kill her!" She was so badly injured that it required three policemen to take her home.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Jefferson D. Dunton, "The Origins and Growth of the Salvation Army in Newfoundland, 1885-1901" (Masters thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, NL, 1996), 1.

¹⁵⁴ John O. Cooper, *Their Eyes Were On God: Profiles of Notable Salvationists in Newfoundland's Past* n.p., 1-7.

¹⁵⁵ K.E. Brown, "The Salvation Army in Newfoundland," in *The Book of Newfoundland*, vol. 2, ed. Joseph R. Smallwood (St. John's, NL: Newfoundland Book Publishers Ltd., 1937), 299.

¹⁵⁶ R.G. Moyles, *The Salvation Army in Newfoundland: Its History and Essence* (N.p.: The Salvation Army Canada and Bermuda, 1997), 77.

¹⁵⁷ Arch Wiggins, *The History of the Salvation Army—Volume Four, 1886-1904* (London, UK: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1905; reprint 1979), 104 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

In 1888, the Army opened “St. John’s II,” in the building formerly housing the Reformed Church of England, on Livingstone Street.¹⁵⁸ In 1893, Newfoundland Salvationists welcomed visits by both Canadian Commandant Herbert Booth and founder General William Booth.¹⁵⁹ Further expansion occurred with the 1897 opening of “the Glory Shop,” originally a men’s shelter and food-bank on Water Street, which, by 1905, was known as “St. John’s III,” and the construction of “Old Number One” citadel on New Gower Street in 1898.¹⁶⁰ Early attendees recall open-air services on Brazil Square¹⁶¹ and Steers Cove.¹⁶² The Salvation Army grew spectacularly in its first decades and received early government recognition because of its benevolent work. In 1901, 3% of the Newfoundland and Labrador population of 220 984, identified themselves as Salvation Army. That represented a 215% increase from 1891.¹⁶³

Salvationist leaders and congregants were noteworthy for their fervent eschatological hope. An early letter to Army officers from Evangeline Booth encouraged them to reflect on their work in view of future judgment and Christ’s coronation.¹⁶⁴ Clarence D. Wiseman writes: “With their strong, uncluttered faith, outport Newfoundlanders of that day, most of whom would never have heard of the word

¹⁵⁸ R.G. Moyles, *The Salvation Army in Newfoundland*, 78.

¹⁵⁹ The Salvation Army Education Department, *History of the Salvation Army: A Short Course for S. A. Day-school Pupils in Newfoundland, Grade Eight (and Over)* (Toronto, ON: The Salvation Army, Education Department, 1966), 48, Centre for Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John’s, NL. See also R. G. Moyles, *William Booth in Canada: Descriptions of His Six Visits 1886-1907* (Edmonton, AB: AGM Publications, 2006).

¹⁶⁰ R.G. Moyles, *The Salvation Army in Newfoundland*, 78.

¹⁶¹ Sarah Woodland, *A Hundred Anthems Rise: Reflections on the St. John’s No. 1 Corps* (St. John’s, NL: Salvation Army Temple Corps, 1986), 13.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁶³ Patrick O’Flaherty, *Lost Country: The Rise and Fall of Newfoundland, 1843-1933* (St. John’s, NL: Long Beach Press, 2005), 211.

¹⁶⁴ Evangeline Booth, to “Self Denial” fundraisers, November 1897, Centre for Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John’s, NL. The following was added later to the third and final pages of the letter: “Found inside the framed picture ‘The Messenger of Hope to the Victim of Despaire’ given me to-day by Mrs. Porter, widow of James Porter, the first S. A. soldier of the Elliston Corps (‘Soldier Jim’). N. C. Crewe, 29 July, 1945.”

‘eschatology,’ nevertheless possessed a deep sense of its meaning.”¹⁶⁵ R.G. Moyles

concur, noting that Salvation Army worship expressed an “otherworldliness” that drew upon

Imagery, phraseology and favorite songs focused on the hereafter—on Heaven and things eternal... Though early Newfoundland Salvationists would have shunned the term, as smacking too much of intellectual arrogance, theirs was, in a very real sense, an eschatological religion.¹⁶⁶

Interestingly, Salvation Army leadership, while unequivocally stating their belief in the immortality of the soul and a future resurrection, leading to eternal happiness or punishment, made it equally clear that leaders were not to engage in eschatological debate.

Many Bible predictions related to the time of Christ coming, and the exact events that will mark such an occasion, are open to different interpretations. Between these differing views The Salvation Army does not undertake to decide, but directs attention to the certainties of Christian doctrine as they affect life and conduct.¹⁶⁷

This pragmatic measure may have inadvertently led to greater numbers of Salvationists becoming Pentecostal. Early converts often related their attraction to Pentecostal eschatological teaching, including the imminent return of Christ.¹⁶⁸ Garrigus identifies the practice of water baptism as another doctrine that separated the restorationist Pentecostals from other groups. “The Salvation Army had ignored the ordinance while the denominations had substituted sprinkling the babies, so that each one who decided to

¹⁶⁵ Clarence D. Wiseman, *A Burning In My Bones: An Anecdotal Autobiography* (Toronto, ON: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1979), 85. Wiseman was the tenth General of the Salvation Army. He was born in Moreton’s Harbour, Newfoundland in 1907.

¹⁶⁶ R.G. Moyles, *The Salvation Army in Newfoundland*, 44-5.

¹⁶⁷ The Salvation Army, *Handbook of Doctrine* (St. Albans, Hertfordshire, UK: Campfield Press, 1969). The eschatological statement is #11 in the listing of “The Doctrine Of The Salvation Army,” “As set forth in the Deed Poll of 1878.” The statement was reaffirmed in “Salvation Army Doctrines,” “As set out in Schedule 1 of The Salvation Army Act 1980,” *idem*, *Salvation Story: Salvationist Handbook of Doctrine* (London, UK: The Salvation Army International Headquarters, 1998), 171.

¹⁶⁸ Maud Evans Whitt, interview by David Lorne Newman, June 1999, cassette, private collection. See also Otto Tucker, interview by David Lorne Newman, May 2002, cassette, private collection.

be immersed met with much opposition.”¹⁶⁹ The imminent return of Christ, water baptism by immersion, and other PAONL doctrines became a theological “Rubicon” that Salvationists and others considering a migration to Pentecostalism would have to cross.¹⁷⁰

The Salvation Army was foundational in the development of the early PAONL.¹⁷¹ Many second-generation Pentecostal ministers were once affiliated with the Salvation Army including, Frank G. Bursey and Edgar R. Pelley. Communities such as Flat Island, Placentia Bay, and Birch Bay, Notre Dame Bay, experienced significant migrations from the Salvation Army to the PAONL in the first half of the twentieth century.

Religious Groups with Limited Contribution to PAONL Eschatology

Though the Methodist Church and the Salvation Army would influence early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism most profoundly, other denominational groups came in contact with the PAONL. When Garrigus and the Fowlers arrived in 1910 in St. John’s, Roman Catholicism had established its self as a religious, cultural and political influence throughout the dominion, symbolized by the prominent place the “Basilica of St. John the Baptist” held in the capital city.¹⁷² Although a Roman Catholic

¹⁶⁹ Alice B. Garrigus, “The History of Pentecost in Newfoundland,” *Full Gospel Missionary Herald* 16, no. 3 (May-June 1927): 10.

¹⁷⁰ At least one Pentecostal minister wrote of experiencing the reverse process- a Salvation Army Church opening and negatively affecting PAONL attendance. “This has been a long dreary winter. Many lonely days especially Sundays. Since the Salvation Army has opened over Jackson’s Cove we do not get any sinners to come in. Western Bay was a hard place to labor, but this place... in fact is a shade worse.” See Minnie Tucker, Silverdale, Green Bay, to Eugene Vaters, 20 April 1948, PAONL Archive.

¹⁷¹ Burton K. Janes, “Floods Upon the Dry Ground,” 145-78. See chapter 5- “The Pentecostal Movement and the Salvation Army: A Comparison.”

¹⁷² Paul O’Neil, *Upon This Rock: The Story of the Roman Catholic Church in Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John’s, NL: Breakwater, 1984), 7-21. Jacques Cartier celebrated mass at Brest, Labrador in 1534. Brest is located in Bonne Esperance, Quebec, west of the current border with Newfoundland and Labrador. O’Neil suggests Christian rites may have been practiced prior to Cartier by the Irish monk St. Brendan (mid-late 500s) and Viking explorer Thorfinn Karlsefni (1001). For Roman Catholic history in Newfoundland and Labrador see Raymond J. Lahey, “Church Affairs During the French Settlement at Placentia (1662-1714),” in *Religion in Newfoundland and Labrador: The Beginnings* 4ed., ed. Hans Rollmann, 3.41-54; Mike McCarthy, *The Irish in Newfoundland, 1600-1900: Their Trials, Tribulations and Triumphs* (St. John’s, NL: Creative Publishers, 1999); Cyril J. Byrne, ed., *Gentlemen-Bishops and Faction Fighters: The Letters of Bishops O’Donel, Lambert, Scallan, and Other Irish Missionaries-Catholicism’s*

family attended Bethesda Mission,¹⁷³ the PAONL would make no significant inroads in Roman Catholic communities. The Anglican Church marked its presence from the early seventeenth century and quickly became an important influence in society due in large part to government privilege.¹⁷⁴ Anglican communities that had ward off previous Methodist and Salvation Army revivalism were unlikely to be affected by the similarly revivalistic Pentecostals. An exception is the case of Port de Grave, which experienced a significant migration from Anglicanism to Pentecostalism.¹⁷⁵ This may be in part due to the Anglican evangelical tradition in the area evidenced by the 1882 institution of the Reformed Episcopal Church,¹⁷⁶ and the region's support of an interdenominational

Formative Years in Newfoundland (1784-1829) (St. John's, NL: Jespersen Press, 1984); J. B. Darcy, *Fire Upon the Earth: The Life and Times of Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming, O. S. F.* (St. John's, NL: Creative Publishers, 2003); *The Basilica-Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, St. John's, Newfoundland—1855-1980* (St. John's, NL: The Basilica Parish, 1980); *Centenary of the Diocese of Harbour Grace 1856-1956* (Harbour Grace, NL: Diocese of Harbour Grace, 1956); and, M. F. Howley, "The Roman Catholic Church in Newfoundland," in *A History of the Churches in Newfoundland*, in *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records*, ed. D. W. Prowse (London, UK: Macmillan and Co, 1895; reprint, Portugal Cove-St. Philip's, NL: Boulder Publications, 2002), 26-8. Page citations are to the reprint edition.

¹⁷³ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 15.

¹⁷⁴ Hans Rollmann, *Religion in Newfoundland and Labrador: The Beginnings. Religious Studies 3900 Course Manuel*, 4ed., ed. Hans Rollmann, (St. John's, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland School of General and Continuing Studies, 1988), 2.3; idem, "Anglicans, Puritans, and Quakers in Seventeenth-Century Newfoundland," in *ibid.*, 2.27; 2.31-36; Raymond J. Lahey, "The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Experience," in *ibid.*, 3.9; Edgar House, *Edward Feild: The Man and His Legacy with Extended Reference to Bishop Feild College* (St. John's, NL: Jespersen Press, 1987); Frederick Jones, *Edward Feild, Bishop of Newfoundland 1844-1876*. Pamphlet No. 4 (St. John's, NL: Newfoundland Historical Society, 1976); and, C. Francis Rowe, *In Fields Afar- A Review of the Establishment of the Anglican Parish of St. John's and its Cathedral* (St. John's, NL: Seawise Enterprise, 1989).

¹⁷⁵ Burton K. Janes, *Reflections*, 24.

¹⁷⁶ *Directory of the Towns of St. John's, Harbour Grace, and Carbonear, Newfoundland, for 1885-86* (St. John's, NL: John Sharpe, 1885), 3, 216, St. John's City Archive, St. John's, NL. The title page states "Compiled and Arranged by John Sharpe, 119 Water Street, St. John's, 1885." See John N. Leamon, *Brigus: Past Glory, Present Splendour*, ed. Burton Janes (St. John's, NL: Harry Cuff Publications Limited, 1998), 319. "The Rev. A. E. N. Suckling was sent to Brigus about 1882 to start the first Reformed Episcopal Church... as early as 1869 the Church of England in Brigus was referred to in a document... as the Episcopal Church... [T]he headquarters of the Reformed Episcopal Church was first at Brigus from about 1882 until about July 1888, but thereafter at Clarke's Beach." It would be an interesting study to determine if there is a connection between the evangelical Reformed Episcopal Church and Conception Bay Pentecostalism.

evangelical mission.¹⁷⁷ Due to isolation and a large non-permanent population, settlements on the Labrador coast were also prone to movement between denominations.¹⁷⁸ Congregationalism would influence the PAONL in the village of Pool's Cove, Fortune Bay. Many former members of the local Congregational Church would migrate to the Pentecostal assembly, established in 1936, by way of the United Church.¹⁷⁹ Limited contact with the Moravian community occurred when the PAONL sent missionaries to northern Labrador where the *Unitas Fratrum*¹⁸⁰ was active since 1771.¹⁸¹ Few indigenous people¹⁸² or individuals from other denominations¹⁸³ would become Pentecostals.

¹⁷⁷ See Robert Bowering, "'The Bethel' and the Men Who Built It," private collection. Bowering's devotional essay includes a general history and sketches of the interdenominational centre. 'The Bethel' was built in 1885 and demolished in 1982.

¹⁷⁸ The Labrador coast was populated by seasonal fishers and trappers. Joseph Tulk wrote from Cape North that "we get all the people in service here that our small summer quarters can contain: mostly [Church of England] people... I believe some of these are good cases: great faith, really saved and looking for the coming of the Lord. See Joseph Tulk, Cape North, Labrador, to Eugene Vaters, 20 August 1947. Tulk wrote Vaters again stating, that people were "anxious to hear the Word. Many little groups... but no churches: the [Church of England] and United ministers both make one trip each along the strip of coast in summer and in winter... two hundred miles further south, as well as a considerable strip of coast north is also their circuit!" See Joseph Tulk, McNamara Construction Co. Goose Bay, Labrador, to Eugene Vaters, 1948?

¹⁷⁹ See Burton K. Janes, *History*, 244; John W. Hammond, *The Joyful Sound*, 130; and, Lily Batstone, interview by David Lorne Newman, March 2008, private collection.

¹⁸⁰ William Gillett's work in northern Labrador seems to have been well received by Moravians. "So many... of the far north would tell me (at Goose Bay) the good report of Bro. Gillett's ministry that if you could see the faces of these people as they (and some of the Moravian Mission), tell how they are pleased with Mr. Gillett's ministry..." See Joseph Tulk, Cartwright, Labrador, to Eugene Vaters, 15 October 1942.

¹⁸¹ See W.H. Whitely, "The Establishment of the Moravian Mission in Labrador and British Policy, 1763-83," in *Religion in Newfoundland and Labrador: The Beginnings* 4d, ed. Hans Rollmann, 1.73-97.

¹⁸² See F.A.W. Peacock, "History of the Moravian Church from 1860 Onward," paper presented to the Newfoundland Historical Society, 23 January 1973, p. 4, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, NL. Following a Eucharist celebration in 1874 "a surprising outbreak of fanaticism on the part of the Eskimos" occurred. "An individual who had caused trouble the year prior, had claimed... the Holy Spirit had descended upon him," after which he gathered his neighbours and, with his leaders, "breathed upon their hands folded on their breasts thus imparting to them the Holy Spirit." The anecdote is significant in that it represents an early claim of experiential pneumatology in Labrador.

¹⁸³ Despite Garrigus' ancestral connection with Presbyterianism there is no evidence of any significant connection between the denomination and the PAONL. Though the Seventh Day Adventist denomination shared the PAONL's avid interest in eschatology the two groups had limited contact.

The Presence of Independent Holiness Groups and Denominational Missions

Independent Holiness groups and denominational missions were active in St. John's during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Courtneyites—led by Thomas and Henry Courtney—opened an evangelical mission on Atlantic Avenue, sometime around 1900.¹⁸⁴ Eugene Vaters described the Irish leaders as having

...the one passion of calling Christians back to... the old Methodist doctrine of entire sanctification. Though aligned mostly with the Church of England, [they] preached as [they] could, where [they] could. [They] eventually secured [their] own meeting-place.¹⁸⁵

The Courtneys were probably connected with the “Salvation Army Courtneyites,” who held services on Bell Island.¹⁸⁶ Kenneth S. Barnes and his future wife, Elizabeth Gushue, met at a Courtneyite service. Barnes would lead the Mission after the Courtneys returned to Ireland, beginning a life-long career in Holiness-Pentecostal ministry. Vaters recalled:

At the time of the First World War, many young men from over Newfoundland were in military training in St. John's, and were roaming the streets at night. The Methodist Church opened a “Gospel Mission” at the corner of Adelaide and New Gower Streets, and the Barnes were asked to be in charge. The Mission was a power for good in those days.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ I was not able to identify the “mission” in the City Insurance Atlas, Municipal Assessment rolls or St. John's Directory volumes. See *Insurance Plan of the City of St. John's, Newfoundland* (Montreal, QC: Chas E. Goad, September 1893 [Revised August 1902 and October 1907]), St. John's City Archive, St. John's, NL. Also see *St. John's Municipal Council Water and Sewerage Appraisement 1897* [Revised 1900, 1903, 1906, 1909, 1912, 1915, 1918, 1921, 1923, 1925, 1927, 1929 and 1931]), St. John's City Archive, St. John's, NL; and, *Directory for the Towns*. On the Courtneyites see Bertram G. Riggs, “Courtneyites,” in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, vol. 1, ed. Joseph R. Smallwood and Robert D.W. Pitt (St. John's, NL: Newfoundland Book Publishers Limited, 1981), 551.

¹⁸⁵ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 31.

¹⁸⁶ “Events of 1900,” *Across the Tickle* 6, no. 1 (December 1998): 11. “New Methodist and Presbyterian Church's were being built that summer. The Salvation Army Courtneyites are also represented and had their own meeting places.” The article appears in a section identified as “History of Bell Island From Newspapers of 1957, Sixth In A Series.”

¹⁸⁷ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 31. See *Insurance Plan of the City of St. John's, Newfoundland* (Montreal, QC: Underwriters Survey Bureau Limited, October 1925 (1914 reprinted and revised), St. John's City Archive, St. John's, NL. See “Gospel Mission,” Adelaide Street, civic #14. This may be the location of the Methodist Mission led by Kenneth S. Barnes.

Another mission active at this time was the “Grapnel Church” on Hutchings Street,¹⁸⁸ where a Salvation Army officer emphasized the doctrine of entire sanctification. Garrigus and Myrtle Eddy, a future Bethesda Mission member would attend services at the “Grapnel.” Eddy recalls: “Around this time, there was a number of such meeting places in St. John’s—the old temperance Hall in the east end,¹⁸⁹ and the Odd Fellows Hall on Bell Street,¹⁹⁰ where the late Mr. and Mrs. K.S. Barnes proclaimed the same message.”¹⁹¹ The 1921 census identifies a Dearistas Pearce as a “Clergyman, Pentecostal Tabernacle.” Burton Janes states, “He evidently led a mission, unrelated to Bethesda, at the corner of Hamilton and Hutchings Streets.”¹⁹² Apparently the Barnes family left the “Gospel Mission” because of what they perceived as a theological change occurring within Methodism. In cooperation with John P. King, who also held meetings in St. John’s, they opened a mission at the bottom of Carter’s Hill.¹⁹³ Barnes continued his work at Barter’s Hill,¹⁹⁴ identifying the Mission as “Elim,”¹⁹⁵ before joining with “The Pentecostal Tabernacle” on Casey Street.¹⁹⁶ Other missions were located at the corner of Gilbert and Springdale Streets,¹⁹⁷ on Freshwater Road,¹⁹⁸ on Waldergrave Street,¹⁹⁹ on

¹⁸⁸ See *Insurance Plan* 1893, “Church,” civic # 19. See also *Insurance Plan of the City of St. John’s, Newfoundland* (Montreal, QC: Chas E. Goad, September 1914), St. John’s City Archive, St. John’s, NL. See “Evangelical Church,” civic # 19.

¹⁸⁹ The LSPU Hall now occupies the site. The original hall was built in 1892 for the Sons of Temperance Society and taken over in 1911 by the Longshoreman’s Protective Union as a meeting hall and recreational facility. See Paul O’Neil, *The Oldest City*, 577.

¹⁹⁰ Berkley Lawrence and Kathleen A. Winter, “Odd Fellows, Independent Order Of,” in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, vol. 4, ed. Joseph R. Smallwood and Robert D. W. Pitt (St. John’s, NL: Newfoundland Book Publishers Limited, 1981), 150.

¹⁹¹ Myrtle B. Eddy, “Bethesda,” *Good Tidings* (Part I) 31, no. 1 (January-February 1975): 7.

¹⁹² Burton K. Janes, “Floods Upon the Dry Ground,” 78.

¹⁹³ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 31-2.

¹⁹⁴ See *Insurance Plan* 1925, “Aerated Water Factory (first)” and “Mission Hall (over),” civic # 7, 6.

¹⁹⁵ Burton K. Janes, “Floods Upon the Dry Ground,” 156.

¹⁹⁶ See *Insurance Plan of the City of St. John’s, Newfoundland*, October 1946 (Montreal, QC: Underwriters Survey Bureau Limited, 1946), St. John’s City Archive, St. John’s, NL. See “Vacant,” civic # 15; and, “Pentecostal Tabernacle,” civic # 149, Casey Street, 31.

¹⁹⁷ See *Insurance Plan* 1893, “Mission Room,” Gilbert Street (civic # unidentified) bordering Springdale Street and Dunford Street.

Cuddihy Street,²⁰⁰ and on Adelaide Street.²⁰¹ George Street Methodist Church also operated missions on the south side of the harbour and at Centenary Hall.²⁰² Garrigus and the Fowlers established Bethesda Mission in a city with a long tradition of holiness and denominational missions.

Summary

To determine what influence eschatology has had on the development and expression of early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal theology, spirituality and rhetoric, the context for the doctrine in the PAONL has been identified. The significant contribution of the Premillennial movement, the Holiness movement, North American Pentecostalism and local church history, extending as far back as the settlement of the New World, provides PAONL eschatology with a wider context. Initially, Bethesda Mission would become a part of the St. John's Holiness community offering ecstatic seekers the upgraded fivefold full gospel. PAONL congregations across Newfoundland and Labrador would enjoy a migration of leaders and advocates first from Methodism and later from the Salvation Army. It is in this North-Atlantic world that Alice Garrigus, Eugene Vaters, and other early leaders presented Pentecostal eschatology as they led Bethesda Mission and the denomination. Before surveying the PAONL archival record to identify the presence of eschatology, the life and early teaching of Garrigus and Vaters will be analyzed to determine what traditions and thought influenced their eschatological positions before they led the denomination.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. In the section "Churches," a "Mission Hall" is located on Freshwater Avenue. I was unable to identify the "mission" in the "Insurance Atlas."

¹⁹⁹ Maud Evans Whitt, interview by David Lorne Newman, June 1999, Grand Falls-Windsor, NL, cassette, private collection. I was unable to identify the "mission" in the "Insurance Atlas."

²⁰⁰ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 33.

²⁰¹ See *Insurance Plan* 1925, "Gospel Mission," Adelaide Street, civic #14.

²⁰² J.W. Nichols, *A Century of Methodism*, 19, 22. Eugene Vaters notes George Street Methodist Church outreach in *Reminiscence*, 30.

CHAPTER 3

ESCHATOLOGY AMONG THE EARLIEST NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR PENTECOSTAL LEADERSHIP: ALICE B. GARRIGUS (1858-1910) AND EUGENE VATERS (1898-1927)

An analysis of the life and teaching of Alice Belle Garrigus and Eugene Vaters prior to their leadership of the PAONL for the presence and influence of eschatology will yield important insight into understanding the role eschatology played in the theology, spirituality and rhetoric of early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals. Garrigus and Vaters zealously promoted premillennial eschatology among their Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal constituencies. Garrigus, who arrived in Newfoundland in 1910, immediately espoused Latter-Rain theology, presented the imminent return of Christ as a key element of the fivefold full gospel and demonstrated a significant dispensational influence. Vaters' leadership of the PAONL, beginning in 1927 as Assistant Overseer, was eschatologically noteworthy for its strong advocacy of Latter-Rain teaching, was present during the PAONL's evolution to a foursquare full gospel, and demonstrated a dedication to dispensationalism. The eschatological position of both individuals was profoundly influenced by religious traditions and experiences engaged with prior to their leadership among Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals.

Alice Garrigus 1858-1910: Religious Heritage, Eschatological Influence and Teaching

Garrigus' religious heritage and theological development in New England is critical to understanding the importance eschatology played in the early years of Bethesda Mission. Berends notes, "the events, people, and ministry experiences of this period shaped her views of ministry and theology and ultimately her work in Newfoundland."²⁰³

²⁰³ Kurt O. Berends, "A Divided Harvest," 1.

Religious Heritage

Alice Belle Garrigus was born on 2 August 1858 in Rockville, Connecticut, the first child of Lewis and Julia Garrigus. No religious affiliation is identified.²⁰⁴ Alice Garrigus' ancestral and religious heritage has been a matter of scholarly dispute. A French Huguenot—Pennsylvania Anglican-Quaker—New Jersey Presbyterian family line,²⁰⁵ an Episcopalian heritage,²⁰⁶ and a German lineage have been suggested.²⁰⁷ William Jamieson Pape's 1918 *History of Waterbury and the Naugatuck Valley, Connecticut* concurs with the Huguenot-Presbyterian²⁰⁸ trajectory,²⁰⁹ and significantly adds that Lewis, Alice Garrigus' father, migrated from Morris County, New Jersey, to the Waterbury, Connecticut area, where he would attend "the Congregational church."²¹⁰ If

²⁰⁴ Connecticut, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Certificate of Birth, 2 August 1858, PAONL Archive.

²⁰⁵ Garrigus received genealogical documents from acquaintances in New England tracing her American ancestry to French Huguenot migrant Matthew Garrigues, whom settled in Philadelphia where he aligned with the Anglican congregation of Christ Church. Matthew's son Jacob, Alice Garrigus' ancestor, converted first to Pennsylvanian Quakerism, before migrating to Morris County, New Jersey where he joined the Presbyterian Church. See "Garrigus Family," n.p., 2, PAONL Archive; "S. & M. W. Davis," to "Mr. & Mrs. Garrigus" (Somers, Connecticut), 17 December 1870, PAONL Archive; and, "The Titles—Paris. La Garrigue, Le Garrigue, La Guarrigue, Commemorative Biographical Records of New Haven, Connecticut," PAONL Archive; Burton Janes, *The Lady Who Came*, 11-16. Janes identifies "material graciously provided by Eugene Vaters and the late Mrs. Doris Pelley" as the source of Garrigus' genealogical data; and, Charles S. and Winifred C. Garrigus, *The Garrigues Family In North America* (Knoxville, TN: Tennessee Valley Publishing, 2000). See also Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots in France after the Revocation of the Edicts of Nantes* (London, UK: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1893).

²⁰⁶ Both Hans Rollmann in "From Yankee Failure," 6.34, and Burton K. Janes in *From Hinder's Hall*, 1, state that Garrigus was born into an Episcopal family. No source is cited.

²⁰⁷ Kurt Berends suggests that a German heritage may exist however he does not provide the source of his supposition. See Kurt O. Berends, "A Divided Harvest," 1, footnote 3.

²⁰⁸ William James Pape, *History of Waterbury and the Naugatuck Valley, Connecticut* (Chicago, IL: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1918), 147-8. The history traces the line in New Jersey from Jacob, to John, to Isaac, to Lewis, Alice Garrigus' father. Pape notes that John was a member of the Presbyterian congregation.

²⁰⁹ Though Isaac's birth (28 August 1798) is documented in the Presbyterian register (*Registers Minutes and History of the first Presbyterian Church, Morristown, N.J.*, "Combined Registers, 1742 to 1889."), and the 1850 census lists Isaac (age 52), his son Lewis (16) and other family members as living in Morris County (see United States of America, 1850 United States Federal Census, "Township of Chatham in the County of Morris and State of New Jersey," private collection), there is no record of Lewis or his siblings affiliated with the Presbyterian Church (See Jo Potter, "Presbyterian Church in Morristown," to David Lorne Newman, 23 February 2012, private collection. Potter notes that the records are not complete. It is possible that Isaac left the Presbyterian congregation).

²¹⁰ William James Pape, *History of Waterbury*, 147-8. Alice Garrigus' grandfather Isaac and other members of her extended family also moved to the Waterbury-Wolcott area. Writing in 1918 Pape adds that Alice

Lewis was Presbyterian prior to his move to Waterbury, his decision to attend the Congregational church may have been inspired by his marriage to Julia Elizabeth Parsons, Alice Garrigus' mother, whose family was affiliated with Congregationalism,²¹¹ or have occurred as a result of the Congregational-Presbyterian "Plan of Union," which would have limited Lewis' opportunities to attend a Presbyterian congregation in Connecticut.²¹² Berends notes that his research in Connecticut failed "to uncover any records of family participation in local churches either in Rockville or Waterbury."²¹³ Alice Garrigus' Episcopal connection may have been the result of Lewis' 1868 marriage to Eunice C. Whelton.²¹⁴ The Whelton family's historical affiliation with Waterbury's St. John Episcopal Church²¹⁵ could have precipitated conversations with an Episcopal priest that led to Garrigus' baptism. Alice Garrigus' childhood memories demonstrate a

Garrigus became "a successful school teacher in Wolcott, Thomaston and Bridgeport..." Garrigus recalled teaching in Normal School prior to attending Mount Holyoke. See Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 17. Pape's history identifies the location as Wolcott, Connecticut. Further, his statement that Alice Garrigus "is now a religious missionary of the Pentecostal Society and is stationed at St. John's, Newfoundland" is evidence that her work at Bethesda Mission was known in Waterbury, Connecticut.

²¹¹ Julia Elizabeth Garrigus was born 15 November 1832 to Abel and Clara Parsons. Julia's parents married 28 May 1828 by Pastor William L. Strong of Somers Congregational Church. See Lorraine Cook White, ed., *The Barbour Collection of Connecticut Town Vital Records, Vol. 1-55* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1994-2002), 114-5. Somers is located 15km north of Rockville. Julia died 6 July 1863 and was buried in Somers. See Town of Somers, Somers, Connecticut, "West Cemetery Plot List," private collection. Pape doesn't record Lewis' move to Rockville, however he does identify Julia as his first wife. I was unable to discover Lewis and Julia's marriage record. See Joan Apel, First Congregational Church Historian, Rockville, Connecticut, to David Lorne Newman, 28 February 2012. Julia's grandmother was Sarah Davis, originally of Stafford, Connecticut, located 13km east of Somers. Alice Garrigus had in her possession correspondence written by "S. & M.W. Davis" of Somers, sent to a "Mr. & Mrs. Garrigus." Alice Garrigus may have been related to both the authors and recipients.

²¹² Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York* (New York, NY: Harper Row, 1950), 18-9. In 1801 the "predominantly Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and the Edwardian branch of New England Congregationalism" drafted a "Plan of Union" designed to share resources and jointly coordinate missionary activity in the hinterland. Most significantly, "The agreement divided missionary enterprises at the New York-New England line." New churches to the east would join Congregational Associations. All to the west were expected to become Presbyterian. Connecticut was on the Congregational side of the line.

²¹³ See Kurt O. Berends, "A Divided Harvest," 1, footnote 3, and 7. See United States of America, 1860 United States Federal Census for "the District of Hartford in the County of Hartford," 245.

²¹⁴ See United States of America, 1870 United States Federal Census for "the Second Ward of Waterbury in the County of New Haven," 25.

²¹⁵ William James Pape, *History of Waterbury*, 147-8.

familiarity with hymns and scripture.²¹⁶ In view of Julia's family affiliation with Congregationalism, Lewis' attendance of a Congregational Church in Waterbury,²¹⁷ and Alice Garrigus' own participation at Congregational churches later in life, it is reasonable to suggest that the most significant denominational influence upon Garrigus from childhood to her entrance into the Holiness movement was Congregationalism.

Early Eschatological Influences

Garrigus' first eschatological questions may have been evoked by the death of her mother,²¹⁸ which resulted in a protracted mourning and a quest for spiritual fulfillment. Influenced by the Episcopal priest to receive the sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation,²¹⁹ Garrigus was required to memorize the catechism and other doctrinal statements, including frequent eschatological allusions.²²⁰ Her reading of Hannah Whitall Smith's *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* led to a further spiritual turmoil. Although Smith focuses on Christian life in the present, she links human happiness to eschatological hope.²²¹ At the age of twenty, Garrigus entered Mount Holyoke Female

²¹⁶ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 17.

²¹⁷ Since Pape wrote his *History of Waterbury* in 1918 it is impossible to know when Lewis Garrigus began attending the Congregational Church.

²¹⁸ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 4, no. 3 (September 1938): 9. Her paternal grandfather, Isaac Garrigus died within two years of her mother's death. He was buried near Waterbury at Woodtick Cemetery, Wolcott, Connecticut. Wolcott seems to have been a centre for the Connecticut Garrigus clan.

²¹⁹ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 17. Alice used the expression "sprinkled," a colloquial reference to the Episcopal rite of Aspiration, which was administered immediately prior to Confirmation. The typical age of confirmation in nineteenth-century New England was the mid-teens. See The Rev. Canon Robert G. Carroon, Archivist and Historiographer, Diocese of Connecticut, Episcopal Church, to David Lorne Newman, 23 March 2001, private collection. Garrigus used the term "sprinkled" earlier in 1927 upon her return visit to Rumney, New Hampshire. See Alice B. Garrigus, "Separation," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 25, no. 2 (February 1927): 1.

²²⁰ To read the Episcopal text that would have accompanied Garrigus' baptism as a non-infant, see Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of The Sacraments; and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: Together with the Psalters, or Psalms of David- Standard Edition* (New York, NY: New York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society, 1871), 239. Depending on the date of Garrigus' baptism, a subsequent edition may have been used.

²²¹ Hannah Whitall Smith, *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1984 [1875]), 51, 91 and 166-67.

Seminary in South Hadley, Massachusetts.²²² Although the school “was a non-denominational Protestant institution... students were required to attend services at the local Congregational Church.”²²³ Garrigus’ recollection of an application of Matthew 25 during an orientation activity and her quoting a “beautiful poem on the coming of the Lord” suggests she was already familiar with eschatological themes.²²⁴

In the autumn of 1881, following her acceptance of a teaching position in Thomaston, Connecticut, Garrigus entered another period of spiritual searching, inspired in part by her friendship with Gertrude Wheeler, a holiness advocate.²²⁵ In 1888, the two women began a ten-month European tour, during which Garrigus’ attention was drawn to eschatological themes, including the transitoriness of life perceived in a German cemetery, the Christian’s heavenly citizenship while at a Belgium train station, and the Great Tribulation, during a visit to a French Revolution site.²²⁶ Her subsequent move in 1889 to Bridgeport, Connecticut, led to her full acceptance of holiness religion.²²⁷ Berends observed “Entire sanctification, Pentecostal terminology, faith ministry and divine healing... were present in the holiness circles in Bridgeport, Connecticut, which

²²² *Forty-Second Annual Catalogue of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in South Hadley, Massachusetts—1878-79*, (Northampton, MA: Bridgman & Childs Publishers, 1879), 14. Garrigus is listed in the “Junior Class” and residing in Waterbury, Connecticut. See also Kurt O. Berends, “A Divided Harvest,” 8. Garrigus’ required first year texts included Benjamin Elliot Nicholls, *Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures* (Philadelphia, PA: American Sunday School Union, 1860), and Roswell D. Hitchcock, Zachary Eddy and Lewis W. Mudge, *Hymns and Songs for Social and Sabbath Worship* (New York, NY: A.S. Barnes & Company, 1875).

²²³ Natalie G. Araujo, Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collection Assistant, to David Lorne Newman, 5 June 2003, private collection.

²²⁴ Alice B. Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1938): 12.

²²⁵ *Ibid.* During Alice’s term in Thomaston her paternal grandmother, Sarah Shepard, died. She was buried near Waterbury, Connecticut at Woodtick Cemetery, Wolcott, Connecticut.

²²⁶ Alice B. Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 7, 17. See The National Archives, “New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957,” Year: 1889; Destination: New York; Microfilm Serial: M237; Microfilm Roll: M237_531; Line: 26; List Number: 459.

²²⁷ Kurt O. Berends, “A Divided Harvest,” 25.

Alice and Gertrude entered in the fall of 1889.”²²⁸ Though initially active at a Congregational Church,²²⁹ Garrigus began attending a holiness mission where she would experience “entire sanctification.” Later, she sought another Holiness article, baptism by immersion at a Christian Missionary Alliance conference in New York.

I became convinced that there was no authority for sprinkling, but that baptism meant what the Word declares, being buried with Jesus. Accordingly, I obeyed and... had a “good conscience toward God.”²³⁰

Eventually, Garrigus left her teaching career, to pursue full-time involvement in the Holiness movement, first at Wheeler’s Beulah Mission Home, a shelter for women, and six years later serving the disenfranchised at Fowler’s downtown mission.²³¹ Garrigus would experience yet another tenet of Holiness ministry. While attending a service at Fowler’s Berean Mission, she heard Rev. F.L. Chapell of Boston speak on the subject of divine healing. Sometime following the service she prayed to God to heal her from a sharp recurring pain. Garrigus wrote, “Immediately the pain departed... and from that time I have had no need of doctors or drugs.”²³² Both Wheeler²³³ and the Fowlers were

²²⁸ Ibid., 24.

²²⁹ Her departure from the Congregational Church in Bridgeport would mark the close of her personal affiliation with the denomination. The 19th century Congregational Church included the postmillennial tradition of Jonathon Edwards (see Faupel, *Everlasting Gospel*, 47, 51) and premillennial eschatological teachers such as R. A. Torrey (see Faupel, *Everlasting Gospel*, 69).

²³⁰ Alice B. Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 2 (June 1939): 2.

²³¹ Kurt O. Berends, “A Divided Harvest,” 29, 30. Civic information is provided in footnotes 90 and 91. Alice moved in with the Fowlers following their relocation to 747 State Street. Civic information is provided in footnotes 94 and 96.

²³² Alice B. Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 18. Kurt O. Berends, “A Divided Harvest,” 28. Footnote 88 states, “Reference to F.L. Chapell is also found in the “Sunday Services” section of *The Morning Union*. He is listed as a guest of the Berean Church, one of the city missions under the direction of W.D. Fowler.” See *Morning Union* (Bridgeport, CT), 7 December 1895. See also Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *Fundamentalists in the City: Conflict and Division in Boston’s Churches, 1885-1950* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005), 90-1, 94-5.

²³³ Garrigus wrote that Wheeler eventually became a missionary in Africa. It seems Garrigus believed her friend died in Africa, writing, “the Lord soon took her where there are no partings and no tears. Do you say “a life thrown away?” See Alice B. Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 2 (June 1939): 7. Berends notes Wheeler must have returned to the United States as she was reported in the holiness periodical *Word and Work* to have been in attendance at a service in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1907. The article identifies her as “Sister Wheeler, who was one of the workers in Old Beulah Mission.” Berends further observes

instrumental in Garrigus' activity within Holiness circles. In the autumn of 1904, Garrigus and the Fowlers moved to Rumney, New Hampshire, to join the First Fruit Harvesters Association.²³⁴ It is this relationship that levied the most profound impression upon Garrigus as far as imminent eschatology is concerned.

The Eschatological Influence of the First Fruit Harvesters Association

The First Fruit Harvesters Association was a primitivistic, foursquare gospel organization, dedicated to the evangelization of New England.²³⁵ Joel Adams Wright claimed to have been healed of pneumonia and to have experienced a vision of heaven and hell.²³⁶ In response, he established the First Fruit Harvesters in 1896, stating, that, "satan's kingdom shall suffer loss at our hands even from this time onward until Jesus comes."²³⁷ Harvesters were driven by a twofold desire: to witness the inception of Christ's millennial rule,²³⁸ and a corresponding divine mandate to warn the Church and world of imminent judgment.²³⁹ This eschatological focus is reflected in the title of the Harvesters' periodical, *The Sheaf of the First Fruits*,²⁴⁰ and is evident in articles drawing

Garrigus is referenced in another article in the same issue. Both Garrigus and Margie Bowen are identified as attending the 1907 Christian Missionary Alliance Camp Meeting in Old Orchard Beach, Maine, as members of the First Fruit Harvesters. The question is raised whether Garrigus was aware of Wheeler's presence in New England. See "Work in Worcester, Mass.," *Word and Work* 29, no. 8 (September 1907): 241; S.G. Otis, "Campmeeting at Old Orchard, Me.," *Word and Work* 29, no. 8 (September 1907): 242; and, Kurt O. Berends, "A Divided Harvest," 30 (footnote 93).

²³⁴ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 10.

²³⁵ Elizabeth Evans, *The Wright Vision: The Story of the New England Fellowship* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), 2. See also Kurt O. Berends, "A Divided Harvest," 52-3. See also Kurt Berends, to David Lorne Newman, 15 February 2001. Berends notes that though the Harvester theological fusion includes Wesleyan and Holiness roots they are "most closely aligned with the Keswick ideology."

²³⁶ Joel A. Wright, "Some Things Concerning My Christian Experience and Call to the Ministry," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 10, no. 10 (October 1912): 1.

²³⁷ Joel A. Wright, "Pastor's Letter," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 1, no. 1 (30 October 1902): 1.

²³⁸ Joel A. Wright, "Delusion," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 1, no. 30 (21 May 1903): 1.

²³⁹ Ivy V. Foster, "Be Ye Therefore Ready," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 1, no. 16 (12 February 1903): 2; and Kurt O. Berends, "Social Variables," 70.

²⁴⁰ Elizabeth Evans, *The Wright Vision*, 16. Evans states that the periodical took "its name from the New Testament reference to Christ's resurrection and the hope of his return." The periodical was first published in 1899 under the title, *The First Fruit Harvester*. The periodical title was changed to *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* in 1902.

the attention of readers to a “last days” emphasis,²⁴¹ the apostasy of denominations and leaders,²⁴² the theory that a global proclamation of the gospel would expedite the Parousia,²⁴³ the defense of ecstatic piety,²⁴⁴ and the availability of premillennial literature.²⁴⁵ Hearing of the Harvesters’ ministry, Garrigus subsequently met Wright in Rumney, New Hampshire.²⁴⁶

If the *Sheaf* is indicative of the Harvesters’ theological focus at the time of Garrigus’ arrival, she desired to join a four-fold full gospel holiness community that ecstatically reveled in the hope of the Parousia. The Harvesters were dedicated to ministering to each another and to audiences throughout northern New England through the distribution of the *Sheaf*, hosting a spiritual retreat-campground, providing missionary training, offering humanitarian ministry to unwed mothers and orphans, and mounting evangelical crusades. Berends writes, “These early years set the basic pattern of ministry that characterized the work of the Harvesters for the next twenty-plus years. It was to this ministry that Garrigus felt called in 1904.”²⁴⁷ Wright’s acceptance of Garrigus and the Fowlers suggests he was confident that their doctrine, including eschatology, was

²⁴¹ Ivie V. Foster, “What Do These Things Mean?,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 1, no. 36 (2 July 1903): 1; idem, “A Warning,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 1, no. 33 (11 June 1903): 4; and, Joel A. Wright, “High License,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 1, no. 24 (9 April 1903): 1.

²⁴² Joel A. Wright, “Once in Grace, Always in Grace,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 1, no. 42 (13 August 1903): 1. Wright addressed the failures of Frank Weston Sandford and John Alexander Dowie, both of whom initiated movements that are seen as antecedents of Pentecostalism. See D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 116, 136; “The Blessed Hope,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 1, no. 2 (6 November 1902): 3; and, Susie Farrand White, “Separation,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits*, n.d., issue fragment.

²⁴³ Joel A. Wright, “A Four-Footed Gospel,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 1, no. 13 (22 January 1903): 1; and, Ivie V. Foster, *The Sheaf of the First Fruits*, n.d., issue fragment.

²⁴⁴ Jesse A. Barney, “The Latter Rain—Zech. 10:1,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 4 (April 1909): 1; and, Joel A. Wright, “Demonstrations,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 1, no. 8 (18 December 1902): 1.

²⁴⁵ Joel A. Wright, “The First Fruit Harvester,” *The First Fruit Harvester* 1, no. 1 (1 July 1897): 2, 4. The inaugural issue included a report on a tent crusade featuring “preaching on [the] Second Coming by Bro. Scruby,” and an advertisement for the prophecy booklets, *The Tribulation*, *The Millennium*, *The Bride of Christ*, *Behold He Cometh*, and *Some Facts Concerning the Personality of the Anti-Christ*. See Susie Farrand, “Reports From the Field,” *The First Fruit Harvester* 1, no. 1 (1 July 1897), 2; and, “5 Cts. Each—50 Cts. A Doz.,” *The First Fruit Harvester* 1, no. 1 (1 July 1897), 4.

²⁴⁶ Alice B. Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 10.

²⁴⁷ Kurt O. Berends, “A Divided Harvest,” 55.

compatible with Harvester belief. Following Garrigus' arrival, the *Sheaf* continued its eschatological focus by attacking the doctrines of purgatory, annihilationism,²⁴⁸ and postmillennialism,²⁴⁹ by increasing the use of the pre-Pentecostal terms "full gospel,"²⁵⁰ "fourfold gospel,"²⁵¹ and "the everlasting gospel,"²⁵² and denouncing antagonists with cosmic judgment.²⁵³ It is probable that Garrigus' eschatology was influenced by the *Sheaf* and the vibrant chiliast world she shared with its contributors.

Garrigus' solo success in the village of Toad Hollow, New Hampshire,²⁵⁴ demonstrated her abilities and commitment as a travelling evangelist.²⁵⁵ "Not only was she in the field of ministry, but she reaped a harvest. It built confidence for her, something to hold on to when times were rough."²⁵⁶ Wright would recall in 1914, the

...meetings were held for a long time in a Toad Hollow school house, and God in mighty power met His people. Many professed salvation, were baptized in water; some professed sanctification and baptism in the spirit, and others were healed in answer to prayer.²⁵⁷

Further, Garrigus and her friend Margie Bowen led a weekend crusade in Meredith, NH, at which 300 individuals were reported to have attended an "open air-service Saturday

²⁴⁸ Joel A. Wright, "Fire Extinguishers," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 3, no. 10 (October 1905): 6.

²⁴⁹ Joel A. Wright, "What First Fruit Harvesters Stand For/ What First Fruit Harvesters Stand To Oppose," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 4, no. 4 (April 1906): 7.

²⁵⁰ Joel A. Wright, "Springfield, Mass.," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 3, no. 5 (May 1905): 4.

²⁵¹ Susie Farrand White, "Rumney," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 3, no. 2 (November 1905): 6.

²⁵² Bro. and Sister Munroe, "The Heavenly Vision," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 4, no. 2 (February 1906): 3.

²⁵³ Susie Farrand White, "Take Heed to Your Spirit—Mal. 2.15," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 3, no. 8 (August 1906): 2; idem, "Rumney Convention," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 4, no. 11 (November 1906): 3; idem, "Acts 14.22," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 4, no. 4 (April 1906): 6; and, Joel A. Wright, "To the Household of Faith: Greeting," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 4, no. 2 (February 1906): 1.

²⁵⁴ The village of "Toad Hollow" is now part of the community of Wakefield, New Hampshire.

²⁵⁵ See Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 10; Joel A. Wright, "To the Household of Faith: Greeting," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 4, no. 2 (February 1906): 1; Joel A. Wright, "Viewing the Walls," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 4, no. 3 (March 1906): 2; and "Toad Hollow," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 4, no. 4 (April 1906): 5.

²⁵⁶ Kurt O. Berends, "A Divided Harvest," 57.

²⁵⁷ Joel A. Wright, "Out On the Fire Line," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* (March 1914): 9 (As cited by Kurt O. Berends, "A Divided Harvest," 57, footnote 190).

evening.”²⁵⁸ The news of revivals in Wales (1905) and California (1906) buoyed her confidence and piqued her spiritual curiosity. While attending a Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA)²⁵⁹ campground in Old Orchard, Maine,²⁶⁰ she heard Frank Bartleman, the holiness journalist from the Azusa Street Revival, testify to events in Los Angeles.²⁶¹ When it was made clear that the administration was not interested in reproducing these experiences at Old Orchard Beach, Garrigus and her friend Margie Bowen responded to CMA leader Minnie T. Draper’s²⁶² encouragement to “stick to the honey”²⁶³ and accordingly accepted a surreptitious invitation to meet beyond the campground at a nearby barn to hear more.²⁶⁴ Within hours, Garrigus spoke in tongues.²⁶⁵ When she later shared her experience at a service in Rumney, Wright made it patently clear that the new teaching would not be accepted in Harvester circles. Garrigus recalled both the

²⁵⁸ Margie Bowen, “Meredith,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits*, n.d.: 4, issue fragment.

²⁵⁹ Hereafter, CMA.

²⁶⁰ See Daniel Blaney, *Old Orchard Beach* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), 119-27.

²⁶¹ See Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street: An Eyewitness Account* (Gainesville, FL: Bridge-Logos, 1980). Originally titled, *How Pentecost Came To Los Angeles: As It Was In The Beginning* (Los Angeles, CA: Frank Bartleman, 1925), in Donald Dayton, ed., *Witness to Pentecost: The Life Of Frank Bartleman*, “The Higher Christian Life,” (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1985).

²⁶² See Gary B. McGee, “Three Notable Women in Pentecostal Ministry,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* (Spring 1985-1986): 3; and, A. Reuben Hartwick, “Pentecost Comes to the Northeast: A Survey of the Early Events and Influential Leaders,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 3. Hartwick notes the significant role the CMA played in the early Pentecostal movement. Minnie Draper would attend Bethel Pentecostal Assembly in Newark, New Jersey, where she started the influential Bethel Bible Institute. Garrigus would write letters and articles that were published in the school’s periodical *Full Gospel Missionary Herald*. See Alice B. Garrigus, “Gospel Work on Land and Sea,” *Full Gospel Missionary Herald* 6, no. 1 (January 1922): 17. See C. J. Lucas, “Draper, Minnie Tingley,” in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), 250.

²⁶³ Alice Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 11.

²⁶⁴ S.G. Otis, “Campmeeting at Old Orchard,” 242. Garrigus and Margie Bowen are identified as attending the 1907 CMA Camp Meeting at Old Orchard Beach, Maine. Otis wrote of gathering with a group of people praying for “Pentecostal power” until past midnight including Garrigus, the Bowens and a “Sister Larson” who had “recently received the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and sings and speaks in tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.” Significantly, Otis also notes the unofficial meetings occurring in a nearby barn following the CMA camp meeting, confirming Garrigus’ *Walking* recollections. “After the campmeeting the Spirit led some of the saints to hire a large barn outside of camp ground and the meeting continued for days under the unction and power of the Holy Ghost.”

²⁶⁵ Alice Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 11. See Kurt O. Berends, “A Divided Harvest,” 61, footnote 199.

uncomfortable months of imposed silence, and the importance of her friendships with Margie Bowen at Rumney,²⁶⁶ and Cora Barney of nearby Canaan, New Hampshire. Barney operated the El Nathan Mission on Razor Hill in neighbouring Grafton. She had renovated a mountainside stagecoach depot on the Boston-Montreal turnpike, formerly housing Hezekiah Bullock's Tavern and later Joseph Flagg's "Hackett Place" Pub, into a spiritual retreat centre. A local historian quipped, "Cora Barney arrived to renew... spirits. The spirits that she served, however, were not to be imbibed. She appealed to the soul, rather than the palate."²⁶⁷ El-Nathan featured Holiness-Pentecostal preachers from across New England including Alice Garrigus.²⁶⁸ Though she remained at Rumney, it would be an entire year before she would feel at the centre of Harvester ministry again, when Wright spoke in tongues and accordingly transposed the group into a Latter-Rain ministry.²⁶⁹

Articles in the *Sheaf* after 1908 are noteworthy for the apologetic of ecstatic manifestations, including tongues as a sign of Christ's coming and a means of proclaiming the Parousia. The Latter-Rain motif became the most prominent feature of the *Sheaf's* eschatological message prior to Garrigus' departure for Newfoundland.²⁷⁰ The Latter-Rain theory held that a prophetic parallel existed between the rainfall-harvest cycle of Israel—an early spring rain, a summer drought, and an autumn pre-harvest

²⁶⁶ See Kurt O. Berends, "A Divided Harvest," 59-60, and 66-70; and, Margie B. Bowen, "Meredith," 4.

²⁶⁷ Kenneth R. Cushing, *Isinglass, Timber and Wool: A History of the Town of Grafton, NH, 1761-1992* (Grafton, NH: Kenneth R. Cushing, 1992), 269-72.

²⁶⁸ Reginald Barney, Canaan, NH, interview by David Lorne Newman, August 2011, video recording, private collection. See *Walking Bethesda Road*, produced by David Lorne Newman, 40 min., David Lorne Newman, 2011, DVD. Barney recalled how Cora, his grandmother, shared with him regarding her friendship with Garrigus, and how they continued to correspond up to the time of Cora's death on 7 January 1946. See Geo. S. & Cora Barney, "El Nathan. Razor Hill, Grafton," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 4 (April 1909): 5; and, Alice B. Garrigus, "Notes From Grafton," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 10 (October 1909): 5.

²⁶⁹ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 10-1.

²⁷⁰ See Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 15.

“latter rain”—and the history of the Church, as seen in the early Christian revival, a centuries-long spiritual drought, and a spiritual harvest “latter rain” marked by tongues-speaking.²⁷¹ The *Sheaf*’s embracing of the motif included William Fowler’s affirmation that the Latter-Rain was God’s means to prepare the Church for the Parousia²⁷² and Wright’s theory of a double harvest, in which Christian grain was readied for reward, and non-Christian tares, for judgment.²⁷³ Wright struggled with the emerging notion that tongue-speaking was the normative evidence of Spirit Baptism, teaching instead that it was a prevalent sign of the Latter-Rain. He observed that many who held the former view were guilty of setting a date for Christ’s return. “[T]here is a tendency on the part of some who hold tongues as an evidence,” Wright wrote, “[to] put more stress on visions and languages than... the written Word [and] have already commenced setting the time for the coming of Jesus.”²⁷⁴ The *Sheaf* frequently addressed antagonism to Harvester Latter-Rain teaching.²⁷⁵ The most dramatic opposition the Harvesters faced occurred in Jefferson, New Hampshire,²⁷⁶ on 8 December 1908. Garrigus wrote, “Among the many incidents of those days, one stands out never to be forgotten,” the destruction of the

²⁷¹ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 30.

²⁷² William D. Fowler, “Memoirs of the Camp-Meeting,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 10 (October 1909): 4. See also Susie Farrand White, “Immanuel,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 1 (January 1909): 4.

²⁷³ Joel A. Wright, “Christ and Anti-Christ,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 3 (March 1909): 3. Wright therefore called for a renewed emphasis on holiness among Christians. See also idem, “Pastor’s Letter,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 11 (November 1909): 1.

²⁷⁴ Joel A. Wright, “Are Tongues the Evidence of the Baptism With the Holy Ghost,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 7 (July 1909): 3; idem, “The Immediate Coming of Jesus,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 5 (August 1909): 1; idem, “A Perverse Spirit,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 10 (October 1909): 1; and, Mrs. Arthur L. Brown, “The Rumney Convention,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 7 (July 1909): 5.

²⁷⁵ Joel A. Wright, “Notice,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 4 (April 1909): 5; and, Susie F. White, “Immanuel,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 9 (September 1909): 1.

²⁷⁶ See The Town of Jefferson, New Hampshire, *Jefferson, New Hampshire Before 1996* (Jefferson, NH: The Town of Jefferson, 1995).

Harvesters' chapel.²⁷⁷ Wright, believed the Harvester Latter-Rain teaching on tongue-speaking created the violent acrimony in Jefferson eventually leading to the explosion. However, motivation for the attack was probably fostered by Wright's vehement verbal assaults on Jefferson community groups, whom he suggested, were fulfilling prophecies regarding "the mark of the beast," and turning the churches into harlots. Wright would view the entire event as a sign of the last days.²⁷⁸

The antichrist spirit is ripening up things for the last final conflict. The bride of Christ is making herself ready; she will soon receive her call to the marriage supper...²⁷⁹

Following the Harvesters' acceptance of Latter-Rain theology and spirituality, the *Sheaf* printed articles supporting ecstatic piety, including a readiness to assign spiritual significance to natural events,²⁸⁰ promoting Spirit-inspired hymns,²⁸¹ publishing eschatologically interpreted visions,²⁸² and on one occasion celebrating a service highlighted by a "dramatic scene [to] take place on that great day when Jesus comes to meet his bride," which was esoterically comprehended only by "those who commune with God's Holy Spirit."²⁸³

Garrigus' Eschatological Writings in New England

Garrigus wrote at least six articles, appearing in the *Sheaf* from October 1907 to October 1909, during her tenure with the First Fruit Harvester Association. These

²⁷⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 6, no. 1 (March 1940): 8.

²⁷⁸ Kurt O. Berends, "Social Variables," 68, 82.

²⁷⁹ Joel A. Wright, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem...", *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 1 (January 1909): 1.

²⁸⁰ Mrs. Arthur L. Brown, "The Rumney Convention," 5. The article also notes a financial presentation being made to Garrigus by the First Fruit Harvesters.

²⁸¹ Joel A. Wright, "Tarry For the Spirit," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 4 (April 1909): 7. See also William D. Fowler, "The Coming Camp-Meeting," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 8 (August 1909): 6. Joel A. Wright included the lyrics of an untitled hymn written by his son. See J. Elwin Wright, *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 10 (October 1909): 7.

²⁸² Sylvia Janes, "A Heart Talk With Jesus," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 4 (April 1909): 6.

²⁸³ A.N. Newton, "A 'Deeper Yet' Camp-Meeting," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 10 (October 1909): 3.

writings, all composed following the Harvesters' entry into the Latter-Rain movement, provide a window on Garrigus' eschatology prior to her arrival in Newfoundland and Labrador. Berends notes, "Almost all of the sermons and articles Garrigus wrote for *The Sheaf* develop the twin themes of the 'last days' and 'latter rain.'"²⁸⁴

In the earliest article, "Behold the Bridegroom Cometh," Garrigus demonstrates her apocalyptic premillennialism by stating that both natural and societal calamities are signs of Christ's coming and precursors of ultimate judgment. She presents the Christian life as a cosmic battle²⁸⁵ against "the forces of Satan," in which "all heaven is interested." Applying her Latter-Rain theology to ecclesiology she declares that the Church can be victorious only by Christ "purifying His bride" and through its reception of the Holy Spirit's "endowment of power and gifts."²⁸⁶

In "Perils of the Last Days," Garrigus addresses Christian parenting in the light of premillennial eschatology. Responding to detractors she notes in passing that while Paul never identified fanaticism as a last-days sign, he did mention "disobedience to parents." In a demonstration of theological elasticity and pragmatism, Garrigus follows Holiness values by pleading for better parenting, while simultaneously affirming apocalyptic expectations that childhood rebellion will inevitably grow worse,²⁸⁷ a point she would elaborate on while in Newfoundland.²⁸⁸

In "Stop, Look and Listen," Garrigus encourages her Latter-Rain audience to view their world through an apocalyptic interpretation of Psalm 46. Paralleling the

²⁸⁴ Kurt O. Berends, "Cultivating," 47.

²⁸⁵ See Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 94.

²⁸⁶ Alice B. Garrigus, "Behold the Bridegroom Cometh," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 3, no. 5 (October 1907): 3. See also Kurt O. Berends, "Cultivating," 47.

²⁸⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, "Perils of the Last Days," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 3 (March 1909): 4.

²⁸⁸ See Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 11.

cataclysms of the past with the present and lamenting the apostasy of the Church,²⁸⁹ she celebrates the global saturation by the Latter-Rain. Garrigus concludes by warning Pentecostals to resist pride in order to “escape the perils of these last days.”²⁹⁰

Insight into the Harvester eschatologically inspired ecstatic piety during Garrigus’ tenure is vividly evident in her report, “June Convention.” During one service,

...[d]ifferent parts of the Word of God, particularly of the Revelation, were acted out by persons under the control of the Spirit. The rejoicing of Christ over his bride, with messages in tongues and interpreted, showing that her warfare was nearly over. The rapture of the bride was followed by scenes of deepest distress when those left behind were passing through the awful judgments of God as the vials of his wrath were being poured upon them. Many passages of scripture... were acted out... One, under the power of the Spirit, even licked the dust of the carpet verifying the word that declares His enemies “shall lick the dust.”

Significantly, Garrigus references key eschatological events, including “the rapture of the bride” and the Tribulation—a “deepest distress” that follows for “those left behind.” The spiritual dance seems to follow a dispensational premillennial score. She makes clear the identity of the choreographer.

All this and much more was vividly portrayed through the different ones moved upon the scene by the Spirit... one by one, the great events of the near future passed as a panorama before the eyes of those present.²⁹¹

Amid such ecstatic worship, the sense of the imminent return of Christ was heightened. From the outside this activity seems to suspend all sense of reality. Wacker observed however this charismatic-last days behaviour was common within Pentecostal culture.

[T]raditional boundaries separating the invisible world from the visible world blurred beyond recognition... ordinary visible things readily blended with the extraordinary invisible things. In early Pentecostal

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 10.

²⁹⁰ Alice B. Garrigus, “Stop, Look and Listen,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 9 (September 1909): 2.

²⁹¹ Alice B. Garrigus, “June Convention,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no 7 (July 1909): 1.

culture, then, the boundary between the two realms dissolved to the touch.²⁹²

For Garrigus and the Harvesters, “the presence of ‘latter rain’ gifts signified the presence of the ‘last days.’ You could not have one without the other.”²⁹³

The final two articles contain both pneumatological and eschatological references. In “Lessons From the Camp-Meeting,” Garrigus’ writings move from a reporting of ecstatic events to an interpretation of their significance to the Harvesters’ future.²⁹⁴ In “Notes From Grafton,” she compares Harvester unity under Wright’s leadership with the church’s eschatological unity in submission to Christ.

The final scene, of every saint in the room gathering around God’s appointed leader and upholding his hands while the Spirit brought out the message... was a little type of the bride of Christ in completeness, centering around her great living Head.²⁹⁵

All six articles, written prior to Garrigus’ departure for Newfoundland, evince an apocalyptic premillennialism that was interpreted within Latter-Rain theology.

Dispensational teaching, including the Rapture and a subsequent Tribulation period, permeated her writing. Garrigus, developed as a Harvester the ability to relate her eschatology as an evangelist and a writer. Harvester life was charged with the ever-present Holy Spirit, who empowered seekers for last-days service. She remembered her closing months in Bridgeport²⁹⁶ and Rumney as the period she received supernatural

²⁹² Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 87.

²⁹³ Kurt O. Berends, “Cultivating,” 48.

²⁹⁴ Alice B. Garrigus, “Lessons From the Camp-Meeting,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 10 (October 1909): 4.

²⁹⁵ Alice B. Garrigus, “Notes From Grafton,” 5.

²⁹⁶ See Charles C. Personeus, to *Good Tidings Press*, 30 November 1983, PAONL Archive. Personeus writes, “I was superintendent of John St. Mission in Bridgeport, Conn., and [Garrigus] was with me 6 months [in] 1910 before she went to Newfoundland... When Miss Garrigus was with me in John St. Mission I received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and that changed the Mission to First Pentecostal Mission, Bridgeport, Conn... We are retired at 95 years, looking for the return of the Lord.” The “1910 federal census records that W. D. Fowler, age 72, his wife Julia Fowler, age 53, and Alice Garrigus, age 51,

direction to relocate to Newfoundland.²⁹⁷ Marie Griffith's observation accurately portrays Garrigus at this moment.

Conservative evangelical women who believe that their true liberation is found in voluntary submission to divine authority consider this a bold surrender, an act of assuming the crucial role God has called women to play in the making of history, especially in these critical "last days."²⁹⁸

In November 1910, under the auspices of the First Fruit Harvesters, Garrigus, and the Fowlers²⁹⁹ began their Latter-Rain mission departing for St. John's.

Eugene Vaters: Eschatological Influences and Teaching to 1927

Eschatology also played a significant role in Eugene Vaters' early worldview, along with his subsequent departure from Methodism and entrance into Pentecostalism. His studies at Moody Bible Institute and Rochester Bible Training School acquainted him with dispensationalism and Latter-Rain theology. Prior to being elected Assistant Overseer of the PAONL in 1927, he established the Victoria Mission, published *The Independent Communion*, and conducted Pentecostal services in Newfoundland and Labrador, and Ontario with an eschatological focus.

Early Eschatological Influences

Eugene Vaters was born on 10 October 1898 in Victoria, Newfoundland, into a home with strong Methodist ties. His childhood memories included ruminations that "we

resides at Harriet Street, Bridgeport. See The United States of America, "1910 United States Federal Census," Bridgeport, Fairfield, Connecticut; Roll: T624 129; Page: 12A; Enumeration District: 0046; Image: 312; FHL microfilm: 1374142. See also Carrie K. Buckingham, "My Experience," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 9, no. 8 (August 1911): 8-11. Buckingham recalls attending the Bridgeport "Latter Rain" assembly in July and Garrigus' final campmeeting at Rumney in August 1910. Through Garrigus' ministry Buckingham's testified of demon exorcism on Friday morning, sanctification Monday morning, baptism "in the Spirit" Monday night, and "on Wednesday evening came through speaking in tongues."

²⁹⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 6, no. 1 (March 1940): 9; and, Eugene Vaters, "An Appreciation of Miss A. B. Garrigus," 2, PAONL Archive.

²⁹⁸ R. Marie Griffith, *God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of Submission* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 199.

²⁹⁹ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 6.

were here for awhile and [would] return [to God],”³⁰⁰ and of hearing his mother pray about life and eternity.³⁰¹ A decade later, following one year of teaching at a Methodist school in Little Harbour Deep, a coastal boat arrived with the list of soldiers killed at Beaumont Hamel, a poignant example of the brevity of life.³⁰² Wacker’s observation that “otherworldly impulses emerged with special force in times of death and mourning” would be particularly applicable in Vaters’ experience.³⁰³ Despite concerns about the doctrinal future of Methodism,³⁰⁴ Vaters applied for ministerial credentials.³⁰⁵

Vaters’ eschatological viewpoint during his rural Methodist tenure was influenced by frequent tragedy, his growing interest in ecstatic religion, and the significant effect of his mother’s death. Early in his ministry, Vaters submitted obituaries to *The Methodist Monthly Greeting*, demonstrating an oscillating application of eschatology, ranging from a vague reference to the hereafter following the tragic railway death of a boy,³⁰⁶ to a definitive declaration “in the hope of the Resurrection” in response to the death of soldiers.³⁰⁷ It was during his tenure at New Bay however, that Vaters would preside interment services at “fourteen or fifteen new graves” as Spanish Influenza ravaged the village. In particular it was the death of Hannah Yates, a young girl mourning the death of her father, grandfather, and two uncles, which gripped Vaters’ attention. Hannah’s final words to her mother—“not to mourn her as dead, but to rejoice that she

³⁰⁰ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 9.

³⁰¹ Eugene Vaters, sermon notes, 23 March 1961, 6, PAONL Archive.

³⁰² Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 24. See also, Elizabeth Laura Sutton (nee Newman), interview by Alvonne Sutton, 12 October 1988, PAONL Archive.

³⁰³ Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 20

³⁰⁴ Susan Vaters, 1, PAONL Archive.

³⁰⁵ “Methodist Monthly Station Sheet,” *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* 28, no. 7 (July 1916): 16. Vaters is listed as “Bishop’s Falls-Chairman’s Supply (Eugene Vaters).”

³⁰⁶ Eugene Vaters, “Tragic Death of Arthur Pelley,” *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* 28, no. 12 (December 1916): 15.

³⁰⁷ Eugene Vaters, “Notes From New Bay,” *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* 25, no. 2 (February 1918): 16.

would be living the ‘abundant life,’”—catalyzed Vaters’ thoughts regarding the afterlife.

Vaters wrote,

The knowledge which Hannah possessed of the invisible was wonderful: night and day she spoke of little else. At the funeral service we had that noble verse of St. Paul to the Philippians for our text, - ‘For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.’ (1:21).

Vaters also records two deaths in the Whitehorn family, emphasizing in his report to *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* that personal confessions occurred prior to their deaths.³⁰⁸

Amid this tragedy Vaters’ evangelical thoughts were stimulated by reading books such as *Skipper George Netman—A Story of Out-Port Methodism in Newfoundland* obtained from “The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada,”³⁰⁹ and reading occasional essays in *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* advocating traditional Methodist doctrines³¹⁰ and evangelism.³¹¹

While in New Bay, Vaters was secluded because of a local Spanish Influenza quarantine. He claimed to have had an ecstatic experience during the seclusion in which he was supernaturally introduced to Pentecostal doctrines, including two key Latter-Rain components, tongue-speaking and the imminent return of Christ.³¹² His interest in ecstatic Christianity was further stoked upon hearing that a fellow Methodist minister had spoken in tongues.³¹³ Vaters’ premillennial focus was encouraged after reading articles in *The*

³⁰⁸ Eugene Vaters, “Obituary,” *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* 26, no. 2 (February 1919): 16.

³⁰⁹ George J. Bond, *Skipper George Netman—A Story of Out-Port Methodism in Newfoundland* (Toronto, ON: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church—The Young People’s Forward Movement Department, 1911). The volume was in Eugene Vaters’ library.

³¹⁰ J.H. Vincent, “Methodist Doctrines,” *The Methodist Monthly Greeting*, n.d. [post-October 1920]: 15, issue fragment.

³¹¹ Rev. H. Royle, “Evangelism and Social Service,” *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* 26, no. 7[?] (July 1919): 13. The author attempts to balance the goals of evangelism and the social gospel.

³¹² Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 41-5. Vaters references the eschatological hymn, “Lo, He Comes With Clouds Descending,” written by John Cennick.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 58.

Sunday School Times and *The Witness*,³¹⁴ and by obtaining eschatological literature from Moody Colportage Library.³¹⁵

The immediacy of the afterlife became most tangible for Vaters however, through the paranormal aspect of his mother's death. Unable to be present at her passing he was emotionally moved upon hearing that his mother briefly awoke from her coma to spell "B-R-I-G-H-T" before dying.³¹⁶ Following the funeral Vaters claimed his mother appeared to him by "thought-communication" in a "vision-dream."³¹⁷ She directed Vaters to "[h]ew the line"³¹⁸ and leave the Methodist Church immediately. During Vaters' final visit with his mother, she had given her blessing to his decision to "go out independently and preach the gospel" after hearing of his frustration with the Methodism denomination.³¹⁹ It is not surprising therefore, that he took her spectre seriously, gathered his "stuffy books, directives and circulars," and burned them "by a rock at the back door."³²⁰ He approached his leadership to relate his concerns, adding the only way he could continue as a Methodist minister would be if he were given an exemption regarding certain doctrinal positions with which he disagreed.³²¹ They refused his proposal and

³¹⁴ Ibid., 93.

³¹⁵ Dorothy R. King, interview by Burton K. Janes, 22 August 1988, handwritten transcript, 6, private collection. She notes, "He was very impressed with their material. He felt they were strongly evangelical and fundamentalist." See "A Great Book Bargain at Dicks & Co.," *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* 26, no. 7[?] (July 1919): n.d. The advertisement offers books from the Moody Colportage Library including *Heaven* by D.L. Moody and *The Second Coming of Christ* by Henry Drummond. Vaters wrote letters to the editor of *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* on 20 January 1920, and, 18 July 1921, advising readers that he was opening a book distribution centre. See Eugene Vaters, "An Appeal From LaScie," *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* 27, no. 3[?] (March 1920): 6, issue fragment; and, "Good Literature," *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* n. p. [post-July 1921]: 14, issue fragment.

³¹⁶ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 17.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 76.

³¹⁸ Eugene Vaters, interview by Albert Vaters, n.d., handwritten transcript, PAONL Archive, 17.

³¹⁹ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 70.

³²⁰ Ibid., 76.

³²¹ Burton K. Janes, "Vaters, Eugene (1898-1984)," in *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography*, ed. Robert H. Cuff, Melvin Baker and Robert D. W. Pitt (St. John's, NL: Harry Cuff Publications, 1990), 346. "From 1916 until 1922 [Vaters] was a pastor on the Methodist circuit, but became increasingly disaffected by what he perceived as "modernism" creeping into the church."

instead suggested he return to college where he might “see things in a new light... [for] a new age.”³²² Vaters however had no intention on registering at a modern Methodist College but rather was already raising money to attend the Fundamentalist, Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, Illinois. Unable to raise enough funds to attend the autumn semester he accepted the Red Bay, Labrador circuit.³²³ Although he viewed these parishoners as “Wesleyan-Methodists, without taint of modernist unbelief,”³²⁴ it would be his final year of Methodist ministry. He made the difficult decision to officially leave Methodism, submitted his resignation as final at the 1922 Conference and initiated plans to travel to Chicago.³²⁵

Vaters’ interest in Pentecostalism may have begun with a visit to Bethesda Mission while attending a Methodist conference.³²⁶ That interest however became a passion in Montreal, en route to Moody, where Vaters attended the Pentecostal Assembly, Drummond Street. Though Vaters remembered the church for its “fervency and warmth,”³²⁷ he was viewed as a “critical Methodist minister.”³²⁸ Serendipitously, his future wife Jennie Sarah Gray (nee Lacey) would move to Montreal soon thereafter and convert to Pentecostalism. On 20 July 1922, Vaters registered at Moody, identifying “Evangelistic or Pastoral-Evangelistic as his proposed work.”³²⁹ Although his eschatological interests suggest he would have enjoyed the school—a centre of

³²² Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 70.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 78. See also “Methodist Conference: Stations of Ministers and Probationers—1921-1922,” *The Methodist Monthly Greeting* (post-July 1921): 16, issue fragment. Vaters is listed in the “Carbonear District.” He “left without station at his own request.”

³²⁴ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 79.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 84.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

³²⁹ Donna Manis, Enrolment Management, Moody Bible Institute, to Burton K. Janes, 17 August 1988, private collection.

premillennial proclamation—³³⁰ he completed less than a semester.³³¹ Possible reasons for his early exit include his conviction that the institution had lost the passion of its founder, and that he deemed the courses to be “elementary Bible studies.”³³² Throughout the semester he longed for the spirituality he had experienced in Montreal.³³³ Vaters viewed it significant that on the day he recalled a hymn sung at Bethesda Mission, he also received a letter from Jennie, stating that she had travelled to Montreal and accepted Pentecostal teaching.³³⁴

There, for the first time I heard of the second coming of Jesus, and of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Shortly after, [I] received the precious baptism... [and] God renewed my call...³³⁵

Jennie was raised in the Anglican Church³³⁶ at Coley’s Point, Newfoundland and Labrador. Her life prior to meeting Vaters included conversion at the interdenominational “meeting place called ‘Bethel,’³³⁷ the death of her first husband in Boston, a divine call to ministry, and being healed of “pneumonia and pleurisy.”³³⁸ On 7 November 1922, Vaters left Moody for Montreal, where, on 23 December, he married Jennie at the Pentecostal church. Although the couple returned to Chicago, where both had planned to attend the winter semester, they decided to commit themselves to Pentecostal doctrine. With the aid

³³⁰ Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 92.

³³¹ George Mosher, Office of Academic Records, Moody Bible Institute, to David Lorne Newman, 24 February 2000, private collection. “Eugene left the Institute without completing the semester and therefore earning no grade or credits for course work, no records of his courses... were kept in his file.”

³³² Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 93.

³³³ Donna Manis, Enrolment Management, Moody Bible Institute, to Burton K. Janes, 17 August 1988, private collection.

³³⁴ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 95.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 113. Vaters quotes Jennie Vaters.

³³⁶ Dorothy R. King, interview by Burton K. Janes, 22 August 1988, 4, private collection.

³³⁷ See Robert Bowering, “The Bethel.” Bowering’s devotional essay includes a general history and sketches of the interdenominational centre. “The Bethel” was built in 1885 and demolished in 1982. See also “The Bethel” Committee Minutes and Financial records. Coley’s Point, Bay Roberts, Newfoundland and Labrador, private collection. See also, Jennie Vaters, “Salute the Saints: Jennie Vaters,” *Good Tidings* 31, no. 3 (May-June 1975): 35; Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 60; and, *idem*, “Forward Outreach Over Newfoundland and Labrador,” 116.

³³⁸ Jennie Vaters, *Memoires*, 7-9, private collection. See also Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 113.

of an evangelist who “preached on water baptism in Jesus’ name only” they discovered that a Montreal friend was attending a Pentecostal school in Rochester. Informing Moody that they would not be registering, they boarded a train for upstate New York.³³⁹

Eschatological Influences at Elim and Rochester Bible Training School

Eugene Vaters’ Pentecostal eschatology was greatly influenced by the leaders of Elim Faith Home,³⁴⁰ a Pentecostal institution founded at Rochester in 1895 by Susan A. Duncan,³⁴¹ her sisters and their father, a former Methodist minister. The “powerhouse of the east” was known for its emphasis on “divine healing and the availability of God’s supernatural power for the whole of the Church age,” the latter term indicating a dispensational eschatology. Elim Faith Home initially focused on the socially disenfranchised, but “became a spiritual centre for many who were dissatisfied with nominal Christianity.”³⁴² Rochester Bible Training School opened in 1906,³⁴³ and in 1907 entered the Pentecostal movement. During Elim’s June Convention, two men claiming to have experienced tongue-speaking testified.

Almost the entire convention attendance became seekers at once... Many were prostrated under the hand of God, speaking in tongues, singing and prophesying... Truly the “latter rain” had come...³⁴⁴

Following the acceptance of the Pentecostal experience, Rochester teachers focused upon “the preaching of the Word,” “the ministering gifts of the Spirit,” “the great principles of

³³⁹ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 96.

³⁴⁰ A. Reuben Hartwick, “Pentecost Comes to the Northeast: A Survey of the Early Events and Influential Leaders,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 3.

³⁴¹ See Susan A. Duncan, “The Power of Thoughts,” *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 3 (October 1927), 3. The article was originally published in *Trust*.

³⁴² Marion Meloon, *Ivan Spencer—Willow In The Wind* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1974), 20.

³⁴³ Elizabeth V. Baker, *Chronicles of a Faith Life*, n.p., 119. See “After Half-Century R.B.T.S. Alumni Meet, Elect Officers,” in “News Of Our Fellowship,” *The Pentecostal Evangel* (10 August 1969): 26. Rochester Bible Training School continued to operate until 1924. See also Marion Meloon, *Ivan Spencer*, 67; and, Gary B. McGee, “Three Notable Women in Pentecostal Ministry,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* (Spring 1985-1986): 3.

³⁴⁴ Elizabeth V. Baker, *Chronicles*, 121. See also Stanley H. Frodsham, *With Signs Following*, 48.

the faith life, of divine healing, the Baptism in the Holy Spirit, the second coming of Christ, and sanctification by substitution—‘Christ in you the hope of glory.’” Eschatologically, students were taught “Dispensational Truth,”³⁴⁵ and that “a great revival... would precede the tribulation and Christ’s return,” made possible “through the present Pentecostal movement.” The Latter-Rain was viewed as both the key precursor and sign of Christ’s return,³⁴⁶ although the school did not initially teach that tongue-speaking was the singular evidence of Spirit Baptism.³⁴⁷ Eugene Vaters later recalled eschatological teaching at Elim during his tenure, including that of a British Army officer’s Latter-Rain theology, Susan Duncan’s presentation that prior to the Parousia the Jewish people would resettle the Biblical land of Israel,³⁴⁸ and her vociferous criticism of postmillennialism.³⁴⁹ Wacker noted Susan Duncan’s apocalyptic eschatology created low expectations of contemporary government. “[D]emocracy will not save the world,” Duncan warned. “Republicanism will not bring the Millen[n]ium.”³⁵⁰ An early Rochester conference presenting “detailed teaching on Christ’s coming” included the variant position that “many raptures” would occur.³⁵¹

Sixteen years after Elim’s introduction to the Pentecostal movement, Eugene and Jennie Vaters registered as students.³⁵² Within a few months of their acceptance on “faith lines,”³⁵³ Vaters settled into Rochester, receiving both his ordination to “the gospel

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 120.

³⁴⁶ Marion Meloon, *Ivan Spencer*, 23.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 54.

³⁴⁸ See Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 4-5.

³⁴⁹ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 102.

³⁵⁰ Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 219.

³⁵¹ Marion Meloon, *Ivan Spencer*, 24.

³⁵² Eugene and Jennie Vaters, “Newfoundland,” in “Letters From Students,” *Trust* 26, no. 1 & 2 (March-April 1927): 2. The Vaters recall arriving at Elim.

³⁵³ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 97.

ministry³⁵⁴ and the opportunity to teach homiletics and English at the school.³⁵⁵ During their tenure at Rochester, Jennie became seriously ill, and subsequently informed Vaters that God wanted her to travel to Ontario, where she would be healed.³⁵⁶ During her time away, she concluded that God was calling her to Newfoundland to be a Pentecostal minister. Returning to Rochester, the compulsion to leave for Newfoundland resurfaced.³⁵⁷ When Jennie met privately with one of the Duncan sisters seeking advice, her fellow-female minister responded by providing a donation toward the cost of travel.³⁵⁸ The couples' seemingly diverging paths were realigned only when "the Lord made it clear" to Vaters "that He also wanted [him] to return to Newfoundland." Vaters subsequently "resigned teaching [his] classes."³⁵⁹ Jennie's independent sense of God's purpose for her life may have been the key factor in their repatriation to Newfoundland and Labrador. Elim and Rochester provided Eugene and Jennie with an education in Pentecostal doctrine and experience. His later recollections demonstrate the key influence the institutions had upon his views of Christian living and eschatology.³⁶⁰

From the time of my days at Elim, Rochester, N.Y., when first I got my eyes open to the implications of this outpouring, I have always believed that this outpouring is latter rain. It is dispensational, with all that that means. And THAT means a lot.³⁶¹

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 104.

³⁵⁵ "Pentecostal Personalities: Pastor Eugene Vaters... a cohesive force," *Good Tidings* 38, no. 1 (January-February 1982): 38.

³⁵⁶ Jennie Vaters, "Tumours Removed," *The Pentecostal Evangel* 28 November 1925: 6.

³⁵⁷ Jennie Vaters, "Salute the Saints: Jennie Vaters," 35.

³⁵⁸ The dynamic of two Pentecostal women empowering Jennie to fulfill her divine call external to her husband is an interesting development for the context.

³⁵⁹ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 107. See also Eugene Vaters, "Forward Outreach," 58. Vaters writes, "God had called us each separately in mid-term, to return to Newfoundland to 'preach the Gospel.'"

³⁶⁰ Eugene Vaters, "Editorial: 'Perfect Surrender'," *Good Tidings* 7, no. 1 (March 1954): 10; idem, "Editorial Comments: 'The Highest Aim Of Life'," *Good Tidings* 20, no. 3 (July 1964): 6; and, idem, to Pentecostal ministers, 8 May 1961, PAONL Archives.

³⁶¹ Eugene Vaters, "Question Answered: On 'Latter Rain,'" *Good Tidings* 22, no. 6 (December 1966): 20.

Eschatological Aspects of the Vaters' Ministry in Newfoundland and Canada

The initial attempt by Vaters and his wife at opening a Latter-Rain mission in Jennie's hometown of Coley's Point, Newfoundland and Labrador, failed. Rumours quickly connected their work negatively with "the tongues people of St. John's"—Bethesda Mission—who had recently made inroads in the area.³⁶² Their next campaign led to the establishment of a Pentecostal mission in Vaters' hometown, Victoria, 31 km to the north. After attempts to cooperate with the Methodist minister ended in acrimony, Vaters held a service, during which "about forty, mostly young married men," were converted.³⁶³ During another service "men and women were thrown to the floor by the power of God" and tongue-speaking occurred.³⁶⁴ Amid gathering crowds, Vaters defended the claim that he and Jennie had "knowingly shunned the spectacular, the emotional [and] sentimental,"³⁶⁵ and had "no intention of calling out a people to follow after us, nor yet to side with another denomination."³⁶⁶ This is confirmed by the Vaters' correspondence with Elim, reprinted in the institution's periodical *Trust*, noting their desire to go to Africa as missionaries at the earliest opportunity.³⁶⁷ The doctrine of divine healing also drew the community's interest. Jennie related in *Trust* the negative response she received when promoting the teaching.

³⁶² Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 60; and, idem, "Forward Outreach," 116.

³⁶³ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 120-3. See also, idem, *1924—Golden Anniversary—1974, Bethel Pentecostal Church, Victoria, Newfoundland—Our Year of Jubilee* (St. John's, NL: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, 1974), 5.

³⁶⁴ Jennie Vaters, "Faith and Faithfulness Rewarded," *Trust* 24, no. 3 & 4 (May-June 1925): 22.

³⁶⁵ Eugene Vaters, *Golden Anniversary*, 4.

³⁶⁶ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 129.

³⁶⁷ Jennie Vaters, "Faith and Faithfulness," 22. Jennie Vaters writes of confusion regarding her divine call. Reflecting on a service in Rochester she recalled, "That night as I sat and listened to the need in foreign lands and as I went forward I said, 'Lord, you have called us to Africa, why send us home when the need is so great there... We need your prayers dear ones, and when His time comes for us to move on to dark Africa that we shall be ready...'"

Some thought me crazy, while the physician said if that Vaters woman doesn't leave Victoria she will have the cemeteries full. But "Glory to Jesus," how we feel like praising Him... they stand and tell how Jesus has healed them, and that in the future, He is to be their physician.

She concludes with the eschatological salutation: "Yours in Him, looking forward to his coming."³⁶⁸ Perhaps the certainty of divine healing and the triumphant eschatological conclusion was sadly instrumental in the tragic death of the Vaters' first child. Vaters' daughter writes,

She was an infant at the time they were in Victoria during the revival... Shortly after, she became very ill. At the time I guess they refused to have a doctor. This made quite a stir in the place because the people knew their child was sick... She stopped breathing... The child revived, but didn't live long afterwards... I think dad was torn between the fact that God wanted the child, but it was a matter of question, misunderstandings, or a little reproach on the gospel that he was preaching when he had lost his own child. He buried her in Victoria.³⁶⁹

In the midst of such incredibly emotional extremes, Vaters realized that he was now responsible for a mission congregation, whether or not it was his original intention to start one.³⁷⁰ As leader, he taught his congregants the dispensational premillennialism and Latter-Rain theology he had received in Chicago and Rochester. Following a conversation between Vaters and Garrigus,³⁷¹ their two missions—Bethesda and Victoria—entered partnership discussions, resulting in the registration of "The Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland." Robert C. English was named President and Overseer,³⁷² and the Vaters were freed to return to Canada where they would continue to seek an opportunity to work as missionaries in Africa.³⁷³ Their final months in Victoria

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 22.

³⁶⁹ Dorothy R. King, interview by Burton K. Janes, 23.

³⁷⁰ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 124, 129, 133.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 130.

³⁷² See Burton K. Janes, *History*, 72-84.

³⁷³ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 134, 150. In 1925 *Trust* reports that the Vaters are leaving Newfoundland for Canada to prepare to become missionaries in Africa. See "Editorial," *Trust* 24, no. 9 & 10 (November-

were highlighted by a service that featured supernatural demonstrations, including tongue-speaking,³⁷⁴ the shaking of the mission building,³⁷⁵ and the appearance of lights in the sky.³⁷⁶

The Vaters' tenure in Canada was noteworthy because of Eugene's initial tongue-speaking experience in Montreal,³⁷⁷ an unsuccessful lobbying to become missionaries in Africa,³⁷⁸ and eschatologically, his doctrinal leadership in Hamilton, Ontario. George A. Chambers, the General Superintendent of the PAOC, requested that the Vaters serve in Ontario while they awaited a response to their application.³⁷⁹ According to Vaters, a "crisis" existed in both the Vineland-St. Catherines,³⁸⁰ and

December 1925): 12. In 1927, however, *Trust* reprints a letter from Eugene and Jennie Vaters stating, "Now that we cannot go directly to Congo, we are ready to return to Nfld..." See Eugene and Jennie Vaters, "Newfoundland," 26, no. 1 & 2 (March-April 1927): 22.

³⁷⁴ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 132.

³⁷⁵ Dorothy R. King, interview by Burton K. Janes, 7; and, Eugene Vaters, *Golden Anniversary*, 5.

³⁷⁶ Susan Vaters, PAONL Archive, 2. This was not the first occasion supernatural lights were reported in Newfoundland and Labrador skies. See "Redeemer Pictured In The Sky," *The Mail and Advocate* (St. John's, NL), 09 August 1915. "Yesterday afternoon some people who were driving citywards from Torbay... witnessed a phenomenon which they will remember as long as they live with awe and reverence... they observed in the clouds a vivid picture of the Redeemer of a brilliantly red colour. Every lineament of the sacred features and person were plainly outlined and the right hand was raised and pointed up towards the heavens... What it portends it is impossible to say but that it presages something of an unusual character there cannot be any doubt." *The Mail and Advocate* was a publication of The Fisherman's Protective Union of Newfoundland. The article was republished in the English holiness periodical *Confidence*. It is both interesting that a union periodical would publish the supernatural claim, and that an English periodical received and reprinted the union article within four months. See "The Redeemer Pictured in the Sky," *Confidence* 7, no. 12 (December 1915): 235. See also, Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 9; and, Burton K. Janes, *History*, 87-91.

³⁷⁷ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 148.

³⁷⁸ Susan A. Duncan, and H. M. Duncan, "Editorial," *Trust* 24, no. 9 & 10 (November-December 1925): 12; Eugene & Jennie Vaters, "Letters From Students: Newfoundland," *Trust* 26, no. 1 & 2 (March-April 1927): 2; and, idem, "Newfoundland," *Trust* 26, no. 4 & 5[?] (July-August 1927): 20. Also see Eugene Vaters, "Forward Outreach," 61. Vaters writes, "We would 'pray through' on the question in our minds: were we called of God to go as missionaries to Belgian Congo? No, our field of service was to be our homeland." See also, Douglas Rudd, to Burton K. Janes, 09 August 1988, private collection. Rudd writes, "Tom Johnstone told me that Brother Vaters came to Ontario in 1926 awaiting permission to go to the mission field, through the U.S.A., I believe. Permission did not come..."

³⁷⁹ Ed Campbell, to Burton K. Janes, 15 September 1988, private collection. A record search conducted at Central Gospel Temple, which originated from the Vineland-St. Catherines assembly, showed no mention of Eugene Vaters pastoring there. "It is possible that he filled in between two of the Pastors here, but he never actually pastored himself. The Vineland church was started in 1908 before the PAOC came into existence. A review of the Pastor list does not show his name there either."

³⁸⁰ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 148.

Hamilton³⁸¹ churches.³⁸² Eschatology proved to be the central doctrinal issue in Hamilton. Vaters questioned, “Why am I being asked—and so often—what I believe and what I stand for... by members of a Pentecostal Assembly?” He realized that certain leaders in the church, from the same family, were aggressively promoting non-PAOC doctrine, including the “new issue,” water baptism in the name of Jesus only, eternal security and universalism, the final restoration of all things.

I contacted the General Superintendent, informing him that on Sunday I named the doctrinal teaching of the Pentecostal Assemblies, and challenged the members, “What do you believe?” While I respected people in their religious beliefs... I could not henceforth recognize as members of this Assembly but those adhering to the stated Pentecostal beliefs... The three referred to absented themselves... and no one else followed them.³⁸³

Sixty years later, W.H. Moody, a PAOC pastor, wrote that his wife had recalled Vaters’ “plea for us to stay with the Pentecostal truths and practice and never compromise.”³⁸⁴

Serendipitously, Vaters received a letter from Garrigus inviting the couple back to Newfoundland and Labrador to help lead the movement,³⁸⁵ only a few days prior to being informed by a missionary agency that their application to minister in Africa had been formally rejected.³⁸⁶ Their subsequent letter to Susan Duncan at Elim is rich in dispensational eschatology and applied to the recent developments of their lives.

³⁸¹ Ibid., 151. See also Steacy Hewiston, to Burton K. Janes, 6 October 1988, private collection. Eugene Vaters’ tenure in Hamilton is verified by Pastor A. Cowell who said, “Rev. Vaters was here for 1 year.”

³⁸² Douglas Rudd, to Burton K. Janes, 09 August 1988. Rudd notes “Rev. James Montgomery... confirmed that Brother Vaters pastored at Wiarton. He also said that he pastored in Montreal at what was known as The Upper Room congregation. As he remembered it Brother Vaters followed Rev. C.F. Day there who had in turn followed Brother Swan.” See Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 107; and, Douglas Rudd, to Burton K. Janes, 13 December 1988, private collection. Rudd states, “The Upper Room Assembly was renamed Bethel Tabernacle under the ministry of C.F. Day. It is now named Bethel Pentecostal Church and is located in St. Laurent, PQ.”

³⁸³ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 152.

³⁸⁴ W.H. Moody, to Burton K. Janes, 10 August 1988, private collection.

³⁸⁵ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 153.

³⁸⁶ Charles Yates, to Burton K. Janes, 09 August 1988, private collection.

Here we are at the end of another year. The Lord still tarries. We are yet harnessed for battle. But the interval of time since as students we gathered... brings us just that much nearer to the blessed appearing... Meanwhile signs multiply which tell us that the blessed event is very near, and also the short but horrible reign of horror and darkness of this old world. The shadows deepen so heavily our hearts cry out instinctively, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus"... These are evil days... but the reward of the faithful, those who have endured to the end... is reserved in heaven.

In particular the correspondence references the imminent return of Christ, with the phrases "The Lord still tarries," and "brings us just that much nearer to that blessed appearing." The notion that the Parousia will be preceded by supernatural warnings is referenced in the phrase "signs multiply which tell us that the blessed event is very near." The "Great Tribulation" is referenced as "the short but horrible reign of horror and darkness of this old world." Finally, a reminder to be focused upon "heaven" is levied. Amid this flourish of eschatological writing the Vaters are still hoping to go to Africa but resigned to divine providence stating, "God who controls the wind and waves will lead us in his will."³⁸⁷

The Eschatological Focus of *The Independent Communion*

Eugene Vaters began publishing *The Independent Communion* within months of arriving in Victoria. Wacker notes, "In the early years probably the majority of Pentecostal periodicals were actually launched, edited, and run as one-man or one-woman operations."³⁸⁸ The periodical printed both original essays by Eugene and Jennie Vaters and reprinted articles by leading Pentecostals, Holiness advocates, and

³⁸⁷ Eugene and Jennie Vaters, "Letters From Students: Newfoundland," *Trust* 26, no. 1 & 2 (March-April 1927): 22. The correspondence was written circa December 1926. The Vaters were transparent about their desire to minister in Africa when communicating with their colleagues in Rochester. Significantly, the topic is rarely mentioned by the Vaters to the Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal community.

³⁸⁸ Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 29.

Fundamentalists. The June 1924 issue³⁸⁹ provides the editor's motivation for publishing the paper, including promoting the imminent return of Christ within a "full-gospel" framework. Vaters describes the journal as,

An independent religious monthly, (D. V.), dedicated to the work of God in Newfoundland, and elsewhere as he may see wise to use it. We endeavour to hold forth a full-gospel message.

1. Salvation from sin by faith in Jesus Christ alone;
2. A complete separation from the world in spirit and practice;
3. A full dependence upon God in every circumstance of life;
4. The LORD as the only healer of His people;
5. The second coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as both personal and imminent; and,
6. The necessity of a "walk in the Spirit" and "not in the flesh."³⁹⁰

Two issues later, Vaters added a seventh component to his "full-gospel message" listing:

7. Sanctification and Baptism of the Holy Spirit.³⁹¹

The editor made available to readers eschatological resources for purchase, including *The Second Coming of Christ* by Harriet Beecher Stowe.³⁹²

In the article "Doctrinal," in the August-September 1924 issue, Vaters warns readers of spurious movements within Christianity and the danger of extremes in Latter-Rain worship. Possibly in response to critics of Pentecostal worship, Vaters links the current Latter-Rain movement with apostolic Christianity, which experienced ecstatic challenges as well.

[T]he same extremes as existed in the period of the "early rain," ... which St. Paul exposed and tried to correct... Meanwhile, if the claim be true... that it is indeed the "latter rain," then "harvest" is very near,--which Jesus

³⁸⁹ The second issue is dated June 1924. No copies of the first issue are known to exist. Four issues of *The Independent Communion* are extant (June 1924 to January-February 1925).

³⁹⁰ Eugene Vaters, "The Independent Communion," *The Independent Communion* 1, no. 2 (June 1924): 3.

³⁹¹ Eugene Vaters, "The Independent Communion," *The Independent Communion* 1, no. 4 & 5 (August-September 1924): 3. The seventh category was inserted in the list as doctrine # 4.

³⁹² Eugene Vaters, "Books," *The Independent Communion* 1, no. 4 & 5 (August-September 1924): 4.

called, *the end of the age*; and, we may expect the return of our Lord at any time. Let us voice the words... *Even so, come, Lord Jesus.*³⁹³

This restorationist teaching reflects the Latter Rain dispensational premillennialism promoted at Rochester. Vaters further affirms John Wesley's doctrine of sanctification, considers the Fundamentalist movement as "standing up against the departure from *the faith of the Son of God* in all the once-evangelical churches," and calls for prayer to aid miners and construction workers labouring in wickedness that reminded him of "the days of Noah."³⁹⁴

A second eschatologically significant article by Vaters appeared under "Notes" in the January-February 1925 issue, supporting a previously published essay in poetry form, "The Church and the World," that proclaims eschatological judgment on the Church for its "worldliness."

The expectant Bride of a heavenly Groom,
Now a harlot of the World!
Thou hast ceased to watch for that Blessed Hope,
And hast fallen from zeal and grace,
So now, alas! I must cast thee out,
And blot out thy name from its place.³⁹⁵

Vaters suggested that such worldliness fulfills last-days prophecy, "if we take 'the church of the Laodiceans' in *Revelation* 3.14-22 to represent the last form of apostate Christendom as seen in the church institution."³⁹⁶

³⁹³ Eugene Vaters, "Doctrinal," *The Independent Communion* 1, no. 4 & 5 (August-September 1924): 3. Vaters identifies modernism, Russellism, Christian Science and unidentified inappropriate ecstatic behaviour as spurious.

³⁹⁴ "Prayer-Column," *The Independent Communion* 1, no. 4 & 5 (August-September 1924): 4, emphasis in original. See Matthew 24.37.

³⁹⁵ Matilda C. Edwards, "The Church and the World," *The Independent Communion* 1, no. 4 & 5 (August-September, 1924): 2.

³⁹⁶ Eugene Vaters, "Notes," *The Independent Communion* 1, no. 5 & 6 (January-February 1925): 4. See Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 10.

Vaters reprinted articles by other writers, including Jennie's eschatologically focused "A Three-Fold Vision," which notes Christendom's lack of evangelism, the professionalization of clergy, and the claim that few will participate in Christ's coming.³⁹⁷ By reprinting an excerpt from the dispensational advocate Cyrus I. Scofield, "Judaizing the Church," Vaters demonstrates the importance he placed on an imminent Parousia and the separation of Israel and the Church, both key dispensational doctrines.³⁹⁸ Vaters also quotes Reuben A. Torrey, former president of Moody Bible Institute. The message unequivocally directs readers to prioritize eschatology. Torrey writes, "The truth of our Lord's return is the most precious truth the Bible contains."³⁹⁹

Summary

The goal of the thesis is to demonstrate the significant influence eschatology has had on early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal theology, spirituality and rhetoric. This chapter has provided vital contextual information regarding the eschatological influences experienced by the two most significant leaders in the PAONL from 1910-1949, Alice Garrigus and Eugene Vaters. Both future PAONL leaders demonstrate an evolution in their eschatological positions. Garrigus and Vaters will lead the PAONL with a certainty that Christ will return any moment, that the Latter-Rain experience is divinely designed for "last days" ministry, and that supernatural signs are abundant, warning everyone of what is eschatologically occurring. In order to assess the influence that eschatology expresses upon the theology, spirituality and rhetoric of Newfoundland

³⁹⁷ Jennie Vaters, "A Three-Fold Vision," *The Independent Communion* 1, no. 2 (June 1924): 2.

³⁹⁸ Cyrus I. Scofield, "Judaizing the Church," *The Independent Communion* 1, no. 5 & 6 (January-February 1925): 2.

³⁹⁹ Reuben A. Torrey, "The truth of our Lord's return....," *The Independent Communion* 1, no. 3 (July 1924): 4.

and Labrador's first Pentecostals the thesis will now survey the period 1910-1949 for the presence of eschatology.

CHAPTER 4

THE SCOPE OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR PENTECOSTAL ESCHATOLOGY, 1910–1949

In view that the general context of early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal eschatology has been established and secondly the major eschatological influences on early leadership assessed, the scope of Pentecostal eschatology will now be identified across the 1910-1949 period. These four decades in Newfoundland and Labrador were a turbulent time dominated by the influence of two world wars, the national tragedy of Beaumont Hamel, devastating ocean disasters, the Great Depression and bankruptcy of the colony, the end of independence and Confederation with Canada.⁴⁰⁰ Amid the political instability, the Pentecostal movement became established in Newfoundland⁴⁰¹ with premillennial dispensational eschatology a defining aspect of Bethesda from its inception. The imminent return of Christ, presented as a component of the fivefold full gospel, was interpreted in Latter-Rain theological terms. The entrance of Methodist leadership, following an evangelistic crusade in 1919 led by Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest, at Gower Street Methodist Church, St. John's, increased both city and outport evangelism. By the mid-1920s, the foursquare theological reduction replaced the previously held fivefold full gospel. Dispensational premillennialism became the norm, as Latter-Rain language diminished. Under the leadership of Eugene Vaters in the 1930s and 1940s, evangelism reached coastal Labrador, in part as a response to a charismatic

⁴⁰⁰ See Patrick O' Flaherty, *Lost Country: The Rise and Fall of Newfoundland, 1843-1933* (St. John's, NL: Long Beach Press, 2005); idem, *Leaving The Past Behind: Newfoundland History from 1934* (St. John's, NL: Long Beach Press, 2011); Peter Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949* (Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); and, John Edward Fitzgerald, ed., *Newfoundland at the Crossroads: Documents on Confederation with Canada* (St. John's, NL: Terra Nova Publishing, 2002).

⁴⁰¹ See Burton K. Janes, "Floods Upon the Dry Ground: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, 1910-1939" (Masters thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991).

eschatological warning.⁴⁰² The PAONL remained interested in eschatology to the end of 1949 and its time frame can be divided into two periods: The Establishment of Bethesda Mission (1910-1923) and the widening Pentecostal ministry in Newfoundland and Labrador (1924-1949).

The Establishment of Bethesda Mission (1910–1923)

Bethesda's early years were dedicated mainly to establishing a Latter-Rain mission in St. John's. This included both the physical construction of the mission and confirmation of their spiritual call to the city. Following the Fowlers' departure and Bethesda's break with the First Fruit Harvesters Association, Garrigus focused primarily on her mission which, as a result, remained introverted and geographically confined. This continued until Demarest, an eschatologically minded and pneumatologically sympathetic evangelist, energized the revivalistic desire of a small group of Methodists, who then found a home at Bethesda. Subsequently, Garrigus' work at the Mission, similar to her Harvester experience, included travelling evangelism, conversions, and Latter-Rain manifestations. Constant throughout the period of change was a dedication to premillennial Latter-Rain teaching.

December 1910–December 1912

The establishment of a Latter-Rain mission would require not only physical buildings, but also confirmation of their spiritual calling to St. John's. Garrigus and the Fowlers believed they were divinely appointed to both proclaim the imminent return of Christ and minister with apostolic power and piety. The Harvester evangelists reached

⁴⁰² Alice B. Garrigus, "Gleanings from the Pentecostal Fields of Newfoundland," *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 2 (September 1927): 2. See also David Lorne Newman, "Charismata as Missionary Impulse in the Labrador Mission," in *That Which We Have Received, We Now Pass On: Spirit, Word and Tradition in Pentecostalism*, the published papers of the 34th Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Regent University, 10–12 March 2005.

St. John's on 1 December 1910. Arriving during a rain storm, Garrigus recalled that, "Sr. Fowler and I remained in the station while Bro. Fowler went to look for a boarding house. When he returned, he took us to Osbourne House." The "well patronized" hostelry,⁴⁰³ which had opened the year before was located across the street from the old Post Office at 351 Water Street.⁴⁰⁴ Garrigus recalled how "[we] began our weary journeyings up and down the hills on which the city is built looking for a place to hold meetings and where we might live."⁴⁰⁵ A temporary solution was found at a private boarding house at 170 New Gower Street,⁴⁰⁶ coincidentally only a few hundred metres from the future site of Bethesda Mission. Within two weeks of their arrival, negotiations with James R. Johnston⁴⁰⁷ resulted in an agreement to lease a mission-residence that the Christian contractor would build. "I will put one up for you," Johnston offered, "the lower flat for meetings, the other two for your dwelling." Though the details are unclear it seems the building was constructed on a parcel of land that was recently made available following the closure of the north end of Thomas Lane fronting New Gower Street, and

⁴⁰³ Paul O'Neil writes, "A third hostelry in the area was the well patronized Osborne House, opened in 1908 by a Mrs. McGrath." See Paul O'Neil, *The Oldest City: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland* (Portugal Cove-St. Phillip's, NL: Boulder Publications, 2003), 380.

⁴⁰⁴ Osbourne House was located at "351, 353, 355" Water Street directly across from the Post Office as Garrigus reported. See Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 6. See also *Insurance Plan* 1914. The *Atlas* includes the phrase, "Hotel Rooms Over Osbourne House."

⁴⁰⁵ Alice B. Garrigus, "The History of Pentecost in Newfoundland," 10.

⁴⁰⁶ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 11. When Garrigus and the Fowlers moved into the boarding house the address was "170" New Gower Street on the corner of Brazil's Square. At a prior time the address was designated "176." See *Insurance Plan* 1914. As Garrigus stated, the Brownsdale Hotel would later open at this location. It would be designated as "170" and "194" New Gower Street. See *Insurance Plan* 1925.

⁴⁰⁷ The 1912 tax roll identifies the "Lessee" of 189 New Gower (46), the property adjacent to 193 New Gower, as J.R. Johnson. See *St. John's Municipal Council Water and Sewerage Appraisalment 1897* [Revised 1912], City of St. John's, NL, St. John's City Archives, St. John's NL.

incorporated both a large cellar built on the property since 1907, and a new residence that was being constructed by Johnston that was “adjoining” the cellar.⁴⁰⁸

The physical development of the Latter-Rain mission would be accompanied by spiritual affirmation. Just as Garrigus’ final weeks in New England were noteworthy for divine direction to minister in Newfoundland and Labrador, so too their first weeks in the city were marked by confirmation that God had guided them to St. John’s. Garrigus related in *Good Tidings* that on the day of their arrival she sensed God’s confirmation of their call to St. John’s while alone in her room at Osbourne House. She prayed, “Lord, You said Nfld. And here I am.’ The heavens opened upon me, giving a witness God was well pleased.”⁴⁰⁹ Margie Bowen published a portion of a letter sent to her from Garrigus, written shortly after their arrival in December 1910, informing her that, “they had received a very warm welcome from the Holy Ghost.”⁴¹⁰ Further, Garrigus delighted that God’s interest in the mission extended to the very identity of the church.

When we began to consider a name for God’s house, many were suggested. I kept silence, feeling the Lord had a will in the matter. When alone I asked Him about it and He said, “Call it Bethesda.” “Why Lord,” I said, “that was the place where so many were healed!” “Yes,” said the Lord, “that is just what I want in my house!”

⁴⁰⁸ Garrigus relates the story of the mission’s original construction in “The History of Pentecost in Newfoundland,” 10; and, Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 11. For information on the closure of the street Thomas Lane and the resulting available property on New Gower Street see *Insurance Plan of the City of St. John’s, Newfoundland* (Montreal, QC: Chas E. Goad, September 1880), St. John’s City Archives, St. John’s, NL. See also *Insurance Plan* 1893 [1907 edition] and 1914. The 1880 edition displays Thomas Street connecting with New Gower. The 1907 edition displays Thomas Street as “closed,” its southern access to George Street blocked by the new Salvation Army school, and the access to New Gower Street still open. The 1914 edition displays Bethesda “mission” occupying the former Thomas Street access to New Gower Street. See also David Lorne Newman, *Walking Bethesda Road*, video documentary; and, Burton K. Janes, *History*, 12. In conversation with Janes we concurred that it is impossible to ascertain with confidence the layout of the original building based on Garrigus’ description. Neither the obtaining of the indenture documents nor interviews with early participants has added significant detail.

⁴⁰⁹ Alice B. Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 6, and 11. See *The Lady Who Stayed*: 135.

⁴¹⁰ Margie Bowen, “Pray for Newfoundland,” *Word and Work* 23, no. 1 (January 1911): 20.

This remarkable dialogue was further evidence for Garrigus that Bethesda⁴¹¹ was divinely called to be a Latter-Rain ministry.⁴¹²

The ultimate spiritual test for Bethesda would come once the doors were open to the people of St. John's. "Very soon the workmen were busily engaged in rearing the walls."⁴¹³ "The new carpet though cheap was bright and cheerful."⁴¹⁴ On "Thursday, April 13, the finishing touches were placed upon the mission hall, and very attractive it looked with its pretty paper, fresh paint and new furnishings." A final addition ensured the physical construction of the Latter-Rain mission focused everyone who entered the building upon the spiritual. "Sister Fowler had made some pretty mottoes of red cardboard, which added much to the appearance. Over the platform are these words: "Jesus is coming soon. Get ready to meet Him."⁴¹⁵

The primary focus during the first two years was establishing Bethesda Mission in the city. The religious demography of St. John's in 1911 is evident in the following chart.⁴¹⁶

| District | Population | Roman Catholic | Church of England | Methodist | Salvation Army | Presbyterian | Congregational | Other |
|-----------------|------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|-------|
| St. John's East | 25,135 | 12,949 | 6,614 | 4,064 | 295 | 729 | 303 | 181 |
| St. John's West | 20,559 | 10,357 | 4,778 | 3,971 | 637 | 569 | 142 | 96 |
| Total | 45,694 | 23,306 | 11,392 | 8,035 | 932 | 1,298 | 445 | 277 |

⁴¹¹ Garrigus and the Fowlers would have been familiar with the use of the title "Bethesda." The orphanage at Rumney was called *Bethesda Home*. See Alice B. Garrigus, "June Convention," 3; Berends, "Divided Harvest," 56, footnote #184; Elizabeth Evans, *The Wright Vision*, 5; and, Muriel Wright Evans, "A Short History of 'Bethesda Home for Needy Children' at Rumney, N.H., 1909-1927," private collection. Frank Sanford's Shiloh campus included "a three storey brick healing hospice" called Bethesda. See Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 148; and, Shiloh Chapel staff, Durham, Maine, interview by David Newman, August 2010, private collection.

⁴¹² Margie Bowen, "Pray for Newfoundland," 20.

⁴¹³ Alice B. Garrigus, "The History of Pentecost in Newfoundland," 10.

⁴¹⁴ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 11.

⁴¹⁵ Alice B. Garrigus, "Extract," 188.

⁴¹⁶ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 13. Janes "calculated from the Census of Newfoundland and Labrador (1911)." The totals for St. John's were calculated by the author.

Hans Rollmann suggests that a sufficient religious infrastructure existed to meet the spiritual needs of the population, including those seeking “holiness or experiential religion,” who “could be accommodated in the revivalistic George Street Methodist Church or in one of the Salvation Army corps.”⁴¹⁷ For Garrigus, however, the existence of such denominations in no way negated her calling, as the absence of the “full-gospel”—including premillennial eschatology—justified the evangelists’ presence in the city.

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.⁴¹⁸

Following their first week of ministry, Garrigus revealed to a friend her hopes for and fears in establishing “a mission... on Latter-Rain lines,” requesting prayers for help to succeed “in the enemy’s country.”⁴¹⁹ The three Harvester evangelists were restorationists, believing that their presence and teaching would connect twentieth-century St. John’s with the power and experience of the first-century apostolic church. Garrigus declared that the “same gospel that went out from Antioch went out from Rumney to Newfoundland... The Church must give her last testimony because Jesus will soon be here.”⁴²⁰ The fivefold gospel provided Garrigus with a statement of fundamental truths, to be proclaimed to any audience willing to listen. “It was during the renovations to [Bethesda Mission] that she dropped in to the service on Hutchings Street. “The

⁴¹⁷ Hans Rollmann, “From Yankee Failure,” 6.33–41.

⁴¹⁸ Alice B. Garrigus, “‘Separation:’ Message Given at Rumney Camp Meeting by Alice B. Garrigus, August 23, 1926,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 25, no. 2 (February 1927): 4. The editor notes that the sermon was transcribed without the direction of Garrigus.

⁴¹⁹ Margie Bowen, “Pray for Newfoundland,” 20.

⁴²⁰ Alice B. Garrigus, “Separation,” 4. Garrigus’ sermons at Rumney were remembered years later by Elizabeth Evans. “I have a picture of her in my mind of that one campmeeting and the effects of her message.” See Elizabeth M. Evans, to Burton K. Janes, n.d.

Grapnel,” a mission on the western edge of downtown, featured former Salvation Army Captain Robert Laite and Job House, who “preached holiness and... ‘The Second Blessing.’”

[Garrigus] stood to her feet and gave her experience as to what the Lord had done for her and what He was doing in the earth in pouring out His Spirit... that the Lord had called her to Newfoundland to give the full gospel—Jesus—Saviour, Sanctifier, Baptiser, Healer and Coming King.⁴²¹

Bethesda Mission opened on Easter Sunday, 16 April 1911. Although no hint of distinctive Pentecostal teaching was contained in published advertising,⁴²² the approximately seventy-five attending the afternoon service and over one hundred attending the evening meeting⁴²³ were presented with both visual and verbal eschatological warnings. According to Vaters,⁴²⁴ Garrigus preached at the opening, explaining to her audience that she had traveled to the capital city to teach the “quickening note of the Second Coming of the Lord, the note most prominent during this Latter Rain outpouring,” along with “Divine Healing, a message about buried in the rubbish of the past.”⁴²⁵ Corresponding with New Hampshire friends, she noted challenges in Newfoundland, seeing herself as evangelizing in St. John’s in the “last days.”

⁴²¹ Myrtle Eddy, “Bethesda,” (Part I), 6.

⁴²² *Evening Chronicle* (St. John’s, NL), 15 April 1911. “A new mission, to be known as Bethesda Mission, will be opened tomorrow afternoon at three o’clock at 193 New Gower Street, near Springdale for general gospel work. A hall in the new Johnston building has been neatly filled up and everything will be clean and inviting. Services will also be held on Sunday evening at seven o’clock and each week day evening at eight o’clock. Everybody is most cordially invited to attend these services. W.D. Fowler in charge.” See also *Daily News* (St. John’s, NL), 15 April 1911. “Bethesda Mission- 193 New Gower Street, near Springdale Street. Sunday services at 3 and 7 pm. Weekday services every evening at 8 o’clock. W.D. Fowler, in charge.”

⁴²³ Alice Garrigus, “Extract,” 188.

⁴²⁴ Vaters does not share who related to him the content of Garrigus’ sermon at Bethesda’s opening. Though Garrigus did not state in 1940 what she preached about, Garrigus did share how she felt about the sermon. “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. See Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 11.

⁴²⁵ Eugene Vaters, “An Appreciation,” 2, PAONL Archive.

O we dare not shrink nor fail, so much depends upon whether our feet
stand firm in the fiery tests of these last days... Someone has said of
St. John's it was only fit for codfish, but I find in the will of God, it is all
right and I have no longing for any other place.⁴²⁶

The initial wave of Latter-Rain ecstatic experiences created public notoriety.⁴²⁷

Visitors remembered the impression made by the mottoes proclaiming the Parousia.⁴²⁸

The arrival of Garrigus' friend and Harvester co-worker, Margie Bowen, following her separation from her husband in New England, strengthened the mission effort. Bowen provided financial resources, musical talent and wrote a poem relating Bethesda's "five-fold gospel" ministry to St. John's. The following stanza is eschatologically significant.

Christ is coming in the glory,
Midnight cry is sounding forth:
Each nation has heard the story:
Who can tell what souls are worth?
O prepare us for the rapture,—
Crowning day is drawing nigh;
Saints shall rise from sea [to] valley,—
Go to meet Him in the sky.⁴²⁹

The Fowlers returned to the United States in 1912, landing en route in North Sydney, Nova Scotia, on 31 May. The ship's manifest identifies their forwarding postal address as Rumney, New Hampshire.⁴³⁰ The Fowler's would have made a report to the First Fruit Harvesters upon their return. In November 1912, Joel Wright informed readers of *The Sheaf* that despite the First Fruit Harvesters' leadership and financial support, Garrigus

⁴²⁶ Alice B. Garrigus, to unidentified friends in Grafton, New Hampshire. See Joyce Lee, Assistant Archivist, Assemblies of God Archives, Springfield, MO, to Burton K. Janes, 3 April 1989, private collection. Lee notes the undated letter fragment "was probably addressed to either Cora M. or Mabel E. Barney, Grafton, New Hampshire." Also see, Edgar D. Personeus, "Bridgeport, Conn.," *Word and Work* 2, no. 5 (May 1911): 151; and, Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 6, no. 1 (March 1940): 8. Garrigus noted, "There was one place that received a special visitation from God, and that was 'El-Nathan' in Grafton. . . the leader, Sr. Cora Barney, had stood for the present day outpouring."

⁴²⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 6, no. 4 (December 1940): 8.

⁴²⁸ Myrtle Eddy, "Bethesda," (Part I), 7.

⁴²⁹ Eugene Vaters, "Forward Outreach," 52, private collection.

⁴³⁰ Government of Canada. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Canada; Microfilm T-4839. The manifest identifies W.D. Fowler as "clergy." They sailed on the M.V. Invermore.

had unilaterally declared Bethesda to be independent of the Harvesters⁴³¹ and that she was further acting as a destructive influence in the Bowens' marriage.⁴³²

[T]he real latter rain of Pentecostal fullness does not break up hitherto happy homes... It is reported that I took issues against Sister Garrigus in our August camp meeting... I did not mention her name in only that we needed to pray mightily for her or she would go to the devil.⁴³³

The official reason for the Fowlers return to New England was because of William's poor health.⁴³⁴ However, the acrimony and pressure inevitably caused by Garrigus' denial of the Harvester's leadership of Bethesda and the presence of Margie Bowen amid her marriage problems and ministry exile,⁴³⁵ could not have made the working arrangement enjoyable. If Fowler was in charge of the mission from the outset, then it's entirely

⁴³¹ Joel A. Wright, "Matters at Newfoundland," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 10, no. 11 (November 1912): 3. Wright states in the *Sheaf* that at the August camp meeting he reported that Garrigus in "her own handwriting" stated she never considered Bethesda "a part of the Rumney work," this despite the Harvesters had transferred "money from the treasury" since early 1911. See Berends, "Divided Harvest," 66-8; and, "Money Received for Missions," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 10, no. 5 (May 1912): 16. Such funds would have been applied to Bethesda's operating expenses including the rent. Garrigus was able to make Bethesda independent by purchasing the building. By September 1912 she had secured sufficient income to replace the Harvester support, enabling her to both make a down payment and care for operating expenses. In 1937 Garrigus wrote the PAONL documenting how she had raised the funds. She recalled, on "Sept. 2nd 1912, the first payment on the building in question was paid, the last Aug. 21, 1918, price of same \$2500." She adds that with the exception of \$200 the funds were "personal gifts to me, from the States" to be applied for "the purchase of the building." Garrigus makes no mention of the First Fruit Harvesters. See Alice B. Garrigus, to the Superintendent and the Adjustment Committee of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, April 1937, PAONL Archive.

⁴³² Berends suggests the primary reason Garrigus supported Margie Bowen was not theological but financial. See Berends, "Divided Harvest," 66. Margie Bowen was an important contributor to Bethesda Mission and signed Bethesda's Indenture. See Janes, *History*, 20, footnote 5. Margie Bowen would eventually return to New England where she would be reconciled to her husband. See Berends, "Divided Harvest," 69, footnote 225. In 1915 Garrigus would offer an apology regarding the whole debacle. See Evans Notes, 6865, CN 91088, Billy Graham Archives, Wheaton College, Chicago, IL.

⁴³³ Joel A. Wright, "Matters at Newfoundland," 3. It would have been at the minimum a humbling experience for Garrigus when she read how Wright had derided her in front of the First Fruit Harvester camp meeting and then published the diatribe in the *Sheaf* where her friends and colleagues would read it.

⁴³⁴ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 6, no. 4 (December 1940): 11; and, Mary Sutton and Emma A. Baker, "Convention Notes," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 10, no. 7 (July 1912): 6.

⁴³⁵ Joel A. Wright, "Matters at Newfoundland," 3-4. Regarding the not so "hitherto happy" Bowen marriage, see Berends, "A Divided Harvest," 67-9.

possible that his leadership could have become a point of friction with the increasingly independent Garrigus.⁴³⁶

Despite the Fowlers' departure, the split from the Harvesters, and Wright's Latter-Rain indictment, attendance at Bethesda increased, leading to an extension of the mission. Garrigus evidently expected this steady growth, in view of her divine calling to Newfoundland to establish a mission in St. John's⁴³⁷ to preach the full gospel.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁶ Newspaper and municipal documents from Bethesda's inception years referencing the mission's leadership suggest William D. Fowler was the director. Advertisements promoting Bethesda Mission's opening services included the phrase, "W.D. Fowler, in charge." No mention was made of Garrigus. See, *Evening Chronicle* (St. John's, NL), 15 April 1911; and, *Daily News* (St. John's, NL), 15 April 1911. This arrangement would have been consistent with their pre-Harvester experience in Bridgeport, in which Fowler administered a series of missions with Garrigus providing assistance. See Berends, "A Divided Harvest," 25-31. Further, the St. John's tax rolls, identifies "W.D. Fowler" as the single registrant of 193 New Gower (56), "Bethesda Mission- Church [?]." See *St. John's Municipal Council Water and Sewerage Appraisal* 1897 [Revised 1912], City of St. John's, NL, St. John's City Archives, St. John's NL. A report in the New England holiness periodical *Word and Work* published one month after Bethesda's opening however, leaves the question of leadership in doubt, stating only that "Sister Garrigus and Bro. and Sr. Fowler have opened a mission in St. John's, Newfoundland." See Edgar D. Personeus, "Bridgeport, Conn." *Word and Work* 2, no. 5 (May 1911): 151. See also Burton K. Janes, *History*, 14; Hans Rollmann, "From Yankee Failure," 6.35; Kurt Berends, "A Divided Harvest," 67 (see footnote 217), and Hattie-Longmire, "'Sit down, brother!' Alice B. Garrigus and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland," chapter 3: "The Life: Construction," 39-82, and chapter 4: "The Life: Four Constructions," 83-109.

⁴³⁷ Garrigus viewed her ministry in Newfoundland as primarily the result of her response to a personal divine call to establish a mission in St. John's, rather than being sent to the city as a missionary agent of the First Fruit Harvesters. Garrigus received her initial direction to minister in Newfoundland in October 1908, during the period she was ostracized by Wright for her tongue-speaking testimony and prior to the organization's entrance into the Latter Rain movement. Significantly, the divine calling occurred in the home of her friend Margie Bowen and not in a Harvester service. In August 1909 she received divine confirmation of her calling to Newfoundland meeting a woman from St. John's praying for her city. See Garrigus, Walking, *Good Tidings* 6, no. 1 (March 1940): 9. Garrigus further recalled receiving details on the nature of her future ministry. "One night the Lord said to me: 'I want a Mission in St. John's.' I replied: 'Lord, You are well able to have one if that is your will.' From that time I knew I was to buy my ticket for St. John's, and that somehow, I did not know how, there was to be a Mission there." In less than three months Garrigus planned to leave for Newfoundland alone, where she would establish a mission in St. John's. It is only at this point Fowler contacts her about joining the endeavour. Garrigus recalled receiving, "a letter from Bro. Fowler, who was several hundred miles away, saying: 'This morning, while at family prayers, God said to me: 'I want you and your wife to go to Newfoundland with Sr. Garrigus.'" He added: 'You see if the Lord has anything to say to you about it.'" This was a great surprise as I fully expected to go alone. I held the letter in my hand and said: "Lord, is this from Thee?"... The spirit of rejoicing came to me as a clear witness, so I wrote back: 'It is all right, Bro. Fowler; come on?'" At what time the First Fruit Harvesters officially decided to support the venture is not known. However, in Garrigus' mind the Harvester's financial support and the Fowler's "assistance" would have been supplementary to her personal call to establish the mission. In view of her divine calling in New England and further confirmation events occurring in St. John's, it is not surprising that following the Fowler's departure, that Garrigus would write a letter to the Harvesters informing them that Bethesda was now independent. For Garrigus it was simply a fulfillment of her call to establish a mission in St. John's. See

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Premillennial Latter-Rain eschatology continued to be a central component at Bethesda Mission under Garrigus' singular leadership.⁴³⁹ However, her apocalypticism may have inadvertently resulted in Bethesda becoming isolated, leading to years when "the Mission's... influence was dubious."⁴⁴⁰ A reclusive Bethesda did not engage in a sustained evangelistic effort to the city or surrounding outposts during this period.⁴⁴¹

Latter-Rain eschatology was part of Garrigus' April 1913 contribution to the New England holiness periodical, *Word and Work*, when reporting on her ministry in the city. "Many have been saved and sanctified," she stated, noting "cases of healing." However,

[T]he city is still in need of the Latter Rain to ripe[n] the "precious fruit."
Many times of refreshing have come, but we are still crying for the
floods.⁴⁴²

The Mission continued to affect visitors through its imminent eschatology. Attending Bethesda for the first time in 1913, Ada Broomfield was challenged by the fivefold

Garrigus, Walking, *Good Tidings* 6, no. 1 (March 1940): 9; idem, *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 6, 11; and, Margie Bowen, "Pray for Newfoundland," *Word and Work* 23, no. 1 (January 1911): 20.

⁴³⁸ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 19.

⁴³⁹ Following the Fowler's return to New England, Garrigus' role as lone administrator is evident in historical documents. The 1913 St. John's Directory identifies "Garrig[a]s, Miss Alice" as the resident of 193 New Gower Street, the site of "Bethesda Mission." See *St. John's, Newfoundland Directory, 1913* (St. John's, NL: Newfoundland Directory Company, 1913), 92 and 198. The 1915 St. John's Directory identifies "Miss Alice Garr[a]gus" as the "manager" of "Bethesda Mission Church." See *McAlpine's St. John's City Directory* (Halifax, NS: Royal Print & Litho, Ltd., 1915), 59, 90, 172. By 1918 Garrigus was referring to herself as the "Evangelist in charge of Bethesda Mission." See Bethesda Mission, "Certificate of Dedication for Reginald Bernard Smallwood," dated 14 March 1918, private collection. The 1918, 1921, 1923, and 1925 St. John's tax rolls identify "Alice B. Garrigus" as the "occupied" registrant of 193 New Gower (56). The 1927 edition reflects a change of civic address to 207/209 New Gower Street and references both "Bethesda Mission" and "Alice B. Garrigus" as occupying the site. Interestingly, the 1915 edition, the version most immediate to the Fowler's 1912 departure does not identify anyone as the "occupied" registrant of "Bethesda Mission." See *St. John's Municipal Council Water and Sewerage Appraisal* 1897 [Revised 1915, 1918, 1921, 1923, 1925 and 1927], City of St. John's, NL, St. John's City Archive, St. John's NL.

⁴⁴⁰ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 21.

⁴⁴¹ Paul Pinsent, "Institutionalization," chapter two "Introversionist Sect (1910-1920)," 46-68.

⁴⁴² Alice B. Garrigus, "St. John's, Newfoundland," *Word and Work* 25, no. 5 (May 1913): 153.

motto.⁴⁴³ Ada's daughter Myrtle recalled two examples of her mother's fivefold eschatologically oriented ecstatic piety,⁴⁴⁴ around 1915.

I remember the thrill it gave me as these worthies stood... praising the Lord for saving, healing, and sanctifying, and baptizing them, and of their battles fought and won... bubbling over; and they talked about the coming of the Lord and the Marriage Supper, it was heavenly...⁴⁴⁵

[M]other received the baptism of the Holy Spirit... She was given the interpretation of those messages in tongues, which were prophetic utterances of the last days and, especially, the soon coming of the Lord.⁴⁴⁶

Missionary activity during this time was limited. Garrigus' apocalyptic eschatological message may have been partially responsible for the lack of outreach in that it bound the expectant community to their city and inhibited island-wide evangelization. Eugene Vaters recalled a period of seven years, during which Bethesda endured "trial,"⁴⁴⁷ and "isolation... and Sister Garrigus felt it keenly."⁴⁴⁸ A rumour circulating in St. John's during World War One suggested that Garrigus was an American spy, a street response to her "strange and esoteric preaching"⁴⁴⁹ suggesting a popular mistrust. Hans Rollmann considers Bethesda's limited growth possibly the result of Garrigus' view that society was "wicked and decadent" and that "the endowment of the Spirit [as] merely instrumental to endure the eschatological present."⁴⁵⁰

This apocalyptic eschatology did not provide any significant impetus for a Newfoundland-wide mission... the religious energies... were directed to the maintenance of the converted or those who came within the orbit of Bethesda... It seems Miss Garrigus prepared her little flock morally and

⁴⁴³ Burton K. Janes, *The Lady Who Stayed*, 159.

⁴⁴⁴ Ada Broomfield, Pentecostal worship service, 1960, private collection, cassette. Broomfield recalls early ecstatic worship at Flat Island, Placentia Bay, and at Bethesda Mission.

⁴⁴⁵ Myrtle Eddy, "Bethesda," (Part I), 7.

⁴⁴⁶ Myrtle Eddy, "Bethesda," (Part II) 31, no. 2 (March–April 1975): 9.

⁴⁴⁷ Eugene Vaters, "Bestir Thyself," *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 4 (November 1927): 1.

⁴⁴⁸ Eugene Vaters, "Our Beginnings," *Good Tidings* 22, no. 3 (May–June 1966): 16.

⁴⁴⁹ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 38.

⁴⁵⁰ Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 10 and 18.

spiritually for the imminent return of Christ but did not initiate any decisive missionary activity beyond a well-defined urban radius.⁴⁵¹

Vaters claimed that “days of great missionary offering from Bethesda”⁴⁵² occurred following the liquidation of the mission’s mortgage. However, only one evangelistic foray beyond St. John’s is recorded, a 1916 mission led by the charismatic female evangelist Lucy Raines, to introduce the full gospel to the western shore of Conception Bay.⁴⁵³ This area however, had already received Latter-Rain teaching through Apostolic Faith evangelism in the Clarke’s Beach area.⁴⁵⁴ Further, tongue-speaking may have occurred in Grates Cove as early as 1914.⁴⁵⁵

The most significant event that influenced Bethesda Mission during this period was an influx of Methodists, who were converted during the January–February 1919 Demarest crusade. Newfoundland Methodists invited Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest, granddaughter of William and Catherine Mumford Booth, founders of The Salvation Army, to hold evangelistic services in St. John’s, Grand Bank, Carbonear, and Bonavista. Newspaper coverage of Demarest’s sermons reveals that she shared certain eschatological and pneumatological teachings with early Pentecostals. She preached two premillennial sermons during the St. John’s campaign. *The Daily News* reported a “vast... overflowing” audience, “assembled in part due to the importance of the subject, ‘The Second Coming,’ which was the real drawing power.”

⁴⁵¹ Hans Rollmann, “From Yankee Failure,” 6.35.

⁴⁵² Eugene Vaters, “An Appreciation,” 2.

⁴⁵³ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 40. Janes states Garrigus sent Raines and another unnamed woman.

⁴⁵⁴ Eugene Vaters noted “the first awareness of ‘latter rain’... came to Clarke’s Beach by way of a Mr. Baker of the Apostolic Church from the United States. He had meetings in the Methodist Church... there followed a continual flow of Apostolic papers...” See, Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 139-41. He added that for a time both Clarke’s Beach and North Harbour, Placentia Bay, “...could be called more ‘Apostolic Faith’ than Newfoundland Pentecostal.” See Eugene Vaters, *Forward Outreach*, 92.

⁴⁵⁵ Clara Collins, interview by Hans Rollmann, 10 May 1990, private collection; Joshua Vey, “Outpouring of ‘Latter Rain’ at Grate’s Cove,” *Good Tidings* 20, no. 1 (January 1964): 21; and, John W. Hammond, *The Joyful Sound*, 59.

[A]voiding all speculation and theorizing, she asserted the Second Coming as a fact, and declared its truths in no uncertain sound. She referred to the various aspects of the question, such as the time, and the manner, and the signs of His coming... believers in all ages and under adverse conditions were cheered and buoyed by the assurance and hope that their Master would soon return to the world.

Significantly, the reporter remarked “that the doctrinal aspects as set forth by the evangelist last night [may not] meet the acceptance of all the people, nor of all the clergy.”⁴⁵⁶ The subsequent evening, Demarest’s entitled her sermon “The Signs of the Times as they relate to the Second Coming of Christ.” The reporter wrote that no song service was “held on account of the importance of the subject discussed,” but that a choral rendition of the hymn, “Christ Returneth,” prefaced the sermon.

Numerous things were named as signs that the end was approaching, but we cannot give details, as it would fill double the space at our disposal. The great point... was that it did not so much matter when Christ came; the essential thing was to be ready... make sure they were prepared to meet Him... as a bride adorned for her husband... The discourse was treated from purely an evangelical standpoint.⁴⁵⁷

As in St. John’s, the outpost crusades highlighted eschatology. An individual who attended the Carbonear event recalled that each service opened with the hymn, “Behold the Bridegroom Cometh.”⁴⁵⁸ Demarest’s sermon, “The Secret of Power,” was a familiar theme to any who had visited Bethesda. The evangelist “emphasized the vital nature of the Day of Pentecost and insisted that the early church’s reliance upon the Holy Spirit for power was a template for modern Christian living.” Demarest related “several instances...

⁴⁵⁶ *The Daily News* (St. John’s, NL), 16 January 1919, “An Immense Assemblage of People—A Telling Discourse.”

⁴⁵⁷ *The Daily News* (St. John’s, NL), 17 January 1919, “The Evangelists.” “Christ Returneth” was written by H.L. Turner and James McGranahan.

⁴⁵⁸ Bert Parsons, *Blackfoots: Bethany and Park Avenue United Churches, Carbonear, Newfoundland—Our History, 1788–1988* (Carbonear, NL: The Anniversary Committee, 1988), 154. “Behold the Bridegroom Cometh” was written by William E. Booth–Clibborn. The lyrics reveal a dispensational premillennial eschatology focusing upon the return of Christ (the Bridegroom), the Tribulation, the Millennium, and spiritual preparation by the Church (the Bride).

in her work in different parts of the world, where people had been greatly moved by the power of the Holy Spirit.”⁴⁵⁹ Though Garrigus never attended the Demarest crusade Demarest was aware of Garrigus’ Pentecostal ministry at Bethesda Mission.⁴⁶⁰ Vaters later claimed that Demarest was Pentecostal in both experience and doctrine.

She preached the full gospel—the Second Coming, the baptism of the Spirit, with speaking in tongues. She was put under pressure to preach only what the Church approved. It was reported that she pled of her sponsors with tears, to be permitted to freely preach the gospel.⁴⁶¹

Most compelling is the testimony of Demarest’s brother, William E. Booth–Clibborn, who claimed that the entire family had experienced Spirit Baptism around 1910.⁴⁶²

The Demarest crusades had a lasting influence. Employers and employees of Saunders, Howell & Co. subsequently held prayer meetings after a ten-hour-day,⁴⁶³ and an individual who, decades later, recalled that, as a nine-year-old, he thought it was “the largest church-going multitude I could imagine.”⁴⁶⁴ By the conclusion of the St. John’s meetings, people claiming to have experienced religious conversion “ranged from ‘many hundreds’ to 2000.”⁴⁶⁵ Garrigus responded by hosting revival services with PAOC pastor, Charles E. Baker, which resulted in a “great strengthening and a more aggressive outlook

⁴⁵⁹ *The Daily News* (St. John’s, NL), 17 January 1919.

⁴⁶⁰ Victoria Booth Clibborn Demarest, to Burton K. Janes, 21 September 1981, private collection.

⁴⁶¹ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 32; and, idem, “Victoria Booth–Clibborn Demarest,” 2, private collection.

⁴⁶² William E. Booth–Clibborn, *The Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Personal Testimony* (Dallas, TX: Voice of Healing Publications, 1962 [1929]), 70.

⁴⁶³ Bert Parsons, *Blackfoots*, 154.

⁴⁶⁴ Herbert L. Pottle, *From the Nart Shore: Out of My Boyhood and Beyond* (St. John’s, NL: Jespersen Press, n.d.), 106.

⁴⁶⁵ Burton K. Janes, “Demarest, Victoria Booth–Clibborn (1889–1982), *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography*, ed. Robert H. Cuff, Melvin Baker, and Robert D.W. Pitt (St. John’s, NL: Harry Cuff Publications Ltd., 1990), 81. See also David G. Pitt, *Windows of Agates*, 158. “The ‘revival’ that broke out, apparently ignited at the White Gift Service by a flurry of conversions among the Sunday School scholars—sobered, no doubt, by the recent “visitation of mortality”—produced a ‘harvest of souls’ among Gower Street adherents numbering 262: 172 new conversions and 90 reclaimed backsliders.”

for the full gospel.”⁴⁶⁶ Eschatology was maintained a theme at Bethesda following Demarest’s departure as demonstrated by the Mission’s hosting of a Wednesday night Bible Study entitled “The Millennium,” and advertized in the *Daily News* “Church Services” section one month after the crusade.⁴⁶⁷ Most significant for Bethesda was the addition of a group of Methodists to the mission from the four city churches—Gower Street, George Street, Cochrane Street, and Wesley—who had been meeting for mutual encouragement following the revival at the Gospel Mission on Adelaide Street. A large contingent further met regularly at jeweller Robert C. English’s home at 165 Le Marchant Road before moving to a hall on Cuddihy Street to hold independent services.⁴⁶⁸ Myrtle Eddy was present at a house-service in which English spoke in tongues for the first time. Garrigus was delighted to hear that many “had received the same Pentecostal experience she had.” She subsequently invited English,⁴⁶⁹ and his group to join Bethesda,⁴⁷⁰ yielding about one hundred new congregants.⁴⁷¹ Feeling “harassed and edged out” by their Methodist church leadership,⁴⁷² English’s group believed that Bethesda would encourage the experiences and doctrine they had enjoyed under Demarest. In 1920, English became Garrigus’ co-pastor and would later become the first General Superintendent (Overseer) of the denomination.

⁴⁶⁶ Eugene Vaters, “Our Beginnings,” 17. See also, Burton K. Janes, *History*, 31.

⁴⁶⁷ *Daily News* (St. John’s) 21 March 1919.

⁴⁶⁸ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 31.

⁴⁶⁹ An “English, Robert C. of W. & R. English, h 2 Coronation,” is listed in *St. John’s Newfoundland Directory*, 1913 (St. John’s, NL: Newfoundland Directory Company, 1913). There is a listing for “English, W & R, watchmakers and jewelers, 406a Water,” in *McAlpine’s St. John’s City Directory*, 1915 (Halifax, NS: Royal Print & Litho, Ltd., 1915). It is not until 1928 that “Bethesda Pent[i]costal Mission” is connected with Robert C. English in the municipal directory – “English Robert [E] of Bethesda Mission 209 New Gower.” See *Newfoundland Directory 1928*, (St. John’s, NL: The Newfoundland Directories, 1928), 50, 51, 103 and 195. Ironically, 1928 is the year English opened a competing mission.

⁴⁷⁰ Maud Evans Whitt, “Revival Came to St. John’s,” *Good Tidings* 33, no. 6 (November–December 1977): 20. See also Maud Evans Whitt, interview by David Lorne Newman, June 1999.

⁴⁷¹ Maud Evans Whitt, to Burton K. Janes, 25 February 1984, private collection.

⁴⁷² Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 32.

January 1921–December 1923

Following Demarest's crusade and the influx of Methodists, Bethesda Mission changed into an evangelistic centre, resembling the missionary enterprise of the First Fruit Harvesters rather than Bethesda's first ten years under Garrigus' leadership.⁴⁷³ English frequently taught dispensational eschatology and led evangelistic outreaches in both St. John's and rural communities on the Avalon Peninsula. Latter-Rain manifestations, such as tongue-speaking and prophecy, often accompanied this activity.

English was remembered by two early Bethesda attendees for his dispensational teaching. Winnifred M. Taylor vividly recalled his presentation of the Book of Revelation at Bethesda's Friday night Bible study.⁴⁷⁴ Maud Evans Whitt remembered that English integrated dispensational wall charts and other visuals into his explanation of the eschatological timeline.⁴⁷⁵ His passion for evangelism led to increased attendance at Bethesda and a witness of the Pentecostal message to outport visitors. On Sunday mornings, English coordinated a male team that distributed Christian literature to sailors,⁴⁷⁶ visiting "as many as one hundred and seventy boats at a time."⁴⁷⁷ When Pentecostal preachers later visited the outports, sailors who accepted the invitations recalled Alice Garrigus, "that little lady, with the bonnet, [who] preach[ed] at that mission on New Gower Street."⁴⁷⁸ Concurrent with such harbour outreach, Bethesda

⁴⁷³ Bethesda did not become a centre of evangelism until the 1920s largely because the first decade had to be focused upon establishing the Mission. Both the early departure of the Fowlers and Garrigus' singular leadership as an older spinster would have created challenges for the fledgling mission. Further, unlike the First Fruit Harvesters whom had relationships with the Holiness movement throughout northern New England, few connections existed for Garrigus to network with outside the city. The influx of the Demarest Methodists would significantly alter each of these variables.

⁴⁷⁴ Winnifred M. Taylor, interview by Burton K. Janes, 13 July 1981, private collection.

⁴⁷⁵ Maud Evans Whitt, interview by David Lorne Newman.

⁴⁷⁶ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 34.

⁴⁷⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, "Gospel Work," 17.

⁴⁷⁸ Myrtle Eddy, "Bethesda," (Part III) 31, no. 3 (May–June 1975): 16.

enjoyed a surge in young adult conversions to Pentecostal belief and practice. Garrigus' correspondence with friends in New Jersey demonstrates that this growth further stoked her eschatological passions.

Many... received the baptism and others have been saved. God is gathering in the young people that the households may be complete at his coming... My thoughts are often with... Bethel... The gathering trumpet will soon sound and we shall have a glad convention eternity long.⁴⁷⁹

Evangelism to the outports led to conversions, further Latter-Rain manifestations, and frequent allusions to Christ's imminent return and the impending apocalypse.

Garrigus joyously reported:

[T]he Spirit falls on the people while the Word is being preached and many are slain... Surely this is God's hour for Newfoundland and we long to travel over the Island, believing the coming of the Lord is nigh.⁴⁸⁰

Garrigus was especially excited about events in Clarke's Beach. In the winter of 1922, she, along with English and others from Bethesda, visited the largely Methodist and Salvation Army community. Later she recalled the charismatic manifestations, including eschatological prophecies that occurred in the Salvation Army barracks.

Some were praising the Lord, some speaking in other tongues, while others were prophesying of the Great Tribulation, and reign of the antichrist. Pentecost was repeated... The special services ended, but a happy company of saints, ready to stand for the full gospel, remained.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁹ Alice B. Garrigus, "Gospel Work," 17. The "Bethel" noted is probably Bethel Pentecostal Assembly and/or Bethel Bible Institute, Newark, New Jersey. Both institutions were established in part by Minnie T. Draper. Garrigus met Draper at the Christian Missionary Alliance camp meeting in Old Orchard Beach, Maine, at which Garrigus spoke in tongues for the first time. See Gary B. McGee, "Three Notable Women in Pentecostal Ministry," 3, and, A. Reuben Hartwick, "Pentecost Comes to the Northeast," 3. Garrigus would publish articles in the school's periodical *Full Gospel Missionary Herald*, and may have visited the institution upon a return visit to the United States.

⁴⁸⁰ Alice B. Garrigus, "The Old Time Power," *Full Gospel Missionary Herald* 6, no. 7 (July 1922): 7.

⁴⁸¹ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," 7, no. 1 (March 1941): 6.

Subsequent to the revival, English became “a frequent visitor,” holding “meetings and Bible classes.”⁴⁸² Denied access to the Methodist church and Salvation Army corps, converts met at the Fisherman’s Hall.⁴⁸³ A Pentecostal mission was established in neighbouring Georgetown, through the conversion of William J. Bartlett, a Methodist layman. A. Stanley Bursey notes that Bartlett, following his 1909 conversion, began to search for a denomination “that really believed the New Testament gospel.” This restorationist desire led him to read literature about the Pentecostal movement and premillennial eschatology, including the classic *Jesus Is Coming* by W.E. Blackstone.⁴⁸⁴ Blackstone’s work gave Bartlett “great light on this all important subject, about which I had been ignorant before. The Bible became a new book for me.”⁴⁸⁵ Introduced to Latter-Rain teaching at Clarke’s Beach,⁴⁸⁶ he arranged for Pentecostal services to be held in his hayloft in Georgetown,⁴⁸⁷ later erecting a church building, in which he affixed the Scripture, “Prepare to meet thy God.”⁴⁸⁸ Myrtle Eddy reflected that “[t]he East Coast was opening up... to the latter rain, as on the Day of Pentecost.”⁴⁸⁹ Outreach in Conception and Placentia Bay led to some opposition, including a mob attacking a log chapel in Georgetown with a “shower of stones... breaking the windows during English’s visit,”⁴⁹⁰ threats to Winifred Taylor during her tenure in North Harbour,⁴⁹¹ and Swift Current

⁴⁸² Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 140.

⁴⁸³ Clifford Ackerman, “The Pentecostal Tabernacle, Clarke’s Beach,” in *Out of Our Hearts: Churches of Newfoundland and Labrador*, ed. Gerald E. Benson (St. John’s, NL: Good Tidings Press, 1992), 116.

⁴⁸⁴ A. Stanley Bursey, *Some Have Fallen Asleep*, 33.

⁴⁸⁵ “Pentecostal Personalities: William J. Bartlett,” *Good Tidings* 39, no. 5 (September–October 1983): 38.

⁴⁸⁶ Eugene Vaters, “Pentecostal Pioneer ‘With Christ,’” *Good Tidings* 28, no. 4 (July–August 1972): 32.

⁴⁸⁷ “Pentecostal Personalities: William J. Bartlett,” 38.

⁴⁸⁸ Eugene Vaters, “Pentecostal Pioneer ‘With Christ,’” 31.

⁴⁸⁹ Myrtle Eddy, “Bethesda,” (Part IV) 31, no. 4 (July–August 1975), 16.

⁴⁹⁰ Alice B. Garrigus, “Newfoundland: (Extracts from a personal letter),” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits*, n.d., 11, issue fragment.

⁴⁹¹ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 142.

residents expressing their antagonism toward “the full gospel.”⁴⁹² Vaters identified 1922 as a watershed year in the history of Bethesda Mission on account of this evangelistic outreach.⁴⁹³

Eschatology and the PAONL, 1924–49

The period from January 1924 to December 1949 witnessed the rise of a second generation of leadership, including the election of Eugene Vaters as the second General Superintendent. Vaters and other Pentecostal advocates passionately promoted their premillennial hope in sermons, periodicals, obituaries and correspondence. Eschatological themes continued to be at the forefront, hallmarked by the eventual receding of Latter-Rain imagery, the dominance of traditional dispensationalism, and the gradual replacement of the fivefold gospel by a foursquare system. Pentecostal expansion in eastern, north–central, and western Newfoundland, as well as coastal Labrador, consistently employed eschatological teaching in its evangelistic efforts.

January 1924–December 1927

This period was noteworthy for doctrinal struggles, leadership turmoil, and the rise of Eugene Vaters, as PAONL leader for more than three decades. Eschatological deliberation surfaced in diverse situations including evangelistic campaigns, mission building, and conference debates. Bethesda’s evangelistic campaign to Flat Island, Placentia Bay, in March of 1924 was attended by claims of an appearance of lights and sounds in the sky. A participant noted that

... a very bright cloud seemed to envelope the church. Out of it came the strains of most wonderful music that was indescribable. People who were not in the church stood around and listened. Some thought the Lord was coming, others were convicted and went into the church and got saved.

⁴⁹² *Our Year of Jubilee—Swift Current Pentecostal Church 1928-78*, n.p.

⁴⁹³ Eugene Vaters, “‘Bestir Thyself,’” 1.

More than eighty individuals converted from Salvationism to Pentecostalism.⁴⁹⁴

While listening to Garrigus preach a sermon titled “Stones” at a Bethesda service in 1925,⁴⁹⁵ Evelyn Forsey suddenly felt “convicted” of her sinful state. She recalled that it was not so much the sermon that evoked her concern but the banner at the front of the mission, which warned, “Jesus is Coming Soon. Get Ready to Meet Him.” That night she converted and would later become a pastor with the PAONL.⁴⁹⁶

Bethesda’s reticence to engage in evangelism beyond the Avalon Peninsula led to its official opposition to the outreach of Charles L. March and Herbert Eddy to western Newfoundland. Both were prominent laymen in the PAONL and successful businessmen in the community. When an opportunity arose to use their business interests to minister on the west coast they went into action. The two businessmen moved to Humbermouth and erected a 50’ x 50’ three-floor structure, physically representing the foursquare-gospel they promoted—Jesus, Saviour, Baptizer, Healer, and Coming King. The PAONL’s intransigence nearly resulted in the new assembly joining the Apostolic Faith

⁴⁹⁴ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 72. See, also Myrtle Eddy, “Oh day of Gladness, Oh day unending! Beyond the Sunset... Eternal Joy!,” *Good Tidings* 25, no. 3 (May-June 1969): 4; and, Ada Broomfield, Pentecostal worship service, 1960, audio cassette, private collection. Broomfield recalls early ecstatic worship at Flat Island, Placentia Bay, and Bethesda Mission.

⁴⁹⁵ Bethesda’s address change from 193 to 209/207 New Gower Street seems to have occurred around 1925. The 193 New Gower Street address was published in both the *Evening Chronicle* (St. John’s, NL), 15 April 1911, and the *Daily News* (St. John’s, NL), 15 April 1911 as part of the mission’s opening advertizing. This address is later recorded as the site of Bethesda Mission in the *St. John’s, Newfoundland Directory, 1913* (St. John’s, NL: Newfoundland Directory Company, 1913), 92; the 1915 *McAlpine’s St. John’s City Directory* (Halifax, NS: Royal Print & Litho, Ltd., 1915), 59, and 90; and, the *St. John’s Insurance Plan* 1914 edition. The address is also published in the 1912, 1915, 1918, 1921, 1923 and 1925 copies of the St. John’s tax rolls (See *St. John’s Municipal Council Water and Sewerage Appraisement* 1897 [Revised 1915, 1918, 1921, 1923 and 1925], City of St. John’s, NL, St. John’s City Archive, St. John’s NL). The change to the 209/207 designation occurred as late as 1925 as published in the *St. John’s Insurance Atlas Plan* 1925; and thereafter in the 1927 St. John’s tax roll (See *St. John’s Municipal Council Water and Sewerage Appraisement* 1897 [Revised 1927], City of St. John’s, NL, St. John’s City Archive, St. John’s NL); and, the *Newfoundland Directory 1928* (St. John’s, NL: The Newfoundland Directories, 1928), 51, and 103. See also Helen Miller, to David Lorne Newman, March 2011, St. John’s City Archive, St. John’s, NL, private collection.

⁴⁹⁶ Burton K. Janes, *The Lady Who Stayed*, 162.

Mission of Portland, Oregon.⁴⁹⁷ Three early converts of “The Ark,” as the building was called,⁴⁹⁸ Arthur S. Winsor, William Gillett, and Thomas P. Mitchell,⁴⁹⁹ joined March and Eddy as key evangelists in spreading the Pentecostal message to north-central Newfoundland and coastal Labrador. Winsor recalled their doctrinal views at the time as a “few facts on fire”⁵⁰⁰ consisting of “conversion, baptism by immersion, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, divine healing, and the imminent return of Christ.”⁵⁰¹ The three men interpreted a vision by Gillett of a broken jug in a window as giving them divine confirmation to preach at Springdale, Green Bay. Such charismatic direction demonstrates a practical reliance on the supernatural.⁵⁰² Following the establishment of a mission in Grand Falls Station,⁵⁰³ March met with the congregation, concluding that many of them were “ready for the rapture.”⁵⁰⁴ It seems Darby’s dispensational teaching, including the “secret rapture” theory, was accepted by March and the central Newfoundland mission as early as 1927.

Eschatological references pervaded the rhetoric of PAONL conferences. In March 1927 doctrinal issues and the plight of the Overseer, Robert C. English⁵⁰⁵ was debated.

⁴⁹⁷ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 92-3. Ironically, March and Eddy built a foursquare structure but threatened to leave the PAONL for the fivefold Apostolic Faith Mission. Many PAONL leaders including Garrigus and Vaters subscribed to the fivefold rubric during the denomination’s formative years.

⁴⁹⁸ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 87-91. See also Myrtle Eddy, “Bethesda,” Part IV, *Good Tidings* 31, no. 4 (July-August 1975), 16.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 95-102; and, William Gillett, interview, n.p., digital copy, private collection.

⁵⁰⁰ See Arthur S. Winsor, Transcript of a sermon preached to the Men’s Fellowship, Elim Pentecostal Tabernacle, St. John’s, NL, 1 November 1982, private collection; and, Eugene Vaters, “Personally Speaking by the Editor: By My Spirit,” *Good Tidings* 22, no. 6 (December 1966): 18.

⁵⁰¹ Arthur S. Winsor, “Things... Seen and Heard,” Part IV, *Good Tidings* 29, no. 1 (January-February 1973): 17.

⁵⁰² Burton K. Janes, *The Jug in the Window*, 15-8.

⁵⁰³ Later Grand Falls and Grand Falls-Windsor.

⁵⁰⁴ Charles L. March, “Our Tour of the Work,” *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 2 (September 1927): 4.

⁵⁰⁵ Concern centered on English’s business responsibilities. Eventually he had to choose between family commitments and the PAONL. The process ended with English ostracized and Vaters the new General Superintendent. See Minutes of Bethesda Assemblies of Newfoundland, 26 and 28 March, 1927, minute 5, PAONL Archive; and, Minutes of Bethesda Assemblies of Newfoundland, 17-24 October 1927, minute 5, PAONL Archive.

Discussions on the practices of “foot-washing” and “baptizing in Jesus’ name only” led to the institution of a correspondence Bible course for Workers, as preachers were commonly known, and a denominational periodical for the membership. Both media became important vehicles for the promotion of Pentecostal eschatology.

January 1928–December 1949

The year 1928 would begin with confrontation and division. On 5 February 1928, English established Central Pentecostal Assembly, located approximately six minutes east of Bethesda Mission, blaming Garrigus and other Bethesda leadership for his departure. English advertised the competing mission as a “full-gospel” ministry.⁵⁰⁶ On 6 June 1928, the Conference elected Eugene Vaters as Superintendent of the PAONL.⁵⁰⁷

The eschatological focus of the PAONL continued under Vaters’ leadership. The denomination entered into discussions with the PAOC regarding closer administrative ties. In 1930, a PAOC leader, writing Garrigus, suggested that the proposed merger had eschatological importance: “We trust to work together harmoniously, unitedly for one great cause, and that to promote, and hasten the glorious Kingdom of our lover-Lord.”⁵⁰⁸ In the end, the two denominations remained separate, choosing to cooperate in world missions.⁵⁰⁹ The PAONL adopted, however, the PAOC’s periodical—*The Pentecostal*

⁵⁰⁶ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 133. See “Central Pentecostal Assembly,” *Pentecostal Evangel* 2, no. 5 (January 1928): 3. The advertisement states the church “opens on Sunday, Feb 5th,” and presents the “Full Gospel.” See also Robert C. English, to Fred Morgan, 30 January 1928, PAONL Archive.

⁵⁰⁷ Minutes of Third Annual Conference of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies Inc. of Newfoundland, 4–9 June 1928, minute 22, PAONL Archive.

⁵⁰⁸ A. E. Adams, to Alice B. Garrigus, 12 September 1930, PAONL Archive.

⁵⁰⁹ For a brief discussion on the debate, see Janes, *History*, 152–4.

Testimony—and “Statement of Fundamental Truths,” the latter which allowed for both pretribulational and midtribulational teaching.⁵¹⁰

Meanwhile, several Newfoundland Pentecostal periodicals were published, all highlighting premillennial eschatology. The declared purpose of *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* was “spreading the Foursquare Gospel.”⁵¹¹ *The Pentecostal Herald* printed one of the most significant eschatological documents in the history of the PAONL, Garrigus’ sermon “Signs of the Coming of the King.”⁵¹² Apocalyptic signs identified within the essay are the prominence of war, Jewish resettlement of Israel, an increase in earthquakes, pestilence, and famine, technological advancement, signs in the heavens, an increase in iniquity and lawlessness, the changing role of women, claims of peace, the Latter Rain movement, and the testimony of demonic spirits. This apocalyptic essay, which provided a detailed explanation of how natural and societal events pointed to the imminent return of Christ, was distributed on the streets and harbour of St. John’s. Related to the category “signs in the sky,” Myrtle Eddy recalled Garrigus leading a cosmological study entitled, “The Gospel in the Stars”⁵¹³ that led to ecstatic experiences.

Then, when our studies took us to the gospel in the stars, the planets, the milky way, and the Biblical interpretation of the twelve signs of the zodiac, it was if we were sitting there eating and drinking at the table of the Lord. Sometimes it was impossible to continue the study, for old and young alike broke into volumes of praise and worship. People received their baptism; there were tongues and interpretation. It was not unusual to have a Jericho march.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹⁰ Minutes of Fourth Annual Conference, 17 to 23 May 1929, St. John’s, NL, minutes 10, 47. See “Statement of Fundamental Truths Approved By The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada,” n. p., private collection. Article 18—“The Blessed Hope.”

⁵¹¹ Kenneth Barnes, *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 1 (August 1927): 8.

⁵¹² Alice B. Garrigus, “Signs of the Coming King,” *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no.2 (December 1928): 1.

⁵¹³ See Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 9.

⁵¹⁴ Myrtle Eddy, “Bethesda,” Part IV 31, no. 4 (July-August 1975), 15. Garrigus may have used Joseph Seiss’ *The Gospel in the Stars* as a resource for the study. See Joseph A. Seiss, *The Gospel in the Stars or Primeval Astronomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Claxton & Company, 1882). See also Edgar R. Pelley, presentation notes for a dispensational class, n. d., private collection; Alice B. Garrigus, presentation notes for

It took an entire year for the study to be completed.⁵¹⁵ Berends suggests it was “an attempt to discern eschatological chronology.”⁵¹⁶ “The *Nfld. Pentecostal Evangel* published another significant article by Garrigus, “The King Redeemer,” in which she hoped to create in readers “a more earnest zeal in warning others of the things which must shortly come to pass,” by relating the story of Christ from his first advent to “when He shall reign triumphant.”⁵¹⁷ The premier issue of *Good Tidings*, edited by Eugene Vaters, appeared in April 1935. The periodical would promote “four-square” teaching by publishing

...the Good Tidings of Salvation from sin and its bondage, Healing of the body, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, and the Second Coming of JESUS, the great deliverer.

Significantly, Vaters doesn’t include “sanctification” in the listing of distinctive teachings for the inaugural issue.⁵¹⁸

Vaters often applied important public events to eschatological teachings and caveats. Regarding the Coronation of the British monarch, for example, he affirmed his allegiance to the King until Christ’s return. “We say, ‘God save the King!’ Up to the Return of the Lord Jesus Christ, our GREAT KING, “Long may he reign!”⁵¹⁹

“Dispensational Crisis” class, n. d., private collection; and, idem, presentation notes for a biblical survey class, n.d. private collection.

⁵¹⁵ Burton K. Janes, *The Lady Who Stayed*, 211.

⁵¹⁶ Berends, *A Divided Harvest*, 71.

⁵¹⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, “The King Redeemer,” *Newfoundland Pentecostal Evangel* 3, no. 1 (February 1929): 3; and, idem, “The King Redeemer,” *Newfoundland Pentecostal Evangel* 3, no. 2 (April 1929): 1. The chapters are “The Usurper,” “The King in Type,” “The King’s Brethren,” “The Signs of the Coming of the King,” “The Bride of the King,” “The Counterfeit of the King,” “The Judgements of the King,” and “The Reign of the King, or the King Triumphant.” Chapters 4–8 are eschatologically focused. The final four chapters are either missing or were never published.

⁵¹⁸ Eugene Vaters, “Beautiful... feet!,” *Good Tidings* 1, no. 1 (April 1935): 1. Emphasis in original.

⁵¹⁹ Eugene Vaters, “God Save The King; Long May He Reign,” *Good Tidings* 3, no. 1-2 (March–June 1937): 6. Emphasis in original.

Eschatological interpretations centered on the Second World War.⁵²⁰ Examples include the articles, “Russo-German Alliance,”⁵²¹ “Where Are We In Prophecy?,”⁵²² “A Right Attitude In Days Of World-Crisis,”⁵²³ and “How Near Is The End?”⁵²⁴

That Garrigus continued to consider eschatology a vital aspect of the PAONL is evident from her article in which she chronicles the history of the denomination, in *The Book of Newfoundland*, edited by Joseph R. Smallwood. Garrigus identifies factors that led to Pentecostal growth, including a vibrant belief in premillennial teaching.

The Bible doctrine of the coming of Jesus to take away His people before the Great Tribulation has become the “blessed hope” of thousands in Newfoundland, as well as all parts of the world.⁵²⁵

Because of Garrigus’ eschatological interests, she sent fellow workers the premillennial periodical, *Herald of His Coming*,⁵²⁶ which encouraged “the Church worldwide [to] be clothed in holy garments, ready to meet Christ at His coming.”⁵²⁷ Following the closure of Bethesda Mission in 1937, the opening of the Pentecostal Tabernacle on Casey Street, and the subsequent reopening of the mission under extremely acrimonious circumstances,⁵²⁸ Bethesda’s street-front windows were filled with signs declaring the

⁵²⁰ See Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 3.

⁵²¹ Eugene Vaters, “Russo-German Alliance,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 1 (March 1940): 16.

⁵²² F.W. Pitt, “Where Are We In Prophecy?,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 1 (March 1940): 11. Pitt is identified as the editor of *Advent Witness*.

⁵²³ Harry J. Steil, “A Right Attitude in Days of World Crisis,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 3.

⁵²⁴ Eugene Vaters, “How Near is the End?,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 7.

⁵²⁵ Alice B. Garrigus, “Pentecostal Assemblies in Newfoundland,” in *Book of Newfoundland*, vol. 2., ed. Joseph R. Smallwood, (St. John’s, NL: Newfoundland Book Publishers, [1937] 1975), 403. Smallwood led the political movement to confederate with Canada, subsequently becoming Newfoundland’s first Premier. As a child Smallwood would attend Bethesda Mission. See Rex Collins, interview by David Newman, 20 November 2009, private collection. Smallwood would maintain a connection with the PAONL visiting local assemblies for special events and during campaigns for reelection. See S. George Newman, personal remembrance of David Lorne Newman.

⁵²⁶ Eugene Vaters, “Good Tidings-Monthly,” *Good Tidings* 10, no. 2 (April 1944): 2.

⁵²⁷ *Herald of His Coming* (Seelyville, IN).

⁵²⁸ For a description of the controversy see Burton K. Janes, *History*, 253-9; and, idem *A Journey of Faith and Grace*, 12-42. Janes reviews the historical documents and determines a rift occurred when certain members withdrew their support of the congregation’s plan to leave the New Gower Street mission and move the assembly to the newly constructed “Pentecostal Tabernacle” on Casey Street. This led to

four-square gospel, including the eschatological phrase, “In such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh.”⁵²⁹ Anyone passing the mission in the late 1930s and early 1940s would know that Bethesda definitively proclaimed the four-fold full gospel.⁵³⁰ This formal deletion of “Jesus, Sanctifier” from Bethesda’s public presentation of the full-gospel is significant.

Around the island and in coastal Labrador, eschatology was passionately expressed in a variety of situations and conditions, including as a means of comforting the mourning.

On January 29th little Clement... suddenly faded from our earthly sight... [L]et us who believe in the imminent coming of our Lord Jesus Christ hold fast to that which we have... [T]he Spirit still whispers... “Watch!”⁵³¹

An early Pentecostal prayer meeting in Salt Pond⁵³² was remembered for the eschatological concerns presented to visitors: “The clock on the wall caused, uneasiness with its hands pointing to five minutes to midnight. The coming of the Lord was so

acrimony, division and the eventual existence of two Pentecostal churches. At some point in the process Garrigus became a strong opponent to closing Bethesda Mission. Though she was the speaker at the opening of the “Pentecostal Tabernacle” Garrigus soon made it known that she was upset regarding the process that closed the mission, and in turn believed she was divinely led to have it reopened. In response to Bethesda’s doors being padlocked Garrigus vociferously declared, “that a great wrong had been done, and the Spirit of God [was] grieved.” See Alice B. Garrigus, to Eugene Vaters and Adjustment Committee, PAONL, April 1937. The emotional weight on Garrigus was profound. Vaters’ daughter, Dorothy King, recalled witnessing her father console Garrigus as he listened to her explain through tears that God was not finished with Bethesda Mission. See Dorothy King, interview by David Lorne Newman, February 2011. An alternate theory was cited by Ben Bishop and recalled by his daughter Ruth Benson. Bishop claimed to have attended a meeting prior to the building of the Tabernacle at which several members of Bethesda agreed to support the new church for a brief period, after which they would return to the mission. See Ruth Benson, interview by David Lorne Newman, February 2011.

⁵²⁹ See photo of Bethesda Mission, private collection. The phrase signifies the final four-fold tenet, “Jesus, Coming King,” and is from Matthew 24.44. The three other phrases were “Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved,” from Romans 10.13, signifying “Jesus, Saviour;” “Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?,” from Acts 19.2, signifying “Jesus, Baptizer;” and, “Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses,” from Matthew 8.17, signifying “Jesus, Healer.” All passages reference the King James Version.

⁵³⁰ J. Edwin Orr visited St. John’s in 1935 en route to Canada. The Irish itinerant evangelist visited many of the city’s churches however does not mention Bethesda Mission in his published account. See J. Edwin Orr, *Times of Refreshing: 10,000 Miles of Miracle Through Canada* (London, UK: Marshall, Morgan & Scott Ltd., 1936).

⁵³¹ W.J. Bartlett, “Be... Ready,” *Good Tidings* 3, no. 1-2 (March–June 1937): 1.

⁵³² Now Embree, NL.

near.”⁵³³ A. Stanley Bursey, a native of Salt Pond and the third PAONL General Superintendent, recalled his conversion and the influence of Robert W. Parsons, who seemingly knew “a little of the powers of the world to come.”⁵³⁴ One of William Gillett’s sermons yields insight into his eschatological motivation and personal expectation of the return of Christ during his lifetime.

Nothing in this earth—but a mansion in the sky! I want to be faithful unto the end and be ready when they come from the east and west, north and south, to meet the Lord in the air. Amen!⁵³⁵

The decision of E. Raymond Pelley to preach a dispensational sermon—“The Times of the Gentiles”—at the first Pentecostal meeting in Birchy Bay demonstrates also the importance that the early PAONL placed on the doctrine.⁵³⁶ Allan Quinlan recalled, “Pastor Pelley opened people’s eyes to the fulfillment of prophecy.”⁵³⁷ In the 1930s, Vaters encouraged the denomination to move its mission support from India to Labrador, justifying his decision on Holy Spirit guidance, provided through charismatic gifts.⁵³⁸

If we know anything of the Spirit of God, we know He has called... 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 didn’t leave us altogether to ourselves. He called Labrador, and we have been sending anywhere but to the place He called.”⁵³⁹

Vaters published Garrigus’ report of one such ecstatic declaration, that the Inuit would judge the PAONL if it failed to act.⁵⁴⁰ In 1946 Garrigus signed Louise Benson’s “autograph book” with the words, “Let us build for the years we shall not see. Earth life

⁵³³ *Glad Tidings Tabernacle, Embree, Newfoundland—60th Anniversary, 1931–91* (Embree, NL: Glad Tidings Tabernacle, n.d.).

⁵³⁴ A. Stanley Bursey, “When Pentecost Came to Buchans,” *Good Tidings* 2, no. 4 (December 1936): 6.

⁵³⁵ William Gillett, “A Message by Bro. W. Gillett: Given at Conference, 1937,” *Good Tidings* 4, no. 2 (May 1938): 3. The message was “[s]tenographically reported.”

⁵³⁶ Edgar Raymond Pelley, *Ways and Works*, 24.

⁵³⁷ Burton K. Janes, *Ancient Landmarks*, 12. See Edgar Raymond Pelley, Dispensational Bible study notes, n.d., private collection.

⁵³⁸ David L. Newman, “Charismata as Missionary Impulse.”

⁵³⁹ Eugene Vaters, “Editorial Notes,” *Good Tidings* 3, no. 3 (September 1937): 4. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁴⁰ Alice B. Garrigus, “Gleanings from the Pentecostal Fields,” 2.

is but a tent life after all. Our real home is in the many mansions yonder.”⁵⁴¹ In 1947 Vaters wrote the poem “Morning Cometh; Also, the Night,” which identified numerous dispensational premillennial events including church apostasy, the role of Israel, the Rapture, the Anti-christ, the New Jerusalem, and the Tribulation.⁵⁴² This desire to proclaim the imminent return of Christ continued into 1949. Arriving at Hampden aboard the MV *Speed the Light*, Pastors George Ash, D. Claude Young, and S. George Newman—the writer’s grandfather—attended a Salvation Army service, to “advertise ourselves. . . and [give] our testimony.” The logbook records that Newman’s sermon the second night explained “The Coming of our Lord.”⁵⁴³ Eschatology was a significant focus of his teaching. He painted a detailed colour dispensational chart on a 10’ x 5’ canvas, which he frequently used as an aid in the outposts he visited.⁵⁴⁴

The personal belief of Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals in the imminent return of Christ is personified in Alice Garrigus, who died on 30 August 1949. Mere months before her death, she wrote of her belief that she would live to witness the Rapture.⁵⁴⁵ The PAONL however, would have to wait for the Rapture without her.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴¹ Alice B. Garrigus, to Louise Benson, 28 January 1946, PAONL Archive. Garrigus wrote many short letters in her later years which frequently included eschatological references.

⁵⁴² Eugene Vaters, “Morning Cometh; Also, The Night,” 1947, PAONL Archive.

⁵⁴³ Logbook of MV *Speed the Light*, 10 August 1949, PAONL Archive.

⁵⁴⁴ The dispensational chart is in the possession of the author.

⁵⁴⁵ Alice B. Garrigus, to Jennie Vaters, 20 December 1948, private collection.

⁵⁴⁶ Garrigus hosted an American woman named Nellie Mahoney at her flat above Bethesda and at her retirement home in Clarke’s Beach. It was recalled by one early Bethesda congregant that she was ostracized in New England due to her contracting a sexually transmitted disease. It is possible Garrigus met Mahoney at Wheeler’s mission for homeless women in Bridgeport. When Mahoney shared a concern that she did not know where she would be buried on the event of her death, Garrigus arranged that Mahoney would occupy the plot adjacent to her own. The story not only demonstrates Garrigus’ compassion but also her eschatological pragmatism in that she had reserved a burial site for herself in the event she passed away before the Rapture. See *Walking Bethesda Road*; and, Dorothy King, interview with David Lorne Newman, February 2011, digital video, private collection. Nellie Mahoney is listed on the M.V. Kyle manifest with Garrigus on 3 June 1920. See Government of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Canada: Microfilm T-14861.

Summary

In this chapter the thesis has demonstrated the pervasiveness of eschatology across the PAONL during the period 1910-1949. Garrigus and the Fowlers arrived in Newfoundland and Labrador promoting an eschatology highlighted by the imminent return of Christ and of pending apocalyptic judgment. As Latter-Rain missionaries they viewed their ecstatic experiences as both signs of the last days and as empowerment to witness for Jesus—the Coming King. The Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest crusade yielded a second generation of Pentecostal leadership at Bethesda including the first General Superintendent Robert C. English, who was active in teaching dispensationalism. The high profile Demarest probably vindicated Bethesda’s ecstatic and eschatological teachings in the larger evangelical community. The rise of Eugene Vaters led to a furtherance of eschatological teaching through the periodical *Good Tidings*. Though he was committed to Latter-Rain eschatology and understood the Pentecostal experience as a key aspect of dispensational teaching, by the end of the 1940s the term Latter-Rain was rarely used and Spirit Baptism and ecstatic worship were not readily connected to eschatology. Further, the fivefold full gospel had been replaced with the foursquare full gospel, through the deletion of entire sanctification as a cardinal category. This thesis will now access the identified eschatological material and assess the influence eschatology has had upon early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal theology, spirituality and rhetoric.

CHAPTER 5

THE THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ESCHATOLOGY IN THE PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

Premillennial eschatology was a central aspect of early PAONL theology. This focus is consistent with other Pentecostal groups. An analysis of pre-1950 periodicals and archival records provides evidence of a steady strengthening of traditional dispensational premillennialism by the 1930s and a gradual diminishment of Latter-Rain language. Donald W. Dayton's *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*⁵⁴⁷ will provide an introduction to the roots and foundation of Pentecostal eschatology. D. William Faupel's *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought*⁵⁴⁸ provides insight into the development and formalization of Pentecostal eschatology in Newfoundland and Labrador. Clarence B. Bass' *Backgrounds to Dispensationalism: Its Historical Genesis and Ecclesiastical Implications*,⁵⁴⁹ Gerald T. Sheppard's "Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship,"⁵⁵⁰ and Dwight J. Wilson's "Pentecostal Perspectives on Eschatology" explain the significance of dispensational premillennialism for early Pentecostals.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁷ See footnote 17.

⁵⁴⁸ See footnote 23.

⁵⁴⁹ Clarence B. Bass, *Backgrounds to Dispensationalism: Its Historical Genesis and Ecclesiastical Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1960).

⁵⁵⁰ Gerald T. Sheppard, "Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship," *Pneuma* 6, no. 1 (Fall 1984): 5-34.

⁵⁵¹ D.J. Wilson, "Eschatology, Pentecostal Perspectives On," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), 264.

Donald Dayton & The Roots of Pentecostal Eschatology

In *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*,⁵⁵² Dayton attempts a “prehistory” of the Pentecostal movement.⁵⁵³ He contends that Pentecostalism arose due to a theological shift within nineteenth-century Perfectionism, in which the “view of *how* God accomplishes his purpose” was changed. This transformation accomplished a shift in perspective from “‘gradual within history’ to ‘instantaneous beyond history.’”⁵⁵⁴ Dayton observes that early Pentecostal theology arrived at its position through a distinctively Pentecostal biblical hermeneutic that emphasized Lukan passages against “magisterial Protestantism’s” Pauline focus.⁵⁵⁵ Pentecostalism’s restorationist motivations conflicted according to Dayton with the classical Protestant tendency “to argue that the *charismata* and ‘supernatural gifts of the Spirit’ ceased with the close of the apostolic era.”⁵⁵⁶ Movements such as Pentecostalism, that linked eschatology with an experiential pneumatology, tended to be most passionate about the Parousia.⁵⁵⁷

Dayton identifies five recurring doctrines within early Pentecostalism—justification, sanctification, healing, the imminent return of Christ, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit. He demonstrates that the entire doctrinal structure of “the fivefold gospel” was inherited from the Wesleyan and Reformed wings of the Holiness movement.⁵⁵⁸ He suggests that glossolalia as a normative criterion and evidence for Spirit Baptism was the single original doctrine contributed by the Pentecostal movement. In non-Wesleyan

⁵⁵² See footnote 17.

⁵⁵³ Martin E. Marty, foreword to *Theological Roots*, Donald W. Dayton (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996 [1987]), 9.

⁵⁵⁴ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 17. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁵⁵ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 23.

⁵⁵⁶ Donald W. Dayton, 25. Emphasis in original. See Jon Ruthven’s *On The Cessation of the Charismata: The Protestant Polemic on Postbiblical Miracles*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplementary Series (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993).

⁵⁵⁷ Donald Dayton, 144.

⁵⁵⁸ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 17.

Pentecostal circles, this doctrine replaced sanctification as a distinctive teaching and produced a revised foursquare gospel.⁵⁵⁹

Dayton further identifies four doctrinal motifs prevalent in early Pentecostal teaching—Full Gospel, Latter-Rain, Apostolic Faith, and Pentecostal.⁵⁶⁰ The term “Full Gospel” denotes fivefold and foursquare doctrinal patterns⁵⁶¹ while the other three terms identify the eschatological, restorationist, and pneumatological self-understandings of the movement.⁵⁶² Its restorationist claims, including the reintroduction of tongue-speaking, raises the critical question, about the demise of such spirituality from the Church, and its recent rediscovery. According to Dayton, Pentecostals turn such a “great apologetic problem” into a “major apologetic asset.” Latter-Rain teaching, rooted in dispensationalism, claims that the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the apostolic age was inhibited for centuries by the church’s disobedience, and is once again experienced only now at the end of the age.⁵⁶³

D. William Faupel and The Presence of Eschatology in the PAONL

In *The Everlasting Gospel*,⁵⁶⁴ Faupel, accepting Dayton’s thesis of a Pentecostal prehistory,⁵⁶⁵ demonstrates that both the focus and structure of the Pentecostal message were eschatological. Early Pentecostals proclaimed at once “A Witness to the Nations” and “A Warning to the Church.” This dual focus was expressed in two biblical phrases often referenced by early Pentecostals—“The Everlasting Gospel” (Revelation 14.6–7)

⁵⁵⁹ Augustus Cerillo, “The Beginnings of American Pentecostalism,” 232.

⁵⁶⁰ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 27-8.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 27-32.

⁵⁶² Although Dayton develops each motif, Faupel’s monograph focuses upon eschatological implications and, therefore, will be referenced, to explain and apply these terms to the Newfoundland and Labrador context.

⁵⁶³ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 28.

⁵⁶⁴ See footnote 23.

⁵⁶⁵ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 17.

and “This Gospel of the Kingdom” (Matthew 24.14).⁵⁶⁶ Commitment to being “A Witness to the Nations” was inspired by a fervent belief in the imminent return of Christ. However, the motivation to evangelize was not a hope of global conversion but of global proclamation. The declaration of the gospel, not the response to the gospel, would advance the date of the Parousia.⁵⁶⁷ According to Faupel, early Pentecostals believed that they possessed a supernatural power to witness the gospel (Acts 1), the restoration of leadership (Ephesians 4) and ministry gifts (1 Corinthians 12) with the return of signs and wonders, healing and tongue-speaking being the most frequent⁵⁶⁸ and the question of *xenoglossia*—spontaneous foreign language through which they would preach to all nations.⁵⁶⁹

Pentecostals influential in the PAONL prior to and following the founding of Bethesda Mission saw themselves as a last-day “witness to the nations.” When First Fruit Harvesters founder Joel Wright invited readers to hear “the everlasting gospel,”⁵⁷⁰ his motivation was not the evangelical concept of global conversion. He wrote, “Isn’t it about time that the teachers of holiness take this stand... and with the sharp sickle of truth enter on their God-given mission, not to convert the world, but to gather the sheaf of the first fruits to wave before the Lord.”⁵⁷¹ Two decades later, a written prayer, linking “the Salvation of Precious souls” and “the hastening of [Christ’s] glorious coming” was

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 20.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 21. Faupel quotes Elizabeth V. Baker, a leader at Rochester Bible Training School, the institution Eugene and Jennie Vaters attended prior to opening a mission in Victoria, NL.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., 39.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 23. See Daniel Bays, “The Protestant Missionary Establishment and the Pentecostal Movement,” in *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism*, ed. Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler and Grant A. Wacker (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 50; R. P. Spittler, “Glossolalia,” in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), 335; and, D. William Faupel, “Glossolalia as Foreign Language: An Historical Survey of the Twentieth Century Claim,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 31 (1996): 95.

⁵⁷⁰ Joel A. Wright, “Pastor’s Letter,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 11 (November 1909): 2.

⁵⁷¹ Joel A. Wright, *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* n.p., n.d.: 4, issue fragment.

published in *Good Tidings*.⁵⁷² The early PAONL believed that it was uniquely empowered to proclaim the “everlasting gospel” to the world. Alice Garrigus’ 1928 essay, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, identified the importance of charismatic gifts, including xenoglossia, for evangelism, and claimed the events of the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2) as occurring again in early twentieth-century Newfoundland.⁵⁷³

Faupel notes the religious message was also expressed as “A Warning to the Church.” Early Pentecostals were convinced that Christianity was on the verge of a massive apostasy. Therefore, they travelled globally, fulfilling their call to “herald a midnight cry to a sleeping church, ‘Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye to meet him.’” Pentecostals interpreted the term “bridegroom” in passages such as Matthew 25.1-13 to represent Christ, his spiritual union with the Christian Church and his imminent return. Accordingly, they understood the term “bride” in passages such as Revelation 21.2, 9-10 to represent the Church and its spiritual union with Christ.⁵⁷⁴ Although Pentecostals held various theories regarding the nature of the bridal-church, many early advocates defined them exclusively as comprising those who had been “sealed with the Holy Spirit, evidenced by tongue-speaking.” In this early eschatological version the Bride would enjoy the Rapture and subsequent Marriage Supper of the Lamb, whereas Christians who

⁵⁷² Nathaniel L. Cole, “A Call to Prayer,” *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 2 (December 1928): 6. See A. E. Adams, to Alice B. Garrigus, 12 September 1930, PAONL Archive.

⁵⁷³ Alice B. Garrigus, “Signs of the Coming of the King,” *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 2 (December 1928): 7. Other examples of xenoglossia include, “‘Lonely Labrador!’,” *Good Tidings* 4, no. 1 (February 1938): 8; and, M. Louella Morrison, “News From Sister Morrison,” *Nfld. Pentecostal Evangel* 3, no. 2 (April 1929): 11.

⁵⁷⁴ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 24. Faupel notes that Pentecostals used various phrases to emphasize their teaching, including “manifested sonship, joint-heirs with Christ, bringing forth the man-child, and the New Jerusalem. These terms were normally mentioned as corollaries to their favourite expression, the Bride of Christ” (footnote 21).

had not experienced Spirit Baptism would face the Tribulation, a period of intense apocalyptic suffering.⁵⁷⁵

The early PAONL believed it was called to warn the Church with “the gospel of the kingdom.”⁵⁷⁶ The corresponding wedding motif, derived from Matthew 25:1–13, is interpreted as a description of the period immediately prior to the Parousia. That period is unequivocally identified in Garrigus’ 1907 article “Behold, the Bridegroom Cometh!” as the present,⁵⁷⁷ and in E. Raymond Pelley’s 1936 sermon of the same title.⁵⁷⁸ Eugene Vaters’ reprint of a British article, “Was Christ Actually Seen in Llanlley?” proclaimed with triumphant anticipation, “The Advent trump is about to sound—let us then go forth with lamps trimmed and burning to meet the heavenly Bridegroom.”⁵⁷⁹

In the *Everlasting Gospel*, Faupel affirms Dayton’s four motifs—Full Gospel, Latter-Rain, Apostolic Faith, and Pentecostal—and argues that they form the “structure of the message.” The “Full Gospel,” the most frequent motif used by the denomination, signalled to adherents and potential converts that Pentecostals enjoyed the complete doctrine and piety of early Christianity. This Full Gospel was comprised of five cardinal doctrines—Jesus, Saviour, Healer, Sanctifier, Baptizer, and Coming King. “Fullness” suggested that Pentecostal missions offered a complete Christian experience, which, by

⁵⁷⁵ Maude Evans Whitt, interview by David Lorne Newman. Whitt notes that this was a common belief in the early PAONL and was taught as a “possibility” by Garrigus. See also D. William Faupel, *Everlasting Gospel*, 26; and, Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 77. Key verses on the “sealing of the Spirit” include 2 Corinthians 1.21–22, Ephesians 1.13–14, and Ephesians 4.30.

⁵⁷⁶ Alice B. Garrigus, “The King Redeemer,” *Nfld. Pentecostal Evangel* 3, no. 2 (April 1929): 8.

⁵⁷⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, “Behold the Bridegroom Cometh!,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 3, no. 5 (October 1907): 3.

⁵⁷⁸ Alice B. Garrigus, “Bethesda,” *Good Tidings* 2, no. 3 (September 1936): 3.

⁵⁷⁹ “Was Christ Actually Seen in Llanlley?,” *Good Tidings* 7, no. 1 (March 1941): 13.

inference, other denominations did not. The term “Full Gospel” provided a soteriological focus, linking Pentecostal teaching to orthodox Christianity.⁵⁸⁰

The three-fold work of Christ on the cross assured justification, sanctification, and healing. The ascended Christ baptized the believer with the fullness of the Spirit. The returning Christ became the ultimate hope of the believer’s destiny.⁵⁸¹

Despite the certainty of completeness and the fact that the early PAONL was fivefold,⁵⁸² the doctrine of entire sanctification—Jesus, Sanctifier—gradually melded into the Baptizer term and was deleted from the Full Gospel listing. Garrigus claimed to have experienced entire sanctification while attending a mission led by William Fowler at Bridgeport, Connecticut, after the summer of 1888.⁵⁸³ From her tongue-speaking experience in New England to the writing of her serialized autobiography in Newfoundland, she recalled sanctification and Spirit Baptism as two different events.⁵⁸⁴ Vaters claimed to have experienced “old-time Wesleyan sanctification” in 1918, as a Methodist minister.⁵⁸⁵ He later affirmed the experience in *The Independent Communion*, stating, “[W]e join hands with [John] Wesley and others in their doctrine of ‘sanctification,’ now so universally neglected or ridiculed by their successors.”⁵⁸⁶ By the 1920s, sanctification fused into Spirit Baptism, producing a foursquare version, rendered concrete by the architecture of the Humbermouth Mission as a literal “four-square”

⁵⁸⁰ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 42.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 30.

⁵⁸² Myrtle Eddy, “Bethesda,” Part I, 6.

⁵⁸³ Alice B. Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 17-8. See Kurt O. Berends, “A Divided Harvest,” 25. For the First Fruit Harvesters’ position on sanctification prior to its entrance into the Latter-Rain movement, see Joel A. Wright, “A Four-Footed Gospel,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 1, no. 13 (22 January 1903): 1; *idem*, “To the Household of Faith”: 2 (Garrigus is mentioned); *idem*, “Viewing the Walls,” 2; Susie Farrand White, “Rumney,” 6; and, “The First Fruit Harvesters Association,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 3, no. 8 (August 1905): 4. For references to sanctification at Bethesda’s inception see Myrtle B. Eddy, “Bethesda,” Part I, 6; and, Burton K. Janes, *The Lady Who Stayed*, 159.

⁵⁸⁴ Alice B. Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 18; *idem*, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 11.

⁵⁸⁵ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 43.

⁵⁸⁶ Eugene Vaters, “Doctrinal,” (August–September 1924): 3.

building,⁵⁸⁷ and reaffirmed by the theme of Kenneth Barnes' Elim Mission namely, to "[s]tand true for the Foursquare Gospel."⁵⁸⁸ Despite his significant history with Methodist–Holiness organizations such as the Courtneyites and the Bell Street mission,⁵⁸⁹ it seems that Barnes had deleted "entire sanctification" from his doctrinal repertoire. As late as 1929, the PAONL adopted the "Statement of Fundamental Truths Approved by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada," which included "entire sanctification."⁵⁹⁰ Yet, by the 1930s, the Wesleyan–rooted PAONL reflected more Reformist theories, according to which the term "Full Gospel" almost exclusively denoted foursquare teaching.⁵⁹¹

The "Latter-Rain" motif used dispensational teaching as a platform for demonstrating the importance of tongue-speaking. Dispensational theory taught that history was divinely segmented into several epochs (usually seven) of human failure, beginning and ending with similar supernatural assistance and redirection. The "Church Age," beginning on the Day of Pentecost, was accompanied by miraculous events, including healing and tongues-speaking. Pentecostals claimed that the end of the age was approaching, as evidenced by a repetition of these early Christian supernatural

⁵⁸⁷ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 91.

⁵⁸⁸ *Elim Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 1 (August 1927): 4. The editor published a poem with the first line "Stand true for the Foursquare Gospel," and the advertisement "Elim Pentecostal Mission" including the invitation, "Outport friends and others will be heartily welcomed to our Services. We preach the Full Gospel and exalt Jesus as Saviour, Healer, Baptizer and Coming King."

⁵⁸⁹ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 30-1. Barnes managed an evangelical mission for the Courtney brothers, who were known for their passionate proclamation of entire sanctification, when they returned to Ireland. Barnes later led Methodist missions at Adelaide and Gower Streets, before directing independent missions at the Temperance Hall, Bell Street and Carter's Hill (with John P. King). Despite his foursquare position, Barnes included in his periodical an article that suggests entire sanctification, "Secret of Spiritual Power," *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 3 (October 1927): 5. The editor notes the article is a reprint from *Pentecostal Era*, 1901.

⁵⁹⁰ Minutes of Fourth Annual Conference, 17 to 23 May 1929, St. John's, NL, minutes 10 and 47, PAONL Archive. See "Statement of Fundamental Truths Approved By The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada," n.p., article 11—"Sanctification or the Holy Life," private collection.

⁵⁹¹ Significantly Vaters emphasized the four-square rubric in at least two articles. See Eugene Vaters, "'Beautiful... feet!,'" *Good Tidings* 1, no. 1 (April 1935): 1; and, Eugene Vaters, "Good Tidings—Monthly," *Good Tidings* 10, no. 2 (April 1944): 2. See also Alice B. Garrigus, *Separation*, 3.

manifestations. Early protagonists applied the biblical term “Latter-Rain” to defend their teaching.⁵⁹² Latter-Rain theology taught that a prophesied parallel existed between the rainfall-harvest-cycle of Israel and the history of the Church. Early Pentecostals identified tongue-speaking and other spiritual gifts as a spiritual “latter rain,” interpreting the return of charismata as both a signal and means to gather a spiritual harvest before the eschaton. Many Latter-Rain theologians adapted the traditional dispensational seven-epoch structure into a three-era pattern, based on the Trinity and, according to which, the present period was the “Age of the Spirit.”⁵⁹³ Latter-rain theology led Pentecostals to a self-understanding that their purpose was unique and that they stood “at the apex of history.”⁵⁹⁴

The Latter-Rain motif figured prominently in the early PAONL and among its leadership. Latter-Rain references frequently occurred among the Harvesters, when Garrigus served as an evangelist,⁵⁹⁵ and at Rochester Bible Training School, where Eugene and Jennie Vaters trained.⁵⁹⁶ An early Bethesda songbook, *Revival Songs of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Newfoundland*, included the hymns “Latter Rain,” and “Former and latter rain.”⁵⁹⁷ Garrigus emphasized the significance of the Latter-Rain motif at Bethesda Mission, in the essay *Signs of the Coming of the King*, as well as in her serialized autobiography, “Walking in the King’s Highway.”⁵⁹⁸ Vaters

⁵⁹² D. William Faupel, 30-6. Passages noting the latter-rain motif are Deuteronomy 11.10-15, Job 29.29, Proverbs 16.15, Jeremiah 3.3, Hosea 6.3, Joel 2.23, Zechariah 10.1, and James 5.7 (footnote 33).

⁵⁹³ Ibid., *The Everlasting Gospel*, 32, 80, 103; and Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 150.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., *The Everlasting Gospel*, 34.

⁵⁹⁵ Jesse A. Barney, “The Latter Rain—Zech. 10.1,” 1; Joel A. Wright, “Are Tongues the Evidence,” 3; and, idem, “Pastor’s Letter,” (November 1909): 1.

⁵⁹⁶ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 103; and, Elizabeth V. Baker, *Chronicles of the Faith Life*, n.p., 121.

⁵⁹⁷ *Revival Songs of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Newfoundland*, n.p., 2.

⁵⁹⁸ Alice B. Garrigus, “Signs of the Coming of the King,” *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 2 (December 1928): 7; idem, “St. John’s, Newfoundland,” 153; and, idem, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 4 (December 1940): 8.

addressed the motif in a circular letter to ministerial credential holders in 1938, noting the uniqueness of the Latter-Rain movement.⁵⁹⁹ Although the motif was often applied in Bethesda's early years, it was only occasionally mentioned by the 1940s.⁶⁰⁰ Spirit baptism marked by tongue-speaking continued to be emphasized, however Pentecostals gradually left the language of Latter Rain eschatology in favour of standard Dispensationalism. From this point tongue-speaking was rarely presented as a key sign of Christ's imminent return.

Whereas the Latter-Rain theme formed the framework "to interpret the whole of history," the "Apostolic Faith" motif focused upon a singular aspect of that history.⁶⁰¹ Borrowing from the Protestant tradition, Pentecostals lamented the degeneration of the post-apostolic church into apostasy. They developed an affinity with marginal Christian movements that claimed to have experienced charismatic manifestations, including the Montanists, Camisards, Cevennes Community, Waldensians, Huguenots, and Irvingites.⁶⁰² These groups embodied a faithful remnant, testifying that Pentecostal theology and piety, were divinely intended as normative for Christians of all times. Adherents viewed the twentieth-century rebirth of the Pentecostal experience as the culmination of a theological era of restoration. A restoration process was suggested, beginning with Martin Luther and his prime doctrine of justification by faith, followed by John Wesley and entire sanctification, the Divine Healing movement, premillennialism,

⁵⁹⁹ Eugene Vaters, to PAONL credential holders, 15 January 1938, PAONL Archive.

⁶⁰⁰ By the 1940s Pentecostal publishers including the AG's "The Gospel Publishing House," the primary provider of textual resources to the PAONL had slowly moved away from the creative Pentecostal-dispensational hybrid Latter-Rain system, in favour of teaching two somewhat contradictory systems, Pentecostalism's restoration of apostolic piety and Fundamentalism's cessationist dispensationalism. These resources became the foundation of PAONL credential education and parish teaching and may have led in part to the demise of Latter-Rain theology.

⁶⁰¹ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 36.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 37. See Ronald Kydd, *Charismatic Gifts*.

and the Pentecostal movement.⁶⁰³ The Apostolic Faith motif created a direct connection between the ancient church and the modern Pentecostal movement and had its adherents anticipate the restoration of apostolic piety. Early Pentecostals believed that signs and wonders would authenticate their message,⁶⁰⁴ as they boldly proclaimed “the faith once delivered to the saints.”⁶⁰⁵

The Apostolic Faith motif was emphasized both prior to and following Bethesda’s opening. The First Fruit Harvesters believed that they were a vital part of Christianity’s faithful remnant.⁶⁰⁶ Garrigus asserted that the eschatological restoration of apostolic ministry, connected the early church to the Harvesters and, subsequently, Bethesda.⁶⁰⁷ The Holy Spirit alone would prepare the Bride for the Parousia amid the growing apostasy.⁶⁰⁸ Consistent with other Pentecostals, she published a restoration trajectory that linked Pentecostalism with pneumatological developments throughout church history, offering it as evidence that the movement’s theology and spirituality had abiding normativity.⁶⁰⁹ Early Pentecostals, including Frank G. Bursey, connected the imminent return of Christ to the last-days restoration of early church piety.⁶¹⁰ As apostolic power was restored to the faithful, the Apostolic Faith motif included the prediction that the larger Christian Church would enter a period of apostasy.

⁶⁰³ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 37.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 40. Faupel notes that Jude 3 “became a code phrase to mean the full content of the restored faith and practice of the Pentecostal movement” (footnote 60).

⁶⁰⁶ Susie Farrand White, “New Hampton,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 1, no. 24 (9 April 1903): 3.

⁶⁰⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, “Separation,” 4.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*: 2.

⁶⁰⁹ Alice B. Garrigus, “Signs of the Coming of the King,” *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 2 (December 1928): 7.

⁶¹⁰ Frank G. Bursey, “From a Message by Bro. Frank G. Bursey,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 5. The editor notes the sermon was “Given at Western Bay, Nov. 17th, 1938,” and was transcribed by “a listener.”

In view of the increasing flood of unbelief in the Word of God, through the preaching of evolutionary philosophy... and also of the great apostasy which has set in flooding the world with apostate teachers who are giving forth dangerous and pernicious doctrines, there is a great need of a thorough knowledge of the scriptures to meet this tide of infidelity.⁶¹¹

Some early Pentecostals interpreted the seven churches of Revelation 2-3 as prophesied periods of the Church era that would conclude with the Laodicean Age, identifiable for its religious apostasy.⁶¹²

Although the Apostolic Faith motif is prevalent in PAONL documents, the actual phrase “Apostolic Faith” is rarely applied. This may be due, in part, to the presence of a competing Pentecostal denomination, The Apostolic Faith Mission,⁶¹³ with whom relations were at times acrimonious.⁶¹⁴

The final motif, “Pentecostal,” eventually became the identity-marker of the movement. By centering upon the Day of Pentecost, the modern movement became linked with the supernatural events of the church’s birth. The most distinctive experience

⁶¹¹ *The Manual of the Bethesda Pentecostal Bible School*, n.p., PAONL Archive. See also Robert C. English, “Is Divine Healing Part of the Atonement?,” *Pentecostal Evangel* 2, no. 6 (February 1928): 8; Nathaniel L. Cole, “A Call to Prayer,” *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 2 (December 1928): 6; Alice B. Garrigus, “Signs of the Coming King,” *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 2 (December 1928): 2; T.J. Dorling, “What God Hath Wrought,” *Pentecostal Evangel* 2, no. 5 (January 1928): 1; Eugene Vaters, “Pentecostal Pioneer ‘With Christ,’” *Good Tidings* 28, no. 4 (July–August 1972): 32; and, idem, “An Appreciation of Miss A.B. Garrigus,” 1, PAONL Archive.

⁶¹² See T.J. Dorling, “What God Hath Wrought,” *Pentecostal Evangel* 2, no. 5 (January 1928): 1; Eugene Vaters, “Notes,” *The Independent Communion* 1, no. 5 & 6 (January–February 1925): 4; and, idem “Pentecostal Pioneer ‘with Christ,’” 28, no. 4 (July–August), 31–2. See also Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 10.

⁶¹³ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 139. See Lindy Brophy, “The History of the Apostolic Faith in Newfoundland,” private collection; Stanley Hancock, *To This End I Was Born* (Richmond, BC: J. Friesen, 1981); Elam J. Daniels, *Footwashing by the Master and by the Saints* (Orlando, FL: Christ For The World Missionary Fellowship, n.d.) (The booklet was in the library of S. George Newman); Edith L. Blumhofer, “Apostolic Faith Mission,” in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), 18; and, *The Apostolic Faith Church: Origins, Functions and Doctrines* (Portland, OR: International Headquarters, n.d.).

⁶¹⁴ Burton K. Janes, *History*, 92–3; Minutes of Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, 17–24 March 1927, minute 20, PAONL Archive. See Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 139; and, Leonard Young, to Eugene Vaters, 28 March 1944, South Brook, PAONL Archive. Young writes from South Brook stating, “Should I say the enemy is working[?] We told you sometime ago about the Apostolic Faith people being here. Well, just now they are trying to cause a division, but we are looking to God to work His sweet plan.”

of Pentecostalism—tongue-speaking—was viewed by the participants as the same event that had occurred on the Day of Pentecost. Adherents reveled in charismatic manifestations, which, as they claimed, were “the normative pattern of Christian living.”⁶¹⁵

The Pentecostal motif would be applied to missions from St. John’s⁶¹⁶ to Humbermouth, as well as the periodicals, *Elim Pentecostal Evangel*, *Pentecostal Evangel*, *The Pentecostal Herald*, and *Nfld. Pentecostal Evangel*. However, Vaters’ comment in 1924—that “[t]here are, it seems, as many shades and shadows within what is known as ‘Pentecost’ as there are in the whole church outside it”⁶¹⁷—reveals variation as to the precise meaning of the word. This reticence to define Pentecostalism was caused by several factors, including Vaters’ familiarity with Pentecostal associations other than Bethesda, including Rochester Bible Training School, the AG, the PAOC, the Apostolic Faith Mission (Portland, Oregon), a charismatic group in Grates Cove, and his own independent mission in Victoria, all of which precluded a singular entity. The early Pentecostal movement shunned denominationalism, stressing the greater sense of being part of a last-days movement. It is not without significance that Vaters, unlike many publishers, did not use “Pentecostal” in the title of his periodicals, *The Independent Communion* and *Good Tidings*.⁶¹⁸ Although Vaters led the PAONL for more than thirty years, he seemingly never forsook his prior life in Methodism, as suggested by his daughter’s statement that her father “died a Methodist.”⁶¹⁹ However, under Vaters’

⁶¹⁵ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 40.

⁶¹⁶ On 21 March 1919 the *Daily News* carried an advertisement for “Bethesda Pentecostal Mission.” This is the earliest date I have noted the term “Pentecostal” applied to the mission.

⁶¹⁷ Eugene Vaters, “Doctrinal,” 3.

⁶¹⁸ Under his leadership the PAONL bookstore was named “Religious Book and Bible House.”

⁶¹⁹ Dorothy R. King, interview by Burton K. Janes.

leadership, the PAONL informed colonial authorities of its objection “to others using the name ‘PENTECOST,’” since it wanted to officially register the principal name with the government.⁶²⁰ The process concluded when the denomination received official recognition.⁶²¹ Evidently Vaters and other early Pentecostals were capable of pragmatism, when necessary. By 1949, the term “Pentecostal” was associated with a specific denomination, the PAONL.⁶²²

Early Pentecostal Dispensationalism

Pentecostal dispensationalism is a hybrid of dispensational eschatology and Pentecostal theology and piety.⁶²³ From its beginnings Pentecostalism was significantly influenced by dispensational theory. Clarence Bass’ *Backgrounds to Dispensationalism*⁶²⁴ provides an outline of traditional dispensational eschatology. Sheppard’s “Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism”⁶²⁵ and Dayton’s *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*⁶²⁶ offer a description of the theological hybrid and its accompanying conflicts. Dwight Wilson’s “Pentecostal Perspectives on

⁶²⁰ Secretary-Treasurer (Bethesda) Pentecostal Assemblies of Nfld., to the Minister of Justice, St. John’s, NL, 30 May 1930, PAONL Archive. Emphasis in original.

⁶²¹ Deputy Colonial Secretary, to (Bethesda) Pentecostal Assemblies of Nfld, 23 October 1930, PAONL Archive.

⁶²² The term “Pentecostal” is also used by the “United Pentecostal Church” denomination. The group subscribes to “modalism,” denying the doctrine of the Trinity. Partially in response to the growing influence of modalism, S. George Newman wrote a monograph providing a systematic study of the Trinity. See S. George Newman, *Simple Studies on the Godhead*, n.p., private collection. Other agencies currently active in Newfoundland and Labrador sharing Pentecostal teaching but not the “Pentecostal” title include “The Apostolic Faith Church,” “Victory Christian Centre,” “Vineyard Christian Fellowship,” and various Charismatic Renewal groups and independent churches.

⁶²³ See F.L. Arrington, “Dispensationalism,” in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), 247.

⁶²⁴ See footnote 549.

⁶²⁵ See footnote 550.

⁶²⁶ See footnote 17.

Eschatology”⁶²⁷ demonstrates the eventual popular acceptance of dispensationalism among Pentecostals, despite continuing theological inconsistencies.

Clarence Bass states that dispensationalism is “rooted in a hermeneutical principle of interpretation” and is committed to “a chronology of events... not known in the historic faith”⁶²⁸ before John Nelson Darby “formulated it in an atmosphere of theological controversy.”⁶²⁹ Distinctive teachings include the character and purpose of dispensations; strict biblical literalism; a rigid differentiation between Israel and the Church; a limited view of the Church; a Jewish idea of the kingdom; an interrupted timeline caused by the Jewish rejection of Jesus; the view that God has multiple ways of dealing with humans based on law and grace; a segmentation of scripture; a pre-tribulation rapture; and its view of the millennium, the eternal state, and Christian apostasy.⁶³⁰ With the aid of Cyrus I. Scofield’s *Reference Bible*, dispensationalism became the dominant form of Pentecostal premillennial eschatology.

Gerald T. Sheppard suggests that the earliest Pentecostals did not subscribe to dispensationalism, including the pretribulation rapture theory, but rather interpreted the Azusa Street revival and subsequent “outpouring of the Spirit” as both Latter-Rain and a return to apostolic Christianity.⁶³¹

For Pentecostals the emphasis on eschatology belonged more naturally on the sense of a final glorious revelation and outpouring of the Spirit in the last days, than, as with fundamentalists, to the dark prospect of impending destruction for those not suddenly taken out of the world.⁶³²

⁶²⁷ See footnote 551.

⁶²⁸ Clarence B. Bass, *Backgrounds*, 18.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶³¹ Gerald T. Sheppard, “Hermeneutics,” 7.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 8.

Sheppard documents the rather reluctant compilation by the AG of a “Statement of Fundamental Truths” in 1916, noting that the “Blessed Hope” and “The Millennial Reign of Jesus” articles could accommodate both premillennialism and postmillennialism. Neither document explicitly uses the dispensational terms, “tribulation,” “Church Age,” or “rapture.”⁶³³ Sheppard suggests that Pentecostal ecclesiology was originally not wedded to dispensational eschatology until predominantly white denominations began to seek recognition from fundamentalist groups. This inadvertently led to ecclesiological inconsistencies and hermeneutical challenges for the Christian application of the gospels and the Pentecostal understanding of Acts 2.⁶³⁴ By the 1930s, the AG committed themselves to a pre-tribulation dispensational system, evidenced by the 1932 amendment of that “we disapprove of any of our ministers teaching that the church must go through the tribulation.” Sheppard’s review of major AG publications from 1937 to 1955 demonstrates that, with the advent of a pre-tribulation rapture, Pentecostals either created their own theological defenses of dispensationalism or inconsistently accepted its eschatology without considering the ecclesiological implications.⁶³⁵

Although Donald Dayton affirms the important role dispensational premillennialism has played in Pentecostal eschatology, he does not view the latter as completely dependent on the former. In agreement with Sheppard, he affirms that Pentecostals both altered dispensational theory to accommodate distinctive doctrines, such as the Latter-Rain motif, and contradicted dispensational teaching, as evidenced by the Trinitarian epoch system that applied Old Testament promises to the Church. Dayton identifies dispensational premillennialism as one of several nineteenth-century sources of

⁶³³ Ibid., 8.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., 22.

modern Pentecostal thought, arguing that Pentecostal eschatology has its own integrity and that it “could coalesce with or, perhaps better, express itself through a variety of distinct eschatological schemes from dispensationalism through British Israelism.” He states that scholarly reflection has focused upon Pentecostal groups most connected with dispensational fundamentalism, yielding an unbalanced evaluation.⁶³⁶

Dwight Wilson, considering the growing interest in dispensationalism among twentieth-century Pentecostals, documents how their dedication led to an avid study of international politics. Dispensational premillennial theory focused attention upon the Zionist movement and the inception of the state of Israel, the horrors of warfare, the formation of the League of Nations and the United Nations, the posturing of Russia-Soviet Union, the creation of the European Community, and the detonation of the atomic bomb. These developments were viewed as signs of an imminent rapture and subsequent tribulation.⁶³⁷

Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal Dispensationalism

Dispensationalism would become the predominant form of eschatology in the PAONL appearing in articles, sermons and official documents. Although dispensationalism was a significant influence at Bethesda’s opening, it was not the only system entertained. An early Bethesda Mission congregant recalled that Garrigus had taught her students multiple theories regarding the timing of the Rapture, and noted the limitations of insisting that pretribulationism was definitively the most accurate. Garrigus emphasized that the key concern was to be ready for the imminent return of Christ.⁶³⁸ Early advocates adapted and applied dispensational timelines to their eschatological

⁶³⁶ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 145.

⁶³⁷ D.J. Wilson, “Eschatology, Pentecostal Perspectives On,” 264.

⁶³⁸ Maude Evans Whitt, interview by David Lorne Newman.

teaching. Latter Rain eschatology noted the significance of charismata as both a sign and means to expedite the Parousia. Garrigus' eschatological focus upon Christ's return, and not the timing of the Tribulation, is consistent with other early Pentecostal leaders.⁶³⁹

As Latter Rain teaching dissipated in early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism a more concerted effort to identify the timing of the Rapture occurred. Like other groups enamoured by dispensational timelines, early Pentecostals were reminded not to be too rigid in their prophetic chronologies in the wake of William Miller and "the Great Disappointment." Whereas dispensational pretribulationism insisted that the Rapture would occur prior to the seven-year Tribulation period, "midtribulationism saw the church surviving the first half of the [seven years] to be removed before the Great Tribulation commence[d]."⁶⁴⁰ It is difficult to determine whether Bethesda's earliest participants were committed primarily to pretribulationism, entertained midtribulationism, or considered other eschatological variants. Though dispensational terms were applied, few early writers defined their theological position beyond premillennialism. Margie Bowen's poem, "Travel, Lord, Throughout This City," emphasizes the importance of the Rapture, while making no mention of the Tribulation.⁶⁴¹ However, Vaters' report of a prophecy in Clarke's Beach in 1922 references the Tribulation, but not the Rapture.⁶⁴² In 1929, the PAONL imported from the PAOC an eschatological statement that, by inference, allowed both pretribulational and

⁶³⁹ Gerald T. Sheppard, "Hermeneutics," 5.

⁶⁴⁰ J. Randall Price, "Tribulation, Various Views Of The," in *Dictionary of Premillennial Theology*, ed. Mal Couch (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1996), 416.

⁶⁴¹ Margie B. Bowen, "Travel, Lord, Throughout This City," n.p., PAONL Archive. See also Eugene Vaters, *Forward Outreach*, 52.

⁶⁴² Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 139; and Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 7, no. 1 (March 1941): 6.

midtribulational teaching.⁶⁴³ Over the decades, changes occurred in PAONL eschatological preferences, including a definitive denial of posttribulationism, an unofficial allowance of midtribulation theory, and the theological favouring of the dispensational pretribulation model.

Sheppard suggests that the earliest Pentecostals couldn't be called 'true' dispensationalists because they neither taught pretribulationism nor emphasized the apocalypse. The experience of Garrigus and other early PAONL leaders partially support this observation in that they did not focus on pretribulation timelines but were most interested in the imminent return of Christ. However, possibly due to her experience with the apocalyptically interested First Fruit Harvesters, Garrigus had no difficulty vividly describing the events prior to and during the Tribulation period. Hans Rollmann accurately summarizes Garrigus' earliest message as containing simultaneously the hope of Christ's imminent return and a dire warning of the apocalypse.⁶⁴⁴ By the 1930s Vaters and other PAONL leaders were thoroughly committed to dispensational premillennialism.

Dedicated dispensational teaching was present as early as 1920 in Robert English's Friday night Bible study at which he used dispensational wall charts.⁶⁴⁵ In the early 1930s, the PAONL made plans to open Glad Tidings Bible School. The course, "Dispensational Truth," is described as

...a comprehensive study of the different ages or periods of time from eternity past to eternity future, and includes such subjects as: The definition of terms and expressions of the ages; The original earth, chaotic

⁶⁴³ Minutes Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, 17-23 May 1929. Minutes 10 and 47. See Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, "Statement of Fundamental Truths Approved By The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada," Article 18—"The Blessed Hope," n.p., PAONL Archive.

⁶⁴⁴ Hans Rollmann, "From Yankee Failure," 6.35.

⁶⁴⁵ Maude Evans Whitt, interview by David Lorne Newman. See Burton K. Janes, *History*, 34.

earth, present earth, seven dispensations and their tests, spirit world, underworld, resurrection, Jews, Gentiles, great tribulation, rapture, coming of Christ, age of the ages, Bible chronology, church, parables, covenants, Satan, etc.⁶⁴⁶

Nathaniel Cole's article, "A Call To Prayer," written in 1928, informs readers that the Church is "living in the very closing days of the dispensation, just before the Coming of Jesus for his Bride and the awful tribulation which will follow."⁶⁴⁷ Vaters' essay, "How Near Is The End?," adopts the pretribulational position, teaching that the recent war was not the Tribulation but, in fact, a sign that it "cannot be very far away" and that "the Rapture of the Church and the Resurrection of the Just are nearer still, for they precede it (consummation)."⁶⁴⁸ Other dispensationally influenced articles from the late 1930s and early 1940s include "Beware—!," "Russo—German Alliance," and "My Counsel Shall Stand."⁶⁴⁹ In 1939, Vaters offered the pretribulational booklet, *Are The Saints Scheduled To Go Through The Tribulation?*, which emphasized "the point that the church is to have no part in the Tribulation at all."⁶⁵⁰

Wilson addresses the preoccupation of early Pentecostal dispensationalists with international politics. This is affirmed in my remembrance of my grandfather, S. George Newman's statement that early Pentecostal ministers prepared sermons "with the Bible in one hand and the newspaper in the other."⁶⁵¹ The Second World War led to an increased

⁶⁴⁶ *Glad Tidings Bible School of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Nfld. Inc.*, n.p., 2, PAONL Archive.

⁶⁴⁷ Nathaniel Cole, "A Call to Prayer," 6.

⁶⁴⁸ Eugene Vaters, "How Near is the End?," 7. Vaters published articles by Harry J. Steil and Robert C. Clarke, affirming that the War was not the Tribulation. However, the use by both writers of the term "Great Tribulation" makes their positions ambiguous as to the timing of the Rapture. See Harry J. Steil, "A Right Attitude," 3; and, Robert C. Clarke, "Christian Accountability And Future Rewards," *Good Tidings* 7, no. 1 (March 1941): 11.

⁶⁴⁹ G. E. Parsons, "Beware—!," *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 3; Eugene Vaters, "Russo-German Alliance," 16; and, Edgar Raymond Pelley, "My Counsel Shall Stand," *Good Tidings* 8, no. 1 (March 1942): 9.

⁶⁵⁰ "Pentecostal Books," *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 23. *Are The Saints Scheduled To Go Through The Tribulation?*, J. Narver Gortner is advertised.

⁶⁵¹ S. George Newman, personal memory of David Lorne Newman.

interest in eschatological teaching. Emblematic is Vaters' circular to PAONL clergy on 27 September 1945, less than two months after the bombing of Hiroshima, Japan. He clearly implies that the event foreshadows the Parousia.

We live in momentous days, when not only the Church stands looking over the brink of the end of this age, but the world as well stands aghast to see man with power in his hands to destroy the world... sinister forces at large... The atomic bomb has opened the eyes of the people of the world as to its probable destruction, and the mistrust and hatred of the world to its imminence. "THE COMING OF THE LORD DRAWETH NIGH..."⁶⁵²

In response to dispensational detractors, Gerald B. Winrod's *Antichrist and the Atomic Bomb*⁶⁵³ and William D. Herrstrom's *The Atomic Bomb and the End of the World*⁶⁵⁴ triumphantly state that the destructive force of atomic weaponry was indisputable evidence that a global apocalypse was plausible.⁶⁵⁵

A Pentecostal Eschatological Anomaly- Universalism

The eschatology of the PAONL was by the 1940s dominated by dispensational premillennial teaching. Traditional premillennial eschatology taught the existence of a place of eternal damnation, created for Satan and his angelic legions, which because of human rebellion would also become the residence of the wicked dead.⁶⁵⁶ Although the PAONL advanced this theory as a normative doctrine of judgment, not everyone agreed with the eschatological position. Robert C. Clarke served as a PAONL minister in Bay Roberts. He propounded universal reconciliation,⁶⁵⁷ an eschatological theory holding that

⁶⁵² Eugene Vaters, to PAONL credential holders, 27 September 1945, St. John's, NL, PAONL Archive. Emphasis in original.

⁶⁵³ Gerald B. Winrod, *Antichrist and the Atomic Bomb* (Wichita, KS: Defender Publishers, 1945), 75.

⁶⁵⁴ William D. Herrstrom, *The Atomic Bomb and the End of the World* (Fairbault, MN: Bible News Flashes, 1945), 8.

⁶⁵⁵ Both volumes were in the library of S. George Newman in the late 1940s.

⁶⁵⁶ Donald Perkins and Russell L. Penney, "Hell," in *Dictionary of Premillennial Theology*, ed. Mal Couch (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1996), 141.

⁶⁵⁷ See Robin A. Parry and Christopher H. Partridge, ed. *Universal Salvation?*

all humanity and angelic beings will be reconciled to God. He recalled debating Vaters⁶⁵⁸ on “endless punishment and universal reconciliation—he holding to the former and I the latter.”

The Pentecostals, like nearly all other churches, believe in an eternal hell, so that those consigned there will punish in literal fire for a million, a billion years or whatever, without any hope of it ever ending. This... is a carry over from the Catholic church teaching of the Dark Ages. Of course I believe in future punishment, but not that it will last eternally.⁶⁵⁹

Although Clarke initially rejected universal reconciliation after reading about it in *The King's Herald*,⁶⁶⁰ in 1936 he subscribed to the theory, one year after entering the PAONL pastoral ministry.⁶⁶¹

Clarke left the PAONL, later explaining his eschatological beliefs in *God's Plan of the Ages*.⁶⁶² His eschatological theory included a revised dispensational system that concluded with “the age of Universal Reconciliation,”⁶⁶³ an all-inclusive event which will reconcile God to humanity, “the fallen angels, demons and Satan.”⁶⁶⁴ He argued that, although hell was a reality, it was neither a physical place nor eternal in existence. Indeed, because “annihilation is impossible to spirit beings of the Father of spirits, there is the possibility of salvation for all ultimately.”⁶⁶⁵ Although Clarke stated that a fear of losing denominational credentials was the reason other ministers refused to profess or

⁶⁵⁸ While ministering in Hamilton, ON, Vaters dealt with Universal Reconciliation. See Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 151. Clarke and Vaters also debated pacifism, with Clarke being the pacifist, and Vaters the British Empire loyalist. See Robert C. Clarke, to Burton K. Janes, 10 December 1983, PAONL Archive. Further friction arose following the death of Clarke's wife, Annie R. Clarke, which he seems to have blamed on Vaters after not responding to her “calling.” See Robert C. Clarke, to Eugene Vaters, 29 October 1946, PAONL Archive.

⁶⁵⁹ Robert C. Clarke, to Burton K. Janes, 9 August 1988, PAONL Archive.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid. Clarke identifies the editor as “Hermon Harvey, Springfield, Mo.” See *The King's Herald* 1, no. 11 (15 April 1931), and, *The King's Herald* 1 no. 12 (15 May 1931), private collection.

⁶⁶¹ Robert C. Clarke, to Burton K. Janes, 14 July 1988, 2, PAONL Archive.

⁶⁶² Robert C. Clarke, *God's Plan of the Ages*, n. p., private collection. Hereafter “*God's Plan*.”

⁶⁶³ Ibid., 10.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., 34.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., 39–41.

promote universal reconciliation, he himself remained confident in the theory. “Of this I am certain,” he wrote, “universal salvation has been revealed by promise, by prophecy and its complete fulfillment.”⁶⁶⁶

Despite Clarke’s advocacy Universalism would not become an accepted eschatological option in the PAONL. Universalism, British Israelism⁶⁶⁷ and other eschatological systems were periodically considered in the denominational ranks, however they should be viewed as aberrations.

The Global Mindset of PAONL Eschatology- Periodicals & Doctrine

The eschatology of the PAONL was influenced by an international array of premillennial writers, who were duly published in periodical doctrinal statements and used in educational programs. The editors published eschatological articles from Canada, the United States, Great Britain, and other areas of the premillennial world. *The Independent Communion* reprinted eschatological articles by American fundamentalists Reuben A. Torrey⁶⁶⁸ and Cyrus I. Scofield.⁶⁶⁹ The *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* reprinted an article from the Foursquare Gospel Church of Great Britain;⁶⁷⁰ a sermon, “Heaven,” originally preached in Toronto,⁶⁷¹ and a letter from Odessa, U.S.S.R, declaring “Jesus our soon coming Lord!”⁶⁷² The *Pentecostal Evangel* reprinted “A Solemn Warning,”

⁶⁶⁶ Robert C. Clarke, to Burton K. Janes, 9 August 1988.

⁶⁶⁷ Kenneth Barnes, the director of the Elim Mission and publisher of *Elim Evangel* was remembered as a proponent of “British Israelism” teaching that the Anglo-Saxons were direct descendents of the Biblical Israelites and eschatologically significant. An early attendee of Elim Pentecostal Tabernacle recalled church leadership requesting Barnes to not teach the doctrine in Sunday School. See Rex Collins, interview by David Lorne Newman, 20 November 2009, private collection. See L. Sale-Harrison, “The Anglo-Saxon Nation or Is Great Britain Israel?” (Toronto, ON: Home Evangel Book Shop, 1935 [1928]. The booklet was in the library of S. George Newman.

⁶⁶⁸ Reuben A. Torrey, “The truth of our Lord’s return....,” 4.

⁶⁶⁹ Cyrus I. Scofield, “Judaizing the Church,” 2.

⁶⁷⁰ Theophilus Trevor, “The Great Revival in Brighton England,” *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 1 (August 1927): 5.

⁶⁷¹ Oswald J. Smith, “Heaven,” *Elim Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 2 (September 1927): 5.

⁶⁷² J.E. Voronaff, “Soviet Russia,” *Elim Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 4 (November 1927): 4.

originally published in the British periodical, *Redemption Tidings*.⁶⁷³ *The Pentecostal Evangel* republished Canadian–American evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson’s article, “Behold, He Cometh!,” which dramatically considered the events of the Parousia.⁶⁷⁴ *Good Tidings* featured an article titled “Is the World Coming to an End?,”⁶⁷⁵ from the United States, and another one “Where Are We In Prophecy?,” from Great Britain.⁶⁷⁶ The range of eschatological writing in the periodicals reflected the theological interests of the PAONL and the views of its editors.

The introduction of doctrinal statements that shaped the PAONL occurred soon after the arrival of Garrigus and the Fowlers in St. John’s. Placing a motto that proclaimed the imminent return of Christ on Bethesda’s wall for the opening service was an informal publication of the Mission’s early belief.⁶⁷⁷ The first verifiable formal acceptance of official doctrine by the PAONL occurred in 1929. Bethesda’s leadership requested a copy of the PAOC’s *Statement of Fundamental Truths*. In a subsequent conference, the denomination officially adopted the Canadian credo. Three eschatological statements were received, the first reflecting a formal acceptance of dispensationalism, including the rejection of posttribulational teaching. Article 18, “The Blessed Hope,” states:

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

⁶⁷³ H. Bonar, “A Solemn Warning,” *Pentecostal Evangel* 2, no. 5 (January 1928): 8.

⁶⁷⁴ Aimee Semple McPherson, “Behold, He Cometh!,” *Pentecostal Evangel* 2, no. 2 (October 1928): 3.

⁶⁷⁵ Albert Weaver, “Is the World Coming to an End?,” *Good Tidings* 4, no. 2 (May 1938): 8.

⁶⁷⁶ J.M. Pitt, “Where Are We In Prophecy?,” 11.

⁶⁷⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, “Extract,” 188.

judge the world in righteousness while reigning on the earth for a thousand years is the expectation of the true church of Christ.⁶⁷⁸

Significantly, the statement, although rejecting posttribulationalism, allows for both pretribulational and midtribulational teaching. In 1937, Vaters wrote the leadership of the American AG⁶⁷⁹ and the Assemblies of God of Great Britain and Ireland,⁶⁸⁰ requesting their doctrinal statements. The documents were received and reviewed by PAONL leadership, but no doctrinal changes occurred.

Debate regarding the education of personnel⁶⁸¹ led to the establishment of a Bible College at Bethesda Mission. The *Manual of the Bethesda Pentecostal Bible School, St. John's, Nfld*, notes that the course of study included teaching on the coming of the Lord.⁶⁸² Later leadership planned to open *Glad Tidings Bible School of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Nfld. Inc.*, which included a course on “Dispensational Truth.”⁶⁸³ The denomination introduced a reading program for those considering full-time pastoral ministry, including eschatological texts such as *Jesus Is Coming* by W.E. Blackstone, *Earth's Earliest Ages* by G.H. Pember, and *Christianity and Anti-Christianity, in Their Final Conflict* by Samuel J. Andrews.⁶⁸⁴ To encourage rural congregants to familiarize themselves with doctrine, Vaters advertised a variety of eschatological publications.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁷⁸ Minutes Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, 17-23 May 1929, Minutes 10 and 47. See Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, “Statement of Fundamental Truths Approved By The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada,” Article 18—“The Blessed Hope,” n.p., PAONL Archive.

⁶⁷⁹ J. Roswell Flower, General Secretary, General Council Assemblies of God, to Eugene Vaters, n.d., PAONL Archive.

⁶⁸⁰ John Carter, Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland, to Eugene Vaters, 24 February 1937, PAONL Archive.

⁶⁸¹ “Notes Concerning Bible School,” *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 1 (June 1928): 8.

⁶⁸² *The Manual of the Bethesda Pentecostal Bible School*.

⁶⁸³ *Glad Tidings Bible School*.

⁶⁸⁴ Arthur H. Graves, Gospel Publishing House, General Council of Assemblies of God, to Eugene Vaters, 31 July 1928, PAONL Archive.

⁶⁸⁵ “Pentecostal Books,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 23. Books offered included *The Pope, Mussolini, Babylon, 666* by Nicholas Pirolo. See also “Good Books,” *Good Tidings*, March 1939: 24. *Palestine: God's Monument of Prophecy* by L. Sale-Harrison, was advertised.

Summary

PAONL theology originally subscribed to the fivefold full gospel including a vibrant Latter Rain premillennial eschatology which focused its participants upon the imminent return of Christ and the need to warn others of the impending apocalypse. Donald Dayton's *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*⁶⁸⁶ presented a prehistory of Pentecostal theology. D. William Faupel's *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought*⁶⁸⁷ provided a structural theory through which to analyze Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal eschatology. The Full Gospel, Latter Rain, Apostolic Faith and Pentecostal motifs were each identified in the early PAONL context. Although the earliest Pentecostals taught that the Rapture would occur imminently, and heavily borrowed from dispensationalism, leaders such as Garrigus did not insist on a particular premillennial theory. By the 1940s the four-square gospel had supplanted fivefold teaching, Latter Rain theology had dissipated and the PAONL was actively popularizing a pretribulation dispensational premillennialism.

⁶⁸⁶ See footnote 17.

⁶⁸⁷ See footnote 23.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SPIRITUALITY AND RHETORIC OF PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRDAOR ESCHATOLOGY

Eschatology shaped significantly the spirituality and rhetoric of the PAONL. A review of the eschatological influences upon Alice Garrigus and Eugene Vaters prior to their taking the leadership of the PAONL and the eschatological language of the periodicals and archival materials of Bethesda Mission and the PAONL in the period 1910-1949, reveals a community that incorporated eschatology into the spirituality of daily life and expressed its view in a persuasive religious rhetoric that argued for an imminent Parousia and subsequent Apocalypse. Steven J. Land's *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom*⁶⁸⁸ and Harvey Cox's *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century*⁶⁸⁹ help in analyzing the eschatological character of Pentecostal spirituality. Grant Wacker's *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture*⁶⁹⁰ and Stephen D. O'Leary's *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric*⁶⁹¹ offer insight into the rhetoric of the apocalyptic tradition of the PAONL.

Spirituality and Early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal Eschatology

Land's *Pentecostal Spirituality*⁶⁹² provides a lens through which to view the eschatological spirituality of the early PAONL. He observes that "the faith, worldview, experience, and practice" of the early Pentecostals was "thoroughly eschatological" and that they lived "within the tension of the already but not yet consummated kingdom."

⁶⁸⁸ See footnote 21.

⁶⁸⁹ See footnote 22.

⁶⁹⁰ See footnote 24.

⁶⁹¹ See footnote 70.

⁶⁹² See footnote 21.

This apocalyptic spirituality received its inspiration from a theology of the fivefold Gospel—Jesus the Saviour, Healer, Sanctifier, Baptizer, and Coming King.⁶⁹³ Land writes,

Pentecostals referred to themselves as an apostolic faith movement due to their desire to recover for the present age the faith and the power of the apostolic church. Paradoxically, it was this primitivistic, backward-looking concern with the early church, which was responsible for their passion for the coming of Christ. For them a restoration of primitive faith was a prelude to the restoration of all things.⁶⁹⁴

The belief that the Early Church provided a prototype for Pentecostal spirituality, and that inversely modern Pentecostalism is a restoration of New Testament Christianity, is evident in Garrigus' 1926 sermon to the First Fruit Harvesters in which she states, "God is trying to restore His church to the primitive pattern as in the Acts."⁶⁹⁵

Apostolic and Apocalyptic Faith – Pentecostal Primitivism

Land suggests that the movement's primitivistic impulses led to the development of both an "Apostolic" and "Apocalyptic Faith." "Apostolic Faith" was created by a longing for both a restoration of early church piety and an ever-present expectation of the imminent Parousia.⁶⁹⁶ The restoration of the ecstatic spirituality and power of the apostles was believed accessible by reception of the Latter-Rain. Two years after Bethesda Mission opened, Garrigus provided the editor of *Word and Work* with a brief update, reporting "Our God has 'much people' in this city only needing the Latter Rain to ripen the 'precious fruit.' Many times of refreshing have come, but we are still crying for the floods." Though Bethesda seemed to be doing relatively well, Garrigus' expectation of

⁶⁹³ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 55.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁶⁹⁵ Alice Garrigus, "Separation," 3. See also, "The Need is the Call to Labrador," *Good Tidings* 10, no. 2 (April 1944): 2; and, Mabel E. Moulton, to an unknown recipient, 1932, PAONL Archive.

⁶⁹⁶ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 60.

apostolic spirituality looked toward the future for something that had yet to be obtained.⁶⁹⁷ Vaters encouraged *Good Tidings* readers to emulate the leaders of the Azusa Street revival in praying for a spread of Pentecostal apostolic piety.⁶⁹⁸ “Apostolic Faith” also focused on the imminent return of Christ. In December 1940, Garrigus wrote the Christmas essay ““Sweet Wonder!””⁶⁹⁹ which encouraged her readers to focus upon “the second advent of Christ” as they celebrated “the first.” Applying the eschatological “bride-bridegroom motif,” “the bridal-church”⁷⁰⁰ was challenged to have “washed her robes,” avidly anticipating and morally being “ready” for the return of the bridegroom Christ.⁷⁰¹ Garrigus applied her belief in the imminent return of Christ more personally in a letter she wrote regarding the passing of elderly friends at the mission.

Bethesda is much changed, few of the old members left. Some are rejoicing in His presence. There will be a meeting of the saints on earth and those in heaven soon. What a happy time that will be.⁷⁰²

“Apocalyptic Faith” was inspired by a sense that the “last days” had arrived and that God had given early Pentecostals a significant role to play in that eschatological reality. In 1919 Elizabeth Sisson released *A Sign People* in which she confidently declared the Pentecostals themselves to be a mighty ‘sign people,’ raised up by God ‘to do a special work connected with the Second Advent.’”⁷⁰³ Joel Wright informed readers of the *Sheaf* in August 1909 that “The Immediate Coming of Jesus” was evidenced first

⁶⁹⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, “St. John’s Newfoundland,” 153.

⁶⁹⁸ Eugene Vaters, “The Spiritual Tide is Rising,” *Good Tidings* 7, no. 2 & 3 (September 1941): 1. “This time let us pray more in line with the colored prayer warriors of Los Angeles, for Revival—‘Everywhere,’ ‘everywhere,’ ‘everywhere.’”

⁶⁹⁹ Alice B. Garrigus, ““Sweet Wonder!”,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 4 (December 1940): 3.

⁷⁰⁰ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 24, footnote 21. Faupel identifies “the Bride of Christ” as the “favorite expression” of early Pentecostals. “The bridal-church” is a correlative.

⁷⁰¹ Cora Rice Fish, “The Time Is Short,” *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 1 (August 1927): 4. Fish writes: “‘Tis’ almost time for the Lord to come/ And the watching time is here/ The waiting bride has washed her robes/ And the bridegroom standeth near.”

⁷⁰² Alice B. Garrigus to unidentified recipient, 2 January 1941, PAONL Archive.

⁷⁰³ Elizabeth Sisson, *A Sign People* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1918), 9. See Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 22, footnote 12.

by scriptural signs, and secondly by believers “proclaiming that he is near, even at the door, inviting the precious bride of Jesus to disentangle herself from every cord that would bind her to sin and worldliness.”⁷⁰⁴ Bethesda’s distribution of “Signs of the Coming of the King” to as many as 170 schooners in the harbour each Sunday morning demonstrates the confidence and commitment early Pentecostals had in their “Apocalyptic Faith.” Advocates passionately believed the document in their hands held truths that might determine a sailor’s eternal destiny.⁷⁰⁵

This “Apostolic” and “Apocalyptic Faith” enabled early Pentecostals to be certain that they had recovered and re-entered the reality of the first Pentecost, and accordingly they interpreted their experiences as participation in the biblical drama and God’s continued unfolding of history, which was now reaching its final stage.⁷⁰⁶ The author of the 1927 article “Bestir Thyself” linked both “Apostolic” and “Apocalyptic Faith” by connecting early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism with first-century Christianity in stating that ““God has put no difference between us”” and the early church.⁷⁰⁷ Land’s observation that early Pentecostals viewed their spirituality as a continuation of the biblical drama is consistent with both Garrigus’ teaching identifying the Pentecostal experience as God’s latest and final intervention before the Rapture,⁷⁰⁸ and the popular hymn “I’ve Pitched My Tent In Beulah” in a Bethesda songbook connecting Israel’s exodus out of Egypt and settling in the “Promised Land” with the

⁷⁰⁴ Joel Wright, “The Immediate Coming of Jesus,” *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 7, no. 5 (August 1909): 1.

⁷⁰⁵ See Burton K. Janes, *History*, 34; Alice B. Garrigus, “Gospel Work,” 17; and Alice B. Garrigus, “Signs of the Coming of the King” *Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 2 (December 1928): 7.

⁷⁰⁶ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 72.

⁷⁰⁷ Eugene Vaters, “Bestir Thyself,” 1. See also Elizabeth Sisson, “An Open Letter to the Clergy,” *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 1 (August 1927): 6; and, A. C. Snow, “Fixed Determination in Real Spirituality,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 5.

⁷⁰⁸ Alice B. Garrigus, “Signs of the Coming of the King” *Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 2 (December 1928): 7.

Christian teaching of salvation in the present, culminating in the Church's future settling of heaven.⁷⁰⁹

On the occasion of Garrigus' return visit to the First Fruit Harvesters in August 1926, she called for an increase in spiritual "primitivism."⁷¹⁰ Land identifies three primitivistic impulses contributing to Pentecostal "Apostolic" and "Apocalyptic Faith"—"ecclesiastical," "ethical," and "experiential"—all of which appear in the early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal experience. In view of the Second Coming, "ecclesiastical primitivism" encouraged Pentecostals to reject contemporary denominations, creeds and cathedrals, in favour of seeking to restore an early church culture that was presented as modest and egalitarian. "Ecclesiastical primitivism" is the motivation behind Vaters' reprinting of a cartoon in *Good Tidings* in which he contrasts a large cathedral with a small Pentecostal mission.⁷¹¹ The cartoon's presentation of the rustic storefront church was consistent with the movement's restorationist ideals of inauspicious beginnings. Leaders like Vaters insisted that apostolic piety required the rejection of the ornate institutional structures of the older denominations in favour of spartan buildings that resembled the simple meeting places of the early church.⁷¹² The former Methodist minister personalized the cartoon with the statement, "the simple 'Pentecostal Mission' is good enough for me. I came out from that..." Vaters viewed the process transitioning Christianity from the "narrow" to the "advanced" as "the great

⁷⁰⁹ *Revival Songs of the Bethesda Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Newfoundland*, n.p., 12. "I've Pitched My Tent In Beulah" was composed by Margaret J. Harris. The final verse states, "My heart is so enraptured as I press along, / Each day I find new blessings which fill my heart with song; / I'm ever marching onward to that land on high, / Some day I'll reach my mansion that's builded in the sky."

⁷¹⁰ Alice B. Garrigus, "Separation," 3.

⁷¹¹ Charles L. Ramsay Sr., "It Is Better To Be..." *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 3. The editor, Eugene Vaters, notes that the cartoon is printed by the courtesy of the AG periodical, *Pentecostal Evangel*.

⁷¹² Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 112.

struggle of history” and destined to continue, “until Jesus comes!”⁷¹³ Garrigus held similar views. In her article “The Sons of God” she identified artistic architecture, stained glass, incense and other religious institutional forms as the devil’s means of corrupting Christian worship, warning readers that, “even in little Pentecostal gatherings, we are not free from this foe.”⁷¹⁴ Though affirming early Pentecostal desire to escape “ecclesiological corruption by reaching back to the primitive church,” Harvey Cox states Pentecostals “were most interested in the future.”⁷¹⁵

“Ethical primitivism” challenged early Pentecostals to develop “an all-consuming passion for holiness.” Since “the Bride of Christ” was called to be pure in view of Christ’s imminent return,⁷¹⁶ advocates taught that a definite separation be made between society and the church, evidenced by an appropriate decorum. Vaters’ instructed fellow Pentecostals and Holiness advocates in *The Independent Communion* to have a “complete separation from the world in spirit and practice.”⁷¹⁷ David B. Milley’s observation that modest attire “was one of the main components of the separation message and mentality”⁷¹⁸ is supported by the dress of early Pentecostals such as Garrigus’ practice of only wearing dark clothing, which was “austere, even for her times.”⁷¹⁹ An extreme case was that of a man who believed that “black was holiness” and accordingly plucked

⁷¹³ Eugene Vaters, “Humble Ground,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 3.

⁷¹⁴ Alice B. Garrigus, “The Sons of God,” *Good Tidings* 11, no. 2 (February 1945): 3. Sometimes ecclesiastical primitivism led to family divisions and the severing of denominational ties. See Evelyn Forsey, *Great Is Thy Faithfulness* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1993), 49. Other examples of ecclesiastical primitivism include, Matilda C. Edwards, “The Church and the World,” 2; Eugene Vaters, “Notes,” 4; Nathaniel L. Cole, “A Call to Prayer,” 6; “The Sickle and the Grain,” *Nfld. Pentecostal Evangel* 3, no. 1 (February 1929): 2; “Who we are, and what we believe,” *Nfld. Pentecostal Evangel* 3, no. 2 (April 1929): 4; Eugene Vaters, to Co-Worker, 13 October 1937, PAONL Archive; and, idem, to Christian Workers, 15 January 1938, PAONL Archive.

⁷¹⁵ Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven*, 94-95.

⁷¹⁶ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 60.

⁷¹⁷ Eugene Vaters, “The Independent Communion,” *The Independent Communion* 1, no. 2 (June 1924): 3.

⁷¹⁸ David B. Milley, “Message of Separation,” 7.

⁷¹⁹ Burton K. Janes, *The Lady Who Stayed*, 186.

coloured feathers from women's clothing as they entered the Mission.⁷²⁰ Another experience had a female participant throw her stylish hat demonstrably into the stove during a Bethesda prayer meeting after feeling guilt about the luxury.⁷²¹

Early Pentecostal advocates were further dedicated to “experiential primitivism,” viewing all aspects of life through the lens of Christ's imminent return.⁷²² Human tragedies and natural disasters were often viewed as eschatological signs. Laura Roberts related the story of the Triton seaman who attended a Pentecostal service but did not respond to the salvation invitation. A few days later, after missing his ship's departure, he was informed that the vessel “was lost” at sea. Soon after the sailor returned to the church “and gave his heart to the Lord,” insuring the after-life was no longer a concern.⁷²³ The experience of the 1929 tsunami caused many to believe the apocalypse was occurring. Feeling the tremor while working at the head of Conception Bay, Elise Hancock cried out “The world's coming to an end... and I am not ready.”⁷²⁴ Bob Ball, a Port de Grave resident “...explained that many people thought that the Lord had returned...”⁷²⁵

Eschatological Worship and Witness

For Land, it is impossible to understand Pentecostal spirituality without appreciating the influence that eschatology had upon individual and congregational worship and witness. He suggests that early Pentecostal eschatological spirituality falls into four categories—“Fusion–Fission Tensions,” “Oral–Narrative Formation,” “Spirit–Body Correspondence,” and “Crisis–Development Dialectic.” The first, “Fusion–Fission

⁷²⁰ Rex Collins, interview by David Lorne Newman.

⁷²¹ Burton K. Janes, *The Lady Who Stayed*, 186.

⁷²² Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 60.

⁷²³ Laura Butler, to Eugene Vaters, 24 January 1945, PAONL Archive; and, Laura Butler, “TRITON,” *Good Tidings* 11, no. 3 (March 1945): 3.

⁷²⁴ A. Stanley Bursey, *Some Have Fallen Asleep*, 117.

⁷²⁵ Burton K. Janes, *Reflections*, 28.

Tensions,” focuses upon the already–not yet tension in Pentecostal eschatology,⁷²⁶ comparing and contrasting events that occur within the Pentecostal community in the present, with events prophesied to occur in the eschaton. The “Fusion” category considers spirituality experienced by Pentecostals in the present that foreshadows a future experience in heaven. An example of a “fusion” event is demonstrated by Garrigus’ recollection of a First Fruit Harvester service in Rumney, New Hampshire, during which the Harvesters gathered around director Joel Wright to pray for his leadership. Garrigus considered this Christian act of submission and unity a foreshadowing of the prophesied gathering of Christians around Christ in heaven.⁷²⁷ The “Fission” category considers spirituality experienced by Pentecostals in the present that will not occur in heaven. An example of a “fission” event is the practice of demonic deliverance or exorcism, in which a demon-oppressed or possessed person is released from the control of an evil supernatural presence. Although not common in the PAONL, confrontation with the demonic is attested as having occurred in the pastoral work of Alice Garrigus.⁷²⁸ She identified four different confrontations with the demonic in her article “Jesus Healing at Modern Bethesda: Casting Out Spirits with a Word.”⁷²⁹ The Christian teaching that neither Satan nor demonic entities will enter heaven in the eschaton ensures the activities of deliverance and exorcism, are fission events and restricted to earthly experiences.⁷³⁰

The “Oral–Narrative Formation” category considers the relationship between vernacular and charismatic speech within Pentecostal spirituality. Though early

⁷²⁶ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 120.

⁷²⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, “Notes From Grafton,” 5. See John 14.

⁷²⁸ See Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 18.

⁷²⁹ Alice B. Garrigus, “Jesus Healing at Modern Bethesda: Casting Out the Spirits with a Word,” *The Latter Rain Evangel* 19, no. 11 (August 1927): 3. Garrigus provides four examples of individuals being “delivered/ exorcized” from demonic “oppression/ possession.” I am aware of two other PAONL ministers that have participated in the practice during the 1910-49 period. Their names have been withheld.

⁷³⁰ See Revelation 20.7.

Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals conducted services in English, participants were taught to expect tongue-speech at any given moment, upon which they were encouraged to pause their singing and speaking, and pray for an interpretation into the vernacular so that all present would understand the message.⁷³¹ Land's observation that "speaking in tongues was the point at which the Holy Spirit and the human spirit, the church and the kingdom, existed in the most personal yet corporate dynamic tension of the 'already-not yet'"⁷³² is supported in this interplay between charismatic and vernacular speech that we can observe among early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals. In her 1927 article, "Gleanings from the Pentecostal Fields of Newfoundland," Garrigus reports of an individual warning the denomination through interpreted tongue-speech, that "the Eskimos would rise up against [the PAONL] in the day of judgment" if it failed to send missionaries to Labrador.⁷³³ Such charismatic activity heightened the congregation's eschatological expectation both by the presence of tongue-speech—believed by advocates to be a sign of Christ's imminent return and the eschatological nature of the interpreted message.⁷³⁴

Land's third category, "Spirit-Body Correspondence," considers the influence eschatology had upon Pentecostal worship. Early Pentecostal hymnals usually included a significant collection of eschatological hymns and choruses,⁷³⁵ many of which became

⁷³¹ See I Corinthians 14.6-20.

⁷³² Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 111.

⁷³³ Alice B. Garrigus, "Gleanings from the Pentecostal Fields," 2.

⁷³⁴ See also Harry Thornhill, "REALITY!," *Good Tidings* 4, no. 3 (September 1938): 8; Eugene Vaters, to "Bro. Thomas," 18 April 1934, PAONL Archive; Jennie Vaters, personal diary, Rochester, NY, 7 January 1923, 1, private collection.

⁷³⁵ See *Heart Melodies: Singing and Making Melody in Your Heart to the Lord* (Springfield, MI: Gospel Publishing House, 1940). Eschatological selections include "Our Lord's Return to Earth Again," composed by James M. Kirk; "In the Twinkling of an Eye," composed by Fanny J. Crosby; and, "When We All Get to Heaven," composed by Eliza E. Hewitt.

congregational favourites, including Salt Pond's "Good Night and Good Morning."⁷³⁶ Pneumatological and eschatological hymns and choruses became standards at revivalistic endeavours such as when Bethesda Mission opened its doors on summer days,⁷³⁷ while walking to water baptism services at Mundy Pond,⁷³⁸ and at celebrations like the opening of Camp Emmanuel.⁷³⁹ Eschatology inevitably was the focus of early Pentecostal worship following a believer's death. Former General Superintendent, A. Stanley Bursey, wrote of the confluence of ecstatic worship and eschatology during his mother's funeral. Bursey recalled enduring a "nightmare" as he watched the mourners circle his mother's graveside singing the eschatological hymn "Washed in the Blood of the Lamb,"⁷⁴⁰ and "magnifying the Lord in... unknown tongues." Sometime during the service however, his perspective suddenly changed when he began to understand the eschatological perspective of the worshippers and viewed his mother "not in the casket, or the grave, but in the presence of her Lord and Master."⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁶ Burton K. Janes, *From the Cottage*, 15. "Good Night and Good Morning" composed by Lizzie Douglas Foulks DeArmond and Homer A. Rodeheaver, circa 1922. "Good morning up there where Christ is the Light/ Good morning up there where cometh no night/ When we step from this earth to God's Heaven so fair/ We'll say "good night" here but "good morning" up there."

⁷³⁷ Myrtle Eddy, "Bethesda," (Part II), 10.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., and, Myrtle Eddy, "Bethesda," (Part III), 15. See Cyril Ludlow, interview with David Lorne Newman, February 2011, digital video, private collection.

⁷³⁹ Ewen H. Butler, *The First of Forty: Camp Emmanuel Celebrates Forty Years of Summer Camp Meeting Ministry, 1947-1987*, n.p., 5, PAONL Archive. Though probably all early Newfoundland Pentecostals enjoyed expressing their eschatological hopes in song, the Birchy Bay congregation may have been the only church to have an abolition on musical instruments. See Burton K. Janes, *Ancient Landmarks*, 24, and 43-46.

⁷⁴⁰ "Washed in the Blood of the Lamb" was composed by Tullius C. O'Kane, n.d. "Who who are these beside the chilly wave/ Just on the borders of the silent grave/ Shouting Jesus' power to save/ 'Washed in the blood of the Lamb'?!/ "Sweeping through the gates" of the new Jerusalem/ 'Washed in the blood of the Lamb'/"Sweeping through the gates" of the new Jerusalem/"Washed in the blood of the Lamb."

⁷⁴¹ A. Stanley Bursey *Life's Work Complete*, ed. Burton K. Janes (St. John's, NL: Robinson Blackmore Printing & Publishing Ltd., 1992), 16. See Steven Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 114. See also, "News From the Field," *Good Tidings* 6, no. 4 (December 1940): 12. The obituary records the final stark words of a Port de Grave fisherman on the "squidding ground... Take the tiller, Henry, I'm finished," followed by editorial encouragement that the Rapture would soon occur; and, Evelyn Forsey, *Great Is Thy Faithfulness*, 33. Forsey writes, of a young man whom "suddenly came down with tuberculosis. People were praying for

Land's final category "Crisis-Development Dialectic," considers the Pentecostal experiences—salvation, entire sanctification, Spirit Baptism, and healing—penultimate to the Second Coming.⁷⁴² For Pentecostals this restoration of the "Full-gospel" was evidence of the "Inbreaking of the Spirit in the Last Days."⁷⁴³ From its earliest moments, PAONL advocates highlighted all four crises experiences, as demonstrated by Garrigus' five-fold gospel testimony at the Grapnel Church prior to the establishment of Bethesda Mission.⁷⁴⁴ Pentecostals understood "Salvation" as the means to ensure one's own eternal security and the prerequisite to effectively warn the world of imminent judgment.⁷⁴⁵ The prevalence of teaching "Salvation" is evidenced by its appearance in diverse media, including a banner over the entrance of Windsor's second church that declared "Jesus Saves,"⁷⁴⁶ and the publication of Eugene Vaters' 1942 PAONL Conference sermon, in which he implored pastors to preach "the message of Salvation by Grace through Faith."⁷⁴⁷ The doctrine of "Healing" has been a central component of early PAONL spirituality from its inception as demonstrated by Garrigus' naming the mission "Bethesda," in anticipation of it being a healing centre,⁷⁴⁸ and, E.R. Pelley's step-by-step instructions explaining how to pray for someone in need of healing.⁷⁴⁹ Physical "healing" was presented by Pentecostals as evidence of both God's power in the present and as the

his healing, but he told them... he would rather go home and be with Jesus. He died a very triumphant death."

⁷⁴² Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 95-6.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁷⁴⁴ Myrtle Eddy, "Bethesda," Part I, 6.

⁷⁴⁵ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 82-3.

⁷⁴⁶ A. Stanley Bursey, *Life's Work Complete*, 122. Note the photo of the church.

⁷⁴⁷ Edgar Raymond Pelley, "Annual Conference—1942," *Good Tidings* 8, no. 2 & 4 (December 1942): 3.

⁷⁴⁸ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 6, no. 1 (September 1940): 11. Garrigus believed God had directed her to name the mission "Bethesda" as it would be a place of healing as occurred at the "Pool of Bethesda." See John 5.2.

⁷⁴⁹ Edgar Raymond Pelley, to Mrs. Bert Newhook, 13 April 1950, PAONL Archive.

foreshadowing of one's ultimate "healing" following the Parousia.⁷⁵⁰ "Entire Sanctification" was a pervasive notion in the earliest days of the PAONL⁷⁵¹ and was later supported by leaders such as Maud Evans Whitt⁷⁵² and Frank G. Bursey.⁷⁵³ By the 1920s, however, the doctrine was becoming a component of "Spirit baptism," resulting in the four-square gospel.⁷⁵⁴ Significantly, Garrigus' sermon to the First Fruit Harvesters in August 1926 included the condensed exhortation God "is calling us to stand for the four-fold gospel."⁷⁵⁵ The final penultimate experience, "Spirit baptism," was also prevalent throughout the early PAONL period. The restoration of tongue-speaking was viewed by early Pentecostals,⁷⁵⁶ including Garrigus, as Latter Rain, a key sign of the imminent return of Christ.⁷⁵⁷ Examples of early Pentecostal "Spirit baptism" include Frank G. Bursey's experience in Buchans while serving as a Salvation Army officer⁷⁵⁸ and Max Hamlyn's Spirit baptism in Grand Falls–Station during a World War II blackout.⁷⁵⁹ Pentecostals reveled in such testimonies, arguing that if God would restore tongue-speaking to a Salvation Army officer at a remote mining camp or to a spiritual seeker amid the horrors of war, then the world was unquestionably on the cusp of the Second Coming.

⁷⁵⁰ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 114.

⁷⁵¹ Myrtle Eddy, "Bethesda," Part I, 6.

⁷⁵² Maud Evans Whitt, interview with David Lorne Newman.

⁷⁵³ Roy D. King, interview with David Lorne Newman.

⁷⁵⁴ Kenneth Barnes, *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 1 (August 1927): 8. "We are sending forth this issue with many prayers that it will be used of God in spreading the F[ou]r-square Gospel."

⁷⁵⁵ Alice B. Garrigus, *Separation*, 3. Garrigus would continue to recall her Bridgeport "sanctification" experience, even though she seems to have adopted the non-sanctification formula. For other PAONL teaching on "separation" see Jennie Vaters, "Hold Fast... Repent," *Good Tidings* 2, no. 3 (September 1936): 1; and Burton K. Janes, *Reflections*, 68.

⁷⁵⁶ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 65.

⁷⁵⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King* (St. John's, NL: Manning and Rabbits, 1928[?]), 17.

⁷⁵⁸ A. Stanley Bursey, *Life's Work Complete*, 40.

⁷⁵⁹ Terrence J. Carew, *Among the Eagles: A Biography of Albert L. Pinsent*, ed. Burton K. Janes (St. John's, NL: Good Tidings Press, 1988): 11.

Pentecostal Affections and Prayer

Land proposes that Pentecostal spirituality integrates the Christian “affections” of gratitude, compassion and courage with the divine characteristics of righteousness, holiness, and power.⁷⁶⁰ He also states that these Christian affections were intensified in early Pentecostals because of their passionate belief in the imminent return of Christ.⁷⁶¹ In regard to gratitude—associated with divine righteousness and the plan of salvation—Land points out that early Pentecostals were appreciative in general for what God had accomplished through history, and in particular for the unique role he had given them to play prior to the imminent return of Christ.⁷⁶² Garrigus’ “The Signs of the Coming of the King” placed the Pentecostal movement at the climax of God’s restoration of the “Full-gospel” immediately prior to the Parousia.⁷⁶³ Writers such as “Mrs. John Osmond” of Birchy Bay, expressed a deep gratitude for the opportunity of experiencing Pentecostal spirituality. In her 1940 article, “The Entrance of Thy Words Giveth Light,” she wrote, “I am writing this Testimony because I feel I should like all the world to know what Jesus has done for me,” listing in particular her salvation experience, her witness of a neighbour being healed, and her growing anticipation of both Spirit Baptism and Christ’s return. Osmond concluded her article with gratitude by praying: “May [God] use this earthen vessel to glorify and exalt His mighty Name.”⁷⁶⁴ Early Pentecostals corporately expressed their gratitude in an array of eschatological worship songs, including “It’s

⁷⁶⁰ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 23.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*, 139.

⁷⁶³ Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King* (St. John’s, NL: Manning and Rabbits, 1928[?]), 17, private collection.

⁷⁶⁴ (Mrs.) John Osmond, “The Entrance of Thy Words Giveth Life,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 1 (March 1940): 3-5. See also A.C. Snow, “Badger,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 13; and, E.B. [Barnes], “The Grace of Giving,” *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 3 (October 1927): 4.

Real,” by rejoicing in “last days” Pentecostal spirituality, and “In the Great Triumphant Morning” anticipating the joy of Heaven.⁷⁶⁵

According to Land, the Christian affection “compassion”—associated with divine holiness and love, and the sanctification of believers—came into being in early Pentecostal spirituality due to the group’s narrative biblical emphasis on creation, the life of Christ, the resurrection of the body and the millennium, each of which highlighted divine creativity and a subsequent human opportunity for a new beginning.

“Compassion” is evident in Jennie Vaters’ remembrance of an orphan dying of tuberculosis, who is only concerned about the eternal destiny of his friends,⁷⁶⁶ Herbert Eddy’s ecstatic-inspired evangelism,⁷⁶⁷ and Leonard Young’s compassion about the eschatological fate of the people of Labrador. Young wrote,

I have six dogs for the winter, going around to visit the people. I have it in mind to go down as far as Nain this season, if all goes well... There is a great need in this land. Precious souls are going out into eternity without God... I believe there will be a number rise to meet Him from Labrador. Thank God!⁷⁶⁸

Eschatology would serve as continued inspiration for PAONL “compassionate” activity.⁷⁶⁹

The final apocalyptic affection “courage”—associated with God’s power and Spirit Baptism—was according to Land fueled by charismatic endowment and the

⁷⁶⁵ *Bethesda Sings the Old and the New* (St. John’s: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, n. d.). “It’s Real” was composed by Homer L. Cox; and, *Revival Songs*. “In the Great Triumphant Morning” was written by Robert E. Winsett.

⁷⁶⁶ Jennie Vaters, *Memories*, 12.

⁷⁶⁷ Myrtle B. Eddy, “Bethesda,” Part IV, 16.

⁷⁶⁸ L. Young, “Ailik,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 14.

⁷⁶⁹ Jessie Belben, “Norris Arm,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 13; Olivine Sparkes, “Western Bay,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 13; and, Agnes E. MacDonald, “Letter of Greeting,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 2 (June 1939): 7.

previous traits of gratitude and compassion.⁷⁷⁰ Eric Janes' brochure which related the story of early Pentecostal ministry on the coast of Labrador highlights the "courage" of "Brother and Sister Young... to the south, laboring mainly among natives of Newfoundland descent, and Brother Gillett, to the north, at Ailik, where he came in contact with natives of Indian and Esquimaux descent." The challenge of isolation is emphasized by noting, the long "steamer's" route between the two missions. Janes writes, "Thank God for the Pentecostal people, raised up of God in these last days to do His bidding, to express His love, and through whom He may show forth His power—to the world, and Labrador not forgotten." Their "courageous" ministry "to do His bidding" on the Labrador coast was inspired by their personal gratitude to God, compassion "to express His love" to the Labradorians, a certainty that they minister in "His power," and the understanding that this ministry was occurring in "the last days."⁷⁷¹ The PAONL emphasis of the doctrine of tongue-speaking as evidence of Spirit baptism and its accompanying resultant of a more vibrant witness, ensured the theme of "courage" was a constant theme.

The Prayers of the Missionary Fellowship

Land further states that all three affections observed as present in Pentecostals are "shaped and expressed through the prayers of the missionary fellowship."⁷⁷² This expressed itself as "with words understood," as could be found in vernacular prayers of gratitude; "with no words," as in Spirit-induced sighs and groans of compassion; and "with words not understood," as in courage-inspiring tongue-speaking, in which the

⁷⁷⁰ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 155.

⁷⁷¹ "The Need is the Call to Labrador," 2. Eric Janes' booklet, *A Thrilling Experience in the Schooner Clare From Hant's Harbour to Labrador* is quoted in the article (n. p).

⁷⁷² Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 165.

inexpressible is prayed.⁷⁷³ All three types of prayer are present in early PAONL piety. Though prayers of gratitude—“with words”—were offered at home and in worship services, they were rarely recorded.⁷⁷⁴ Only a few pleas for divine help in personal or missionary crises made it to print.⁷⁷⁵ These were often in the form of poetry with an eschatological hue as in S. George Newman’s prayer, “Lead me on a struggling pilgrim, to the city of my God.”⁷⁷⁶ Expressions of prayerful gratitude were regularly offered for everything from food and shelter in this life to the hope of an eternal home in heaven. Prayer “with words” did occur in an explicitly eschatological capacity during personal and congregational prayer sessions when petition was made on behalf of the “unsaved” in view of their precarious eternal future.⁷⁷⁷

The practice of prayer “with no words” that reflected divine compassion, occurs according to Land when the Holy Spirit connects with the praying advocate on a deep spiritual level, often focusing upon eschatological themes. Land writes,

In Intercessory prayers Pentecostals weep over the lost and afflicted and long for the coming of the Lord. Prayer as sighs is evoked by the Spirit who groans and sighs even as all creation for the full and final manifestation of the sons and daughters of God.

Land extends the prayer to the ecstatic event of “holy laughter,” during which “the comfort and joy of the Spirit” is experienced in view of “eschatological promise and vision.”⁷⁷⁸ Garrigus recalled experiencing “holy laughter” on the day of her first tongue-

⁷⁷³ Ibid., 171.

⁷⁷⁴ See Burton K. Janes, *Ancient Landmarks*, 23. Individuals such as Birchy Bay’s Peter Quinlan and “the Faithful Seven” would be remembered for their “prayer-life” but rarely for their actual prayers.

⁷⁷⁵ Roy D. King, interview with David Lorne Newman; Nathaniel L. Cole, “A Call to Prayer,” 6; O. Lush, “His Eternal Glory,” *Good Tidings* 8, no. 1 (March 1942): 7; and, “Elim Notes,” *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 2 (September 1927): 4.

⁷⁷⁶ S. George Newman, “Lead Me, LORD!,” *Good Tidings* 11, no. 3 (March 1945): 1.

⁷⁷⁷ J. Narver Gortner, “The Need of the Pentecostal Movement,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 1 (March 1940): 10.

⁷⁷⁸ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 172.

speaking experience in Old Orchard, Maine.⁷⁷⁹ In 1927 she reported of a Bishop's Falls woman who erupted in "Peal after peal of rippling laughter" which "burst from her lips as wave after wave of the Spirit swept over her prostrate body."⁷⁸⁰ The personal nature of this compassionate prayer "without words" is consistent with Rev. Roy D. King's assessment of early Pentecostal piety in Newfoundland and Labrador. He notes that there was less teaching on this practice, as it occurred largely in private or in "tarrying meetings," revealing the intimacy between individual believers and Christ.⁷⁸¹ Garrigus is one of the few early leaders that commented on prayer "without words." She argues for an eschatological connection, stating in Pauline terms that the entire creation is "groaning" under the weight of human sin and is "waiting and longing for deliverance," which can only be attained with the return of Christ. That same eschatological longing is said to occur within Christians and presents itself as prayer "without words" in the form of Spirit-induced groans. She writes that this prayer "without words" occurs within "those who have received an earnest of the Spirit 'waiting for the adoption, to wit the redemption of the body.'"⁷⁸²

Land proposes that prayer "with words not understood" or tongue-speaking is a courage-inspiring activity in which the Spirit creates spiritual confidence in participants by aiding them to live and serve as they await the Parousia.

This eschatological speech indicates that the power of the end is breaking in now... This speech creates and sustains a community whose culture is situated simultaneously in the 'already' and 'not yet' of eschatological existence.⁷⁸³

⁷⁷⁹ Alice B. Garrigus, "Walking," *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 11.

⁷⁸⁰ Alice B. Garrigus, "Gleanings from the Pentecostal Fields," 1.

⁷⁸¹ Roy D. King, interview with David Lorne Newman. King was the fourth PAONL General Superintendent.

⁷⁸² Alice B. Garrigus, "The Sons of God," 2. The editor adds that the article was "Taken from *The Prayer Warrior*." See Romans 8.18-30.

⁷⁸³ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 172.

King lends credence to Land's claim that prayer "with words not understood" is linked to courage, as the theory supports the Pentecostal teaching that the tongue-speaking experience signaled the beginning of "a supernaturally empowered life of witness."⁷⁸⁴ Congregations such as the Methodist Church in Salt Pond received their introduction to Spirit baptism through conversations with professing friends, during the sermon of a Pentecostal preacher, or their witness of ecstatic prayer. Advocates noted, that it was often surprising to hear prayers "without words understood" for the first time,⁷⁸⁵ and how when such prayers were interpreted into the vernacular language their theme was often eschatological.⁷⁸⁶ Vaters wrote PAONL clergy in the late 1940s, imploring them to lead prayer meetings throughout the year. Significantly, although he goes into detail about setting a time, noting the purpose, being committed, and teaching their congregations "with words understood," he never references praying "without words" or "with words not understood."⁷⁸⁷

Cox's *Fire From Heaven*⁷⁸⁸ provides further insight into the spirituality of early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals. For Cox, Pentecostal experiential restorationism has enabled the group to reach "beyond the levels of creeds and ceremony into the core of human religiousness," where they have rediscovered the "primal spirituality" of the Apostolic Church. He subdivides "primal spirituality" in a threefold way—"primal speech," "primal piety," and "primal hope."

⁷⁸⁴ Roy D. King, interview with David Lorne Newman.

⁷⁸⁵ A. Stanley Bursey, *Life's Work Complete*, 51, 54.

⁷⁸⁶ Alice B. Garrigus, "The History of Pentecost in Newfoundland," 12.

⁷⁸⁷ Eugene Vaters, to "Christian Workers," n.d., PAONL Archive. A copy of "Prayer Chain, 1948" is included.

⁷⁸⁸ See footnote 22.

Primal Speech

Early Pentecostals interpreted “primal speech”—tongue-speaking—⁷⁸⁹ the “unfamiliar sounds and syllables coming from their ecstatic brothers and sisters,” not as “natural language,” but as an equipping for local evangelism and world mission.⁷⁹⁰ Speaking-in-tongues or glossolalia was the element that most connected Pentecostals to the first days of the Christian Church and the activity by which they were most known in their resident communities. Early advocates taught that reception of the Latter-Rain provided both personal blessing and empowerment to witness. The experience itself was sufficient evidence for participants to proclaim to all and sundry that Jesus was returning soon. Through this discovery of “primal speech,” the early PAONL viewed itself as “a sign people.” When a fisherman, housewife, or logger suddenly spoke in an unknown language associated with the Day of Pentecost, and subsequently interpreted the message, testifying in English that the Rapture and apocalypse were imminent, the tongue-speaker was viewed by the faithful community and candidates for conversion, as a living sign of both Christianity’s beginnings and humanity’s last-days.⁷⁹¹ Witnessing the ecstatic state many achieved during “primal speech” was a signal event in itself.⁷⁹² The presence of xenoglossia—the reception of actual languages—extends from Bethesda Missions’ earliest days, during which a parishioner was reported to have spoken in Portuguese,⁷⁹³ to

⁷⁸⁹ Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven*, 82.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁷⁹¹ See Alice B. Garrigus, “Signs of the Coming of the King!” *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 2 (December 1928): 8. Garrigus states, “Even little children and converted heathen who have had no teaching on the subject, while under the power of the Spirit, give forth messages of Jesus soon coming and of the great distress so soon to come on the earth.” See also, D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 22 (footnote 12).

⁷⁹² Alice B. Garrigus, “Gleanings from the Pentecostal Fields,” 1.

⁷⁹³ See Alice B. Garrigus, “Signs of the Coming of the King!” *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 2 (December 1928): 7.

William J. Mitchell speaking Greek at a Nazarene Church in Everett, Massachusetts,⁷⁹⁴ to an individual purported to have spoken in Russian at Bethesda in the late 1940s.⁷⁹⁵

D. Claude Young recalled how Robert W. Parsons would “pray and sing and prophesy in the Eskimo language...” though he “had never been to the Labrador” or “met an Eskimo.”

Nevertheless, he was often heard singing in the Spirit in Eskimo tongue such hymns of the Church as “How Firm a Foundation” and “From Greenland’s Icy Mountains.” Always, following such anointed singing there would be a message in tongues and the interpretation would be to take the gospel to Labrador.⁷⁹⁶

I am unaware of any early PAONL leaders who strategically relied on xenoglossia as a means of communicating the Gospel, however Vaters did reference the above Inuktitut-speaking claim and other related tongue-speaking incidents directing PAONL to indigenous peoples and migrant fishers, as his basis for shifting the denomination’s missions support from India to Labrador.⁷⁹⁷ The presence of tongue-speaking—glossolalia or xenoglossia—invariably catalyzed responses and not always positive.⁷⁹⁸

Interestingly, Vaters observed by the late 1940s, that in view of the imminent return of

⁷⁹⁴ Burton K. Janes, “William J. Mitchell: A Pentecostal Pioneer in New England,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 12, (Winter 1992-1993): 12. Mitchell was born in Hants Harbour, Newfoundland and Labrador, on 11 July 1878. Mitchell first spoke in tongues in 1907. Sometime later while attending a Nazarene church in Everett, Massachusetts, Mitchell addressed the congregation in Greek—a language unknown to him. He subsequently interpreted the message into English which directed the people to accept Pentecostal teaching.

⁷⁹⁵ Lloyd Matthews, interview with David Lorne Newman, February 2011, private collection.

⁷⁹⁶ D. Claude Young, “The Call of God. . . ‘Go North,’” *Good Tidings* 34, no. 1 (January–February): 15. “How Firm a Foundation” was attributed variously to John Keene, Kirkham, and John Keith. “From Greenland’s Icy Mountains” was composed by Reginald Heber.

⁷⁹⁷ See David Lorne Newman, “Charismata as Missionary Impulse in the Labrador Mission,” *That Which We Have Received, We Now Pass On: Spirit, Word and Tradition in Pentecostalism*, The published papers of the 34th Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Regent University, 10–12 March 2005.

⁷⁹⁸ E. Mosher, to Eugene Vaters, 27 April 1946, PAONL Archive; idem, to Eugene Vaters, 26 July 1946[?], PAONL Archive; and, Joseph Tulk, to Eugene Vaters, 23 May 1947, PAONL Archive. Mosher was antagonistic to Pentecostal teaching and attempted to convince others in Labrador of his concerns. Tulk reported that Mosher had been taken to a psychiatric hospital in St. John’s by Newfoundland Rangers but had subsequently returned to Labrador where he was distributing two anti-Pentecostal books—E.A. Gafford, *Tongues and “Other Tongues” With the Holy Spirit and Gifts* (Colorado Springs, CO: n.p.); and, B.F. Neely, *The Bible Versus the Tongues Theory* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House).

Christ, “the Lord seems to depend upon the proclamation today as from the Word more than by miraculous utterance!”⁷⁹⁹ The observation is interesting as it suggests the denomination’s eschatological interests were no longer primarily inspired by charismatic manifestations but almost exclusively supported by teaching.

Primal Piety

Cox identifies healing, trance, vision, dreams, dance, and other archetypal religious expressions as examples of early Pentecostal “primal piety.”⁸⁰⁰ Divine healing in particular was emphasized in Pentecostal services as it provided PAONL assemblies with both the promise of restored health for members and a unique incentive for outsiders to visit. Evelyn Forsey writes of such a moment at Garrigus’ home in Bethesda’s second floor flat” at which healing and tongue-speech occurred.⁸⁰¹ Reports about healing occur in correspondence⁸⁰² and periodicals both in Newfoundland⁸⁰³ and the United States, including Garrigus’ article “Jesus Healing at a Modern Bethesda,” printed in Chicago’s *The Latter Rain Evangel*.⁸⁰⁴ “In most pioneer works,” A. Stanley Bursey wrote, “God performed a miracle of physical healing, confirming His Word with signs following.”⁸⁰⁵

Although tongue-speaking and healing were also viewed as miracles, “signs and wonders” were usually understood among Pentecostals to be supernatural occurrences that took place outside the human body, verifying further the Pentecostal “last days”

⁷⁹⁹ Eugene Vaters, to “Co-Worker,” n.d., PAONL Archive.

⁸⁰⁰ Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven*, 101.

⁸⁰¹ Evelyn Forsey, *Great Is Thy Faithfulness*, 14-15.

⁸⁰² Roddy G. Pike, to “Sister Newhook,” 4 December 1947, PAONL Archive.

⁸⁰³ Alice B. Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 4 (December 1940): 8-9; Edgar R. Pelley, “Annual Conference 1942,” 3; and, Theophilus Trevor, “The Great Revival in Brighton England,” 5.

⁸⁰⁴ Alice B. Garrigus, “Jesus Healing at a Modern Bethesda,” 2.

⁸⁰⁵ Burton K. Janes, *Ancient Landmarks*, 17.

message to the public.⁸⁰⁶ Early Assemblies of God historian Stanley H. Frodsham quoted Garrigus' graphic account of one such "sign and wonder" occurring in Victoria.

At the close of a service one evening, in a new Pentecostal assembly which had just been opened, the presence and power of God was manifested in the place with a distinct noise resembling thunder. A white mist was seen filling the atmosphere, and men and women fell to the floor all over the meeting. Some unsaved ran out of the meeting through fear and were seen holding on to the building outside to keep from falling. Strong men weighing two hundred pounds, were mowed down like matches.⁸⁰⁷

E. Raymond Pelley's experience on Black Island, while serving as a Salvation Army officer, has assumed almost mythic proportions. He testified that he witnessed the "glory of the Lord" entering the church building. The "dazzling bright" presence knocked him over, and he was unable to move. When he tried to talk, he spoke in tongues. A Methodist attending the meeting responded by running through Black Island shouting, "The Captain has received the baptism of the Holy Ghost!" with the effect that Sunday night services appreciably increased.⁸⁰⁸ Pentecostal "primal piety" was also expressed in the form of trance,⁸⁰⁹ visions and dreams,⁸¹⁰ and the gift of prophecy.⁸¹¹ Vaters related

⁸⁰⁶ "Elim Notes" *Pentecostal Evangel* 2, no. 5 (January 1928): 4.

⁸⁰⁷ Alice B. Garrigus, in Stanley H. Frodsham, *With Signs Following*, 65. The anecdote was removed in subsequent editions.

⁸⁰⁸ Edgar Raymond Pelley, *Ways and Works*, 17.

⁸⁰⁹ Pentecostal services would sometimes include what participants identified as "being slain in the Spirit." During worship or prayer an individual would experience a trance-like state and involuntarily collapse to the floor. Such activity was interpreted as a manifestation of the Latter Rain and evidence of the imminent return of Christ. A person from a United Church heritage recalled as a child hearing that the same experience occurred during "tarrying meetings." Fellow congregants would gather 'round to revive the person who had "fainted." (See Carol Newman, interview by David Lorne Newman, March 2012). The experience was celebrated in the Pentecostal song "It's Real!" Verse two states, "Some were shouting hallelujah/ Some were prostrate on the floor/ They were dancing in the Spirit/ From the pulpit to the door/ Some were shaking, some were quaking/ As one by one they fell/ Then all at once a brother shook/ I thought he had a spell. See *Bethesda Sings*, 6.

⁸¹⁰ See (Mrs.) John Osmond, "The Entrance of Thy Words," 5; Terrence J. Carew, *Among the Eagles*, 22; Burton K. Janes, *History*, 42, 184, 246, and 273; John W. Hammond, *The Joyful Sound*, 131; Garry E. Milley, ed. *The Papers and Letters of Pastor E.R. Milley*; and, Jennie Vaters, *Personal Diary*.

⁸¹¹ A. Stanley Bursey *Life's Work Complete*, 155; Henry William Thornhill, to unknown recipient, 10 January 1930, PAONL Archive (pages 1 and 2 of the four-page letter are missing); and, Alice B. Garrigus, "Gleanings from the Pentecostal Fields, 2.

how prior to her death Garrigus prophesied to him that the Charismatic Renewal would occur.

Before there was an inkling of such a movement... she said to me, "Brother Vaters, God is showing me 'a strange thing.' He is going to pour forth His Spirit in a new and great way—inside the walls of the churches, even the Roman Catholic Church. To be candid, I did not give this any serious thought from Sister Garrigus. *Sad, but she is losing her mind*, I thought. Sister Garrigus was a fervent believer in the soon-coming of the Lord, maybe tonight. *Now she is putting something else before it*. But, Sister Garrigus was a true prophet of the Lord, declaring a thing, even if it collided with her own ideas—and it came to pass."⁸¹²

Early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal piety also included ecstatic dancing in the Spirit,⁸¹³ and the reception of a divine call,⁸¹⁴ such as Jennie Vaters' 1923 tongue-interpreted direction to become a missionary to Africa,⁸¹⁵ and Shelly Dorcas' determination to become a PAONL minister.⁸¹⁶ Both Vaters and Dorcas write of their desire to be led by the Holy Spirit, their belief in a divine call, and the need to respond immediately in view of Christ's imminent return. Such passions are consistent with other

⁸¹² Eugene Vaters, "Call A Solemn Assembly," *Good Tidings* 39, no. 2 (March-April 1983): 8.

⁸¹³ Upon her return visit Alice related to the First Fruit Harvesters on 23 August 1926 that, "I have had many a dance since in Newfoundland." Alice B. Garrigus, "Separation," 4. See idem, "Walking," *Good Tidings* (March 1940): 9; idem, "Walking," *Good Tidings* (September 1940): 6; "Missionary News," *Elim Pentecostal Evangel* 1, no. 4 (November 1927): 3 (The editor notes the article was originally published in *Pentecostal Evangel*); and, Myrtle Eddy, "Bethesda," Part II, 9.

⁸¹⁴ Freeman A. Bennett, *Pioneer Ministry... And God Was There*, ed. Burton K. Janes (Grand Falls–Windsor, NL: Transcontinental, 2005), 8.

⁸¹⁵ Jennie Vaters, personal diary, Rochester, NY, 11 March 1923, private collection. During a service in Rochester, Jennie spoke in tongues, interpreted the ecstatic speech as "Africa, oh Africa, you need Jesus," and accepted the evaluation of witnesses that she had received a call to become a missionary to Africa. Jennie never became a missionary to Africa despite Eugene and herself making application to do so.

⁸¹⁶ Shelly Dorcas, to Eugene Vaters, 6 September 1944; idem, 16 December 1944; idem, 12 January 1945; idem, 1 February 1945; idem, 8 October 1945; idem, 1 April 1947; idem, 8 April 1947; idem, 6 May 1947; and, idem, 2 June 1947, PAONL Archive. Over the course of the nine letters Dorcas related the concern her United Church parents had about Pentecostalism, the challenge of outport travel including ocean ice, and dog teams, news of leading a revival in Ladle Cove which included the conversion of her mom, the announcement of her engagement to a Pentecostal minister, and her invitation to Vaters to marry the couple. Dorcas makes frequent eschatological references and uses stationery that includes a cartoon warning of the Parousia.

early Pentecostals. Land writes, “The fruit of the Spirit’s indwelling is given a deeper intensity and, in the eschatological community of Pentecostalism, a new urgency.”⁸¹⁷

Primal Hope

Finally, Cox discusses “primal hope.” Unlike many other religious movements that have emphasized the return of Christ, Pentecostalism has prospered in the absence of the Parousia. Early Pentecostals reveled in the presence of the Spirit as they waited the dawning of the kingdom, creating an ever-present sense of anticipation.⁸¹⁸ As early PAONL advocates eked out a meagre physical existence on land and sea, their spirits were being nourished by a heavenly “primal hope.”⁸¹⁹ A 1939 report from Western Bay related how a gathering of Pentecostals in a kitchen could lead to an expectation of the Parousia and the supernatural presence of Jesus.

As we were closing in prayer, sitting around the table, the Spirit fell on us. It was so sweet to worship the Lord and to see how the Lord confirmed His Word. The Soon coming of Jesus was very real to our hearts. One brother who has lately taken his stand for God came through a precious baptism. It was wonderful!⁸²⁰

The death of a believer inevitably led to conversations regarding the brevity of life and the eternal nature of heaven, making the “primal hope” all the more tangible.⁸²¹

Individuals believing in the imminent return of Christ but who had yet to convert lived in a state of perpetual fear. While attending a theatre, Albert Pinsent was suddenly

⁸¹⁷ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 169.

⁸¹⁸ Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven*, 112.

⁸¹⁹ (Mrs.) L. S. Eddy, “1937 A Good Year at Deer Lake,” *Good Tidings* 4, no. 1 (February 1938): 4; and, Burton K. Janes, *Reflections*, 41.

⁸²⁰ Olivine Sparkes and M. Hefferton, “POWER FALLS at Western Bay,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 6.

⁸²¹ W.J. Bartlett, ““Be Ready,”” *Good Tidings*, 3, no. 1-2 (June 1937): 1; and, “Editorial Notes,” *Good Tidings*, 3, no. 3 (September 1937): 12. Also see, “Weeping With Those That Weep,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 16. The article reported the tragic drowning of two Horse Island children, “who had broken through the ice en route home from school.” What makes the article so noteworthy is that there is no mention of heaven or hope. “The men said it was the hardest sight they had ever seen.”

convinced that the Rapture had occurred. In a panic he ran into the street, hoping to see a Christian, thereby disproving his apprehension.

His conscience was eased when he spied an elderly woman, whom he recognized as a believer from the church, walking on the opposite sidewalk. Overjoyed that the Rapture had not occurred, he ran across the street and, much to the woman's surprise and disgust embraced her!⁸²²

A situation in which "primal hope" took on a somewhat despairing character occurred in a rural community in the 1940s. A correspondence between General Superintendent Vaters and a married PAONL minister who was charged of having a sexual affair with a young woman leading to her pregnancy demonstrates an eschatological hope that slowly fades with the developing crisis.⁸²³ A letter from 29 May concludes with a definitively eschatological salutation, "May God [be with] you all until He comes. Your brother in Christ."⁸²⁴ On 14 February of the following year the minister writes that the affair has been made public, that there is fear that the pregnant girl may die, that a controversy has developed in the community, and that as a result he had relocated to Canada. There is no eschatological hope in the letter, including its salutation.

Death now would bring relief but it is not here yet. I am finished in this life now and only one thing I desire and that is to be laid beneath the sod in a strange land where none will ever look upon my grave... Good-bye, God bless you.⁸²⁵

"Primal hope" sustained most Pentecostals throughout their life experiences, however as demonstrated above, there were exceptions.

⁸²² Terrence J. Carew, *Eagles*, 15-6.

⁸²³ There are at least twenty pieces of correspondence, including letters and telegrams, on file at the PAONL Archives regarding the event. Correspondence includes writings from the charged minister, Eugene Vaters, the young woman's father, and a PAOC minister.

⁸²⁴ Name withheld, to Eugene Vaters, 29 May 1944, PAONL Archive.

⁸²⁵ Name withheld, to Eugene Vaters, 14 February 1945, PAONL Archive.

Rhetoric and Early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal Eschatology

Grant Wacker's *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture*⁸²⁶

identifies both church décor and the act of preaching as examples of early Pentecostal rhetoric. Early Pentecostals strategically designed both settings and sermon styles to ensure their audience was focused upon their ecstatic eschatological message.

The Rhetoric of Décor

Wacker writes regarding church décor, that the “physical setting intimated the structure of the rhetoric.” He observes that early Pentecostals “designed” their places of worship to look rustic, providing “shelter and a modicum of heat, but not much else.”⁸²⁷ Burton Janes’ description of the opening décor of Bethesda Mission is consistent with Wacker’s assessment.

The front of the building facing New Gower Street displayed a plain shop door with a window on either side. The inside floor was plain board. New drugget carpet, bought cheaply, extended from the main entrance door to the platform... Devoid of fancy furnishings, the mission consisted of a main auditorium seating approximately 250 people. The seating arrangements... rows of old-fashioned kitchen chairs... The platform [and] altar... was sparsely furnished...⁸²⁸

Wacker further observes that missions usually included a sacred space, identified as “an ‘Upper Room’ for prayer, Holy Spirit baptism, and impartation of spiritual gifts.”⁸²⁹ Bethesda’s “Pentecostal Room,” which seated seventy-five people, was situated behind the platform and was separated from the main auditorium by emerald drapes.⁸³⁰ Other PAONL structures reflected spiritual significance, including “the Ark,” the

⁸²⁶ See footnote 24.

⁸²⁷ Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 112.

⁸²⁸ Burton K. Janes, *The Lady Who Stayed*, 138-9. See also Myrtle Eddy, “Bethesda,” Part I, 7; and, Myrtle Eddy, “Bethesda,” Part II, 9.

⁸²⁹ Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 112.

⁸³⁰ Burton K. Janes, *The Lady Who Stayed*, 139.

Humbermouth assembly, strategically built to visually represent the Foursquare Gospel. Its spiritually minded builders however, were also pragmatically inclined including a restaurant, an ice cream parlour, and furniture store in the structure.⁸³¹ Despite the spartan ambience, a closer look reveals a strategy to proclaim the Full Gospel before a word was spoken. Banners were strategic decorations in early PAONL assemblies.⁸³² In the original church in Springdale, the banner above the platform read “JESUS IS COMING SOON.”⁸³³ Early outpost missions were initially housed in varying degrees of austerity, including a store loft on Flat Island,⁸³⁴ a workshop and fishing gear room on Black Island,⁸³⁵ a cookhouse in Point Leamington,⁸³⁶ a vacant cabin called “The Badger Skin Church” in Robert’s Arm,⁸³⁷ a renovated International Grenfell Association mill in Roddickton,⁸³⁸ and a “log tilt,” “chinked with rabbit’s fur” in South Brook.⁸³⁹ Early Pentecostal advocates were aware that the reception of eschatological teaching and ecstatic spirituality within such a primitive setting only enhanced the experience.

The Rhetoric of Preaching

Wacker also examines the rhetoric of Pentecostal preaching. He observes that when early Pentecostal ministers spoke on challenging topics, they “...instinctively grasped that things went better with sugar.”⁸⁴⁰ An impromptu personalizing of doctrine to

⁸³¹ Burton K. Janes, *From Hinder’s Hall*, 7-8. See also Burton K. Janes, *History*, 90-2.

⁸³² Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 112.

⁸³³ *Pentecostal Church, Springdale, Newfoundland, Anniversary Booklet* (St. John’s, NL., Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, 1976), 14. Emphasis in original. Note the photo of the interior of the second church. Also see, Burton K. Janes, *Reflections*, 18. In Port de Grave, the “wall over the platform of the new church displayed, Hebrews 13.8, ‘JESUS CHRIST THE SAME YESTERDAY, AND TO DAY, AND FOR EVER.’” Emphasis in original.

⁸³⁴ John Hammond, *The Joyful Sound*, 71.

⁸³⁵ Stanley Bursey, *Some Have Fallen Asleep*, 162.

⁸³⁶ Burton Janes, *History*, 148.

⁸³⁷ *Ibid.*, 248.

⁸³⁸ Stanley Bursey, *Some Have Fallen Asleep*, 133.

⁸³⁹ Burton Janes, *History*, 263.

⁸⁴⁰ Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 116.

visitors was evident in Garrigus' early ministry. In Bethesda's inaugural year George Newman, the author's great-grandfather, attended the Mission in full naval dress. Garrigus "laid her hand on his shoulder," and offered a unique invitation; "'Pull for the shore, sailor. Pull for the shore.'"⁸⁴¹ In an effort to connect to their audience and convince them to respond favorably to their message, "Holy Ghost preachers loved to lace their sermons with down-home stories,"⁸⁴² including personal memories and local newspaper headlines. Stanley Bursey shared a childhood memory of how he watched part of his hometown burn from the safety of his father's schooner, to provide an illustration of the eschatological event, the "bema seat judgment."⁸⁴³ In an attempt to convince readers of the need for their eternal soul's "salvation," Vaters related his World War II experience of being aboard the *Northern Ranger* as it sailed through waters patrolled by German U-boats.⁸⁴⁴ In another *Good Tidings* article Vaters addressed the immediacy of "eternity" by referencing a recent tragedy, the horrific death of ninety-nine military servicemen and civilians in the Knight's of Columbus fire in St. John's.⁸⁴⁵

In the early days of the Pentecostal movement, individuals would, according to Wacker, sometimes wait during the service for God to select both the preacher and the message preached.⁸⁴⁶ Eugene Vaters recalled that Garrigus followed this practice.

⁸⁴¹ R.A. Burden, "Salute the Saints: George Newman," *Good Tidings* 34, no. 4 (July–August 1978): 40. See A. Stanley Bursey *Life's Work Complete*, 78.

⁸⁴² Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 117.

⁸⁴³ A. Stanley Bursey *Life's Work Complete*, 18-9. See Romans 14.10-12, II Corinthians 5.10, and I Corinthians 3.15. Garrigus also referenced the "Judgment Seat of Christ" in a sermon to the First Fruit Harvesters camp meeting in 1926. See Alice B. Garrigus, "The Worm Company: Notes of a Sermon Preached By Miss Alice B. Garrigus at Rumney Camp Meeting, August 26, 1926," *The Sheaf of the First Fruits* 24, no. 10 (October 1926): 5.

⁸⁴⁴ Eugene Vaters, "Precious Blood of Christ," *Good Tidings* 12, no. 1 (March 1954): 5-7.

⁸⁴⁵ *Good Tidings* 8, no. 2-4 (December 1942): 7-8 (Section of page with title missing.) See Darrin McGrath, *Last Dance: The Knights of Columbus Fire* (St. John's, NL: Flanker Press, 2002). The fire occurred on 12 December 1942. Vaters referenced the tragic event immediately applying it in the December 1942 issue.

⁸⁴⁶ Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 113.

Sister Garrigus was always original and unpredictable. One never knew her next move until she announced it. Unless there was a special guest speaker on the platform, or that God had given her “the Word,” Sister Garrigus would likely pass along the word from one to the other on the platform, “Have you got ‘the Word’?” It was sometimes surprising indeed to find who really did have the Word and give it. She was always anxious... to know “the mind of the Lord.”⁸⁴⁷

Ostensibly the speaker would be sharing a message that was divinely communicated to the preacher while the service was occurring.⁸⁴⁸ To hear about the imminent return of Christ or the horrors of a pending apocalypse amid such platform drama would only increase the poignancy of the eschatological message.

Finally, the use of the phrase, “if Jesus tarries” and other related statements are found frequently in preaching, periodicals, and the general conversation of PAONL personnel. Vaters frequently applied the eschatological phrase.⁸⁴⁹ Whether placed at the end of a conversation on purpose or by cliché, the statement reminded those present that everything could change “in the twinkling of an eye.”⁸⁵⁰

Steven D. O’Leary’s *Arguing the Apocalypse*⁸⁵¹ provides a useful tool for discovering the role rhetoric played in early PAONL eschatology. O’Leary argues that, “apocalyptic rhetoric is a symbolic theodicy, a rhetorical solution to the problem of evil,” operating on rational and mythic levels and through “its discursive construction of temporality.”⁸⁵² Rhetoric provides an opportunity to view apocalypse as both eschatological literature and the social process engaged between rhetor and audience,

⁸⁴⁷ Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence*, 130-1. Winnifred Taylor also remembered Garrigus attempting to identify the preacher during the service. See Burton K. Janes, *The Lady Who Stayed*, 187.

⁸⁴⁸ At least one preacher identified the sermon topic through a tongue-speaking event during the service. See Burton K. Janes, *Ancient Landmarks*, 31.

⁸⁴⁹ Eugene and Jennie Vaters, to “Sister” Duncan, *Trust* 26, no. 1 & 2 (March–April 1927): 2; Eugene Vaters, to PAONL clergy, 20 March 1947; and, Eugene Vaters, to Christian Worker, 15 January 1948.

⁸⁵⁰ See I Corinthians 15.52.

⁸⁵¹ See footnote 70.

⁸⁵² Stephen D. O’Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, 14.

who, together, create and revise a system of expectation and fulfillment. O’Leary posits that apocalyptic discourse throughout Christian history evinces a “rhetorical tradition” initially founded in mythic narratives and scriptures, that is augmented by its advocates, and contributes to general social knowledge. In times of societal crisis, the advanced theories of apocalyptic communities can gain public acceptance, if the movement’s rhetors successfully apply their eschatological logic to questions of concern.⁸⁵³ Applying Aristotle’s “theory of topical argument,” O’Leary examines “the topical logic of eschatological speculation,” finding in apocalyptic discourse three recurring topoi—“evil,” “time,” and “authority.”⁸⁵⁴

The Topos of Evil

His analysis of the “topos of evil,”⁸⁵⁵ centres upon questions of theodicy. O’Leary notes that monotheistic religions generally respond to the question of evil by attempting to establish or deny divine justice. Arguments cluster around one of four “stasis points of forensic rhetoric”—“stasis of fact,” claiming the unreality of evil; “stasis of definition,” attempting to disprove apparent contradictions between God’s character and the existence of evil; “stasis of quality,” stating that Christian eschatological myth demonstrates God’s morality despite human suffering; and “stasis of jurisdiction,” denying humanity the right to judge God. If early PAONL advocates were to successfully communicate their eschatology, the issue of evil would have to be addressed. A review of early PAONL rhetoric demonstrates the application of both “stasis of quality” and “stasis of definition” response.

⁸⁵³ Ibid., 195.

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid., 20.

⁸⁵⁵ Ibid., 34-44.

The “stasis of quality” argument holds that the “Christian eschatological myth demonstrates God’s morality despite human suffering.” The theory suggests that no matter how extreme a challenge is in the present, Christian cosmology, soteriology and eschatology trump “the here and now” with an imminent and ultimate salvation of both the individual soul and the entire creation. The argument is evident in Garrigus’ cosmological series “The King Redeemer,” in which God responds to the rebellion of angels and humanity and the corresponding marring of creation, with Christ’s incarnation, death and resurrection, which leads to the redemption of humanity and the re-creation of “all things.” In Garrigus’ narrative it is the eschatological activity of God that will both vindicate his character and bring eternal peace to creation. Garrigus the rhetor attempts to convince her readers that despite suffering and the evil they witness around them, God is worthy of worship in the present because he will redeem the universe.⁸⁵⁶

The “stasis of definition” argument attempts to disprove apparent contradictions between God’s character and the existence of evil. In such a system an individual identifies an evil occurrence but proves that the perpetrator is not God. This solution to the problem of evil is evidenced in Robert C. Clarke’s correspondence with Eugene Vaters following the death of Clarke’s wife Annie. Clarke acts as both rhetor and audience as he attempts to reconcile the character of God and the evidence of evil. Prior to Annie’s death, the couple actively sought to become missionaries in China, believing they had received divine confirmation in both a dream and by the promise of financial support. In the shadow of his wife’s funeral Clarke asks Vaters why God “allowed”

⁸⁵⁶ Alice B. Garrigus, “The King Redeemer,” *Nfld. Pentecostal Evangel* 3, no. 2 (April 1929): 1.

Annie to die in view of their calling.⁸⁵⁷ Annie's death placed Clarke in what seemed an untenable situation—how to balance the certainty that God had called them as missionaries to China, with the tragic reality that it would never happen. “I hoped and prayed until Annie's passing that her health would be restored until we did what God called us to do.” This “evil” needed an explanation. Unprepared to believe that he and his wife were mistaken about God's will and unwilling to indict God as being responsible for Annie's death, he resolved the contradiction by applying “stasis of definition” rhetoric in which the “perfect will” of God—the couple becoming missionaries to China—was subverted by human interference leading to a lesser “permissive will,” including Annie's death.

Having heard her call related to me as she did in detail I cannot but feel that she has fallen asleep in Christ only in His permissive will and not His perfect will.

This argument allows Clarke to release God from any damning responsibility and accordingly indict Vaters, the PAONL and other human missionary agencies for their failure to act.⁸⁵⁸ A similar attempt to argue for a solution to evil is made by another correspondent with Eugene Vaters in 1945. She testifies of both a parishioner's contraction of a terminal disease and her belief in divine healing. When it is evident that the individual was near-death, the writer places the blame for his terminal state on the congregation for not praying enough, thereby ensuring that God is not held responsible for his death. She writes, “People don't seem to be willing to meet the conditions of God's Word... death comes many times when health should spring forth.”⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵⁷ A. Stanley Bursey, *Some Have Fallen Asleep*, 74–5.

⁸⁵⁸ Robert C. Clarke, to Eugene Vaters, 29 October 1946, PAONL Archive.

⁸⁵⁹ Patsy Clarke[?], to Eugene Vaters, 6 January 1946, PAONL Archive. Whether Pynn recovered is unknown. However, if he was not healed by divine means, his earthly future may have been short. Patsy

O'Leary identifies the "topos of evil"⁸⁶⁰ as the "ultimate exigence" of apocalyptic discourse. Early PAONL leaders reminded audiences that this enemy was Satan and that his "evil" influence was closer than they imagined.⁸⁶¹ Vaters declared to *Good Tidings* readers in 1938 that "[d]emonic powers are again... in operation," influencing politics⁸⁶² and Christianity.⁸⁶³ Newfoundland and Labrador was no exception as Satan was active on the streets of St. John's, even during the Christmas season, "intermingling... men, women, young people, soldiers, sailors, an airmen" in pubs and "gambling dens."⁸⁶⁴

The Topos of Time

O'Leary's analysis of the "topos of time" also takes into account the problem of theodicy, but in view of temporality. The "topos of time" requires the audience to address cosmological issues including the imminent return of Christ while dealing with personal questions such as death and injustice. If the audience is to be receptive to the PAONL apocalyptic message, then a sense of urgency must accompany the rhetor's presentation. The Pentecostal rhetor must successfully convince individuals to shift their attention from earthly responsibilities to the nebulous idea that the universe is on the cusp of being dramatically and eternally altered. Through sermons, periodicals and conversations Pentecostal advocates attempted to convince their listeners that their experience of time was about to be forever changed, whether through the inevitability of death or an imminent Parousia.

included in her letter the declaration that "the medicine bottle is still on the table." See Stephen J. Pullum, *"Foul Demons, Come Out!" The Rhetoric of Twentieth-Century American Faith Healing* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1999).

⁸⁶⁰ Stephen D. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, 34-44.

⁸⁶¹ J.P.L., "Take Heed, Hold Fast," *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 1 (June 1928): 8. The editor notes the article originally appeared in *Overcomer*.

⁸⁶² Eugene Vaters, "Wars Distress Wonders Fear," *Good Tidings* 4, no. 1 (February 1938): 14.

⁸⁶³ Elizabeth Sisson, "An Open Letter to the Clergy," 6.

⁸⁶⁴ "Christ the Lord," *Good Tidings* 8, no. 2-4 (December 1942): 1.

Thy time on earth is short. Each closing year, each setting sun, each tick of yonder clock, is shortening thy days on earth, and swiftly, silently but surely carrying thee on—on to Eternity and to God.⁸⁶⁵

Pentecostal audiences were encouraged to consider their eschatological responsibility to evangelize,⁸⁶⁶ to pray more faithfully,⁸⁶⁷ and to live holy lives,⁸⁶⁸ all in view of the warning that Christ's return was imminent.⁸⁶⁹

O'Leary observes that apocalyptic discourse usually defines evil as having a supernatural function, temporarily controlling human agencies and structuring time to a determined conclusion. Much of Garrigus' "Signs of the Coming of the King" presents evil as an active agent in human history, verified by Scripture and newspaper headlines. Garrigus argued that despite the presence of evil evidenced in international wars, the influenza outbreak in Labrador, and the disobedience of children, God "in time" would bring political, physical and family peace.⁸⁷⁰ Pentecostal rhetors attempted to convince their audiences that not only did evil exist, but that an eschatological period called the "last days" had arrived and God was about to address the injustice.

O'Leary notes that Christian eschatology responds to the view that death must be inherently evil by providing a mythical solution. Christianity highlights bodily resurrection, morphing temporal loss into eternal hope. Early PAONL advocates passionately implored God to heal their sick companions. Once a believer had died,

⁸⁶⁵ J.R., "Time, Death and Eternity," *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 15.

⁸⁶⁶ Eugene Vaters, "The Great Commission," *Nfld. Pentecostal Evangel* 3, no. 1 (February 1929): 7; and, A.C. Snow, "Fixed Determination," 4.

⁸⁶⁷ Eugene Vaters, to [PAONL clergy], 31 October 1945, PAONL Archive; and, idem, to Co-worker, 24 February 1949, PAONL Archive.

⁸⁶⁸ R.B., "How Will Life End For You?," *Good Tidings* 5, no. 3 (September 1939): 15; Belle Barrett, "Christian Stewardship," *Pentecostal Evangel* 2, no. 11 (October 1928): 4; and, Eugene Vaters, to PAONL Co-Worker, 27 September 1945, PAONL Archive.

⁸⁶⁹ Aimee Semple McPherson, "Behold, He Cometh!," 3; Cora Rice Fish, "The Time Is Short," 4; and, "He is Coming," *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 1.

⁸⁷⁰ Alice Belle Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King* (St. John's, NL: Manning & Rabbitts, Printers, 1928 [?]), 18.

however, the narrative shifted to heaven. The death of Sylvia Eleanor Ball of Deer Lake in 1940 demonstrates the negotiation a believing community engaged in as it attempts to balance the natural desire for a continuance of temporal life with the eschatological hope of discovering the greater life beyond. Even when death seems imminent, Pentecostal piety required believers to pray for a miracle of divine healing. Despite receiving many “touches” from God it became apparent that Ball would die. “As the time drew near she just longed to go, exhorting those of her loved ones not to weep but to meet her ‘in the morning of joy.’” Indeed, “The Lord seemed to make clear that He was soon to call her home.” In this light, Ball’s death could not be seen as a consolation prize to divine healing. After all, God had chosen “to call her home.”⁸⁷¹ When Fred Morgan died in 1928, “but a few steps from the hall on Sunday night,” it was proclaimed as “Sudden death, sudden glory.” Alice Garrigus rhetorically asked her readers whether Morgan was really dead. Her response was, “No, not dead, but more alive than ever.” The inherently evil nature of death is reversed within the Christian doctrine of resurrection. Even death is temporal.⁸⁷² This negotiation also occurs within the eschatological community as it awaits the Parousia. O’Leary notes a temporal paradox is created every time the community, founded upon a belief that the End is imminent, is forced to redefine its “unexpected historical continuance.” By the 1940s the PAONL was dealing with a generation of elderly clergy who had expected to be present at Christ’s return, but now required retirement and burial services.⁸⁷³

⁸⁷¹ Myrtle Eddy, “‘Until the Day Break and the Shadows Flee Away,’” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 9; and, Burton K. Janes, *From Hinder’s Hall*, 51.

⁸⁷² Eugene Vaters, “Notes on the Work,” *Pentecostal Evangel* 2, no. 7 (March 1928): 5.

⁸⁷³ In March 1939 Vaters appealed to the PAONL constituency to raise a “Continued Fellowship Fund” offering in aid of “any workers laid to one side through illness or advance age.” See [Eugene Vaters], “Workers’ (Active) Aid & Continued Fellowship Fund,” *Good Tidings*, 5, no. 1 (March 1939), 21. The following year Vaters appealed again. Funds were needed to help not only the ill but the dying. Vaters

Time was also the venue in which God would vindicate the faithful. The leaders of the Deer Lake Pentecostal congregation recalled that rotten food was thrown at their church,⁸⁷⁴ and that they had received threats that the mission would be burnt down. When a fire swept through the business district but left their structure untouched, it was celebrated as evidence that God was both protecting their presence and verifying their eschatological message.⁸⁷⁵ Vaters responded to concerns regarding the extreme challenges of the northern Labrador outreach by highlighting how the sacrificial ministry of William Gillett yielded eschatological “laurels in heaven” which now “await[ed] him.”⁸⁷⁶ Regardless of the sufferings experienced, PAONL rhetors encouraged their audience to believe that “in time” God would perform the miraculous in the present, and ultimately bring justice and blessing in the eschaton.⁸⁷⁷

The Topos of Authority

Regarding the “topos of authority,”⁸⁷⁸ O’Leary states that narrative myths, such as the Christian Scriptures, must claim knowledge of cosmological truth and charismatic

gently writes that funds would help “in the case of Departure to be with Christ, which is far better, to help tenderly lay the remains to one side, awaiting the resurrection from among the dead, and to help care for any dependents.” Vaters actually entwines the eschatological hope with fund raising encouraging bequeathing. “Remember this Fund in your will, if proper and convenient to do so, that after your departure, if you have means you may still be ministering to the needs among God’s own ministers-who gave up all to minister to others.” See Eugene Vaters, “Continued Fellowship Fund,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 4 (December 1940): 13.

⁸⁷⁴ *Emmanuel Pentecostal Church, Deer Lake, Newfoundland Souvenir Booklet*, (1975[?]), 8.

⁸⁷⁵ Alice B. Garrigus, “Walking,” *Good Tidings* 7, no. 1 (March 1941): 7. See also Burton K. Janes, *From Hinder’s Hall*, 19.

⁸⁷⁶ William Gillett, “A Message by Bro. William Gillett,” 5; and, Eugene Vaters, to PAONL pastors, 4 December 1943, PAONL Archive. See also Harold Horton, “The Laying On of Hands,” *The Elim Pentecostal Herald* 19, no. 203 (April 1949): 1.

⁸⁷⁷ Israel Marshall, “Prayer Saves from Falling Wire,” *Startling Incidents and Amazing Answers to Prayer*, ed. Gordon Lindsay (Dallas, TX: The Voice of Healing Publishing, n.d.), 20; See also Burton K. Janes, *History*, 76-7; Israel Marshall, “Things New and Old,” *Good Tidings* 2, no. 1 (January 1936): 6; Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King* (St. John’s: Manning and Rabbits Printers, 1928?), 15-8; Robert C. Clarke, “Christian Accountability and Future Rewards,” 11; J.N. Gortner, “‘Twill not be long,”” *Pentecostal Evangel* 2, no. 6 (February 1928): 5; Allan Pollett, to Mrs. Newhook, 6 September, 1945, PAONL Archive; and, J.P.L., “Take Heed, Hold Fast,” 8.

⁸⁷⁸ Stephen D. O’Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, 51-60.

authority, otherwise audiences will not subscribe. Early Pentecostals were more apt to accept eschatological and charismatic teaching if the presentation was supported with Scripture.⁸⁷⁹ In her booklet, *The Signs of the Coming of the King*, Garrigus reminds readers that “There is but one answer to all these questions and that is the Word of God,”⁸⁸⁰ and those who question the Bible’s accuracy were unwittingly contributing to a “last-days sign.”⁸⁸¹ Early Pentecostals developed their eschatological systems and sermon presentations with the understanding that the Bible was an authority that revealed insight available nowhere else. When sailors and city dwellers read the booklet they were introduced to an array of issues including historical developments in the Middle East, technological advancements in engineering, natural disasters around the planet, and a spiritual revival spreading across the world. Garrigus attempted to convince her readers that each phenomenon was in fact a sign of Christ’s return. The authority for those claims was the Bible. The topos of authority was addressed whenever PAONL rhetors addressed eschatology.

In May 1938, with the world again on the cusp of war, *Good Tidings* published the article “Is the World Coming to an End?” After stating, “Many people are asking the above question at the present time,” the author provides apocalyptic answers only available “according to the word of God.”⁸⁸² During World War I a group of St. John’s

⁸⁷⁹ S.M. Ohmart, “Back to the Bible!,” *The Pentecostal Herald* 1, no. 1 (June 1928): 2.

⁸⁸⁰ Alice Belle Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King* (St. John’s, NL: Manning & Rabbitts, Printers, 1928 [?]), 15. See also Edgar R. Pelley, “My Counsel Shall Stand,” 9.

⁸⁸¹ Alice Belle Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King* (St. John’s, NL: Manning & Rabbitts, Printers, 1928 [?]), 11.

⁸⁸² Albert Weaver, “Is the World Coming to an End?,” 8. See also (Mrs.) H. Ball, “The Coming of the Saviour Draweth Nigh,” *Good Tidings*, March 1940: 12.

clergy met together to promote peace. Garrigus' certainty in her apocalyptic interpretation of the Scripture⁸⁸³ inspired her to turn down the invitation. Vaters wrote,

I understand that just a few years back, when pacts and treaties were the order of the day... that Sister Garrigus received a note from a committee here in St. John's, asking her to attend a meeting of church leaders which was making its contribution to world peace, etc. It was supposed to be a great, worth-while project engaging the serious thought and deep attention of great (?) leaders. I understand that Sister Garrigus sent back reply, after recognizing their proposed meeting, that her Bible told her wars were determined unto the end and that she did not care to be found fighting against God's Word.⁸⁸⁴

The events of World War II only made her more certain that the Bible prophesied both the horror of the present and the imminent hope to come. Garrigus wrote a friend on 2 January 1941 with her eschatological geo-political assessment.

We have entered a new year but under conditions of suffering such as this poor old world has never seen and from the Word of God, we know the worst is yet to come. Many are trying to comfort themselves that they are building a new world, by this war and when it is over, all will be well. The Bible does not say so. Men cannot build a new world. Only the Lord Jesus can do this, and praise God, He is doing it. Our only hope is to be ready when He comes for His own and so escape the Great Tribulation just ahead.⁸⁸⁵

O'Leary notes that the believing community practically endows the Scriptures with further authority by applying apocalyptic teaching to current affairs. In 1948, Vaters wrote to PAONL credential holders his most recent eschatological interpretation of political headlines. Only a "blind man, or a half-fool, can scarcely fail today to see these times as definitely the end of this age." Vaters' identification of "Red communism," "the atomic bomb," and "the Jews," as literal fulfillment of biblical prophecy, strengthened the Scriptures' authority in his readers' minds by demonstrating that the ancient text had

⁸⁸³ See Alice B. Garrigus, *Signs of the Coming of the King*, 13-14.

⁸⁸⁴ Eugene Vaters, "Preparations for Antichrist," 7.

⁸⁸⁵ Alice B. Garrigus, to Elsie [?], 2 January 1941.

contemporary political significance.⁸⁸⁶ O’Leary noted that, “in times of extreme political changes a reinterpretation of mythic symbolism allows the audience to adjust to the new circumstance.” In 1929, the editor of the *Nfld. Pentecostal Evangel* added a warning “to prepare for the coming of the Lord,” even as the periodical was “in the press.” The reason was breaking news from Europe. “We believe,” the writer argued that “the recent treaty between Mussolini of Italy and the Pope of Rome, creating the Vatican State, is of deep significance. We have a feeling that we have taken a definite lurch toward the Tribulation and that the coming of the Lord is very near. PREPARE!”⁸⁸⁷ The assumption was that the Scripture remained the authority, societal and political events though in constant flux were invariably moving toward fulfillment of prophecies, and changes in prophetic interpretation were only needed because of the fallible nature of the rhetor.⁸⁸⁸

Summary

The goal of this chapter was to identify the influence eschatology has had upon early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal spirituality and rhetoric. Land’s *Pentecostal Spirituality*⁸⁸⁹ has offered insight into the primitivistic nature of the movement and a means to evaluate both the general and charismatic piety. Harvey Cox’s

⁸⁸⁶ Eugene Vaters, to PAONL clergy, 15 January 1948.

⁸⁸⁷ “Notes,” *Nfld. Pentecostal Evangel* 3, no. 1 (February 1929): 4. See also Eugene Vaters, “Russo German Alliance,” 16. Capitalization is in the original. Other writers have indicted their society based on the authority of Scripture. H. Bonar stated, “It is now, in these last days, as in the days of Noah, God’s purpose of vengeance has been declared, the warning has come, and the judgment is making haste to follow.” H. Bonar, “A Solemn Assembly,” 8. The editor notes the article originally appeared in *Redemption Tidings*.

⁸⁸⁸ Early PAONL advocates considered the eschatological importance of nations and geo-political events. Regarding Russia see J.M. Pitt, “Where Are We In Prophecy?,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 1 (March 1940): 11; and, N.J. Poysti, “Will the Roman Empire be Restored?,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 7. Regarding Israel see Eugene Vaters, “Prophetic Preview,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 3, 22; and, idem, “Preparations for Antichrist,” *Good Tidings* 6, no. 3 (September 1940): 7. Regarding Great Britain see E.G. Carre, “Britain at the Cross Roads,” *Good Tidings* 8, no. 1 (March 1942): 4-5, 9; and, “The Darkest Hour,” *Good Tidings*, March 1942: 3. The editor notes the article was originally published in *The Prophetic News*. Regarding the antichrist see Eugene Vaters, to PAONL pastors, 19 February 1949, PAONL Archive; and, Harry J. Steil, “A Right Attitude in Days of World-Crisis,” 3. Regarding media see Eugene Vaters, “Your Radio,” *Good Tidings* 5, no. 1 (March 1939): 20; and, “Bestir Thyself,” 1.

⁸⁸⁹ See footnote 21.

*Fire From Heaven*⁸⁹⁰ offered further insight into what he identifies as the movement's "primal spirituality." He suggested three eschatological categories—"primal speech," "primal piety," and "primal hope," which are all eschatological in nature. Secondly, an assessment of the influence of eschatology upon early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal rhetoric applied Grant Wacker's suggestions in *Heaven Below*.⁸⁹¹ Wacker identifies both church décor and preaching as two key early rhetorical devices Pentecostals applied to convince listeners of their message. Stephen D. O'Leary's *Arguing the Apocalypse*⁸⁹² identifies three recurring topoi—evil, time and authority—that are strategically used by rhetors to demonstrate that their apocalyptic arguments are rational and worthy of consideration by an audience. At the beginning of the thesis, data was presented demonstrating the influence of eschatology upon Garrigus and Vaters prior to their leadership of the PAONL, and the scope of eschatology within the movement from 1910-1949. The theories identified in the four volumes have been applied to that information and have yielded significant insight into the influence eschatology has had upon Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal spirituality and rhetoric.

⁸⁹⁰ See footnote 22.

⁸⁹¹ See footnote 24.

⁸⁹² See footnote 70.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY

On 1 December 1910, Alice Garrigus, William D. Fowler, and Julia Fowler arrived in St. John's, missionaries under the auspices of the First Fruit Harvesters of Rumney, New Hampshire. On Easter Sunday they opened Bethesda Mission and thus officially initiated Pentecostal Christianity in Newfoundland and Labrador. From the beginning eschatology was a central dimension of early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism. In Chapter 1, Introduction, the State of the Question was identified in order to consider the significant role that eschatology played in the development and expression of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland and Labrador during the first half of the twentieth century. A review of the available literature concluded that although scholars have written on the history of the PAONL to 1939, the early life of Alice B. Garrigus, the process of institutionalization, and other aspects of Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism, no academic treatment has so far been written on the importance of eschatology in the tradition. To fill this gap, the present thesis aims at discussing the vital presence, scope, nature and theology of early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism up to the time when Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada as its youngest province.

In Chapter 2, "The Context of Early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal Eschatology," movements and key groups that influenced the eschatology of Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism—the Premillennial Movement, the Holiness Movement, North American Pentecostalism, and Newfoundland and Labrador Christianity prior to and during the early history of Bethesda Mission—were surveyed.

Methodism and the Salvation Army were identified as the most significant indigenous denominational influences in shaping leadership, membership and thought of the PAONL.

In Chapter 3, “Eschatology Among the Early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal Leadership: Alice B. Garrigus (1858-1910) and Eugene Vaters (1898-1927),” the early lives of these most important leaders in the first two generations of the PAONL were analyzed and their eschatological views discussed. Eschatological influences in Garrigus’ early life, leading to her entrance into the Holiness Movement, included most significantly a theology of the fourfold gospel, Jesus—“Saviour, Healer, Sanctifier and Coming King.” It is as an evangelist with the First Fruit Harvesters that Garrigus experienced tongue-speaking and became an advocate of Latter-Rain Pentecostal teaching. Ecstatic aspects of Christianity, understood as a restoration of early Christian piety, were viewed by participants as a sign of Christ’s return and as equipment to warn the Church of its apostasy and society of imminent apocalyptic judgment. The thesis then identified the eschatological nature of Garrigus’ writings in New England. The eschatological influences in the pre-PAONL leadership period of Eugene Vaters were next considered including his years as a Methodist minister, education at Moody Bible Institute and Rochester Bible Training School and entrance into Latter-Rain Pentecostalism. It was Vaters who promoted eschatology through his periodical *The Independent Communion* and by preaching in Newfoundland and Labrador, and Ontario. Both leaders thus were fully committed to Latter-Rain Pentecostal eschatology at the time they began their leadership of the Pentecostal movement in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Chapter 4, “The Scope of Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal Eschatology, 1910-1949,” provides the reader with an exploration of the ubiquitous presence of eschatological proclamations and writings across the entire period. During the 1910-1923 formative period of Bethesda Mission, the church represented an introverted society focusing on apocalypticism, charismatic worship and the holiness emphasis characteristic of Latter-Rain teaching. Advocates enjoyed and participated in the restoration of ecstatic Christianity but failed to engage in evangelism outside St. John’s. Garrigus was remembered by participants as emphasizing the imminent return of Christ but allowing for a range of differing premillennial views. Evangelism did not commence in any significant degree beyond St. John’s or the Avalon Peninsula until after the Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest crusade at Gower Street Methodist Church, when about one hundred evangelical Methodists joined Bethesda. Attendees at this time remembered the congregation as a centre for dispensational teaching and the beginnings of evangelism in communities across the Avalon Peninsula. During the second period of Pentecostal eschatology (1924-1949), a new generation of leaders arose, notably Eugene Vaters, who became General Superintendent and was an avid promoter of premillennial eschatology. By the end of the period, Latter-Rain teaching declined and dispensationalism became the dominant apocalyptic construct. Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals held a four-square gospel in which “sanctification,” originally presented by Garrigus as a cardinal teaching, was omitted. There is no evidence that the theological transitions were deliberate, but rather evolved over time.

A distinctly eschatological impetus among the new leadership encouraged evangelism on the west coast and in central Newfoundland. In every community that

Pentecostalism was established, premillennial dispensational eschatology became a central feature of piety and theology. Periodicals especially became a key media by which Pentecostal eschatology spread during the period.

In Chapter 5, “The Theological Development of Eschatology in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador,” the theological nature of PAONL eschatology is addressed. Donald Dayton’s *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*⁸⁹³ and D. William Faupel’s *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought*⁸⁹⁴ provided the necessary context and conceptuality to analyze early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal eschatology. Early PAONL eschatology understood itself as a “last-days” witness to the nations and a warning to an apostate Church. Faupel’s key theological terms “Full Gospel,” “Latter-Rain,” “Apostolic Faith,” and “Pentecostal” were all shown to be in use to varying degrees among Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals. By the end of the 1940s, the terms “Latter-Rain” and “Apostolic Faith,” however, had largely fallen into disuse. Throughout her life Garrigus seemed more open to eschatological variance than others but she maintained an unwavering faith in the imminent return of Christ. The periodical voices of the PAONL republished articles from around the world in an effort to promote eschatology and thus helped to homogenize theological opinion. By the end of the 1940s, these articles were almost exclusively overtly dispensational.

In Chapter Six, “The Spirituality and Rhetoric of PAONL Eschatology,” the spiritual and rhetorical nature of Pentecostal eschatology is explored under special consideration of Steven J. Land’s *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion For The*

⁸⁹³ See footnote 17.

⁸⁹⁴ See footnote 23.

*Kingdom*⁸⁹⁵ and Harvey Cox's *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century*,⁸⁹⁶ since both books offer insight into how eschatology directly influenced early Pentecostal piety. Land's observation that a restorationist primitivism inspired early Pentecostals to pattern their life and ministry on the early church also holds true for Newfoundland and Labrador. Using Land's categories, early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostals promoted "ecclesiastical," "ethical," and "experiential" primitivism. Land's four-fold categorization of the eschatological spirituality—"Fusion–Fission Tensions," "Oral–Narrative Formation," "Spirit–Body Correspondence," and "Crisis–Development Dialectic"—could be demonstrated as applicable to Newfoundland and Labrador. Land's theory of Pentecostal affections demonstrates once again by the presence of three types of prayer—"with words understood," "without words," and "with words not understood," the importance eschatology played in early PAONL spirituality. In *Fire From Heaven* Harvey Cox states that Pentecostalism "has succeeded because it has spoken to the spiritual emptiness of our time by reaching beyond the level of creeds and ceremony into the core of human religiousness, into what might be called 'primal spirituality,' that largely unprocessed nucleus of the psyche in which the unending struggle for a sense of purpose and significance goes on."⁸⁹⁷ Cox's notion of "primal spirituality,"—"primal speech," "primal piety," and "primal hope"—proved to be applicable in a Newfoundland and Labrador setting.

⁸⁹⁵ See footnote 21.

⁸⁹⁶ See footnote 22.

⁸⁹⁷ Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven*, 81.

Grant Wacker's *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture*⁸⁹⁸

describes the character and culture of the American movement including insights into the rhetorical aspects of early Pentecostalism and how it contributed to the promotion of eschatology. Wacker notes that rhetoric was a strategic element of both the décor of building structures and the nature of Pentecostal preaching. Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal rhetors communicated their eschatological message as much with the structure décor and preaching style as they did with their spoken words. In *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric* Steven D. O'Leary⁸⁹⁹ states that the purpose of "apocalyptic rhetoric is a symbolic theodicy" that provides a "rhetorical solution to the problem of evil." O'Leary identified three topoi of apocalyptic rhetoric—"evil," "time," and "authority,"—as the foundation of eschatological inquiry. Each topos was applied to Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism so that the rhetorical character of apocalypticism was shown to be also an essential aspect of PAONL eschatology.

The thesis sought to identify the significant role eschatology played in Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism in the first half of the twentieth-century. By providing a comprehensive context for Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostal eschatology, by analysing the eschatological influences and teaching of Alice B. Garrigus and Eugene Vaters prior to their leadership in the PAONL, by sketching the scope of Pentecostal eschatology over the formative period, by explaining the theological dimensions of Pentecostal eschatology and by demonstrating its salient types as well as showing eschatological influences in the movement's spirituality and rhetoric, this thesis has for the first time attempted to demonstrate the importance that eschatology played in

⁸⁹⁸ See footnote 24.

⁸⁹⁹ See footnote 70.

early Newfoundland and Labrador Pentecostalism. In view of the pervasiveness and powerful historical influence of eschatology on Pentecostalism in the province it is difficult to imagine how the movement could have developed apart from eschatology's ubiquitous presence. The diminishing of imminent eschatology in the second half of the century poses a question worth investigating in a further thesis.

Alice Belle Garrigus died on 29 August 1949. Eight months before her death Alice wrote the following to Jennie Vaters. Her words suggest a spiritual struggle to keep alive an imminent hope even as time had unexpectedly weakened her aging body. Alice's words may speak poignantly today for the denomination she left behind.

There has been quite a change in my body since my 90th birthday- Still I have not given up the thought of being alive when Jesus comes. He cannot delay much longer. God is moving with signs and wonders in different parts of the earth and I am earnestly praying He will visit Nfld. He did not forget Nfld in the 1st great outpouring and do not believe He will in this last... God bless you and yours and grant us to be counted worthy to escape the things that are coming on the earth.
Much love to you all-
Sr. A. B. Garrigus.⁹⁰⁰

⁹⁰⁰ Alice Belle Garrigus, to Jennie Vaters, 20 December 1948, private collection.

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