CAPTURING THE SPIRIT

The Pentecostal Testimony

and

The Crafting of Denominational Memory, 1920-1992

by

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Abstract: "Capturing the Spirit: The Pentecostal Testimony and the Crafting of Denominational Memory."

Given its remarkable growth and profound impact on Canadian Evangelicalism, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) has received surprisingly little scholarly attention. While this project does not attempt to synthesize this denomination's rich history, it does provide a detailed examination of the PAOC's oldest and most widely read publication, *The Pentecostal Testimony*. More specifically, using the theory of French sociologist Danièle Hervieu-Léger as a springboard, "Capturing the Spirit" attempts to trace the shaping of a denominational "chain of memory" within the *Testimony* under the guidance of three prominent editors.

For Robert E. McAlister, E.N.O. Kulbeck, and Robert Skinner, who edited the *Testimony* from 1920-1929, 1957-1972 and 1983-1992 respectively, the pages of the denominational newspaper/magazine became a forum for writing Canadian Pentecostals' experiential and profoundly modern approach into a broader tradition. This thesis tracks the editors, who, by drawing on a repository of primitive symbols and selecting components of modern discourse, were able to present the PAOC as a progressive and yet profoundly traditional body. It further attempts to prove that over the past 80 years, the *Pentecostal Testimony* has played a critical role in galvanizing a disparate group of believers into an imagined community and evoking an authoritative tradition which ensured the movement's development in the face of modernity's corrosive effects.

In so doing, "Capturing the Spirit", joins the historiographical discussion surrounding the surprising endurance of religion in postmodern times. Hervieu-Léger and others have argued that the characteristics of postmodern society – particularly cultural amnesia and heightened individualism – have created new dilemmas and novel

opportunities for religious expression. However, this thesis suggests that given the PAOC's propensity for individual rather than collective religious experience, its emphasis on immediate eschatological concerns rather than ritualized tradition, and its preference for spontaneous testimony rather than structured leadership, the editors of the *Testimony* encountered these circumstances much earlier than their mainstream Protestant counterparts.

Moreover, it shows that in the face of these modern and potentially fragmentary characteristics, and partially due to the efforts of these editors, Canadian Penecostals achieved tremendous success. This accomplishment, "Capturing the Spirit" attempts to demonstrate, can be explained by tracing how already in the 1920s, Canadian Pentecostals put into practice the chain of memory which Hervieu-Léger has associated with religion in post-modernity.

Over the past 100 years, as this project details, the editors of the *Testimony* have dealt with a variety of challenges including: break-away sects, doctrinal controversies, leadership scandals, funding crises, and perceived cultural decay. In its three chapters, "Building a Denomination, "Confronting the Challenges of the 1960s" and "Tackling the Dilemmas of Late Modernity", "Capturing the Spirit" begins to trace how, in the face of these developments, the editors fashioned and reworked denominational memory.

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Introduction

One morning at about 2:00 a.m. there were those who were still praying and seeking God for the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. They witnessed a visitation of angels, who seemed to hover over the camp while singing and playing heavenly music. Mrs. Saltzman, who had traveled from Kitchener, said that she was caught up into heaven in the Spirit, and heard and saw things too sacred to utter. She seemed to see her vacant form lying prostrate on the straw in the tent as her spirit went heavenward.[1]

These observations were recorded in 1911 by Canadian Pentecostal pioneer George Chambers at one of the earliest known Pentecostal camp meetings on Canadian soil.[2] Denominational historians such as Douglas Rudd and Carl Brumback, when interpreting these descriptions, have usually emphasized their profoundly eschatological and fervently spiritual undertones.[3] In their view, these characteristics satisfactorily account for the movement's astonishing rise. More recently, however, as the quantity and calibre of scholarly research has increased, other historians have articulated a more nuanced perspective. For them, it is the individual and fluid nature of this encounter, the obvious absence of leadership, and the transgression of boundaries (both linear and geographic) which are most instructive and which most clearly elucidate the early Pentecostal experience.

From its sectarian roots at the turn-of-the-century to its emergence on the Canadian evangelical scene in the 1980s, this thesis will examine the shaping of Canadian Pentecostal identity. From 1920 until 1992, in the face of modernity's powerful and often fragmentary forces, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, through its

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[1] Douglas Rudd, *When the Spirit Came Upon Them: Highlights from the Early Years of the Pentecostal Movement in Canada* (Burlington: Antioch Books, 2002), 328.

[2] While Chamber's remarks are the oldest first hand written account of a Canadian Pentecostal camp meeting, there are several secondary records of earlier gatherings. The first known meeting actually took place in Simcoe, Ontario, in 1908. See Rudd, *When the Spirit Came Upon Them*, 323.

[3] For a classic denominational perspective on the American Pentecostal movement see Carl Brumback, *God in Three Persons, Like a River and A Sound From Heaven.* In Canada, see Rudd, *When the Spirit Came Upon Them* and Gloria Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought* (Toronto: PAOC Publishing, 1958).

official newspaper, *The Testimony*, managed to construct and sustain a galvanizing tradition.[4] As this thesis will endeavor to prove, given the context in which it emerged and the challenges with which it was faced, the construction of this identity was nothing short of remarkable.

From its inauspicious beginnings, Pentecostalism has become one of the most unified, influential and successful religious movements of the twentieth century. In the past hundred years, Pentecostalism has moved from having no adherents in 1906 to an estimated 500 million followers today.[5] According to Grant Wacker, in its varying expressions, Pentecostalism now comprises the second largest communion of Christians in the world.[6] Theologian and religious historian Harvey Cox argues that this trend will continue. In fact, he posits that Pentecostalism will be responsible for "reshaping the religion of the 21st century".[7] The incredible rise of Pentecostalism on the world stage has been quantitatively measured by statisticians David Barrett and Todd Johnson.[8] In the domestic arena, the transition has been no less astounding. Although the widening of the charismatic movement and impact of new revivalist sects such as the Vineyard and Air

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[4] The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada or PAOC was formally established in 1920. This organization, which saw itself as a cooperative fellowship rather than a denomination, united small Pentecostal congregations from all over the country. Today, the PAOC is still by far the largest Pentecostal / Charismatic denomination in Canada.

[5] See David Barrett and Todd Johnson, "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1999."*International Bulletin of Missionary Research.* 23 (January): 24-55.

[6] Grant Wacker, "Searching for Eden with a Satellite Dish: Primitivism Pragmatism and the Pentecostal Character," in *Religion and American Culture*, ed. David G. Hacket (New York: Routledge, 1995), 440-472.

[7] Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995).

[8] Based on David Barrett and Johnson's statistical analysis, there were an estimated 74 million 'Pentecostals/Charismatics', or 6% of the world's Christian population in 1970. In 1997 he estimated that this figure had reached 497 million or 27% of the Christian population, more than the total number of 'Protestants' and 'Anglicans' combined. Barrett projects that according to present trends this figure is likely to rise to 1,140 million or 44% of the total number of Christians by 2025. See also A.A. Anderson and W.J. Hollenweger, *World Pentecostalism at a Crossroads:Pentecostals After a Century* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 19-31.

Port ministries has slowed the growth of classic Pentecostalism in North America, thirty million Americans and over 250,000 Canadians identify themselves as Pentecostal.[9]

Although each historian prioritizes the movement's epochal events differently, most accounts usually include the following. In 1901, a small, evangelical Bible school in Topeka, Kansas issued a statement which declared that 'speaking in other tongues as the spirit gave utterance' was the initial sign of Holy Spirit Baptism. Five years later, in Los Angeles, black Methodist preacher William Seymour led all night healing and prayer meetings which drew believers from all over the continent. Informed by new types of media and carried by modern forms of transportation, thousands of men and women came to Azusa Street and witnessed what they believed to be remarkable healings, fantastical visions, and inexplicable glossolalia.[10] While these events were taking place on American soil, other Pentecostal-style revivals were occurring in other corners of the globe.[11]

In popular perception, it is usually assumed that each denomination has specific historical predecessors; for every Calvin there is a Luther. However, for historians of

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[9] Here I am referring to the work of PAOC scholar, Ronald Kydd, who argues that by the 1970s there were two distinct subgroups, classical and charismatic, within Canadian Pentecostalism. However, while Kydd suggests that the ideological division took place after charismatics began to enter PAOC assemblies in the 1970s, I am contending that as early as 1920 there was already a classical consciousness within the PAOC. See Ronald Kydd, "The impact of the Charismatic Renewal on Classical Pentecostalism in Canada," *Pneuma: The Journal for Pentecostal Studies*: *The Journal for Pentecostal Studies* 21 (Fall 1999): 55-67.

[10] The most distinctive aspect of Pentecostal belief was the Holy Spirit Baptism, as attested by the initial physical manifestation of speaking in tongues (glossolalia), codified in the Bible. As described in the Book of Acts and First Corinthians, it is one of holy Gifts of the Spirit given by God to the faithful on the Day of Pentecost. Pentecostals believe in water baptism as an outward sign of conversion, and that the baptism in the Holy Spirit is a distinct spiritual experience that all who have believed in Jesus should receive. Some Pentecostals, particularly classical Pentecostals, believe that the baptism in the Holy Spirit is always accompanied initially by the outward evidence of speaking in tongues.

[11] In particular, at the turn of the century, other major revivals were taking place in Wales, Australia and India.

Pentecostalism, this model takes on further complexity.[12] For some denominational scholars who have presented early Pentecostals as the direct inheritors of the New Testament Church, there seems little that connects the "cold" nineteenth century denominations with early twentieth century Pentecostals. Such an apostolic roots perspective is clearly articulated in the popular history of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) written by third generation Canadian Pentecostal, Gloria Kulbeck.[13] However, the majority of mainstream Pentecostal historians do accept the influence of nineteenth-century religious groups on incipient Pentecostalism. This discussion of antecedents tends to be divided into three basic camps: those who emphasize Wesleyan Holiness, those who advocate non-Wesleyan reform and those who recognize a mixture of influences.[14]

There are a number of prominent historians, such as Gloria Kulbeck and Melvin Easterday Dieter, who cite the Wesleyan Holiness influence as the most prominent[15].

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[12] There have been three major waves of Pentecostal historiography. As early as the 1920s, a number of providential and decidedly insider historians, most notably Carl Brumback, began to reflect on their movement's roots and legacy. For a thorough review of these perspectives see Grant Wacker, "Are the Golden Oldies Still Worth Playing? Reflections on History Writing among Early Pentecostals," *Pneuma: The Journal for Pentecostal Studies: The Journal for Pentecostal Studies* (Fall 1986): 86. In the 1950s and 1960s a new wave of social scientists began to examine the Pentecostal phenomenon. Among these scholars, the work of Walter Hollenwager (*The Pentecostals*) and Robert Maples Anderson (*Vision of the Disinherited*) are the most rigorous. During the last few decades, a third generation of historians, led by Edith Blumhofer, Grant Wacker, Vinson Synan and James Goff, has brought even greater scholarly sophistication and methodological subtlety to the study of the movement.

[13] For traditionalist insider history from a Canadian perspective see Gloria G. Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.* The apostolic roots school of insider historians tends to argue that New Testament Christians are the only true predecessors of twentieth century Pentecostals. The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada or PAOC was formally established in 1920. This organization, which saw itself as a cooperative fellowship rather than a denomination, united small Pentecostal congregations from all over the country. Today, the PAOC is still by far the largest Pentecostal/Charismatic denomination in Canada.

[14] It is important to note that most even the most ardent interpreter of Wesleyan roots would not disregard reform influences entirely. These categories are meant to map the historiographies and reflect general prioritizing rather than unshakable positions.

[15] Revivalist John Wesley popularized "new birth" or emotional conversion and revolutionized eighteenth and nineteenth century Methodism. Some observers contend that the legacy of this brand of Methodism (particularly personal conversion and fervent camp meetings) directly informed Pentecostalism. See

Pentecostal historian Vinson Synan has also written numerous works on the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements from this perspective. As both a respected academic and prominent member of the Assemblies of God (AOG), Synan adroitly walks the line between passionate insider and objective scholar.[16] He argues that "The Pentecostal Movement arose as a split in the Holiness movement and can be viewed as the logical outcome of the Holiness crusade which vexed Protestants for forty years."[17]

Offering a different perspective is Edith Blumhofer, who, in her numerous works on American Pentecostalism, has examined the movement's non-Wesleyan antecedents. While she indeed recognizes the role played by Wesleyans, she places other radical evangelicals - such as Missionary Alliance members and Presbyterians -- at the root of the Pentecostal revival.[18]

Contrary to the strong views of Synan and Blumhofer, most historians offer more eclectic explanations of Pentecostal origins. For instance, in his list of crucial forerunners, historian Grant Wacker includes: Wesleyans, Oberlin Perfectionists,

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Dieter's *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* and Anderson's *Vision of the Disinherited.* Although many historians argue that nineteenth century evangelicalism is at the root of twentieth century Pentecostalism, there is no question that Pentecostalism is primarily a distinct entity. While evangelicals emphasized personal conversion and emotional revival, Grant Wacker, a prominent historian of Pentecostalism, defines Pentecostals as believing in a post-conversion experience known as baptism in the Holy Spirit. Pentecostals, he says, believe that a person who has been baptized in the Holy Spirit will manifest one or more of the nine spiritual gifts described in First Corinthians 12 and 14. See Wacker, "Searching for Eden with a Satellite Dish: Primitivism Pragmatism and the Pentecostal Character," 440.

[16] Among his many works the most acclaimed are *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal* (Nashville: Nelson Publishers, 2001) and The Holiness-*Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971).

[17] Vinson Synan. *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*, 115-116. In a more recent study, his views on the movement's roots remain the same -- the fire-baptized Holiness Church was the direct antecedent of Pentecostalism.

[18] Edith Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 11-43. See also William W. Menzies, "Non-Wesleyan Origins of Pentecostalism," in *Aspects of Pentecostal Charismatic Origins*, ed. Vison Synan (NJ: Logos Books, 1975), pp. 83-126.

Reformers and English Keswickians.[19] There is little doubt that most of these early adherents came from other traditions. Seeming to confirm Wacker's stance, respected Pentecostal historian Walter Hollenweger, has pointed out that 42.6 percent of first-generation Pentecostal ministers came from other denominations.[20]

While historian Donald Dayton also takes a nuanced position, he maintains that, "The whole network of popular higher Christian life institutions and movements constituted at the turn of the century a sort of pre-Pentecostal tinder box awaiting the spark that would set it off."[21]

Canadian historians of Pentecostalism have tended to place greater emphasis on the roots of the movement in Canada, rather than on the origins of revival as a whole.[22] But when they do engage in discussion of historical roots, they tend to favour multi-dimensional understandings. According to influential insider and Canadian Pentecostal historian Thomas Miller, "...revivalistic and holiness teaching and methods were among the chief factors in the emergence of modern Pentecostalism."[23] Confirming Miller's research, religious historian and former Canadian Pentecostal insider, Ronald Kydd, has also carefully traced the intimate connections between other denominational leaders and early Pentecostals.[24]

Despite the ongoing debate on the prioritizing of influences, most historians are,

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[19] In a more recent study, Synan's views on the movement's roots remain the same -- the fire-baptized Holiness Church was the direct antecedent of Pentecostalism. See *The Century of The Holy Spirit: 100 years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal*, 3.

[20] Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 474.

[21] Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1987), 174.

[22] See Thomas Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals* (Mississauga: Full Gospel Publishing, 1994), 22.

[23] Ibid, 21.

[24] Kydd identifies four men: Henry Sweet, Thomas Thompson Latto, James Purdie and Daniel Buntain, all of whom migrated from other evangelical and mainstream traditions and made remarkable contributions to Pentecostalism in Canada. See Ronald Kydd, "The Contribution of Denominationally Trained Clergymen to the Emerging Pentecostal Movement in Canada," *Pneuma: The Journal for Pentecostal Studies* 15 (Spring 1993): 17-33.

however, in agreement that the latter half of the nineteenth century – as defined by fractious divisions and seemingly endless revivals – laid the foundation for the Pentecostal movement.

But why were so many turn-of-the-century Christians drawn to a revival led by an obscure preacher in urban Los Angeles and what factors enabled this organic movement to succeed? These questions too have long been debated by the movement's historians. In order to explain this success and elucidate how, despite the unique challenges of modernity, Pentecostals managed to ensure continuity and maintain a coherent sense of identity, historians have offered a variety of interpretations. While certain observers highlight divine will, others maintain that innovative doctrine was crucial to the movement's rise. Beginning in the late 1970s, a third group of scholars, led by Robert Maples Anderson, began to deconstruct the movement's socioeconomic make-up. In recent years, a new generation of academics (most notably Grant Wacker and Edith Blumhofer) has articulated still more rigorous interpretations.

For the most part, the first generation of Pentecostal historians promoted a "providential" perspective. Early denominational historians, such as Carl Brumback and Gloria Kulbeck, and later Douglas Rudd and Vinson Synan, have maintained that the movement's remarkable success can be attributed chiefly to divine will. In some cases, Synan has actually asserted that the guiding influence of the Holy Spirit, and not the shrewd direction of leaders, is primarily responsible for the movement's prosperity.[25]

In his recent study, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement*, historian Douglas Jacobsen champions a different view. He argues that the

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[25] See Vinson Synan, *In the Latter Days*, Introduction. For a thorough discussion of the "providential" approach, see Augustus Cerillo, Jr., "Interpretive Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins," *Pneuma: The Journal for Pentecostal Studies* 19 (Spring 1997): 31-36.

fragmentary and decentralized nature of the movement was actually its greatest strength. This characteristic, he contends, enabled a proliferation of theological creativity and contributed to the creation of a "lively and open-ended faith."[26] In other words, without their radically schismatic tendencies, and the institutionalizing measures which they adopted in response, it is unlikely that Pentecostals would have achieved, "a pluralistic score of spiritual insight."[27] For Jacobsen, then, this doctrinal pluralism was fundamental to the success of early Pentecostals.[28]

Other historians have articulated functionalist explanations. In *Vision of the Disinherited*, Robert Maples Anderson scrutinized the dynamic of Pentecostalism's social class and concluded that the alienation and marginalization of the dispossessed contributed to the movement's rise. Following Eric Hobsbawm and E. P. Thompson, Anderson maintained that the pressures of industrialization fuelled social tension (such as class conflict and class stratification), which in turn necessitated a revivalistic outlet. In his view, confronted with the rapid spread of industrialization and the equally dramatic dissolution of tradition at the turn of the nineteenth century, large numbers of people experienced "status anxiety". In light of this disillusionment, marginalized people turned to Pentecostalism, which, in its millennial and spiritual vision, gave them great comfort.[29]

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[26] Douglas Jacobsen. *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 353.

[27] Ibid, 354.

[28] Donald Dayton has also examined the theological roots of Pentecostalism. He argues that it was their ability to integrate four theological doctrines left over from the second half of the nineteenth century (salvation, healing, baptism of the Holy Spirit, and the second coming of Christ) which ignited and sustained the Pentecostal movement. In fact, although they often differed regarding prioritization, Pentecostals regularly identified themselves as proponents of the "four square gospel". See Donald Dayton, *The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1987), 173-174.

[29] Robert Maples Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 113. It is important to point out that a number of historians, including Grant Wacker, contend that Anderson largely overstates the marginal character of first generation Pentecostals.

A fourth school of thought – championed by Harvey Cox – isolates primitive spirituality as being central to the movement's success. Pentecostalism, he maintains, "...has succeeded because it has spoken to the spiritual emptiness of our time by reaching beyond the levels of creed 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."[30] Primal spirituality, according to Cox, breaks down into three factors: primal speech, primal piety, and primal hope. He argues that these factors ignited, "...a spiritual fire...that was to race around the world and touch hundreds of millions of people with its warmth and power."[31]

Taking a quite different approach are scholars such as Edward Gitre, Thomas Miller and James Goff Jr. In their view, Pentecostal success can be attributed less to the movement's particular doctrine and unique spirituality, and more to its utilization of technology and innovative proselytization. Contrary to other observers who argue that Pentecostal achievement was actuated by anti-modern impulses, Gitre contends that turn-of-the-century revivals were in fact facilitated by three revolutions of modernity: the "Democratic Revolution" (decentralization of power), the Industrial Revolution (proliferation of the railroads/culture of speed), and the Cultural Revolution (spread of mass communications/ daily presses).[32] Taking a less sweeping stance, Canadian historian Thomas Miller and American scholar James Goff Jr. agree that it was

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[30] Cox, *Fire From Heaven*, 81.
[31] Ibid, 46. For a Canadian account of Pentecostals' uniquely spiritual character, see Douglas Rudd, *When the Spirit Came Upon Them.*
[32] Edward J. Gitre, "The 1904-05 Welsh Revival," *Church History* 73 (2004): 795.

Pentecostals' command of technology and corresponding dominance in the area of missions and evangelization that enabled the movement to flourish.[33]

Two of the most sophisticated recent studies of Pentecostalism in the United States, Edith Blumhofer's, *Restoring the Faith*, and Grant Wacker's, *Heaven Below*, offer more eclectic interpretations. According to Blumhofer, the movement's early prosperity can be explained by the presence of a network of skilled leaders and the existence of a clearly articulated restorationist vision. She notes that the first generation of visionaries was not a group of isolated prophets; rather, in her view, the early leadership was characterized by interconnectedness. The movement's initial success, she posits, was due to the dense "emerging network of Pentecostals", and to leaders who understood the value of the restorationist vision[34]. Following historian John Nichol, Blumhofer suggests that Pentecostalism offered empowerment to the economically and socially dispossessed.[35] She contends that the conviction that they were restoring the New Testament Church placed believers at the centre of God's plan and imbued them with tremendous confidence.[36] Focusing on the social implications of such beliefs, Vinson

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[33] See Thomas Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals* and James Goff Jr., *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetville and London: The University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 164.

[34] Ibid, 71. In Canada, Pentecostal observers have demonstrated that the myth of leader-free origins is equally specious. Thomas Miller has pointed out that, particularly during the initial itinerancy-driven years when believers were separated by great distances, the connections between the Hebdens in Toronto and A.H. Argue in Winnipeg, were crucial to the revival's vitality. See *Canadian* Pentecostals, 44. Even the most insider-oriented interpretation of the Canadian movement reads like a "who's who" of Canadian Pentecostals. When going through Rudd's exhaustive research and extensive biographical sketches, which even include a "family tree" of Pentecostal leaders, it becomes evident that the Canadian Pentecostal elite was, and continues to be: active, interconnected and generational.

[35] Looking less at origins than at ultimate goals, Nichol posits that the movement's eschatological focus and end times rhetoric enabled adherents to minimize worldly concerns in anticipation of imminent heavenly rewards. See John Thomas Nichol, *Pentecostalism* (New Jersey: Logos, International, 1966), 57-59

[36] She states that, "The apocalyptic and restorationist character of the movement allowed the marginalized to reinterpret their lives in ways that transformed the meaning of worldly rejection, cultural disintegration and personal disappointment." Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 72. At this juncture, it is important to point out that not all observers accept the functionalist interpretation. As will be demonstrated in chapter one, both Grant Wacker and Ronald Kydd have a different view of early Pentecostals' socio-economic make-up.

Synan concurs; for him Pentecostalism clearly represented "a fusion between the religion of poor whites and with the religion of poor blacks."[37]

Similar to Blumhofer, but less narrowly focused on the symbol of the New Testament Church, Grant Wacker argues that the restorationist impulse was "...a yearning to return to a time before time, to a space outside of space, to a mythical realm that Alexander Campbell (founder of the Disciples of Christ) called the 'ancient order of things."[38] In his study of early American Pentecostalism, Wacker points out that, for many turn-of-the-century evangelicals, tongues utterance and other individual and exuberant spiritual experiences were at best, evidence of foolishness, and at worst, a sign of heresy.[39] As nineteenth century revivalist movements began (in the eyes of contemporary Pentecostals) to lose touch with the will of the Holy Spirit, it became necessary for some believers to pursue a more radical, emotional, and personal brand of worship.

Whether highlighting divine intent, socioeconomic compensation, doctrinal creativity, spiritual charismata, technological shrewdness, or a combination of each, all of the interpretations discussed in this short overview have offered innovative and in some

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[37] Vinson Synan. *Century of the Holy Spirit*. 5. On this issue there is a great deal of historiographical discussion. In his historiographical overview, Augusto Cerillo has argued that the movement's multi-racial dynamic has not received adequate historiographical attention. See Augustus Cerillo, Jr., "Interpretive Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins." In recent years, black religious historians such as Iain MacRobert and Albert Raboteau have begun to correct this oversight. See Iain MacRobert, *The Black Roots and White Racism of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (London: Macmillan, 1988) and Albert Raboteau, *Canaan Land: A Religious History of African Americans* (New York: Oxford, 1999). With the exception of Walter Hollenweger, whose seminal study, *The Pentecostals*, places the "North American Negro's [sic] faculties of communicating and understanding" at the core of the Pentecostal identity, the bulk of ethnicity-based studies have been done by black historians. In his landmark book, Iain MacRobert has passionately outlined the movement's black roots and rapid descent into segregation and division. From the intolerance-driven split between Charles Parham (founder of Topeka Bible School) and William Seymour, to the racially-infused division between blacks and whites over the Finished Work controversy, MacRobert has shown that Pentecostalism quickly abandoned its egalitarian ideals.

[38] Wacker, "Searching for Eden with a Satellite Dish", 442-444.

[39] Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 122. These seemingly innocuous activities, which were deemed harmless by other Evangelicals, raised the ire of early Pentecostals.

cases compelling explanations for the appeal and rise of Pentecostalism.[40] Regardless of their particular differences, however, each of these perspectives ultimately explores one fundamental question: given the remarkably hostile climate in which Pentecostals emerged and the core characteristics (including an experiential worship style, a decentralized structure and an eschatological vision) to which they adhered, how were Pentecostals able to negotiate a delicate compromise with modernity? In other words, since leaning too far in either direction would either promote declension or encourage division, how did Pentecostals survive the spread of modernity, and as Edith Blumhofer puts it, to learn to be "in the world, but not of it?"[41]

For historians of religion, the transition to modernity is often associated with the proliferation of secular developments. According to secularization theorist Bryan Wilson, secularization can be defined as, "...a process of transfer of property, power, activities, and both manifest and latent functions, from institutions with a supernatural frame of reference to (often new) institutions operating according to empirical, rational, pragmatic criteria."[42] Most sociologists and historians predicted that, as modernity continued to progress, religion would inevitably decline and perhaps disappear from society altogether. As reason and science advanced, they argued, spirituality and

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[40] Charismata or charisma is a term used by both participants and scholars. Charismata comes from a Greek word meaning "gift of grace". Sociologist Margaret Poloma, one of the Pentecostal Charismatic movement's most respected observers, defines charismata as "...extraordinary powers of healing, prophecy, foreknowledge, and deliverance." See Margaret Poloma, "The Toronto Blessing: Charisma, Institutionalization, and Revival," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 36 (1997, No 2): 259.
[41] Blumhofer, *Restoring the faith,* 143.
[42] Bryan Wilson, "Secularization: The Inherited Model," in *The Sacred in a Secular Age* ed. Phillip E. Hammond (Berkeley: University of California Press), 9-20.

ecclesiastical institutions would lose their influence and secular institutions would fill the void.[43]

In recent years, however, this paradigm has been reconsidered. While classic secularization theory *may* have explained the changing role of religion in modernity, it cannot adequately elucidate the place of religion in post-modernity. According to sociologist David Lyon, the spread of communication and information technologies, along with the proliferation of mass consumerism have facilitated a post-modern shift.[44] Within this new climate, which is characterized by blurred boundaries, contextualized knowledge and commodified values, historians and sociologists must challenge what he terms, the "metanarrative" of secularization, and come to terms with the radically different – but by no means depleted – role of religion in modern society.[45] Scholars are now beginning to re-interpret a religious landscape characterized by Grace Davie's maxim: "believing without belonging and belonging without believing".[46] Despite the predictions of secularization theorists, the proliferation of reason has not made religiosity irrelevant; on the contrary, recent research reveals that spirituality and individual religious experience have continued to blossom – often in new and fascinating avenues. For example, the collection of essays compiled by David Lyon and Marguerite Van Die, entitled *Rethinking Church, State and Modernity: Canada Between Europe and America*, demonstrates that religion appears to be undergoing a process of relocation, restructuring,

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[43] In addition to Wilson, also see David Marshall *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850*-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992) and, for a different perspective entirely, Jose Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

[44] David Lyon, *Jesus in Disneyland: Religion in Postmodern Times* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000). x-xii.

[45] Lyon argues that, "...postmodernism is all about the demise of grand narratives, the superstories of modern times." Ibid, xi.

[46] Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain Since 1945: Believing Without Belonging* (Oxford: Cambridge, Blackwell, 1994).

and deregulation - but not disappearance. Evidently, as society moves deeper into the post-modern period, religion continues both to resist corrosive trends and adapt to changing conditions.[47]

In light of this paradigmatic shift away from classic secularization theory, how should the rise of Pentecostalism be reinterpreted? The ground-breaking work of French sociologist Danièle Hervieu-Léger may offer some insights. Her book, *Religion as a Chain of* Memory, transcends the standard paradigm regarding the loss and re-birth of religion in the modern world. Grace Davie summarizes Hervieu-Léger's central concern: "...through what mechanisms can modern societies overcome their amnesia and stay in touch with the forms of religion that are necessary to sustain their identity?"[48] In other words, how does contemporary religion manage to "...display its capacity to take on new social, political and cultural relevance in the crisis of modernity?"[49] Unlike so-called secularization theorists who point to institutionalization, rationalization or declension, Hervieu-Léger posits that modern societies are less religious because they "...are less and less capable of maintaining the memory which lies at the heart of their religious existence."[50] By privileging progress and inducing cultural amnesia, modern societies undermine their traditional religious base. At the same time, however, the more successful the modern project becomes, the greater the need for "utopian spaces" that only religion can fill. Ironically, then, in Hervieu-Léger 's view, modernity simultaneously removes the need for tradition (amnesia) but cannot replace the identity-

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[47] According to Lyon, for religious scholars, ubiquitous consumerism, the expansion of new communication and information technologies and the nostalgic appetite for a usable past are the most significant elements of postmodernity. For a thorough analysis of the enduring qualities of religion in the postmodern context, see David Lyon, *Jesus in Disneyland: Religion in Postmodern Times.*

[48] Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 2000) x.

[49] Ibid, 2.

[50] Ibid, ix.

affirming customs it supplants, and therefore it creates gaps in which new forms of religious expression can flourish.[51]

She argues that in order to prosper in such a context, which is inherently corrosive to tradition, and to overcome their own particularly modern characteristics such as an individual spirituality which resists collectivization, successful religious groups must form what she calls a collective "chain of memory". In her view, a chain, "...makes the individual believer a member of a community, a community which gathers past, present and future members", and thus forms a collective memory "...which becomes the basis for that community's existence."[52] Hervieu-Léger maintains that, "...our late twentieth-century generation...is the first to find itself in this situation of structural uncertainty," and consequently, the first to implement this survival mechanism.

I would contend, however, that Pentecostals in general encountered this dilemma much earlier. In fact, given its propensity for individual rather than collective religious experiences, its emphasis on immediate eschatological concerns rather than ritualized tradition, and its preference for spontaneous testimony rather than structured leadership, this new movement, since the time of its publicized emergence in urban Los Angeles in 1906, can be viewed as the first distinctively modern religious movement.

Since they privileged individual experience over collective ritual, it looked unlikely that pioneer Pentecostals would craft a sense of community capable of extending beyond sectarian divisions. Given their deep-seated suspicion for institutions and oversight, it also appeared improbable that early adherents would achieve centralization. Moreover, in light of their socio-cultural marginalization, it seemed unimaginable that

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[51] Paradoxically, from her perspective "...modernity continually undermines the plausibility structures of all religious systems and... gives rise to new forms of religious belief." Ibid, 2.
[52] Ibid, ix.

first generation followers would fashion a sense of place. Finally, and perhaps most dauntingly, without traditional reference points (such as a prayer book) and a set of collective memories (most believers were attempting to break free from their denominational legacies), it appeared highly unlikely that initial believers would construct a coherent identity.

Nevertheless, despite these modern and potentially fragmentary characteristics, both Canadian and American Pentecostals did achieve tremendous success. So that we may more fully understand this accomplishment, in addition to the previous accounts of Canadian Pentecostalism which have been based on various providential, institutionalization, or doctrinal theories, it is also necessary to add a Hervieu-Léger informed interpretation. [53] In other words, I am going to examine how already in the 1920s Canadian Pentecostals put into practice the chain of memory which Hervieu-Léger has associated with religion in post-modernity.

In order to thrive in the turbulent, fragmentary and corrosive context of modernity, Canadian Pentecostals had to craft and continually reinvent a chain of memory, which functioned as a "fund of memory and a reservoir of signs", and was accessible to a variety of individual believers.[54] This chain was both retrospective and progressive; it reinterpreted tradition according to the principles of the past and the demands of the present.

This process began in 1906 when Robert E. McAlister brought the movement from Los Angeles and established a small chapel northwest of Ottawa. As word of remarkable healings, fantastical visions and inexplicable glossolalia spread across the

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[53] In particular Rudd and Kulbeck offer providential explanations, while Kydd favours doctrinal interpretations, and Miller leans toward institutionalization theories.
[54] Ibid, 168.

province, another important event was taking place in Toronto; Ellen Hebden spontaneously received baptism in the Holy Spirit. During the initial years of the movement in Canada, the Hebden's humble store front chapel and faith home became the unofficial base for believers.

In the early years of the Canadian movement, most Pentecostals did share a number of specific values. They believed in: the inerrancy of the Bible, the full manifestation of the gospel, the importance of Christ-like piety, the imminence of the Lord's return and the value of evangelizing.[55]

As the number of Pentecostals grew, it became evident to church leaders that some sort of organizational structure was needed. In particular, McAlister was concerned that the rise of cults, doctrinal aberration and abusive pastors threatened to undermine the movement's success. In 1919, he helped to establish the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC). In the decades to follow, Canadian Pentecostals would establish hundreds of churches and dozens of camp grounds. The PAOC would also send thousands of missionaries abroad, establish a myriad of domestic programs, and build several prominent educational institutions. Over the past 100 years Canadian Pentecostals have dealt with a variety of challenges including: break-away sects, doctrinal controversies, leadership scandals, funding crises, and perceived cultural decay.[56]

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[55] The defining characteristic of first and second generation fundamentalists in general and Pentecostals in particular was the centrality and authority of the Bible. Early Pentecostals believed that the Bible was without error and should be the foundation for daily living. "The full manifestation of the gospel" refers to the conviction of early Pentecostals that mainstream Protestants only recognized part of the New Testament. What had been overlooked, Pentecostals contended, was the emphasis on spiritual gifts (including healing and prophesy). Pioneer Pentecostals also maintained that other Christians had become decadent and licentious and advocated a return to staunch morality. Additionally, early adherents became obsessed with the promise of Christ's impending return and, as a corollary, were intent on determined proselytization.

[56] From the earliest years of the movement, advocates for centralization were confronted by skeptics like Ellen Hebden who believed that Canadian Pentecostals should avoid higher organization. Additionally, as

Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, the PAOC has increased its numbers in each of the past ten decades. Currently, according to the latest insider statistics, each week, 242,873 Canadians worship at over 1100 PAOC churches.[57]

Throughout this period of remarkable growth, it was the editors of the *Pentecostal Testimony* who harmonized and codified the all-important chain of memory. Since the founding of the PAOC and throughout the denomination's changing context and internal shifts, the *Pentecostal Testimony* has been a vital tool for uniting a widely distributed group of believers. Founder and longtime editor, Robert E. McAlister, started the *Testimony* with a nineteenth-century printing press and an old door for a desk. A former evangelist in the Holiness movement, McAlister, who had grown up near Cobden, Ontario, is generally considered to be the father of Canadian Pentecostalism. During its first decade of publication, while the paper's distribution increased dramatically (from 800 to 25 000), the price for a year's subscription remained fairly stable, rising only slightly from 50 cents at the beginning of the decade, to $1.00 at the end. Considering that the size of the publication increased from four, to eight and eventually sixteen pages during this time, this price increase was quite modest. This low price, combined with the fact that McAlister distributed free copies to a variety of public spaces, ensured that the *Testimony* was available to many groups of people. During McAlister's term, the newspaper upheld its broadsheet roots. Many of the articles were first-hand accounts of revivals (both domestic and abroad) and had a distinctively evangelistic tone. McAlister

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will become evident in the chapters to come, each generation of PAOC adherents had to cope with doctrinal disagreements and fanatical sects. The Jesus Only dispute and the rise of the Latter Rain movement are the most obvious examples, but several other incidences also had a profound effect. During the 1970s and 1980s, both domestically and in the United States, Canadian Pentecostals were forced to deal with several leadership scandals. Finally, funding issues and the perceived decline of mainstream culture were an ever present threat for each of the editors under review.

[57] This number is based on the statistics submitted to the Annual Church Life Report, 2004.

also included a variety of testimonies from ordinary believers which recounted stories of divine healing and dramatic conversion.

By the time E.N.O. Kulbeck became editor in 1957, the paper's format had expanded greatly and included more sophisticated graphics. As Kulbeck's editorship progressed, he divided the paper into a series of sections including: editorial, people and places, women's ministries, kids' corner, and missions. This version of the *Testimony* featured more theological discussion, articles by non-Pentecostal Christians, and debates surrounding institutional efficiency.

During the 1980s, the denominational magazine returned to its founding principles and the editorship was given to R.E. McAlister's great nephew, R.B. Skinner. By this time, the *Testimony* had become a full-fledged magazine. Each month, the contents often exceeded thirty pages and featured an impressive array of colour photographs. During this era, Pentecostals begin to confront a wide variety of secular issues. As well, many PAOC members initiated calls for a renewed spirituality and primitivism.[58] As a result, the magazine included a vast array of political articles and a variety of editorials – both from clergy and laypeople. By the start of the 1990s, the magazine occupied over 150,000 coffee tables and church foyers across the country.

Through the lens of the PAOC's denominational magazine, this thesis will examine three periods of immense transition within the Canadian movement (1920s, 1960s and 1980s). Although the *Testimony* has been published consistently for over 80 years, it was during these three eras of tremendous upheaval where, under the guidance of particularly influential editors, the Pentecostal chain of memory was substantially

[58] In the evangelical context, Primitivism refers to emotional spirituality, unmediated by the theological doctrine and cumbersome procedure. For Pentecostals, the New Testament Church was the ultimate example of primitive religious expression.

reworked. These three eras share a number of other similarities as well. First, each editor encountered a significant revival: the aftermath of Azusa in McAlister's time, the emergence of the charismatic renewal during Kulbeck's reign, and the spread of the third wave revival throughout Skinner's tenure. Second, each editor confronted a substantial cultural shift: for McAlister, the proliferation of modernism, for Kulbeck, the countercultural revolution, and for Skinner, the intrusion of the state into moral issues and the corresponding politicization of the conservative Christian church. Finally, each editor was faced with a substantial leap in institutionalization: the birth of a cooperative fellowship in the 1920s, the growth of bureaucratic centralization in the 1960s, and inevitable establishment of a denomination in the 1980s. The selection of these periods is also consistent with the tenets of Hervieu-Léger's theory. She posits that frames of collective memory are often dislocated, or at least destabilized, by economic, social and political change. Hence, during periods of sweeping change, in which memory comes under assault, re-inventions of memory, often based on an imaginary utopia, become commonplace.[59]

Chapter one will explore the tensions and innovations which manifested themselves in *The Testimony* as the PAOC moved toward a coherent identity. During a period characterized by the liberalization of popular culture, the spread of industrialization and the proliferation of new technologies, it will become clear how the editor, R.E. McAlister, struggled to articulate a galvanizing vision. Chapter two will examine the *Testimony* from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. In the face of a broader assault on tradition, the collapse of social boundaries and the rise of counterculture in the secular sphere, the editor, E.N.O Kulbeck, also had to confront momentous change within

[59]Hervieu-Léger, 145.

his own ranks. By the beginning of the 1960s, the PAOC was characterized by what Miller calls, "an unmistakable upwardly mobile character."[60] As a result, the movement experienced an influx of capital and a new level of influence in the broader Christian community. While, in many respects, these developments were most welcome, they also created a substantial identity crisis. During this period, Kulbeck was forced to grapple with external changes and also address internal growth. In order to negotiate this middle ground, *The Testimony* turned to the authority of tradition.

Chapter three will focus on the 1980s, which was another period defined by tremendous challenge and remarkable opportunity. During this era, the PAOC encountered the proliferation of radical individualism, the spread of world capitalism and the rise of the American religious right. Within this context, the *Pentecostal Testimony*, under the guidance of Robert Skinner, struggled to come to terms with the denomination's new profile on the secular scene and also meet the demands of its readers for a more activist and malleable faith. Consequently, the invocation of the denominational chain of memory became especially important.

In the chapters to follow, this thesis will address a number of specific topics with which the editors had to deal, including: debate over respectability, responses to splinter groups, the handling of doctrinal disputes, the emergence of ecumenism, engagement with the secular sphere, evolving understandings of charismata, attitudes toward education and theology, and efforts to comprehend the movement's history. Over the past 80 years, the *Pentecostal Testimony* played a critical role in galvanizing a disparate group of believers into an imagined community and evoking an authoritative tradition which ensured the movement's development in the face of modernity's corrosive

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[60] Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 269.

effects.[61] The intent is to clarify how, with regard to each of these developments, the editors reinterpreted the denominational chain of memory in order to articulate a coherent Canadian Pentecostal self-understanding. By drawing on a repository of primitive symbols and selecting components of modern discourse, these editors crafted a denominational chain of memory which affirmed the PAOC's identity as a progressive and yet profoundly traditional body. In other words, by writing Canadian Pentecostals' experiential and profoundly modern approach into a broader tradition, the editors of the *Testimony* helped the movement take on an enduring shape.

[61] Here I am borrowing a term from Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Spread of Nationalism* (UK: Verso, 1991).

Chapter One: Building a Fellowship

By 1920, the Canadian Pentecostal movement had begun its transition from a series of autonomous groups to a more unified and influential fellowship.[1] Over the next ten years, the PAOC would experience astounding success. The fact that a movement defined on the one hand by an absence of historical tradition, collective ritual and centralized leadership and on the other, by a preponderance of individual experience, eschatological predictions and schismatic division, could achieve this rapid growth in such a short period of time is truly remarkable. However, that such a movement could flourish within a context that was extremely fluid, incredibly fragmentary and profoundly a-traditional, is nothing short of astounding.

This chapter will examine the role played by the *Pentecostal Testimony* and its founding editor, R.E. McAlister, in bringing about this development. In particular, I will be exploring the means – both explicit and subtle -- McAlister used in order to write PAOC practices and beliefs into a broader tradition. It will become evident how, between 1920 and 1929, the editor crafted a viable chain of memory which selectively incorporated aspects of modernity and also shaped those elements into an authoritative tradition. However, before addressing the specifics of the contemporary Pentecostal experience, it will be instructive to consider the wider secular and religious climate within which the *Testimony* was begun.

For Canada, as with many other western countries, the decade of the 1920s began with optimism and ended with disillusion. The economic boom of the 1920s was accompanied by further population growth and urbanization. In fact, by the end of the

[1] Early Pentecostals united under the banner of a cooperative fellowship rather than a formalized denomination. This label was initially intended to reflect the movement's desire to avoid the institutionalization and declension which they saw as characteristic of the more established churches.

decade, the number of Canadians exceeded 10 million.[2] In some respects, as will become evident, this modernization was accompanied by a liberalization of traditional values; the decade was marked by a number of significant cultural battles, such as prohibition and suffrage.

Developments in popular culture, fuelled by new technology, also accelerated the re-evaluation of tradition – particularly among youth. The automobile, which had been a curiosity and status symbol for the wealthy prior to the war, was mass produced and made available to the general public during the 1920s.[3] It was also during the twenties that the radio was popularized. By 1925, a number of radio programs, often affiliated with a particular newspaper or religious group, were being broadcast throughout the country. The 1920s were also marked by the continued development of modern science and medicine. The variety of early twentieth century therapeutic options, such as homeopathy, Thomsonianism, magnetic therapy and hydropathy, still muddied any firm distinction between medicine and religion.[4]

Although it would be deterministic to see them as direct antecedents, these cultural trends, particularly the decline of social gospel-era values[5], along with the rise of populism and modern science and the preponderance of developing technologies, sketch the context within which the fledgling Pentecostal movement took shape.

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[2] Ramsay Cook, "The Triumphs and Trials of Materialism," in *The Illustrated History of Canada*, ed. Craig Brown (Toronto: Key Porter, 1997), 426.

[3] In fact, the number of registered vehicles in Canada moved from 20,000 in 1911, to 400,000 in 1920, and an astonishing 1,000,000 in 1930. Ibid.,, 441-42.

[4] See Robert C. Fuller, *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). Fuller maintains that there was a direct correlation between the rise of alternative medicine and proliferation of faith healing.

[5] The social gospel movement was a liberal Protestant Christian movement that was most prominent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The movement applied the principles of Christianity to the social problems associated with modernization. The Social Gospel was the religious component of the broader progressive movement which had the aim of confronting injustice, suffering and poverty in society. See Donald T. Kauffman, *The Dictionary of Religious Terms* (New Jersey: Revell Company, 1967).

Additionally, developments and dilemmas within a number of the Canadian Protestant churches also had a profound effect on the PAOC. While it can be a problematic concept, some form of secularization, at least within urban centres, had been affecting Canada for some time and was dramatically sped up by the First World War.[6] In the decade after the conflict, as with wider society, many churches would be forced to relinquish some of their aspirations for the social gospel movement.

As the nation began to experience increased economic prosperity, churchgoers became less interested in social campaigns and more concerned with "...the abolition of war and the cultivation of personal religion."[7] When Ontario abandoned prohibition in 1926, religious leaders were forced to accept that many citizens no longer wanted the protestant church to mandate social policy.[8]

Controversy over doctrine and theology, which had been somewhat muted during the Laurier era, was re-ignited during the 1920s. The resurgence of debate during the twenties was due in large part to the rise of fundamentalism south of the border. American religious historian George Marsden defines this phenomenon as, "...a twentieth century movement closely tied to the revivalist tradition of mainstream evangelical Protestantism that militantly opposed modernist theology and the cultural

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[6] It is important here to note that, as mentioned in the introduction, there is a great deal of historiographical debate regarding the pace and pervasiveness of secularization in pre-World War Two Canada. While Grant and others trace the steady – if not entirely linear – decline of church influence between the turn of the century and the First World War, Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau offer an entirely different interpretation. They maintain that partly because American-style consumer culture was not dominant in Canada until the 1940s, Canadian culture retained its core Protestant character, and Protestant churches exerted the most important influence on the nature and direction of social reform in the nation. See Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity* (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996), 4-5 and 246-250.

[7] John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Burlington: Welch Publishing, 1988), 122.

[8] Ibid., 121-123.

change associated with it."[9] Among the most prominent characteristics of the fundamentalist movement were a belief in the inerrancy of the Bible, a profound opposition to modernism (particularly evolution) and a strong conviction about the premillennial return of Christ.[10] As will become clear, the Canadian Pentecostals saw themselves as fundamentalists with several important differences. Although the uproar influenced the Anglicans as well, the centre of the fundamentalist controversy in Canada was Jarvis Street Baptist Church, in Toronto, which was led by T.T. Shields.[11]

Increasingly, a number of other splinter Protestant groups began to appear on the Canadian religious landscape.[12] Significantly, as historian J.W. Grant observes, "...almost without exception, sects of any magnitude took advantage of the new medium of radio to extend their range far beyond what any number of traveling evangelists would

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[9] George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 315. For a thorough examination of American fundamentalism also see Marsden's *Fundamentalism and American Culture: the shaping of twentieth-century evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford, 1980).

[10] Theological modernism refers to the tendency to emphasize the new and contemporary in religion, sometimes – in the judgement of conservatives – at the expense of losing the old and traditional. See Donald T. Kauffman, *The Dictionary of Religious Terms*, 314. With the Enlightenment as its foundation, modernity called into question both the divine origin and the literal-factual truth of many parts of the Bible. It also questioned the Deity of Christ and the exclusivity of Christianity. See Marcus J. Borg, *The Heart of Christianity* (San Francisco: Harper, 2003), 11 and 82.

[11] Shields, who was a staunch anti-modernist, led a campaign against the more progressive wing of the Baptist denomination. Ultimately, the pastor's radical ideology and personal invective precipitated a split within the Baptist convention. Often called "the Spurgeon of Canada," Thomas T. Shields led the now-historic Jarvis Street Baptist Church in Toronto for forty-four years. Shields was the leader of Bible fundamentalism in Canada and had tremendous influence south of the border as well. The pastor was often embroiled in controversy and his activities caused tremendous division among Canadian Baptists. See David R. Elliot, "Knowing No Border: Canadian Contributions to American Fundamentalism," in *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States*, ed. George Rawlyk and Mark Noll (Kingston: McGill-Queens, 1994), 364-71.

[12] Among these diverse groups – many of which had had a small following prior to the twenties – the most prominent were: the Missionary Alliance, the Church of the Nazarene and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.

have been able to accomplish."[13] As will become evident later in this chapter, the observation was particularly apt for Canadian Pentecostals.

The proliferation of sectarian movements during this era was also a product of broader cultural forces. Much to the frustration of ordinary Canadians, the benefits of modernization were often enjoyed primarily by wealthier citizens. Sectarian religious groups appealed to this marginalized sentiment; "...to country-dwellers and those on the margin of urban life, people who resisted identification with labour and felt equally estranged from business and from cooperative farm organizations." Such outsiders, Grant continues, "...naturally gravitated toward charismatic denominations where they could find in ecstasy the fulfillment of that which was denied them in daily life."[14] Many members of these new groups had fundamentalist leanings and were often ardently opposed to the newly formed United Church of Canada and its policies, which they considered unchristian.[15]

Given this tumultuous secular and religious context, it is difficult to imagine that an emergent movement like the PAOC could have survived the decade. Nevertheless, for Canadian Pentecostals, the 1920s were an era of growth and discovery. In its first decade as a formally unified body, the PAOC was faced with a number of difficult questions. How could Pentecostals maintain their experiential and spontaneous worship style without promoting fanaticism? To what degree should PAOC churches engage the

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[13] Ibid., 128.

[14] Grant, 128-33. Grant's assertion that members of fledgling sects, including Pentecostals, were often marginalized and rural has been contested by several historians including Grant Wacker and Thomas Miller. See Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Highlights from the Early Years of American Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001) and Thomas Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals* (Mississauga: Full Gospel Publishing, 1994). Nevertheless, as will become clear later in the chapter, particularly regarding sectarian groups' distaste for the U.C.C., his observations do have some merit.

[15] These sentiments were particularly pronounced in the prairies where poor farmers and other marginalized people transferred allegiance to a number of American-style fundamentalist sects. See W.E. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

broader religious and secular communities? What was the appropriate balance between central administration and local autonomy? What doctrine and practice, if any, should be codified as distinctly Pentecostal? How could the traditional understanding of faith healing be reconciled with the rise of medical culture? To what extent should the PAOC continue to embrace its relatively inclusive roots?

By 1920, the diminutive fellowship had defined clear procedures for ordination, baptism and missions. From the outset, the PAOC structure was consciously designed to be a blend between Presbyterian and Congregational models, also known as "presbygational." This setup was intended to blend the local autonomy of the congregational system with the democratic structure of the Presbyterian administrative structure.

During this period, Pentecostal ministers worked tirelessly to counter the rise of theological modernism which, in their eyes, was becoming prevalent in Canada at the time. The PAOC was particularly concerned with the perceived liberalizing of the United Church. Moreover, Pentecostal leaders were perturbed by the feared rise of secular humanism, which, south of the border, was championed by men like Robert Ingersoll and later Clarence Darrow.[16]

The decade was also marked by the consolidating of already-established Pentecostal churches, initiating new assemblies, reaching the public through healing

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[16] Colonel Robert Green Ingersoll (1833-1899) was an American political leader and orator, noted for his broad range of culture and his defense of agnosticism. Ingersoll was the foremost orator and political speechmaker of late 19th century America -- perhaps the best-known American of the post-Civil War era. He was an early popularizer of Charles Darwin and a tireless advocate of science and reason. Secular humanism refers to a non-religiously based philosophy promoting humanity as the measure of all things. It had its roots in the rationalism of the 18th Century and the freethought movement of the 19th Century. Darrow was a famous American lawyer and champion of modernism. See Karen Armstrong, *The Battle for God: A History of Fundamentalism* (Toronto: Random House, 2001), 176-180.

campaigns, and entering areas, such as the far north, previously untouched by the 'full gospel message.' Foreign missions were also greatly expanded during the twenties.[17] Receipts to the national office increased from $1000 in 1920 to $83,000 in 1929 and membership soared from 7000 to more than 26,000. In fact, the movement grew so rapidly that some administrative reworking became necessary: the number of districts was increased, campgrounds were set up and several short term Bible school programs were established. Additionally, in 1925, a successful three year Bible college program was initiated in Winnipeg.

Throughout this period of growth, the *Pentecostal Testimony* became a vital tool for uniting a widely distributed group of believers. While from 1920 to 1929, the paper's distribution increased dramatically from 800 to 25,000, the price for a year's subscription remained fairly constant, rising only slightly from 50 cents at the beginning of the decade, to $1.00 at the end. Considering that the size of the publication increased from four, to eight and eventually sixteen pages during this time, this price increase was quite modest.

During the 1920's, the *Testimony* was the new movement's only publication and the major source through which a distinct Pentecostal self-understanding was forged. R.E. McAlister founded the newspaper in December of 1920 and guided it into relative stability ten years later, when he stepped down as editor. Throughout his tenure, McAlister struggled to integrate the movement's myriad of inherently modern and potentially fragmentary characteristics. These qualities included: a penchant for experiential and spontaneous worship, a brand of spirituality which was particularly physical, a profoundly marginalized social location, a dependence on technology, a

[17] Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 129-31.

disdain for human doctrine and leadership, and a legacy of social and racial transgression. McAlister understood that in order for the PAOC to succeed without rejecting these core tenets, through the *Testimony*, it was necessary to craft a distinct PAOC tradition. As stated earlier, this chapter will examine the means – both explicit and subtle -- McAlister used in order to assert this Canadian Pentecostal chain of memory, which validated the movement's modern approach yet also placed it within a broader tradition. In some cases, this process involved writing the PAOC into previously established discourses, in others, it meant fashioning an entirely distinct PAOC tradition. At all times, however, McAlister was careful not to undermine the movement's distinctly modern characteristics.

Worship

Although by the time that McAlister founded the *Testimony* the Pentecostal revival had already been underway for fifteen years, in many respects the fervency of those early gatherings was still very much alive in the 1920s. Within the pages of his newspaper, McAlister frequently depicted events at revivals, tent meetings and local worship services from all over the country and throughout the world. In these accounts, while he strove to highlight individualistic, spontaneous and experiential elements, he also attempted to situate this approach within a venerable tradition.

During McAlister's tenure, most accounts of revivals generally followed the same pattern: seemingly un-choreographed worship and unpredictable moving of the Spirit, followed by spontaneous testimonies and manifestations of spiritual gifts. The editor endeavoured to present PAOC worship services as divinely inspired and utterly

unaffected by human interference.[18] Describing the scene at which he was converted during a New Year's Eve service in Owen Sound, Ontario, one contributor observed that, "the atmosphere at times was so charged with the glory of the Lord that saints spontaneously rose to their feet, and marched around the church in a triumphal march."[19] In this area perhaps more than any other, McAlister seemed to select testimonies that defended a simple and deeply ingrained Pentecostal axiom: encounters with the Holy Spirit were spontaneous. The *Testimony* celebrated numerous instances where the Holy Spirit, in its capacity as an unpredictable and uncontrollable entity, descended on the faithful at unlikely times.[20]

Given the often exuberant and dynamic nature of PAOC worship, however, the editor also felt it important to incorporate these practices into a wider heritage. In fact, in order to traditionalize seemingly exotic spiritual exercises, McAlister made frequent connections between contemporary believers and their classical and apostolic lineage.[21]

In the very first issue of the *Testimony,* the editor described the scene at a camp meeting in Markham: "In our Sunday morning meetings the power has been falling like rain, and old time Pentecostal scenes revived. Under the power of the Holy Ghost," he

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[18] In his study of faith healing in Canada, James Opp has outlined the worship styles of a number of Victorian sectarian movements. For his discussion on nineteenth-century holiness and unmediated worship see, *The Lord for the Body* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 2006), 135-40.
[19] Bruce Thompson, "New Year's Eve Blessing," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1927).
[20] Instances when the Spirit descended during conferences, missions' fundraisers and Bible college lectures were celebrated in the *Testimony*. See "Current News," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1921), R.E. McAlister, "Special Meetings," (March, 1922) and J.E. Purdie, "Meet the Graduates," (June, 1928).
[21] In selecting the term classical, I am referring to the work of PAOC scholar, Ronald Kydd, who argues that by the 1970s there were two distinct subgroups, classical and charismatic, within Canadian Pentecostalism.[21] Building on Kydd's work, however, I am contending that within the PAOC consciousness, there has, at least since the 1920s, been a separation between classical Pentecostals and newcomers to the fellowship. In later years, the term "classical Pentecostals" would be extended to include McAlister's generation, but during this period it referred to turn-of-the-century adherents. Pentecostals also attempted to define themselves as chosen by God to revive the true church that existed during the time of the apostles. They saw themselves as uniquely capable of restoring New Testament-style (or apostolic) fervour. See Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 191-193.

continued, "...some fall prostrate, others dance, some sing, march around the Hall, and shout the praises of Jesus."[22] Right from the earliest edition of the paper, McAlister made frequent reference to the authentic, "classical" past in order to validate Pentecostals' experiential approach.

McAlister also took great pride in recording the length of these events which, in many cases, lasted for twelve or fifteen hours. Describing the Thanksgiving Day services held near Ottawa, he exulted that, "...the saints tarried from 9 o'clock in the morning to 10 o'clock at night in prayer."[23] His accounts were often coloured with similar language, such as "tarrying in the chapel" and "waiting for the rain to fall", which connoted the terminology of the upper room experience.[24] Utilizing this type of discourse enabled the editor to write Pentecostals into the vibrancy of the apostolic tradition. According to James Opp, for pioneer Pentecostals, lengthy "tarrying" meetings, prayer services and anointing rituals "...reinforced the faithful as a sacred community" and "...became the embodiment of a restored apostolic church.[25] By underscoring the spirit of endurance and collegiality among believers McAlister adroitly traditionalized Canadian Pentecostals' experiential and spontaneous worship patterns.

As previously noted, for Canadians in general and Pentecostals in particular, the 1920s were an era of ubiquitous change and turmoil. By presenting Pentecostals as the direct descendents of a purer past, begotten by prior generations to carry on the legacy of the apostolic Church, the editor was able to legitimize their modern worship style and

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[22] R.E. McAlister, "Report From Western Canada," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (December, 1920).
[23] R.E. McAlister, "Current News," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (December, 1920).
[24] For further examples of Apostolic allusion see R.E. McAlister, "A Pentecostal Meeting in the First Century," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1926) Rev. R.W. McIntosh, "Religious Sects Under Criticism," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1927) and R.E. McAlister, "When Will Christ Return?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1924).
[25] Opp, *The Lord For the Body,* 138.

also ground the Pentecostal self-understanding in a venerable tradition. McAlister understood that it was this sense of the past that was to animate Pentecostal identity; because they viewed themselves as informed by a pure tradition, believers could feel confident about carrying out their agenda. Helpful here is Hervieu-Léger , who points out that, "...utopia serves to create in a renewed way an alternative imagined community... a continuity with the past that is blessed and beneficent, and which stands in opposition to the misfortunes, the dangers and the uncertainties of the present."[26]

Hervieu-Léger further argues that by linking their identity to an imaginary reference point from the past, believers entered into an imaginary chain of true believers. Once this connection is made, Hervieu-Léger posits, the beliefs of contemporary members automatically gain credence. In addition to classical and apostolic allusions, McAlister also sought to write contemporary Pentecostalism into the tradition of post-apostolic revivals.

During his editorship McAlister often highlighted the revivalist legacy of great Christian reformers such as John Wesley and Martin Luther. When describing a revival in Kitchener in 1926, Pentecostal minister C.E. Baker stated, "...now the heavens were opened, and the latter rain began to fall. Men, women, and children were slain in numbers, just like the days of Finney, Wesley and others."[27] It would be easy to assume that for early Pentecostal believers the only portions of the past that informed their identity were the New Testament and classical Azusa periods. Clearly, however, in order

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[26]Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 145.

[27] C.E. Baker, "Revival in Kitchener," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August 8, 1926). Baker is describing a typical Pentecostal revival. Sometimes, as was the case in Kitchener, those who fell under the influence of the spirit would be so overwhelmed as to literally collapse, a phenomenon which believers referred to as being 'slain in the spirit'. In addition to this instance, John Wesley was mentioned in the *Testimony* over 90 times during McAlister's editorship. "Latter Rain" refers to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit which the Bible foretold would occur prior to Christ's return. Pentecostals believe that, as the rain (Spirit) fell upon them, they would receive remarkable gifts such as healing, tongues speech and prophesying.

to traditionalize the PAOC's charismata (spiritual gifts) and empower its sense of purpose, McAlister also joined the symbols of Pentecostalism with the revivalist mythology of legendary Christian figures like Martin Luther and John Wesley. When asserting the importance of lengthy prayer meetings McAlister wrote, "Luther and Wesley and Knox and Finney and Evan Roberts conquered, not on their feet, but on their knees."[28] This type of reference to great Christian reformers was commonplace during the 1920s. In fact, by the end of the decade, contributors to the newspaper had made reference to Martin Luther over 70 times.

Fundamentalists with a Difference

Along with traditionalizing PAOC adherents' experiential and charismatic approach to worship, the editor also had to contend with the fact that his readers were generally ostracized from mainstream Protestantism and regularly placed themselves beyond contemporary culture. Here too, in light of his movement's initial propensity for separation, McAlister understood that without rejecting these core isolationist tenets, it was also necessary, through the *Testimony,* to construct a distinct PAOC tradition. In other words, McAlister articulated a uniquely Pentecostal path but also situated the PAOC within an established discourse. Canadian Pentecostals were to resist the indulgences of modern times and remove themselves from contemporary culture, but, paradoxically, this mission was also designed to engage actively with the present and aggressively restore the true church.

For many conservative North American Christians, it may be recalled, the decade of the 1920s was marked by intense spiritual warfare. These believers viewed the rise of

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[28] R.E. McAlister, "Prayer," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1925).

higher criticism and liberal theology as an assault on their values.[29] Canadian Pentecostals were no exception; they understood themselves as fundamentalist with a difference and, in many ways, prided themselves on separation from the mainline church and restraint from contemporary pleasures.

In the era of the "Scopes Monkey Trial," which put teacher John Scopes on trial for teaching evolution in Tennessee, and the Auburn Affirmation, which was a distinctly modernist and liberal statement of principles, Pentecostals had plenty of battles to fight.[30] In a commentary written in the wake of the infamous trial, entitled, "What is Man?", American Pentecostal preacher J.N. Hoover rebuked, "...certain so-called scientific men who have made themselves more conspicuous than popular" and denied any connection between man and apes. "The ape," he argued, "is a part of God's creation but not a part of God!"[31]

Along with such commentary on religious battles, The *Testimony* contained dozens of specific attacks on the "indulgences of modern times." The editor attempted to write Pentecostals' penchant for separation into the fundamentalist tradition of disdain for such distinctly modern activities as: skating, snowshoeing, parties, tobogganing, swimming, candy eating and movie going. In a 1921 tirade, G.A. Chambers, one of the movement's founding members, complained that "...many young people today think they must have certain pleasures such as skating, snow shoeing and sleigh drives." He went

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[29] After World War One, many mainstream Christians began to liberalize their views about heaven and hell and the literal truth of the Bible. See Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, 123.

[30] The Auburn Affirmation was made by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America in 1923. It was a distinctly modernist and liberal statement of principles which many Pentecostals viewed as an assault on traditional evangelical values. In 1925, the Scopes Monkey Trial, which put teacher John Scopes was put on trial for teaching evolution in Tennessee, made international headlines. See Donald T. Kauffman, *The Dictionary of Religious Terms* (New Jersey: Revell Company, 1967).

[31] J.N Hoover, "What is The Soul?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1929).

on to propose that, "if you must be in the open air, why not join an open air band instead?"[32]

McAlister obviously intended to integrate these fundamentalist notions, particularly contempt for evolution, higher criticism and certain leisure activities, into the Canadian Pentecostal self-understanding. In a piece which expounded on the perceived licentiousness of the world, one contributor wrote:

> Those who hold this (fundamentalist) view number legions. They point to the general wickedness of the world, the popularity of modern theatre, the running after pleasure and amusements, the great increase in crime, the alarming growth of infidelity and false teaching, not to say anything of the spreading of the theory and poison of Evolution![33]

Grant Wacker argues that by attacking even mild practices, such as ice cream socials, church picnics, gum chewing and soda drinking, not to mention even more scandalous modern activities like movie going, dancing and drinking, early Pentecostals were able to forge a firm sense of identity in uncertain times.[34]

The fundamentalists' abstention from political activity was also stressed. As one PAOC minister stated, "We, as members of the Church, are confronted with the question almost daily: Should a Christian take part in the politics of his country? Our answer is, "We believe not."[35] In an even more explicit assault on political and secular involvement, another columnist quipped, "...politics, clubs, lodges etc, are under the devil and I would not be in one of them, I would gladly go to the stake rather than yield to one of these

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[32] This article, "Youthful Cravings," by Chambers, *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1921), and "Luxury, Riches and Pleasure," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1927) by R.E. McAlister, are among the most vehement critiques of modern indulgence.
[33] Wm. E. Clibborn, "Is It Harder or Easier to Save?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1926).
[34] Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 122.
[35] George E. Smith, "Citizenship," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1927).

things."[36] By including this sort of anti-modern and separatist ideology, the editor was able to incorporate Canadian Pentecostalism into the fundamentalist narrative.

Nevertheless, in McAlister's view, the PAOC was not chiefly an isolationist sect nor mainly an aberrant denomination. On the contrary, like many fundamentalists, he argued that it was the mainline church which had hijacked the authentic tradition. It was up to Pentecostals, however, to restore its true destiny. In this respect, he was crafting a distinct Canadian Pentecostal tradition that was based on fundamentalism with a difference. In a front page article, a Winnipeg clergyman stated that, "Thieves of Modernism, of Higher Criticism, of Formality, of Materialism, have stopped the Church on her journey and taken away the garment she was clothed with."[37] Another contributor, building on this critique, articulated the Pentecostal vision: "Let the mainline churches be visited by a genuine Holy Ghost revival and these spurious theories and practices will quickly disappear...and the people of God will soon return to the old version of truth upon which the true Church of Christ was founded."[38] In other words, the genuine values of the Church had been discarded and it was up to Pentecostals to revitalize its true legacy.

Throughout the 1920's issues of the *Testimony,* a special mention was also made whenever Christians from other denominations joined the Pentecostal movement or a mainline church building was repatriated. The "Current News" section of the paper was often filled with various conversion accounts. In May 1921, the editor reported:

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[36] J.S. Norvel, "Reward," *The Pentecostal Testimony*, (August, 1929). See also Miss Eva Morton, "Behold The Fig Tree," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1928).
[37] J. Rutherford Spence, "What is Modernism?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1927). See also distinctly anti-modern lead stories, with titles such as "The Cancer of Criticism," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January 1922).
[38] E.C. Bolton, "The Promise of Power," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May 1925).

> Sister Martha Hisey has recently visited the work in Port Colborne and reports much blessing and victory there. The work broke out among the young people of the Baptist church through the instrumentality of a young Pentecostal minister now a missionary. There is now good work established and a number of other mainliners are being saved and filled with the Spirit.[39]

When A.H. Argue's group purchased a former Methodist Church in Winnipeg, the *Testimony* celebrated by featuring a detailed picture of the new worship site.[40]

Although he respected the legacy of early revivalists, McAlister had little appetite for contemporary inter-denominational cooperation; he practiced, to borrow Wacker's evocative phrase, "the ecumenism of the carnivore."[41] During this period, inter-denominational contact only had value within the context of conquest and restoration. As one Pentecostal minister, so colourfully put it in his editorial, "Oh, I would like the cooking squad put out, and the praying squad put in. Less sham and ham and more heaven. Less pie and more piety. Less use for the cook and more use for the old book."[42] He was alluding, in this passage, to church socials, which he saw as the mark of the liberal mainline. Many other contributors, including the editor himself, favoured this type of combative and counter-ecumenical rhetoric. Referring to the United Church, McAlister remarked that "... respectability is inspired by one who is far from respectable – Satan!"[43] This statement set up a clear contrast between the institutionalized position of the established church and the marginalized, though entirely righteous, location of the

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[39] R.E. McAlister, "Current News," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1921). Also see "A Presbyterian Minister's Personal Testimony," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1925).

[40] A large former Methodist church was purchased in Winnipeg and turned into a Pentecostal meeting house. A large picture of the church was included in this issue. See *The Pentecostal Testimony*, (April, 1924).

[41] Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 178. Ecumenism refers to the doctrinal and practical advocating of inter-denominational cooperation.

[42] Ernest A. Paul, "Pie or Piety," The *Pentecostal Testimony,* (January, 1924). Paul is expressing the typical Pentecostal criticism that traditional denominations spend too much time socializing and not enough time evangelizing.

[43] R.E. McAlister, "Decorum and the Devil," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1921).

PAOC. Including this type of article helped McAlister present reactionary positions and criticisms of modernity, not merely as schismatic or fundamentalist, but as valid critiques of the misguided church and as a re-articulation of genuine Christian values, such as unmediated spirituality and strict piety.

This distinctly Pentecostal version of anti-modernism which the editor sought to write was not only restorationist, but also present-minded. According to Pentecostal historian Douglas Jacobsen, unlike their fundamentalist counterparts who "wanted to ensconce the supernatural in the past and bracket it off from the present," first generation Pentecostals "wanted to affirm the present-day miracle-working presence of God in the world."[44] Paradoxically, this present-mindedness often informed anti-modernist commentaries in the *Testimony*. Consequently, these types of articles facilitated a strangely hybridized tradition – neither entirely fundamentalist nor predominantly mainstream Christian.[45] For example in 1924, Canadian evangelist and regular contributor to the *Testimony,* A.G. Ward, observed, "...these are wondrous days in which our lot has been cast, the end of the age is upon us. It would seem a most propitious time to launch out on the liberality of God and undertake the mightiest aggressive against sin and the devil that has ever been taken since Apostolic days."[46] Such articles, which featured the special Pentecostal blend of anti-modern and eschatological rhetoric, clearly demonstrate the unique tradition McAlister was attempting to craft.

He also ensured that adherents understood that their authentic faith was not

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[44] Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement*, 356-57.
[45] An article entitled "The Spirit of Self Restraint" by C.M Ward clearly illustrates this middle ground. Ward observed that, "man is the least temperate of all God's creatures and has always needed this spirit of self restraint. And so much more so in these last days when everything in the world is appealing to the animal in man and woman." See *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1929).
[46] A.G. Ward, "Pentecostal Evangelism," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1924).

simply to be experienced during quiet, inactive moments. Frequent distinctions were offered between the slumbering, cold faith of the denominational churches, as well as the rigid beliefs of fundamentalists, and the alert, present-minded practice of their vibrant movement. Zelma Argue, for example, challenged believers, "Are you awake? Let us exercise faith, exercise, indeed, until we become athletes in faith."[47] In another article, McAlister described Christ as a model for emulation: "He is able to do. He is activity, accomplishment, executive, performance."[48] Therefore, as editor, McAlister sought to establish a unique Canadian Pentecostal tradition which combined fundamentalist notions of separation and abstention with restorationist, eschatological and activist discourse.

Technology and Revival

As well as constructing an identity based on a mixture of fundamentalist restraint restorationist activity, McAlister understood that the spread of Pentecostalism had been and continued to be dependent on modern technology. However, he also recognized that this dependence had the potential to undermine the primitive values upon which the PAOC was based. Therefore, without rejecting the value of technology, he realized that the *Testimony* must also fashion a distinct tradition. As a result, he sought to integrate technology into the broader narrative of evangelistic mission.

Contributors extolled with admiration changes in communication and transportation. According to G.A. Chambers, "There never was so much travel in the history of the world as there is today. Large steamships cross the ocean in every direction, carrying hundreds of tourists to all parts of the world. A network of railroads

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[47] Several contributors set up a contrast between alertness and slumbering; they encouraged believers to practice a faith that was awake. See "The Greatest Story," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (December, 1924) and "A Life of Service," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1922).
[48] R.E. McAlister, "Who is Jesus?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1922).

cover the country, presenting every convenience for the traveling public, thousands of people are continually coming and going."[49] Readers of the *Testimony* were made aware that this new technology presented incredible opportunities for evangelization and missions.[50] Indeed, technology seemed to be vital to the spread of the movement in Canada. Evangelists crisscrossed the country and missionaries traveled the globe in order to spread the Pentecostal message. Despite its relatively small size, the PAOC made enormous missions efforts. In 1929, nearly two thirds of its $83,000 budget went to foreign missions. These efforts were coordinated through and monitored by the *Testimony*. The magazine regularly petitioned the support of the faithful in order to purchase missionaries' travel fare to and from exotic lands in Africa, Asia and Central America.[51] McAlister also reminded readers that the advent of cheaper printing technology was crucial to the movement's prosperity. As editor he regularly discussed developments in the printing shop and celebrated progress in the magazine's formatting in order to demonstrate that, had it not been for newer technologies, it is unlikely that the *Testimony*, which was so crucial for the dissemination of information, coordination of missions and regulation of doctrine and practice, could have been published at all.

Furthermore, McAlister advertised the cheap publishing costs of doctrinal tracts which were distributed to bus stations, restaurants and prisons. From 1920 onward, the *Testimony* printed tracts with titles like, "Look Out, Christ is Coming!", "Ten Tough

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[49] G.A. Chambers, "Signs and Wonders," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1923). Also see R.E. McAlister, "Coming! Coming! Coming! Railroads, Submarines, Streetcars, Automobiles and Aeroplanes etc.," *The Pentecostal Testimon* (May, 1921) and D.W. Kerr, "The Lord's Steamship," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1926).

[50] See R.E. McAlister, "In the Last Days Knowledge Shall Increase," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1928).

[51] McAlister was a huge proponent of both international and domestic (home) missions. Each edition of the paper included a "Missions' Report" which focused on one particular missionary family or outreach program. The editor was also careful to provide detailed reporting on the allocation of missions' funding.

Questions for Seventh Day Advocates" and "Can Anyone Receive Tongues Baptism?" These tracts were then made available, in any number, for a freely given donation. By demonstrating how current technologies aided the evangelistic cause, the editor succeeded in legitimizing the tools of modernity. Edward Gitre's research on turn-of-the-century charismatic revivals in Wales elucidates why McAlister felt it vital to integrate modern technology into the burgeoning PAOC tradition. Gitre argues that technology and mobility often fuelled the flames of revival.[52] Welsh revivalists, Gitre contends, became dependent on "...the transformation of transit, of people, commodities, information, perceptions, and ideology."[53] Essentially, he concludes, revivals in Wales and elsewhere were primarily the result of the democratization of power, the development of the railroad and the culture of speed as well as the proliferation of mass communication technology and daily presses. As one who had traveled to Azusa via train and who published a magazine, McAlister understood this same principle. In order to validate these forces in the minds of believers, the editor wrote technology into the discourse of evangelistic mission.

Leadership, Doctrine and Structure

Like transportation and communications technology, doctrinal mastery and informed leadership had once been deemed irrelevant within the Pentecostal movement. In fact, early American Pentecostal leader Charles Parham wrote that, "...the best of creeds are but the sawdust of men's opinions, stuffed in the skins and feathers of truth to give them a pleasing and attractive appearance."[54] In a passionate 1922 editorial, however, McAlister insisted that centralization was necessary in order to guard against

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[52] Edward J. Gitre, "The 1904-05 Welsh Revival," *Church History* 73 (2004): 795.
[53] Ibid., 825.
[54] Jacoben, *Thinking in the Spirit,* 357.

"poor theology, abuse of leadership and cultism."[55] The editor realized that given the rise of controversies over Pentecostal identity, the PAOC would have to clarify its doctrine and promote a certain degree of spiritual leadership. At the same time, however, he also recognized that unless this shift was accompanied by the establishment of an authoritative tradition, it would undermine the movement's prosperity. Hence, as editor, he strove to establish the PAOC as a democratic and populist movement, but also to traditionalize oversight and regulation.

In the pages of the *Testimony*, McAlister embraced the notion that the PAOC was to be a modern and democratic movement, free, as Zelma Argue put it, "from the tyranny of ivory tower theologians."[56] In the newspaper's second issue, referring to the PAOC's spirit-led growth, McAlister proclaimed that "we have no Luther" (not withstanding references elsewhere to Luther as a model for reform and renewal).[57] The editor also upheld the value of a locally-driven and inherently un-bureaucratic structure, which was unburdened by declension and respectability. He warned that, "Respectability and Decorum is the motto of a cold, indifferent, and worldly church."[58] In perhaps his most vehemently anti-institutional article, he wrote:

> The body thus formed by the descent of the Holy Spirit is not an organization; It is a divine organism. Organization to the point of efficiency in the execution of the work of God is a Divine necessity; or should I say a human necessity, divinely recognized. On the other hand, organization beyond the point of efficiency and economy is a calamity. Unnecessary machinery is a liability, not an asset.[59]

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[55] R.E. McAlister, Untitled Editorial, *The Pentecostal Testimony*, (June, 1922).
[56] Zelma Argue was the daughter of renowned evangelist A.H. Argue. Next to the McAlisters, the Argues were the denomination's most influential family. Along with her siblings, Watson and Beulah, Zelma traveled the country with her father and was a regular contributor to the *Testimony*.
[57] R.E. McAlister, "Editorial" *The Pentecostal Testimony*, (January, 1921). This statement is particularly ironic considering that many observers would eventually see McAlister as the movement's chief trailblazer. However, because many 1920s believers still understood themselves to be free of the need for doctrine and interpretation of scripture, it is not surprising that McAlister would make such a statement.
[58] R.E. McAlister, "Editorial" *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1923)
[59] R.E. McAlister, "Deterioration or Marks of Deterioration?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1929).

This sort of editorializing, which presented denominationalism as utter anathema, was present throughout McAlister's tenure.

Nevertheless, and in apparent contradiction, for the PAOC, the acceptance of doctrinal reflection, the gradual shift toward a centralized elite leadership, and the recognition of some worship oversight, began in earnest in the 1920s. The editor skillfully integrated this reorientation toward centralization by celebrating the movement's gifted leaders. As the twenties unfolded, he emphasized the interconnected and influential network of evangelists at the movement's core.[60] As early as 1921, pictures of famous evangelists began to appear in the *Testimony.*[61] The inclusion of photographs was especially rare in the early days of the newspaper. As a result, these images were rather extraordinary and tended to stand out. The presentation of leaders' pictures, along with the use of their full names, contributed to a sense that these were great men, almost celebrities within the movement.[62] Given the increasing number of leaders' photos included in the *Testimony* over the decade, it is clear that McAlister endeavoured to construct a lineage of great Pentecostal leaders. As editor, he also made more direct appeals for centralization. In his first open letter to readers of the *Testimony*, he wrote that, "...I trust you will fully appreciate that success or failure will be largely due to cooperation. In this great enterprise we are absolutely dependent on one

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[60] During the movement's formative years Pentecostal leadership was interconnected, familial and influential. See Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals,* 44.

[61] The photo of L.V. Roberts, an evangelist from Indianapolis who, along with G.A. Chambers, led a series of revival campaigns throughout Ontario in the early twenties, was the first photograph included in the *Testimony*. See "Current News," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1921).

[62] Among early Pentecostals it was common for members to refer each other as brother and sister. However, rather than using these familial terms, the *Testimony* referred to leaders by their full names (R.E. McAlister, A.H Argue etc.) Even more surprisingly, leaders were often referred to as Reverend, rather than pastor or brother.

another."[63] In many cases, in order to legitimize this reorientation, he sought to rearticulate the apostolic tradition. Addressing the challenges of growth, for example, he noted:

> It is cause for thankfulness that the apostles betrayed not desire to evade difficulties by refusing to recognize development and corresponding responsibilities. God was with them – and so they wisely and frankly faced the situation by going forward, not backward and they organized to meet the need.[64]

In this instance, by making room for organization within the apostolic tradition, as editor he subtly validated structure within the PAOC consciousness. Although historian Grant Wacker admits that early Pentecostals took leaderlessness seriously – demonstrated by the fact that rather than using the title of Reverend or even pastor, they would use "brother" or "sister" instead – he ultimately concludes that there has always been an elite present in Pentecostal circles.[65] McAlister's efforts with regard to the presentation of structure and leadership seem to confirm this observation.

Even more than administrative centralization, under McAlister's editorship, contributors attempted to integrate doctrinal consideration into the PAOC self-understanding. With regard to a former American Baptist, Dr. Burton Hall, who had joined the Pentecostal ranks, McAlister remarked:

> He is a master in dealing with the vital doctrines of Pentecost. Besides being a Bible expositor of real ability, we consider him one of the most scholarly evangelists in the country. His refined manner of delivery lifted our standard of respectability. We consider his work of great importance in Pentecostal ranks.[66]

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[63] R.E. McAlister, "An Open Letter" *The Pentecostal Testimony* (December, 1920).
[64] R.E. McAlister, "When the Number of Disciples Was Multiplied" *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1926).
[65] Ibid., 150
[66] R.E McAlister, "Dr. Hall Leads Headlines Revival," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1929). Rev. Dr. Burton Hall was an American Baptist who became Pentecostal after experiencing tongues baptism at an Aimee Semple McPherson rally in San Diego. Given the editor's defense of primitivism in other articles, McAlister's comment about the respectability of the movement is especially surprising.

This article quite plainly illustrates McAlister's intention to incorporate a certain degree of theological skill into the PAOC criterion for leadership. In order to add cerebral and organizational components to a distinctly emotional and decentralized faith, McAlister elevated men like Dr. Hall and Dr. J.E. Purdie to positions of esteem and influence within the minds of readers. The latter who, in 1925, established the Winnipeg Bible College, was a part of a process which helped narrow the gap between the spiritual and the theological.[67]

Gradually, McAlister began to articulate a tradition which accounted for change in the perception of theological training. After 1927, the *Testimony* honoured each graduating student of the recently founded Bible college by featuring their class photo on the front page of the magazine – a custom which continued for decades to come. Referring to the value of doctrinally-informed missionaries, McAlister remarked that, "We have reached the stage in our cooperative fellowship and in the extension of the Pentecostal work at home and abroad when the Bible College, it would seem, lies at the foundation of our future aggressiveness."[68]

Furthermore, in 1926, McAlister initiated a series of pieces on the statement of faith of the corresponding American body, the Assemblies of God (AOG). By reproducing the AOG statement of faith, the editor was pointing to the need for similar statement on behalf of the PAOC. Not surprisingly, the Canadian Pentecostal version

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[67] In 1925 J.E. Purdie founded the Winnipeg Bible College. This school offered three-year diploma programs and graduated many prominent Pentecostal ministers. Purdie, a former Anglican, based the school's curriculum on the renowned evangelical Anglican Seminary, Wycliffe College in Toronto, which Purdie had attended as a young man. For a thorough review of the life and work of J.E. Purdie see Brian Ross, "James Eustice Purdy: The Story of Pentecostal Theological Education," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 17 (04): 94-103. As headmaster for over quarter century, Purdie was an advocate of intellectual reason and doctrinal clarity.

[68] R.E. McAlister, "Bible Colleges," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1926). See also J.E. Purdie, "Canadian Pentecostal Bible College" *The Canadian Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1927) and (May, 1928).

was written and published in the *Testimony* the following year. In this respect too, McAlister initiated a custom which would become commonplace in the years to come. For the next eighty years, in each edition of the *Testimony*, the PAOC statement of faith would be published on page two. Given that the twenty-two-point statement of faith which outlined Pentecostal doctrine was included without any obvious outcry from readers, it is clear that by the end of the 1920s, the editor had successfully incorporated an appetite for doctrinal discussion into the chain of memory.[69]

In many cases, the creed that McAlister chose to highlight was consistent with the conservative Pentecostal world view. By continuing to assert that healing was in the atonement, the editor invoked the profoundly traditional theology of Pentecostal pioneers such as Ellen Hebden, who had argued that the atonement contained, "all remedies for soul or body sickness."[70] Additionally, eschatological references were sprinkled throughout the denominational magazine.[71] The pages of the *Testimony* were filled with apocalyptic and eschatological discourse. The image of the ripe harvest was one of most common metaphors used by Pentecostals to describe their temporal location.[72] As Walter

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[69] The twenty-two-point statement outlines Pentecostal doctrine. Because it seemed to invert the doctrine-free model, this type of statement would have been extremely controversial even five or ten years earlier.
[70] R.E. McAlister, *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1926). The title of McAlister's featured editorial in this edition reads simply and in bold letters "We Believe Healing to be In the Atonement." The atonement is the belief that the death of Christ as an atonement for sin therefore provides, for the believer, forgiveness of sin *and* healing of body. See KJV Isaiah. 53: 3
[71] Both Edith Blumhofer and Vinson Synan have argued that early Pentecostals' apocalyptic and eschatological (end of times) focus tended to make them focus on present, rather than future worldly considerations. See Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 14 and Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit* (Nashville: Nelson Publishers, 2001), 219.
[72] References to harvest fields, fruit heavy on the vine and fertile ground were common throughout the magazine. See McAlister, "What Do We Believe?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1927), Rev. James Carr, "A New Outpouring for Today," (September, 1927) and G.A. Chambers, "From Here to the Ends of the Earth," (March, 1929).

McAlister, brother of R.E., noted in 1923, "everything seemed ripe for revival."[73] There was a definite sense that *this* was the time and that the apocalypse was near. In some cases, the apocalyptic rhetoric was markedly more heated. In an editorial in 1921, R.E McAlister passionately described the state of the world and the impending apocalypse: "...this is just a small beginning of the horror and misery that will be experienced during this terrible tribulation, when the wrath of God descends upon the wicked Christ-rejectors!" By placing theological treatises within the realm of well-established Pentecostal themes, such as millennial visions and atonement-based healing, the editor adroitly traditionalized a new degree of doctrinal discussion.

Thirdly, a careful examination of the *Testimony* reveals that, in an effort to legitimize the regulation of worship services, McAlister also reworked the discourse of spiritual discernment. Hervieu-Léger notes that within charismatic and revivalistic groups, the discernment of spirits, as outlined in the Paul's first epistle to the Christians of Corinth, is often used to justify individual authority. In the early years, she argues, the ability to discern what does and does not come from God, along with spiritual maturity, are often the purported reasons for a given leader's ascension.[74] Within this context, the notion of unmediated spirituality blends with the concept of skilled orchestration. In the *Testimony* McAlister was certainly not attempting to abandon the notion of spontaneity entirely, but, upon closer scrutiny, it does become clear that he was trying to show that when the Spirit descended, it was usually aided by human assistance. McAlister's

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[73] Walter McAlister, brother of R.E., *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1922) Also see C.E. Baker "Time is Short, Are You Prepared?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1925) and J.W. McKillop, "Last Days," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (December, 1928).

[74] Hervieu-Léger, "What Scripture Tells me: Spontaneity and Regulation Within the Catholic Charismatic Renewal," in *Lived Religion in America*, ed. David D. Hall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 35-37.

position was consistent with the emerging North American Pentecostal tradition. While contemporary believers certainly maintained the conventional notion that only God, and not the messenger, could affect spiritual gifts (or charismata), they were also adamant that certain people or 'discerners of the spirit' had a unique capacity to channel God's power.[75]

Thus, throughout the decade under study, the pages of the *Testimony* were filled with first-hand accounts of believers' experiences at revivals. These regularly highlighted the role of the minister. A participant recalled one such experience: "When the brother laid hands on me, I felt the power like a shock from the tips of my fingers to my elbow and I was perfectly healed when I left that night."[76] So too, reporting on a Montreal revival, an observer wrote: "Sister Frey would then give a second altar call for those who had not yet heeded her call... these met her at the front of the hall, where the seats were cleared and an altar improvised."[77] By giving altar calls, laying on hands and anointing with oil, evangelists became the primary catalysts for the Spirit's activity.[78] Reporting on a revival in his church, Reverend John McAlister (cousin of R.E.) observed that, "through prayer, anointing with oil and the laying on of hands, sickness in every form and of every nature was healed that night."[79] First-hand testimonies found in the PAOC magazine demonstrate that McAlister sought to highlight this human influence.

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[75] For a thorough review of this subtle distinction in doctrine see Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement*, 297-306.

[76] Mrs. F.E. West, *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1921). For other descriptions of the laying on of hands and anointing with oil, also see "Healed of Lesion," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (December 1921), and "My Story of Healing," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March 1926).

[77] C.E. Baker, "Montreal Revival," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1923). See also "Extracts Form the Personal Testimony of Dr. Charles S. Price," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1924) and F.R. Maddaford, "Revival at Vancouver," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1924).

[78] Although tongues as public utterances may have seemed spontaneous and perhaps even disassociative, Wacker maintains that these outbursts were generally controlled by the leaders. By encouraging glossalalia when it suited their message, and controlling the emotional intensity of the service through choreographed music, evangelists quickly learned how to coordinate a service. See Wacker, *Heaven Below* 58, 85 and 112.

[79] John McAlister, "Dreams and Wonders in Alberta," *The Pentecostal Testimony*, (September, 1927).

Without subverting the importance of the Holy Spirit, these accounts successfully traditionalized the value of skilled orchestration. As revivalistic movements mature, Hervieu-Léger points out that integrating other charismatic leadership qualities into the emerging body of tradition becomes absolutely crucial.[80]

Faith Healing in Medical Culture

In the same way that McAlister was able to counter the threat of spiritual innovations by asserting the role of leadership, he also legitimized faith healing within an increasingly scientific and medical culture. In Canada, faith healing was popularized during the Victorian period, an era of cultural and religious fascination with athletics and physical vitality. The increased profile of the YMCA and journals like *Physical Culture* reflected a new commitment to the strengthening and beautifying of the body.[81] It was within this context that the Pentecostal movement had emerged and drew attention to the new role of the body in religious experience. While traditional Protestant faith had secularized the body by denying post-apostolic miracles, Pentecostals, in their own view, "...resacralized the body and rejected secular authority over it."[82]

Throughout the twenties the *Testimony* featured a plethora of articles, tracts and first-hand accounts which dealt with prayer and faith healing. The imagery McAlister used to describe these experiences was, in many respects, distinctively modern. For instance, in 1924, addressing "the remarkable experience of prayer," he suggested that believers were like radios "...who must tune in to the distant stations which we wish to

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[80]Hervieu-Léger, "What the Scripture Tells Me: Spontaneity and Regulation within the Catholic Charismatic Renewal," 37. Although she is addressing later twentieth century charismatic groups, the same idea applies to 1920s Pentecostals. Certainly, so-called spiritual gifts were important qualities of leadership. However, intellectual capacity and personality attributes also had an influence.

[81] Johnathan R. Baer, "Redeemed Bodies: The Functions of Divine Healing in Incipient Pentecostalism," *Church History* 70 (December, 2001): 765-67.

[82] Ibid.

hear." He went on to state that prayers were like, "...innumerable noises and electrical forces that fill the air."[83] Electrical imagery was prevalent throughout the denominational magazine in the 1920s. Contributors often stated that healing encounters felt like "radiation from electrical globes" or "a bolt of electricity from the hand of God."[84] According to historian James Opp, the Pentecostal tendency to use this type of modern discourse represented a departure from nineteenth century encounters based on "inward stillness", and a new dependence on "outward signs of a subjective religious experience".[85] While the Victorian model was often a quiet and intimate event, the Pentecostal baptism was a deliberately vociferous and contagious public spectacle. Opp observes that, "...the Victorian concept of domestic religion had lost much of its lustre, and the connection between healing and religion in the private space of the bedroom was no longer widely assumed or accepted."[86]

Within the *Testimony* there are numerous accounts of mass healing rallies and high profile worship services. In effect, by celebrating these events, McAlister had brought faith healing and manifestations of the Holy Spirit out of the bedroom and into the spotlight. Or, to borrow Wacker's phrase, "...the experience may have been personal, but rarely private."[87] The preponderance of electrical imagery within the PAOC newspaper was a clear reflection of this transition; in McAlister's view, divine encounters were to be expressive and contagious.[88] The imagery of transmission which he included

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[83] Robert E. McAlister, "Power of Prayer" *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1924).
[84] Joan MacBride, *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October 1929) and Madge W. Black, *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February 1928).
[85] Opp, *The Lord for the Body*, 137.
[86] Ibid., 130.
[87] Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 38-40.
[88] It is important here to note that public displays of religious fervour were not a new occurrence; the visible exuberance of early Methodist and Salvation Army groups, some of whom continued these traditions into the twentieth century, has been well documented. For a Canadian example of Wesleyan

– whether electrical or radio wave – reflected his validation of Pentecostal healing as a distinctly modern phenomenon.

Nevertheless, at the same time, McAlister also invoked the tradition of apostolic healing. A congregant described one such experience. In her letter to the *Testimony* she stated, "He (the Holy Spirit) filled my body, with such an inflow of His life as seemed to show how easily He will take us to Himself in the twinkling of an eye, if in that moment our loins are girded and our lights burning."[89] Her recollection of the sensation she felt while being healed by the Holy Spirit contains a distinctly corporeal undertone. Undoubtedly, for her and for other readers, the experience of faith healing was much more bodily than spiritual. Again, according to Opp, at the turn of the century, while the emphasis was still placed on the ability of God to heal, religious discourse also began to resurrect the potential of the body itself to connect with the divine.[90] As Pentecostal revivals began to spread, and quasi-religious therapeutic operations became increasingly popular, this pattern became more pronounced over the next twenty years. Within this milieu, to borrow Opp's phrase, McAlister sought to "re-assert the body as a site of religious experience."[91]

As a result, healing accounts within the *Testimony* were highly explicit. Mrs. DeBurg told readers that after being "...in poor health for some time with appendicitis and adhesions of the bowels" she turned to the local Pentecostal minister.[92] She went on to cite in explicit detail the exact circumstances and timeframe of her healing. "I know

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Holiness worship see Greenshields, *Testimonies From a Camp Meeting*, 218-31. Nevertheless, as Opp points out, in Canada, where these scenes had been a rare occurrence, Pentecostal rallies created a new space for faith healing in the public sphere. See, *The Lord for the Body*, 135-37.

[89] Mrs. Elizabeth Davis, *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1923).

[90] James Opp, "Faith Healing, Victorian Medicine and the Role of the Healing Narrative in North America, 1880-1900," *Canadian Historical Association* (May, 1998): 22.

[91] Ibid., 21.

[92] Mrs. Betty DeBurg, *The Pentecostal Testimony*, (July, 1927).

God touched me", she continued, "...for I felt it at once, like a warmth throughout my entire body." In another account, McAlister reported that, "...one woman testified that she felt the cancer break loose in her throat which she swallowed and it passed away." The inclusion of graphic details --"adhesions of the bowels"-- and a specific timeframe -- "five minutes after being prayed for I got up and walked across the floor"-- were typical of these accounts.[93]

In order to demonstrate the Holy Spirit's powerful effect on the body of the healed, testimonies highlighted immediacy and graphic detail. While a majority of healing accounts were submitted by women, as the decade progressed, a number of men also began to write to the *Testimony*.[94] Male healing recollections often recounted that before receiving faith healing, they had to overcome stubborn resistance within their heart. One man recalled that, "...often in the meetings when conviction was resting on the people, the tears would stream down my face, but somehow the enemy had bound me up."[95] Ultimately, however, "... the power of the Lord fell on (him) and (he) fell prostrate on the floor." By selecting these accounts, McAlister sought to illustrate that, since the Spirit was once again dramatically affecting the bodies of believers (even those who were stubborn), the long-dormant power of the one true faith had finally been re-awakened.

It is also important to note that the language with which these accounts were

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[93] First hand accounts were regular components of *The Pentecostal Testimony*: for cancer see "Revival Fires Burining in Mille" *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1921), for autism see "Healing of a Little Girl," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1923) and for paralysis see "Wonderful Healing," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (December, 1924).

[94] Interestingly, since by the 1920s faith healing accounts had been separated from the domestic sphere, the healing narratives selected by McAlister were submitted by men as well as women. According to the research of Opp, the vast majority of Victorian healing narratives that appeared were written by women. He attributes this trend to the fact that Victorian women were considered "naturally" both sicker and more religious than men." During McAlister's editorship, however, these perceptions were beginning to change, and more male accounts were included.

[95] Raymond Watson, "Letter to the editor," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1928).

described emphasized the permanency of faith healing. One woman reported that "...standing the test for more than two years now, I want to praise and thank God for instantly healing me of falling of the stomach."[96] By illustrating that the Spirit's healing was enduring, and therefore genuine, McAlister further enforced the eschatological and restorationist ideals at the heart of Pentecostal self-understanding; while the mainstream church was merely an imitator, they were inheritors of the apostolic church, uniquely charged with preparing for Christ's imminent return.

In all of this, McAlister recognized the powerful connection between bodily healing and the movement's apostolic self-understanding. Therefore, while Pentecostals may have been marginalized from distinctively modern developments, such as psychology and medicine, they were to see themselves at the centre of a spiritual revival.[97] Historian Robert Orsi has addressed the capacity of healing narratives to empower people otherwise excluded from mainstream medical culture. He writes that, "...devotion inverted illness meaning available in culture: isolation became connection, hopelessness hope, submission confidence, silence voice. The inverting saint turned the cultural experience of illness inside out."[98] So too as editor, McAlister legitimized modern faith healing in the public sphere, as he elicited the apostolic tradition to describe explicitly corporeal and profoundly enduring encounters of Pentecostal believers with the divine. Given their distrust for medical science and economic marginalization, Canadian

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[96] Mrs. R.W. Russell, *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1924). Also see Mrs. I Hawley Sr. "Healed of Goitre," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1926).

[97] As mentioned in the introduction there has been tremendous debate among historians regarding the socio-economic status of early Pentecostals. Some of the latest analyses carried out by Grant Wacker suggests that early Pentecostals were a mixture of the "marginalized and respectable". He has boldly asserted that, much like other evangelical groups, Pentecostals represented a cross section of America.. See *Heaven Below*, 208.

[98] Robert Orsi, *Thank You, St. Jude: Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Causes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 183.

Pentecostals were located in a medical culture where they could no longer reasonably hope to play an active or significant role. Nevertheless, by constructing a genuine sense of community – based on a physical connection with the divine and a powerful sense of restorationist mission – McAlister emboldened his readers' self-image. This assertion of tradition in the face of rising medical culture is in keeping with what Hervieu-Léger calls "...religious innovativeness which emerges in modernity in the wake of attempts to reinvent the chain."[99]

Through a close textual analysis of the *Testimony* during the editorship of R.E. McAlister, this chapter has attempted to trace the process of traditionalizing within the PAOC. Confronted with the challenge of sustaining a distinctly modern movement in a context which was corrosive to tradition, McAlister sought to craft a chain of memory which invoked the authority of tradition without compromising the PAOC's core characteristics. In other words, as editor, he recognized the importance of situating within an established discourse, the movement's penchant for experiential worship, its legacy of isolation, its need for structure and leadership, its use of technology, as well as its passion for faith healing and dedication to evangelism. By drawing on a repository of primitive symbols and selecting from components of modern discourse, McAlister crafted a denominational chain of memory which affirmed the PAOC as a progressive and yet profoundly traditional body. Without these measures during the 1920s, it is unlikely that the PAOC would have survived its transition from a loosely affiliated group of sects to a unified denomination.

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[99] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 143.

Chapter Two: Challenges of the 1960s

For the PAOC, the decade of the 1960s was characterized by both tremendous prosperity and unprecedented turmoil. Throughout this tumultuous period, from 1957-1972, the *Testimony* was edited by a new brand of Canadian Pentecostal leader, E.N.O. Kulbeck. In many respects, Kulbeck was a product of the powerful economic, religious and social forces which swept through the movement in the three decades after McAlister's retirement.

While Kulbeck certainly possessed spiritual qualifications, particularly a post as the long-time minister of a prominent Montreal assembly, he also held modest academic credentials in the form of a Bachelor's degree from Western Pentecostal Bible College and a honourary Doctorate of Divinity from St. John's University in New York State.[1] Additionally, given that Kulbeck was a three-time representative at the World Conference of Pentecostal Churches and a long-serving Public Relations Liaison for the PAOC, his promotion also symbolized the movement's shift toward bureaucratization and engagement with the broader world. [2]

The context of that world had changed dramatically since the days of R.E McAlister. During the Great Depression, as the government reduced assistance ceilings and mismanaged relief efforts, the churches had increasingly been forced to fill the void.[3] Like other churchgoers, Pentecostal believers had had to endure massive unemployment

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[1] Walter E. McAlister, "Introducing Our Editor" *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1957).
[2] The Public Affairs Liaison is responsible for public relations and also inter-denominational cooperative efforts.
[3] By 1933, twenty-five-percent of the labour force in this country was unemployed. The beleaguered social support system was ill-prepared to handle this rampant unemployment. By the middle of the decade, the weekly food voucher in Toronto averaged only $6.32, a figure that was far below the Ontario Medical Association's recommended minimum. For a review of the impact of the Great Depression in Canada see Ramsay Cook, "The Triumphs and Trials of Materialism" in *The Illustrated History of Canada*, ed. Crraig Brown (Toronto: Key Porter, 1997), 444-484 and James Struthers, *The Limits of Affluence* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society Studies Series, 1994), 72-95.

and drastic cutbacks.[4] Remarkably, in spite of these hardships and thanks to hard-working itinerant evangelists and the proliferation of radio programs, a number of prominent new congregations had sprung up, for example, in Winnipeg, Churchill, Newbrook and Ellscott.[5] As for Canada in general, the greatest legacy of the Great Depression for Pentecostals had been the construction of a permanent administrative support network.[6]

With the coming of war in 1939, a newly unified PAOC was ready to contribute to the cause. Whereas, during the First World War, many Pentecostals had been too marginalized or staunchly pacifistic to embrace the cause, this time they had been ready to engage in the fight.[7] In many respects, the years during and immediately following the Second World War were a period of tentative engagement for the PAOC, which, given increased material wealth and a softening of fundamentalist rhetoric, was now prepared to take its place alongside other established denominations.[8]

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[4] During the thirties, local Pentecostal churches were forced to slash ministers' salaries dramatically. Even pre-eminent Pentecostals like Chambers and McAlister saw their weekly earnings drop from fifty to ten-dollars-a-week. Missions' contributions also suffered; dropping as much as fifty percent from their 1920s levels. Given the collapse of the wheat market and the incessant drought, it is not surprising that the PAOC congregations in the prairies were the hardest hit. See Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals* (Mississauga: Full Gospel Publishing, 1994), 139-145.

[5] From Winnipeg to Lethbridge, Pentecostal preachers like Dr. Charles Price were able to deliver their messages on the PAOC Western District radio program: "The Sunshine Evangel Hour". See Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 143.

[6]Throughout the thirties, by regulating ordination procedures, generalizing missions' policy, systematizing evangelistic methods, enacting disciplinary regulations and establishing a centralized publishing house, Pentecostals cemented their status as a denomination. See Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals,* 199.

[7] Both Gloria Kulbeck and Douglass Rudd have outlined Pentecostals marginalization and non-engagement in public affairs during these years. See Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought* (Toronto: PAOC Publishing, 1958), 64-66 and Rudd, *When the Spirit Came Upon Them* (Burlington: Antioch Books, 2002), 156-67. Motivated by duty – both divine and civic – many Pentecostal men went to serve in the Second World War. As a result, congregations were often left without male leaders and evangelists. Articles such as, "Attention Christian Youth! Have You Enlisted?", "Soldier Boys at Home and Abroad" and "What Can We Do for the Soldiers?", featured within the *Testimony*, reflected the general sense of patriotism and engagement within the PAOC

[8] For an in-depth examination of denominational evolution see David Moberg's study, *The Church as Social Institution: The Sociology of American Religion* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982). Moberg's study of American denominations found that there are generally five phases of development within each movement:

By the time that E.N.O Kulbeck, after a series of short term editors of *The Pentecostal Testimony*, took over in 1957, the denomination, no longer hampered by doctrinal disputes and bolstered by an ever-expanding and predominantly youthful base, was a unified, dynamic and rapidly growing body. In fact, during this period, the majority of PAOC adherents were under thirty years of age.[9] It was Kulbeck who would become the longest-serving editor since R.E. McAlister, and Kulbeck who would help the movement thrive despite the challenges of the 1960s.

A brief examination of the crucial statistics at the start of Kulbeck's reign demonstrates the remarkable transition between McAlister's retirement in 1930 and Kulbeck's inauguration in 1958. By 1958, the PAOC could boast: 144,000 adherents, 140 missionaries, 1350 clergy and licensed-lay workers (including 500 female workers and deaconesses) and 670 churches. Furthermore, by the start of the 1960s, the PAOC administered fifteen regional camp meeting sites and 632 Sunday schools with an enrollment of 68 000 students.[10] Not surprisingly, this growth did indeed bring about new challenges and raise difficult questions. Characteristics which had long defined the movement – such as its sense of being persecuted, iconoclastic and spontaneous – had, by the 1960s, become increasingly inapplicable. If Pentecostals were no longer impoverished, non-conformist and decentralized, how then were they to understand themselves? As a result, the PAOC was confronted with a major identity crisis. Numerous articles with titles such as "Can We Handle Success?," "Keeping Pentecost Pentecostal," and "Am I Pentecostal?" reflected this concern. While some Pentecostals

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initial uprising, formal organization, maximum efficiency, institutionalization and bureaucratic obsolescence. By 1960, the PAOC had arguably entered the maximum efficiency phase.

[9] Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 238-39.

[10] See Ibid., 258-61.

were pleased that the movement was becoming increasingly organized, socially-active and ecumenical, other adherents had an entirely different perspective.

Since the shaping of tradition within the *Testimony* was influenced by the same cultural forces that affected baby boomers, it will be instructive, before getting into the specifics of Kulbeck's editorship, to first recall briefly the wider cultural re-orientation which occurred during the 1950s and 1960s. In the fifteen years following the war, a million Canadians moved into the suburbs.[11] Remarkably, virtually all of these homeowners were of child-bearing age (early twenties to mid-forties).[12] In Canadian suburbs during the 1950s and early 1960s, there were generally only two family subgroups: parents and children.[13] Consequently, a highly visible and influential youth culture came to the fore of Canadian society.

In his study on the rise of the baby boom generation, Douglas Owram notes that baby boomers have a number of legacies, including a high birth rate and a sense of entitlement, but that above all, it was this group's self awareness and firm belief that they were truly unique which had the greatest impact on contemporary developments.[14] This self-awareness, he surmises, was due to the fact that, as opposed to earlier generations which had to contend with war and economic hardship, the boomers actually had the luxury to reflect on their place in the world. In fact, a growing economy supported by expansive government programs (including funding for education, social services and

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[11] Douglas Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 55.
[12] Ibid., 81.
[13] Ibid., 81-83. Owram points out that the contemporary social environment was geared toward children's needs and that the generational discontinuity only bolstered this sense of a child-centred universe. Activities such as Boy Scouts and Sunday school flourished in order to cater to this rising generation of youth. These groups, along with television and consumerism, amplified this peer group's sense of self importance.
[14] Ibid., 3-10.

health care) made baby boomers the "best fed, best-educated, and healthiest generation in Canadian history."[15]

The 1960s were to be the Age of Aquarius, when authority would be undermined and a new path for western civilization would be formed. From their earliest days, baby boomers were conditioned to believe that their generation's rise necessitated the re-orientation of tradition. As Owram states:

> Child-experts like Dr. Spock said it from the day they were born. The child-centred families said it. The toy makers said it, and the child-dominated suburbs made it explicit. The sheer numbers confirmed it: This society is designed for you.[16]

As a result, tradition was placed under scrutiny; the new generation was becoming increasingly skeptical about established values and customs. Moreover, by 1963, the insulated world of post war North America was experiencing intense destabilizing pressures. Living by the mantra "never trust anyone over thirty", the hippie generation represented, on the one hand, freedom from authority, youthful exuberance and peaceful harmony; and on the other, violence, drug addiction and an absence of purpose.[17] The drive for security, the cult of the family, the re-evaluation of tradition, and an undeniable faith in the future became the defining themes of post World War Two Canada.[18]

This climate of questioning affected Canadian churches in general, and, as will be analyzed later in greater depth, the PAOC in particular. After World War Two, the rise of communist governments in Eastern Europe and the simultaneous increase of apathy

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[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid,, 140.
[17] Ibid,, 185-87.
[18] Ibid,, 183.

and secularism in Western Europe put that continent's churches on the defensive.[19] However, what happened in Canada, and in North America generally, was something entirely different. From 1945-1960, Canadians showed a renewed interest in all things religious. Church attendance, church-building and religious publication all rose steadily during this period. The flight to the suburbs was a critical factor in this growth. Unlike after the First World War, people were now eager to return to citizenship, normalcy and religious observance.[20] While discussion of abstract theology waned in the 1950s, questions about leisure, labour, marriage, divorce and the marginalized became frequently contended issues.

Overall, during the early to mid 1960s, the Protestant churches began to reconsider the manner in which available talent could best be used in order to reach its membership. The general shift from expansion to reappraisal, which was well underway by the mid-1960s, along with a reduction of international tensions also led to an increased move toward ecumenism from all sides. In the wake of Vatican II, Catholics began to engage other Christians at unprecedented levels.[21] This renewed ecumenism had a trickle-down effect at a practical level. Formally disparate groups began to share buildings, coordinate curricula and, above all, engage in dialogue.[22]

What began as the churches' sober self-evaluation at the beginning of the 1960s, had, by the decade's final years, evolved into criticism of revolutionary proportions. In

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[19] John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Burlington: Welch Publishing, 1988), 160.
[20] Church and Sunday school were, Grant argues, "...part of this normalcy, and the vogue for them was related to an atmosphere of social conformism that was typical of the period." He goes on to note that, during this period, previously sectarian groups, such as the Seventh Day Adventists, Mormons and Pentecostals began to develop an increased public profile. According to Grant, these groups were often characterized by evangelism, literalism and, above all, their distinctive practices. Ibid. 162-78.
[21] Ibid. By the late 1960s, Catholics were contributing members of many local and national theological conferences and ministerial associations.
[22] Ibid., 191-195.

many cases led by the clergy, every aspect of church life came under serious review, questioning and sometimes protest. This re-appraisal included rites, theology and practice. Increasingly, the church was charged with being archaic, arrogant and oppressive. Books like *The Comfortable Pew,* by Pierre Berton, only served to incite further disillusionment.[23]

In sum, the response of many English Protestant churches to the upheaval of the 1960s was ambiguous. While some mourned the loss of tradition, others lamented that they were unable to affect change at all.[24] By the decade's waning years, the churches had lost their role as the nation's conscience. Fundraising, attendance and membership were all in decline. While in one sense society was now becoming increasingly secularized, spirituality was not disappearing; it was merely departing from the context of the institutionalized church and finding new forms of expression within Canadian society.[25]

Perhaps more than at any other time in its history, the PAOC, from the late 1950s to the early 1970s, was shaped by broader secular and religious trends. In some cases, the PAOC mirrored aspects of contemporary change; in other respects, it resisted that transition. Like other Boomers, when compared with previous generations, this wave of

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[23] Ibid., 195. The *Comfortable Pew* was a landmark study written by Pierre Berton on the state of Canadian church life. His book caused an uproar and accelerated the already rampant self-reflection within the church. Consequently, a fissure developed within the Protestant Churches. As Grant observes, "...two sets of presuppositions were in conflict, with the result that each side constantly complained of being misunderstood." While the Protestant establishment looked to the past, progressive believers understood themselves and their faith according to immediate experience and demanded modernization.

[24] Ibid., 202.

[25] Here Grant is touching on the deinstitutionalization of spirituality as outlined by Hervieu-Léger. See Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory* (New York: Rutgers University Press), 158-60.

Pentecostals was certainly more affluent, better cared for and better educated.[26] This newfound wealth resulted in substantial development. From a membership of only 5000 in 1911, the denomination could claim over 150,000 adherents by the mid 1960s.[27] The movement also witnessed tremendous westward and northern geographical expansion. [28]

As in contemporary society in general, the PAOC's increased status fostered a profound re-evaluation of tradition. Like other Christians at the beginning of the 1960s, in the face of a significant generation gap and a reasonable level of material comfort, Pentecostals began to question who they had been and contemplate who they would become. Not surprisingly, this reflection created a polarized response. On the one hand, the denomination strove to assert its modern character. On the other hand, however, in order to protect their cohesive identity, Pentecostals attempted to maintain and reshape an authoritative tradition.

As will become evident in the following pages, through centralization, civic engagement, ecumenical initiatives, televised evangelism, youth oriented programs and counter-cultural compromise, the PAOC did manage to express itself as a modern entity. However, with regard to gender concerns, missions' policy, conduct issues, charismatic

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[26] Miller asserts that, "Early Pentecostals had about the same social composition as other evangelical denominations of the early 20th century." However, he goes on to claim that, by the late 1950s, "The PAOC membership had an unmistakable upwardly mobile character." Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 269.

[27] While it was sometimes difficult to reconcile material success with traditional Pentecostal self-understanding, the increase in wealth also meant that PAOC churches could foster more expansive outreach programs and more aggressive congregation-planting strategies. During Kulbeck's editorship, established PAOC churches, such as J.H Blair's Hamilton congregation, began to "mother" other start-up churches. Ibid., 258-61.

208 This was also an era of remarkable expansion in the west: under the leadership of men like District Superintendent Percy S. Jones, Pentecostalism was spread more widely throughout British Columbia British Columbia was the last province to experience a Pentecostal boom. While there had been congregations there since the early years, it was not until the 1960s that the movement really spread throughout the province. By the early 1970s, these expansion efforts were centralized and formalized under PACE, the Pentecostal Assemblies Church Extension program. PACE was one of a number of contemporary programs which sought to organize and regulate formerly sporadic and decentralized evangelistic efforts. Ibid., 271-73.

developments and doctrinal distinctives, the denomination also managed to assert a conservative tradition.

Throughout this tumultuous and exciting period of Kulbeck's editorship, which lasted from 1957-1971, the *Testimony* experienced significant growth. Thanks in part to an expanded format and attempts to broaden its appeal, the *Testimony* jumped from distributing about 40,000 copies a month at the start of Kulbeck's editorship, to producing about 100,000 copies per month by the end of his time. The new editor completely re-designed the paper's format and added scholarly respectability to its content.

A careful review of the magazine's contents during this period reveals that while Kulbeck was determined, perhaps even more than McAlister, to affirm Canadian Pentecostals as modern believers, he was also committed to locating his readership within, what Hervieu-Léger has termed, "... a spiritual community that gathered past, present and future believers," and, via the symbolism of classical Pentecostalism and legend of McAlister, to constructing an imaginary reference to legitimize their beliefs.[29] As a result, although the particulars were radically different, by re-articulating and expanding on the tradition asserted by his mythic predecessor, Kulbeck's editorship followed a familiar pattern: celebrating elements of modernity, but also offsetting those components with an authoritative chain of memory.[30] In this way, like his predecessor, he can be seen as part of a process, what Hervieu-Léger refers to as the "traditionalizing of tradition," through which tradition is reinterpreted according to the character of the

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[29]Hervieu-Léger , *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 81.
[30] Ibid., 150-155.

present, but without undermining identity based on the past.[31] Hence, Kulbeck sought to create a chain of memory which was vital to the present without fragmenting the traditional Pentecostal identity. In so doing, as editor of the *Testimony*, he hoped to ensure that Pentecostals would have a firm sense of identity and also understand their place in the modern world.

However, it is also important to note that, unlike McAlister's time when the editor's control was almost absolute, the technologies of power were not wielded by Kulbeck in an autocratic or domineering fashion; tradition was rather directed and filtered by a number of forces within the *Testimony*. From this vantage point, the editor, other contributors, and the readers were all located in a web – within which interpretation came from many directions. Consequently, recollections of pastors, tensions between factions and contemporary interests all informed the way memory within the *Testimony* was shaped. Nevertheless, it was ultimately Kulbeck who attempted to mold these multiple evaluations into a coherent vision, even while he was immersed in it. In particular, with regard to five major challenges of the 1960s (radical new teachings, reconstruction of education, administrative centralization, material prosperity, and divine healing), he was able to find an interpretive middle ground, which enabled a modernization of perspective without compromising this PAOC identity.

Radical New Teachings

During the 1960s, many people – particularly those of college age – became fascinated with a plethora of innovative movements and ideologies. Countercultural phenomena such as second wave feminism, psychedelic experimentation and free love philosophies all challenged conventional teachings. The unlikely rise of the Jesus People

[31] Ibid., 88.

and the surprising popularity of the Latter Rain movement demonstrated that Pentecostals were not immune to the influence of counter-culture. Throughout this period, selectively embracing and yet also integrating these groups within the PAOC chain of memory became one of the biggest challenges for Kulbeck and the *Pentecostal Testimony*.

Since their earliest years, as demonstrated it chapter one, Canadian Pentecostals have been forced to deal with a variety of "radical new teachings". Historically, because the PAOC had itself been accused of heresy by various mainstream denominations, criticizing new revival groups within its own ranks was often a delicate affair. In the 1960s, given increased anxiety about institutionalization, dealing with this new wave of groups that threatened a still fragile identity proved to be particularly challenging.

The New Order of the Latter Rain movement, which began in North Battleford, Saskatchewan and spread throughout Pentecostal assemblies all over North America in the 1950s, claimed to be the final fulfillment of New Testament prophecy.[32] In Canada, New Order teachings divided congregations across the country. Believers were often caught between their desire for spiritual renewal and their skepticism about bizarre practices associated with this new group. As the New Order spread, its leaders began to claim that the movement was merely a forerunner to this new manifestation of the spirit, and thus, a genuine revival.[33] The New Order succeeded by reviving a rhetoric and ideology which had long since faded from mainstream Pentecostal circles. In fact, it worked hard to cultivate its reputation as extra-institutional, and hence as an "outsider" –

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[33] In traditional Pentecostal circles, rhetoric about the former and latter rains refers to New Testament record of the Holy Spirit's outpouring and a similar revival which took place at the start of the 20th century. However, Latter Rain followers believed that the early 20th century Pentecostal outpouring was just a precursor to the genuine article which was then taking place, fifty years later. See Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 255-61.

even among a group of outsiders – and therefore became increasingly hostile to the American Assemblies of God (AOG) and the PAOC.[34] The New Order's rise caused a divergent reaction within Canadian Pentecostal circles. One the one hand, it encouraged PAOC leaders to re-emphasize the value of education and clearly-defined doctrine. On the other, its disturbing new claims of restoration brought about calls for spiritual renewal and a return to primitivism within Pentecostalism. Either way, the unexpected emergence of this group – which in many ways seemed to be a harbinger from the past – caused Canadian Pentecostals to substantially re-evaluate who they had become.[35]

The Jesus People were the other group that inspired an ambiguous reaction from mainstream Pentecostals.[36] During the late 1960s, a group of California hippies, led by Ted Wise, combined countercultural iconography and methodology with evangelical beliefs. This seemingly strange intermixture brought thousands of young people into the evangelical fold.[37] A number of evangelical leaders, including renowned preacher Billy Graham, made great efforts to embrace these new believers.[38] In some respects, the PAOC was also willing to welcome these unorthodox Christians.[39] Nevertheless, for

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[34] See Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith,* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), *204*-210. Also see Hervieu-Léger who argues that, in order to legitimize their separation and validate their struggle, a separatist group must invest their practices with absolute and sacred status. See *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 77.

[35] Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 259-63.

[36] The Jesus People used countercultural terminology, such as "getting high on Jesus", and methodology, like rock music, to spread the evangelical message. The Canadian hub of the Jesus People movement was Vancouver, where coffee house meetings and street evangelism became popular. Besides counteracting drug culture, the JPM also inaugurated new modes of worship and new tactics for evangelization. Rudd, *When the Spirit Came Upon Them*, 363.

[37] For a thorough review of this movement see Robert S. Ellwood, *One Way: The Jesus Movement and Its Meaning* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973). 57-63.

[38] See Chris Armstrong, "Tell Billy Graham the Jesus People Love Him: How evangelism's senior statesman helped the hippies 'tune in, turn on to God'," in *Christianity Today* (December, 2003): 42-70.

[39] The *Testimony* featured a number of complimentary and enthusiastic articles about the Jesus People including, most boldly, "What we Can Learn From the Jesus People," by Kenneth B. Birch *The Pentecostal Testimony* (December, 1971). See also: Craig Pitts, "See What God Can Do!," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1972) and E.N.O Kulbeck, "Jesus People of the North West," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1971).

other PAOC adherents, some of the ideological and practical changes that the Jesus People represented were entirely too radical.[40] As a result, the contrasting interpretations threatened to cause a rift within the PAOC. Within the pages of the *Testimony*, in order to confront this challenge, Kulbeck both emphasized the common ground between the Jesus People and the modern PAOC and also evoked to the stabilizing power of tradition.

In the face of these contentious new teachings, through both explicit and subtle means, Kulbeck attempted to assert the PAOC as a highly structured, administratively efficient, and therefore highly modern, Christian fellowship. During his editorship, the *Testimony* was divided into several sections including: News and Views, People and Places, Christ's Ambassadors, Women's Ministry, Men's Fellowship, the Children's Corner and Missions' Reports. This compartmentalization, which celebrated administrative oversight and tacitly advocated further organization, can be seen as an example of what Foucault refers to as the "technologies of power" – or in this case, "technologies of traditionalizing."[41]

Kulbeck also endorsed a number of articles which advocated more doctrinal structure as the appropriate reaction to the rise of these new groups. In an article entitled, "Pentecostals and Perceptions", long-time Winnipeg minister, H.H. Barber, argued that, "...without clearly defined doctrine and appropriate regulation, the man on the street, when he hears the word Pentecostal, will think of the antics of some unattached evangelist from the west coast or the deep south."[42] Unlike the articles from the twenties,

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[40] Central Pentecostal College President Alvin Schindel refered to the Jesus People as a group "upon whom many of us still look with more than a few misgivings and no little suspicion." See "The Jesus People: A Godly Movement?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January 1971).

[41] See Michel Foucault, "The Eye of Power" Published as a preface to Jeremy Bentham, *Le Panoptique* (Paris: Belfond, 1971).

[42] H.H. Barber, "Pentecostals and Perception," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1957). In a similar article, Paul Sorensen admits that, even in the initial years, "Pentecostal pioneers were worried that extreme

which, in order to write Pentecostals into an established tradition, often selectively incorporated fundamentalist discourse, this piece used the spectre of backwater extremists as a foil for the modern PAOC. By including pieces like Barber's, Kulbeck was endorsing a clearly-defined theology and centralized governance. In so doing, he skillfully validated the PAOC as a contemporary denomination.

At the same time, however, as editor he also attempted to show that, although the special challenges of the New Order of the Latter Rain and the Jesus People did undoubtedly necessitate a modern response, their rise did not justify a drastic re-orientation of Pentecostal values. In fact, in the face of radical and potentially abusive practices, Kulbeck often promoted the invocation of denominational tradition, frequently attempted to place the PAOC response to radical new teachings within the legacy of the Pentecostal forefathers. Therefore, Barber's article also reminded readers that, "the rise of fanatical groups had threatened the sound reputation which our forefathers worked so tirelessly to earn." Hence, regulation was actually a tribute to first-generation believers who had worked diligently to disassociate themselves from cultism and aberration. In order to validate this perspective, Kulbeck also continued the practice of McAlister of printing the classic Pentecostal statement of faith on page two of every issue.

An article by a regular contributor and long-time PAOC minister provides further evidence of the paper's attempts to write the challenge of new teachings into the classical Pentecostal tradition. It stated, "...lately we have met with some unsavory problems and now from every side come suggestions for improving our status."[43] The unsavory

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positions were being taken." See, "Spiritual Drift or Drive," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1971). These authors were arguing that, although they may not have wanted to be stodgy like other denominations, first generation Pentecostals were indeed in favour of being respectable.

[43] Walter S. Bragg, "Keeping Pentecost Pentecostal," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1960).

problems to which he referred included: the prophesying and extreme bodily contact practiced by the New Order of the Latter Rain, the commune lifestyle practiced by certain members of the Jesus People and uproar at the Canadian Pentecostal Bible Colleges. Nevertheless, he continued, "Pentecost has always had its Simons of sorcery, its Sapphiras, its Judases... and seeking now to avoid them by suppressing the Spirit in our services is an admission that we have failed somewhere along the line." The phrase "suppressing our spirit" referred to a perceived decline in charismatic outpouring in Pentecostal services. In other words, PAOC adherents were to see themselves as literally begotten with a living tradition which demands the preservation of unmediated spirituality. In the face of false teachings, Bragg drew readers' attention to PAOC tradition and implied that, as it had done before, the PAOC should respond by re-asserting primitive spirituality.[44]

Particularly in the latter years of Kulbeck's editorship, the Jesus People phenomenon became a frequently discussed topic. Here too, some contributors to the *Testimony* strove to re-write this contemporary movement into the authorized tradition. In his article, "Can We Learn from the Jesus People?" recalling a meeting with several of the movement's followers, Ken Birch observed that, "no preliminaries were needed...we were with brothers in Christ and a spontaneous communication of authentic praise and testimony to our Lord began to flow."[45] In a similar article addressing evangelistic innovation, George C. Smith described the Jesus People in familiar classic Pentecostal terms. He stated:

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[44] Hervieu-Léger argues that restorationist groups often attribute the chaos of modernity to a departure from a pure original core. In this case, only when a group of individual believers (Jesus People) came together and sought the pure Pentecostal experience was the baggage of denominationalism finally released. See Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 84-86.

[45] Ken Birch, "Can We Learn From the Jesus People?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (December, 1971)..

> They've (established denominations) held conferences all around the world. They have published mountains of memos, and they are still disunited and still arguing over the details. But suddenly, there came a Holy Ghost interruption and Jesus Kids started an underground ecumenical movement, and without committee or red tape.[46]

In this case, by presenting the Jesus People as a Holy Spirit-driven, unstructured and authentic corrective to the established denominations, Smith successfully wrote the movement into the early twentieth century Pentecostal mythos.

A third spiritual movement which emerged in the 1960s and would prove to be more prolific and enduring than either the Jesus People or the New Order was the so-called charismatic revival/renewal within the mainline churches, sometimes referred to as the third wave of Christianity. While it is hard to pin down a precise starting point, most observers trace the charismatic revival to the Holy Spirit's infilling of Denis Bennett, an Episcopalian clergyman in California in 1960. During the 1960s and 1970s, groups of people from within the traditional denominations, including a large number of Catholics, began to have Pentecostal-style experiences – especially tongues baptism and divine healings. The rise of the charismatic movement brought the Pentecostal experience to the forefront of public attention and led to an infusion of Pentecostal ideology into the discourse of the traditional denominations. In fact, the publication of Archbishop Leo Jozef Suenens' book, *A New Pentecost*, seemed to give tacit Roman Catholic approval as well.[47] While some mainstream Pentecostals, such as David du Plessis, a renowned South African minister, welcomed this revival with great enthusiasm, others had a great deal of trouble accepting Catholics and other "institutionalized Christians" into their ranks. By the late 1960s Canadian Pentecostals were becoming divided over whether or

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[46] George C. Smith, "Innovations in Evangelism," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1972). See also, Rev S.D. Feltmate, "Wilkerson Blasts Established Churches," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (July, 1972).
[47] Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 298-301.

not this new influence, acceptance and public profile was good for the PAOC. As he had done in other areas, Kulbeck managed to craft a vision of tradition which affirmed the movement's modern character and upheld its galvanizing tradition.

Kulbeck molded his readers' perceptions of the charismatic movement in two distinctive ways. On the one hand, he presented the spread of charismatic phenomena such as the Jesus People as clear evidence that the PAOC was indeed on the cutting edge of Christianity. On the other, he endeavored to show that many of the movement's percepts were consistent with authorized classical and apostolic Pentecostal tradition.

The *Testimony's* characterization of the Charismatic Movement seemed to suggest that, in order to ensure its continued prosperity, the modernized PAOC must embrace the revival and many of the its tenets. The Pentecostal-style spiritual outpouring within the mainstream churches, Kulbeck seemed to maintain, was clear affirmation that Pentecostalism was truly the third wave in Christianity. Many contributors to the denominational magazine strove to assure readers that this fresh proliferation of apostolic charismata affirmed the PAOC's progressive character.

During the late 1960s, many of the stories about the Charismatic Renewal celebrated the fact that a number of prominent Christians had 'gone Pentecostal'. Reporting on a panel which had gathered at a Pentecostal assembly in Vancouver to discuss the Charismatic outpouring, Bernice Gerard boasted that:

> The panel gathered at Calvary included Dr. George Pattison, formerly rector of the Anglican cathedral in Prince Rupert; Rev Ed Gregory, a graduate of Fuller Theological Seminary and former staff associate of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship at Purdue University; Rev. Ray Brigham; and Rev. Mel Boring, graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary and recently of Chi Alpha Center at Berkeley.[48]

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[48] Bernice Gerard, "Panel Discussion Held at Calvary Church," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1968).

Not only does the article reveal changing attitudes toward formal education within the movement, it was also designed to remind readers that the PAOC had become so significant that it now drew the evangelical community's best and brightest. In a similar article, W.T. Burns claimed that, "...for years Pentecostals have been treated like holy-roller bumpkins who jabbered in tongues down by the railroad tracks, but now the charismatic movement has moved uptown and Spirit-filled priests are ad libbing the mass and turning them into praise services!"[49] In this article, one contributor could barely contain his pleasure that Pentecostalism had begun to infiltrate the established church. In other words, from this perspective, readers of the *Testimony* ought to perceive the spread of charismata as joyous evidence of the PAOC's success in the modern context. As Kulbeck put it in an official prayer proclamation:

> **Whereas** – The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada is a body of believers dedicated to the spread of the gospel of Christ, and **Whereas** – it has enjoyed the charismatic renewal in apostolic fashion, and has contended for Pentecostal relevance in this present age, and **Whereas** – this fellowship expresses itself as being commissioned of God, and is desirous of having a revival that will move our nation to God... **Therefore**, we must embrace this recent outpouring, and as individuals and congregations, pray that it will spread like wildfire.[50]

The fact that this sort of prayer proclamation was only rarely published in the *Testimony* demonstrates that, for Kulbeck, engaging the renewal as evidence of the PAOC's modernized character was particularly crucial.

At the same time, however, the editor was intent on convincing his readership that the revival within the established churches was in many ways consistent with Pentecostal

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[49] W.T. Burns, "Who are the Charismatics?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (July, 1968).

[50] E.N.O Kulbeck, "Official Prayer Proclamation," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1970). Prayer proclamations were official requests, submitted by the PAOC head office, which were intended to focus prayer on a specific issue. See also Jim Gibson, "Some RC's Embrace Tongues," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1970).

tradition. Throughout the late 1960s, the *Testimony* attempted to traditionalize the movement by establishing that, like the early PAOC, charismatics rejected institutionalization and declension within the mainline churches. In an article which profiled famed charismatic preacher David Wilkerson, the writer observed that, "what David Wilkerson had to say was that the Holy Spirit is now interrupting the entire program of the organized church. All the channels of the established church", he continued, "are temporarily blacked out and Jesus is now coming across every channel."[51] By writing the charismatic outlook into the well-established narrative of renewal and revival, he successfully placed the movement within the confines of authorized tradition. Another article in a similar vein described the scene at a charismatic service in a Episcopal church:

> Many filled the entry hall and some sat on the stairs. They were singing when we entered, "His Name is Wonderful," "Jesus, Jesus, Name I Love," and then a new one, "O Holy Spirit descend on wings of love." They sang the chorus over and over, some with hands raised, eyes closed, faces radiant.[52]

Here too, the use of classical Pentecostal discourse is obvious. While describing the scene at an Episcopalian service, in an even more explicit example of traditionalizing, the same observer wrote that, "many sung with hands upstretched and open as if to receive something from above...it was strangely familiar and nostalgic," he went on, "...it reminded us of something we had known perhaps too long ago."[53] In all three cases, the writers were attempting to reconcile the contemporary outpouring with the established Pentecostal chain of memory.

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[51] Rev S.D. Feltmate, "Wilkerson Blasts Established Churches," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (July, 1972)
[52] Peter Prosser, "Catholic Charismatic Impact Increases," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1971).
[53] Ibid.

In summary, contributors to the *Testimony* responded to the charismatic movement in two specific ways. While Kulbeck attempted to present the recent outpouring as evidence of the PAOC's dynamic character, he also sought to situate the movement within established Pentecostal tradition. With regard to the charismatic movement, the editor was eager to craft a tradition which celebrated Pentecostals as both the third and first forces in Christianity. Thus, when confronted with the rise of aberrant groups, Kulbeck responded by both asserting the PAOC as a progressive entity and placing the dilemma within the context of an authoritative tradition. His refashioning of the denominational chain of memory emphasized both continued modernization and a renewed emphasis on primitivism.

Education

In addition to confronting radical new movements, Kulbeck also had to cope with a reorientation of the Pentecostal education system. As previously illustrated, the baby boom generation revolutionized education at every level and made the campus experience central to their mythology. Given the secular orientation of this education, and the fact that the majority of PAOC adherents were under thirty years of age, Canadian Pentecostals were also forced to reconsider the instruction of their youth.[54] As they had for mainstream churches in the years after the war, for the new look of the PAOC in the 1960s, initiatives aimed at youth – including a standardized Sunday School curriculum and Crusader and Missionette mid-week programs for children and social/bible studies for teens – became a top priority

While these initiatives were accepted almost unanimously, college instruction for young pastors was much more contentious. Although, historically, Pentecostals had been

[54] Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 238-39.

reluctant about formal education, during the 1960s they did begin to attend Bible colleges and even liberal arts schools in increasing numbers.[55] By the mid 1960s, the PAOC colleges were graduating about 100 students per year. Over the next several years, academic standards were stiffened, and by 1970, there were about 475 students enrolled in the five Canadian colleges. In addition, Winnipeg Bible college professor Dr. Charles Ratz offered credential-awarding correspondence courses to the denominational laity.

As the number of students at PAOC institutions continued to increase, questions abounded about the nature and appropriateness of theological education for church leaders.[56] While the PAOC had regulated ordination in some fashion for many years, it was only during this period that formal education became a major priority. This shift was consistent with the broader educational pattern for Pentecostals south of the border.[57] Furthermore, it was in the 1960s and 1970s that Pentecostals began to engage in serious scholarly theological and doctrinal debate. However, along with these academic initiatives came a host of new questions. How could theological and doctrinal learning be reconciled with spontaneous spirituality and fundamentalist principles? What type of courses should be offered and what kind of articles were appropriate? During the period under study, the pages of the *Testimony* were filled with numerous entries addressing

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[55] In fact, as George Rawlyk demonstrates, starting in the 1950s, the number of liberal protestant bible college students began to decline while the number of evangelical pupils slowly began to rise. See *Is Jesus Christ Your Personal Saviour?* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1996), 35-39.

[56] Ibid. Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, then located in Peterborough, Ontario, was the PAOC's largest Bible College. During its first three decades, it managed to graduate over 4000 students. For a thorough account of the history of EPBC see Emma Hann, "Reflections of Eastern Pentecostal Bible College" (Mimeographed Booklet, Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, 1982).

[57] For a thorough account of American Bible Colleges, including a number of Pentecostal institutions, see Virginia Lieson Brereton, *Training God's Armies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990). Brereton argues that early Pentecostals' distrust for anything which hampered the Holy Spirit prevented the development of serious Pentecostal colleges until the late 1940s. She goes on to point out that it was not until the late 1950s when many Pentecostal colleges began to seek accreditation.

these types of questions.[58] Articles such as "Our Colleges Need Cash Now" and "Why Bible Colleges Save Souls" became commonplace. In fact, right at the start of his editorship, in the January 1957 issue, Kulbeck wrote an extensive article about the Christian Education Commission – a joint effort of the PAOC and AOG to evaluate the questions surrounding Christian colleges on both sides of the border. All of these pieces reflected a profound anxiety and desire for clarity with regard to ministerial education and theological reflection.

As with other challenges, Kulbeck attempted to re-shape the denominational chain of memory. While, with regard to education, he was intent on affirming the PAOC as a modern entity, at the same time, without threatening its contemporary characteristics, he was also determined to re-assert a stabilizing tradition. Therefore, although he promoted ministerial education, theological discussion, and doctrinally-informed belief, he often sought to incorporate these concepts into the Apostolic and classical Pentecostal tradition. From this subtle vantage point, he was able to present the current trend toward formal education and vigorous theology as the realization of the pioneers' dream and a tribute to their legacy. In order to promote this agenda, Kulbeck, who was a man of relatively substantial education, incorporated numerous articles from emerging American Pentecostal journals, such as *New Wine*, *Logos* and *Renewal*.[59] While the inclusion of these articles represented a reversal of anti-intellectualism and fears about ivory tower theology, it is important to note that, even though their content was theological, their

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[58] Articles such as "Our Colleges Need Cash Now," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (July, 1958) and "Why Bible Colleges Save Souls," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1965) were commonplace. In fact, in the January, 1957 issue, E.N.O Kulbeck wrote an extensive article about the Christian Education Commission – a joint effort of the PAOC and AOG to evaluate the questions surrounding Christian colleges on both sides of the border.

[59] These quasi-scholarly publications, which featured doctrinal and theological discussion, emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, and provided Pentecostal theologians with a valuable platform for discussion. However, in this period, they were still very much insider publications, and by no means academic.

discourse (including the journal titles themselves) emphasized restoration and represented a blend of modern scholarship with apostolic tradition.

In one of his first editorials, by clearly articulating the close relationship between early PAOC success and education, Kulbeck made an even more explicit case:

> The pertinent question is – is it likely that our growth would have been anything like that which it has been without the far-reaching contribution that a trained ministry has made to the work of God? As we soberly evaluate all the factors involved, and make comparison with other revival movements throughout church history, we seriously believe the answer is "no".[60]

This particularly strong statement that formal education was a vital element of the classical Pentecostal tradition demonstrated Kulbeck's reworking of the denominational chain of memory in order to accommodate modern educational initiatives. This editorial represented the extension of a trend, initiated by McAlister, which recognized forces other than the Holy Spirit as necessary for ministerial instruction.[61] In a similar article several years later, Kulbeck addressed fears about education even more directly. He observed:

> The old argument used against the need or desirability of Bible college training was that so many outstanding men of the early days had no formal training. That argument was and is basically fallacious for, invariably, these men express themselves as regretting that they were not able to attend Bible college and most heartily encourage others to do so.[62]

From these statements, it is clear that Kulbeck was attempting to fashion tradition in a manner which celebrated formal Bible college education. In fact, near the end of his

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[60] E.N.O Kulbeck "Bible Colleges and Their Contribution," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (July, 1957).
[61] Early Pentecostals, in their view, often established a firm distinction between established denominations, which allowed doctrinal instruction to corrupt their leadership, and the PAOC, which promoted leaders on the basis of discerning spirits alone.
[62] Kulbeck, "Tribute to Dr. Purdie," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1970) See also Donald Gee, "Pentecostal Winds of Change," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1965).

editorship, Kulbeck elected to add a new section to the paper, dedicated entirely to Pentecostal Bible colleges.

In addition, he was keen to traditionalize the concept of reflective faith for ordinary believers. In a series of articles on Pentecostal literature, a leading minister claimed that, "one of the chief concerns of the founders of the Pentecostal movement was that suitable literature would be made available for our growing churches and Sunday schools." The writer went on to remark that, "...early leaders felt that our young people must be thoroughly indoctrinated in the basic beliefs of our Pentecostal faith."[63] This re-structuring of the denominational chain of memory was intended to ensure that the education of laypersons also became an acceptable priority.

Nevertheless, Kulbeck was careful to accompany this modernized interpretation with more conventional understandings. Often convinced that theological education would undermine young ministers' spiritual sensitivity, many first and second generation Pentecostals failed to support formal training academies. In fact, in her study of the American Bible school movement, Virginia Lieson Brereton points out that, south of the border, only nine of the forty Bible schools started by the Assemblies of God were still functioning in 1960.[64] The PAOC had a similar legacy of suspicion. One of the most prominent and frequent contributors to the *Testimony* during Kulbeck's time, Zelma Argue, daughter of Pentecostal trailblazer A.H. Argue, was particularly concerned that Bible college training could sap a PAOC minister's spiritual vitality. During this era, she wrote several articles which highlighted this early dedication to exclusively spiritual education. With reference to the movement's first two decades, she pointed out that

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[63] S.D. Feltmate, "How Important is Pentecostal Literature?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1970). See also E.N.O Kulbeck, "Christian Education and Youth Conference," (May, 1969).
[64] Leison-Brereton, *Training God's Armies*, 13.

"...many early preachers were so burdened by the sins of their towns that day after day they lay prostrate before their altars in prayer."[65] In another article she claimed that her father's early messages were inspired by "...apostolic zeal and the wondrous works of God."[66] In both of these pieces, Argue constructed a nostalgic legacy of her father and other first generation PAOC leaders.

In a similarly reflective piece, in this case recalling the initial revivals in the Ottawa area from 1907-11, a contributor stated, "No one who saw it will ever forget...big men, as well as women, fell to the ground and lay there for some time as if dead, overwhelmed by the power on high."[67] His suggestion is no less blunt than Argue's: the power that animated was the direct result of the Spirit's will and not the minister's eloquence. According to these interpretations, which Kulbeck was careful to include, although formal education was vital, tradition demanded that spiritual influence and diligent prayer should remain integral to the instruction of young ministers and reflections of ordinary believers. In keeping with this conviction, from the beginning of his term, Kulbeck dedicated one issue each year to exclusively to revival. These issues, entitled Revival Month, included editorials on the importance of spiritual renewal and chronicled outpourings of the Spirit all over the world.

As the PAOC continued to venture into the theological realm and establish its Bible colleges, Pentecostals were forced to re-evaluate tradition. With skill and tact, Kulbeck was able rework the classical Pentecostal legacy in order to accommodate both

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[65] Zelma Argue "When the Angels Lay Prostrate," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1960).
[66] Zelma Argue, "More Than Fifty Years of Pentecostal Grace and Glory," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1958). This article was a reflection upon her father's ministry.
[67] Robert Taylor, "In the Early Days of the Pentecostal Fellowship," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1970). For another account which champions spiritual education see Kulbeck, "Spiritual Gifts," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1959).

formalized education and spiritual fervency. In so doing, he successfully negotiated what Hervieu-Léger sees as the essential dilemma confronting modern religious movements, namely a balance between carrying their compromise with worldly attitudes too far and yet also being able to talk the language of today.[68]

Centralization

During the 1960s, a cornucopia of new government programs and solidification of the social safety net placed institutional regulation at the front of public consciousness. However, the degree and nature of this centralization was often hotly debated. As previously demonstrated, church success in the modern era was also dependent on a denomination's ability (and willingness) to master organizational efficiency.[69] Given the unprecedented oversight and departmentalization which characterized the PAOC during this period, Canadian Pentecostals were not immune to this discussion.

In the fifties and sixties, the PAOC built a truly modern denominational structure. By the time Kulbeck took office, most debates regarding organizational structure had long since been settled. Since the 1920s, the PAOC had been anxious to balance its ever increasing need for organization and administrative support with a continued emphasis on democracy. The "presbygational" compromise outlined in chapter one reflected this intended balance. Theoretically, since the foundational decisions were made by rank-and-file credential holders and lay-delegates, the PAOC managed to maintain the appearance of democratic structure.

By the late 1950s, this long-standing compromise was upheld in name only, and the PAOC had become entirely departmentalized. The central office divided

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[68]Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 168.
[69] J.W. Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Burlington: Welch Publishing, 1988), 160.

management into eleven areas: Finances, Overseas Missions, National Home Missions, Bible Colleges, Christian Education, Youth, Publications, Women's Ministry, Men's Fellowship, Evangelism and Stewardship.[70] This penchant for centralization also informed the broader Pentecostal movement. The international Conference of Pentecostal Churches, which was held in Toronto in 1958, presented delegates from various countries with a chance to harmonize doctrine and coordinate evangelistic strategies. In tune with contemporary trends, as the PAOC continued to grow, it began to differentiate its evangelistic efforts and coordinate policy at regional, national and international levels. Moreover, as it began to disregard its isolationist legacy, the PAOC institution also initiated contact with other mainstream denominations.

Nevertheless, while many believers were comfortable with centralization and a certain degree of ecumenism, others fought to restore decentralization and separation. Here too, it was Kulbeck who, by taking major steps to locate contemporary ecumenical initiatives within the realm of classical Pentecostal tradition, was able to accommodate vital modernization and also uphold a coherent Pentecostal identity. In this way as well, he reshaped the denominational chain of memory.

In some respects, as editor, he attempted to show that Pentecostals had a rich heritage of inclusiveness, cooperation and shared values with the broader Christian community. Only by continuing the long-standing custom of finding common ground, he posited, would the PAOC be able to retain and expand its influence. In his article "Do Tongues Matter?" renowned English Pentecostal theologian, Donald Gee, concluded that,

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[70] Ibid., 256-60

"there are abundant instances scattered throughout the history of revivals of the occurrence of speaking with tongues."[71]

In like manner, other articles celebrated the legacy of post-apostolic revivalists such as Zwingli, Calvin, Luther and Wesley. In fact, by the early 1960s, to draw attention to his denomination's broader tradition, Kulbeck had decided to publish an annual "Protestant Press Edition" which featured articles from other denominational publications and pieces focused on a common Protestant heritage. Through these initiatives, Kulbeck intended to demonstrate that since early Pentecostals and historic revivalists shared a common legacy, modern Pentecostalism should also be tied to the larger evangelical and charismatic community. Interestingly, unlike McAlister who sought to write Pentecostals into the lineage of great revivalists, Kulbeck strove to integrate great revivalists into the tradition of Pentecostalism. An article about John Wesley's dream sums up this position perfectly. Allegedly, Wesley described a dream where he went to heaven and asked Peter if there were any Roman Catholics beyond the gates, but the apostle replied "no". He then asked about several other denominations, and finally demanded that the gatekeeper tell him whether there were any Methodists in heaven, but Peter again replied no, there are no Methodists in heaven. According to this account, when Peter ultimately explained that there were only Christians in heaven, Wesley was ashamed of his rigid thinking.[72] By incorporating such articles and dedicating an entire issue each year to revivalist ecumenism and the Pentecostal-style

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[71] Donald Gee, "Do Tongues Matter?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1959). For a similar account see Walter McAlister, "My Visit to Switzerland: Land of Reformation," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1957) and Gordon T. Scoville, "Presbyterian Churches Practice Divine Healing," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1968).

[72] Michael P. Horban, "Which is the Right Church?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1967). For similar accounts which highlight the historical precedence of ecumenism see C.A. McClain, "The Miracle of Pentecost," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1961) and R.G. Champion, "Revival and Power Through Prayer," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1958).

contributions of other Protestants, past and present, Kulbeck was at the same time paving the way for openness to current ecumenical initiatives, such as the formation of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada in 1964, and suggesting that cooperation rather than separation had been and should continue to be the benchmark of a modern movement.

Along with this particular form of ecumenism, Kulbeck also sought to write the current reality of structure and denominationalism into the legacy of PAOC pioneers. As one Pentecostal minister, reflecting on the early period, put it, "...very shortly (the movement) took on the nature of permanency and doctrinal solidity under the leadership of many outstanding pastors, Bible teachers and evangelists."[73] "As a result", he continued, "the Pentecostal Movement today is in the forefront of fundamental evangelical activity."[74] Evidently, from this perspective, organization was firmly rooted in tradition and crucial to the PAOC's ongoing prosperity. Furthermore, in each edition, by placing the names of all the PAOC administrators and elected officials at the top of page two, Kulbeck provided subtler praise for the denominational evolution.

An article entitled, "Reality of Fellowship Characterized Conference," which depicted the atmosphere at the International Conference of Pentecostal Churches also blended centralization with tradition. From this standpoint, far from being an affront to the PAOC legacy, the massive administrative cooperation which the conference represented, was actually a realization of trailblazers' aspirations.[75] The writer observed:

> None enjoyed the meetings more than the gray-haired veterans of the Pentecostal revival who were deeply moved by the international conference. For men like

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[73] J.D. Piper, "Seven Pillars of the House of Wisdom," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (July, 1957).
[74] Ibid. See also Kulbeck, "Pentecostal Pioneers Retire," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1970)
[75] In 1958, Toronto hosted the fifth World Conference of Pentecostal Churches. This event represented the ultimate expression of administrative integration. Delegates from eleven countries gathered to discuss a wide range of issues and initiatives pertaining to the Pentecostal movement.

> A.H. Argue, one of Canada's pioneer preachers who is in his ninetieth year, the gathering was a dream come true.[76]

In some respects, the international conference shattered the conventional system of meaning upon which many Canadian Pentecostals were dependent. For many believers, the celebration of structure and display of organizational centralization which the conference represented was a reversal of conventional values. As a response, Kulbeck featured this article which attempted to achieve integration via what Hervieu-Léger calls, "a stable system of clear references."[77] Utilizing the free-floating image of "grey haired Pentecostal veterans" effectively placed the institutional conference within the realm of authentic memory. At the same time, by evoking the memory of early Pentecostal preachers, the editor was also able to construct a different type of continuity within the chain.

During his editorship, Kulbeck placed a great deal of focus on the trials of first generation leaders. In fact, from 1957 to 1971, he included over twenty different tributes to retired or deceased pioneers. This approach too is in-keeping with Hervieu-Léger's model. In many cases she observes, "...it is by reference to the line of true brothers and sisters that the concept of belief is constructed and reconstituted."[78] While, in Kulbeck's case, this trend was no doubt partially due to the fact that many of these trailblazers were reaching a certain age, his decision to seek out and publish their accounts is still quite revealing. A theme that runs throughout virtually all of these accounts is the extent of the early leaders' travels. A tribute published after the death of A.G Ward, remarked that,

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[76] R.C. Cunningham, "Reality of Fellowship Characterized Conference," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1958). R.C. was the son of Mabel Cunningham, a renowned PAOC evangelist and pastor. See also Rev. Jon R. Diamond, "Brandon's Bethel Gospel Chapel Marks 40th Anniversary," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1966).
[77] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 172.
[78] Ibid., 104.

"...while it may be hard for contemporary preachers to grasp, throughout the years his [Ward's] ministry has led him all the way across Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific and also in the United States from the Canadian border to the deep south and from the Pacific Coast to the Atlantic seaboard."[79] Another prominent feature was the humble surroundings in which old timers had ministered; the quality of the building was secondary to the Spirit's message. In his contemplative article, "Am I Pentecostal?", a third generation Pentecostal contended that this priority should still be relevant for his generation. He recalled:

> My parents came into the Holy Ghost fellowship during what they term, "the Good Old Days." Many instances are related of how the Holy Ghost dramatically presenced himself in a church service held in a local barn or over a store. These "Pioneers of Pentecost" had a personal experience with God, unimpeded by ritual, which still rings true today.

By painting Pentecostal pioneers as men and women who both hoped for expansion and understood the primary importance of unmediated worship, Kulbeck reconstructed the chain of memory. In so doing he was able to create space for centralization, which was vital to the movement's prosperity, and also uphold long-standing notions of spontaneity which were imperative to a coherent Pentecostal identity.

Material Success

By the late 1950s, North Americans had experienced an unprecedented economic boom and were entering on the era of conspicuous consumption. However, for a generation accustomed to struggling against the challenges of the Depression and the horrors of the Second World War, this newfound prosperity was an unfamiliar and at times unsettling reality. By the time Kulbeck took over as editor in 1957, the PAOC was

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[79] Walter McAlister, "A Tribute to the Memory of A.G. Ward," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1961). Walter McAlister is the nephew of the *Testimony's* first editor, R.E. McAlister.

also beginning to experience unparalleled and unfamiliar material success. In fact, several PAOC ministers rose to prominence in the secular world, most notably Phil Gaglardi, an ordained PAOC minister, and Everett Wood, both of whom became cabinet ministers in provincial legislatures.[80]

In the wake of this growing material success, the PAOC built larger churches, old-age homes and community centres. Through Vacation Bible Schools and the Pentecostal Benevolent Association, which supported Toronto-area groups like Bethel Home for Girls and Teen Challenge, Pentecostals raised their profile on the Canadian social scene as well. The decades of the 1960s and 1970s also witnessed the rise of two other innovative measures, bus ministries and hi-way churches, through which Canadian Pentecostals continued to keep pace with modern developments and demonstrate their flexible and highly effective evangelizing tactics.[81] Finally, Canadian Pentecostals used television – perhaps the baby boom generation's most influential medium – to place their message in a modern package. This medium was particularly well-suited to the lively style of Pentecostal evangelism. Certainly the most influential and widely viewed Pentecostal/charismatic television ministry which emerged during this era and continues to thrive to this day was the "One Hundred Huntley Street" telecast, established in the early 1970s under the leadership of David Mainse in Toronto.[82]

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[80] See Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 269-71.

[81] Ibid., 298-304. Bus ministries were an innovative recruitment method utilized by Pentecostals during this period. Under this initiative, local leaders sent buses into poorer areas of the community to bring people, particularly youth, to their services. It was also in these years when, hoping to attract commuters, Pentecostals began to build their churches on the sides of highways.

[82] Ibid., 305-06. After his graduation from Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, Mainse pastored in Ontario before venturing into the field of television. Out of his early efforts came "Crossroads" and "Circle Square" programs. However, the culmination of his work has been a daily talk show telecast from Burlington. Mainse, who has retained his PAOC credentials, has received much moral and financial support from the PAOC membership. See Ron Graham, *God's Dominion* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), 323-326.

How were Pentecostals to interpret this new affluence? While some members viewed increased wealth as a remarkable opportunity for evangelism, other followers were concerned that greater resources would corrupt the movement. The reaction of the latter is consistent with the observations of American fundamentalism researcher E. Mansell Pattison, who points out that within conservative Christian circles, inaction and sloth are considered sinful; thus the believer must be action-oriented. He maintains that, "...an affluent society which creates abundant leisure provokes guilt for the fundamentalist who has no culturally acceptable way to use leisure and no necessary or meaningful work."[83] Consequently, for some Pentecostals, material wealth actually triggered a crisis of identity. As he did in other areas, Kulbeck validated the modern PAOC's prosperity and, by reinterpreting the material legacy of Pentecostal pioneers, also helped craft a stabilizing tradition.

During the 1960s, the pages of the *Testimony* were filled with advertisements which reflected the rising wealth of its readership. Each month subscribers were presented with new services including Pentecostal life insurance, Christian mutual funds and even evangelical car dealerships. Since this was a period of prosperity for the PAOC and because previous editors had not resorted to secular advertisement during times of greater hardship, Kulbeck's decision to grant large amounts of ad space to these Christian businesses cannot be dismissed as merely a financial decision. Rather, the inclusion of these ads demonstrated that he sought to validate the relationship between wealth and faith.

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[83]E. Mansel Pattison, "Ideological Support for the Marginal Middle Class: Faith Healing and Glossolalia," in *Religious Movements in Contemporary America*, ed. Mark P. Leone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 438-39.

Furthermore, a number of articles, particularly during the latter years of his editorship, celebrated the increased status of many long-standing congregations, a development which in retrospect had been there from the earliest days. Reflecting upon the beginnings in 1916 of a PAOC congregation in London, a contributor recalled that, "...during the next few years God graciously poured out his blessing on the young church, and a magnificent new building was constructed in 1924, which enlarged in 1927 to seat approximately 800 people."[84] When Pentecostals looked back on the immense growth of their churches, Kulbeck seemed to suggest, they should be extremely proud. This validation of numerical prosperity was further bolstered by a number of articles which included before-and-after pictures of various Pentecostal assemblies.[85]

At the same time, however, the editor included a number of articles which re-emphasized the tremendous hardship and persecution endured by early Pentecostals. These articles were not intended to lament the attainment of respectability. On the contrary, they were designed to instill a feeling of appreciation and provoke a sense of comparative opportunity. As a long-time adherent recalled:

> With a great price some of us, who have deep roots in the movement, obtained this Pentecostal freedom. The Spiritual conflicts, the scorn, the persecutions, the immense poverty and insignificant beginnings can scarcely be appreciated by late comers. That which is received without cost is often cheaply held.[86]

In this case, the phrase "cheaply held" places the emphasis on appreciation for, rather than abandonment of, wealth. In Kulbeck's *Testimony*, prosperity was not to be a dirty

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[84] W.B. Wortmon, "Fifty Years of Pentecost in London," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1967). For a similar account see G.A. Chambers, "Early Days in the Pentecostal Fellowship," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1960).

[85] See "Fifty Years in the Nation's Capital," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1959) and "Growth in the North," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1966) and "Building According to the Pattern," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1958).

[86] R.J. White, "Pentecost Today and Ecumenity," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1964).

word. As a long-term PAOC minister had observed in 1968, on the occasion of the PAOC's jubilee:

> We started out very humbly fifty years ago. God grant that same humility of heart, mind, and soul to motivate the church today. We have escalated from the third floor flats, unimpressive storefront on the busy main street. In many cases we now have our fine structures on the most strategic corners of our cities.

According to this understanding of tradition, prosperity was a favour rather than an insult and a sign of spiritual blessing rather than bankruptcy.

The reflections of early leaders and their children also often related stories of tremendous material deprivation. Recounting desperate food shortages and an absence of funds for vital household projects, they highlighted the joy that early Pentecostals would feel after receiving a small amount of money from a divinely-inspired believer.[87]

Humble origins did not, however, imply insignificance. Kulbeck was careful to show that the movement's pioneers had valued recognition from a secular society. Zelma Argue, in an article entitled, "More than fifty years of Pentecostal grace and glory", recalled a story that her father, A.H. Argue, had told her about a Winnipeg businessman. Prior to becoming a Pentecostal minister, her father was a prominent businessman in Winnipeg. Many years later, Argue had received a letter from a former friend and long-time mayor, who had written "...although I may claim some success in that field... I lack the satisfaction that you must now have."[88] This letter, Zelma Argue observed, "...gave (her) father the recognition from his old friend that he had long desired and so richly deserved."

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[87] "A Tribute to the Memory of A.G. Ward," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1958), "Fifty Years of Service," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1968) and "In the King's Presence: A Tribute to A.H. Argue," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1959).

[88] Zelma Argue, "More Than Fifty Years of Pentecostal Grace and Glory," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1959).

In another revealing article, another second generation Pentecostal made an interesting allusion to another revivalist group. Her piece, "A Story of the Great Awakening," recounted the tale of an old Methodist woman who, because of her increased social status, had lost her ability to witness to her poor neighbours.[89] However, rather than focusing on wealth's corruptive influence, the article emphasized the woman's inability to use her privilege to glorify God. In this case, the comparison with the Methodist tradition was not intended to demonstrate the evils of material prosperity. Rather, it was designed to imply that, unlike their Methodist counterparts for whom social respectability had resulted in religious declension, Pentecostals would use their wealth to fuel evangelistic efforts.

By including these types of articles, Kulbeck reconstituted the denominational tradition. In light of their forefathers' perceived desire for material tools and the traditional importance of allocating funds for divine purposes, it was incumbent upon this generation of Pentecostals to take advantage of the material wealth with which they had been blessed, rather than foolishly abandoning their hard-won status. In other words, under this interpretation, the relationship between past hardship and present prosperity was not crafted to provoke feelings of guilt; rather, it was re-imagined in order to instigate action. Accordingly, the Pentecostal identity, which had been based in large part on poverty, was reworked in order to survive and be a source of enhanced evangelistic activity in the face of material success.

Divine Healing

Throughout the tumultuous decade of the 1960s, a variety of new questions about health care came to the forefront of public discourse. In *Born at the Right Time*, Owram

[89] Sarah Shields, "A Story of the Great Awakening," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1967).

points out that more than at any other time in their history, Canadians during these years were forced to grapple with the extension of public health care and the rise of birth control.[90] Within this milieu, Canadian Pentecostals struggled to reconcile a new commitment to health care with conventional understandings of the body and faith healing. The conventional first hand healing accounts – which were popular in McAlister's time – became secondary to more sophisticated interpretations of Pentecostal practice. Improvements in health care had also made disease less of an issue for many of the denomination's younger members. In this new paradigm, Pentecostals were forced to re-conceive divine healing. Not surprisingly, the shift toward health care mentality in the secular sphere caused a polarized response in PAOC circles. While certain believers were convinced that embracing science threatened to undermine divine healing, other members were confident that theological reflection, historical contextualization, and secular verification would compliment and illuminate the power of the Holy Spirit.

As editor, Kulbeck initiated a number of strategies intended to integrate modern discourse into healing discussions. In fact, during the latter years of his editorship, first hand testimonies were almost entirely replaced by theological discussion. Scholarly treatises on healing, such as "Christ: the Great Physician", "The Myth of Suffering", "Divine Healing for Today" and "God's Provisional Healing for Mankind" became commonplace. This dramatic reinterpretation culminated with an article which he wrote for the *Toronto Star* in 1969 and reproduced for the *Testimony*. The article, entitled, "Glossolalia: Science or Gibberish?" proudly proclaimed that, "The Pentecostal movement, which emerged in 1906, was the first to systematize healing theologically."[91]

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[90] See Owram, *Born at the Right Time, 245-60.*
[91] E.N.O Kulbeck, "Glossolalia: Science or Gibberish," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1969).

In other words, Canadian Pentecostals, unlike other denominations, already had a rich tradition of placing divine healing under a theological lens and establishing concrete doctrine. This paradigmatic shift represented a nearly complete re-orientation of the classical Pentecostal perspective on divine healing, which would have viewed the celebration of doctrine rather than spontaneity as utterly blasphemous. However, during an era when Canadians were fond of reflecting on the nature of their health, Kulbeck was eager to assert that Pentecostal healing too, was based on a well-established and thoughtfully-construed doctrine. The early years of revival had not only been marked by miraculous healing, they had been, according the Kulbeck's reshaping of tradition, also defined by a theological codification of those miracles.

At the same time he also recognized the importance of continuing McAlister's legacy and placing contemporary faith healing within aspects of tradition. Hence, the practice of featuring first hand narratives was not abandoned entirely. In fact, in many respects, first-hand healing narratives did uphold conventional patterns that were consistent with the testimonies presented during McAlister's tenure. As shaped by Kulbeck, these stories were presented in a very specific pattern: the specifics of the condition were recounted, the doctor's negative prognosis was related, the ritualized healing ceremony was described, the feeling of the Spirit's penetration into the body was recounted, and the rapid transition and scientific confirmation was illustrated. [92] This narrative style would have pleased more conventional readers, accustomed to the well-established conversion narrative tradition – a vital part of the PAOC self-understanding.

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[92] Particularly in the first years of Kulbeck's editorship these accounts were present in many issues. See "Weak Heart Healed," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1957), "Healed of Tumour," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1961) and "Invalid for Thirty Years Healed," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (July 1964).

Nonetheless, upon further inspection, given the more prominent role of doctors, it is clear that Kulbeck was also using a subtle technology of traditionalizing in order to legitimize a more progressive Pentecostal conception of healing. In Pentecostal circles, there is a long tradition of mistrust for doctors and medical science. According to divine healing historian Jonathan R. Baer, early Pentecostals, "...insisted that Christ secured full bodily healing through his atoning sacrifice on the cross and that embracing this form of healing entailed rejecting doctors and medicine."[93]

However, by including accounts which presented doctors as crucial verifiers or foils, Kulbeck was able to confront this legacy and write science into the tradition of Pentecostal healing narratives. Reporting on the condition of a woman at his Shelburne, Nova Scotia church, a pastor writing in the *Pentecostal Testimony* stated that:

> After prayer, Mrs. Levy heard normally with both ears. A return visit to the doctor verified the miracle. Her ear was perfectly whole and the doctor reported the ear drum to be "brand new."

In other cases, the role of the physician was presented in an even more flattering light. After witnessing the disappearance of a tumor in the stomach of his patient, a physician remarked that, "It was most baffling and fascinating and that he was eager to relate the story to his colleagues."[94] In these cases, like several others, the doctor's reaction provided scientific validation for the miracle.

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[93] See Jonathan R. Baer, "Redemed Bodies: The Functions of Divine Healing in Incipient Pentecostalism," *Church History* 70 (December, 2001): 736. In his study of Pentecostal faith healing, Baer goes on to observe that, "...healers commonly employed the tactic of assembling writings from doctors acknowledging the harmful nature of the medicines they prescribed and the superiority of divine healing. In an age when physicians' growing (but still limited) diagnostic capabilities outstripped their therapeutic options, when morphine and other opiates were prescribed with limited regulation, this critique resonated with audiences." Ibid., 767. This quote accurately describes the typical attitude of first generation Pentecostals.

[94] Dr. Stewart McKinley, "Miracle or Mistake?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1957).

In his study of divine healing narratives in Victorian Canada, Opp notes that "...the physician was often used as a reference point in order to frame the seriousness of one's illness."[95] As previously demonstrated, this pattern certainly applied to the accounts in the *Testimony* during McAlister's time. However, by the 1960s, the doctor was no longer presented as merely a casual yet suspicious reference point for the seriousness of disease; he had become a vital yardstick for the authenticity of healing. In some instances, the doctor himself actually became the testifier. After witnessing his son's miraculous recovery, a Pentecostal physician wrote that, "I'm a doctor who believes in divine healing, but like to see concrete evidence. Here was a miraculous physical healing", he continued, "that I could not deny – my own son."[96]

Another of the editor's favourite means for presenting healing accounts was the use of scientific pictures, a practice which Opp notes also for the late Victorian period, but which was not followed under McAlister's editorship. The first issue under Kulbeck's guidance featured a picture of English missionary P.F. Burton's colon both before and after his healing transformation.[97] The inclusion of these graphic photos enabled Kulbeck to extend the lineage of dramatic first hand accounts, established by McAlister, which classical Pentecostals sought to revive, but at the same time, by including x-rays, now also enabled him to verify the healing scientifically.

By refashioning the tradition of personal testimony, and blending conventional narrative with medical confirmation, Kulbeck sought to make science an integral part of

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[95] James Opp, "Faith Healing, Victorian Medicine and the Role of the Healing Narrative in North America, 1880 to 1900," *Canadian Society of Church History* (May, 1998): 10.
[96] N.D. Abbey, "My Son is Healed," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1971).
[97] Reverend John Blaney "Healed of Colon Cancer," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1957). See also "Remarkable Healing in the Congo," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1964) and E.N.O Kulbeck "Divine Healing," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1965).

the Pentecostals' healing concept. Thus, he was able to introduce a certain degree of scientific verification into an area which was virtually untouchable in previous decades. In the face of a particularly difficult modern challenge, he successfully reconciled faith healing with health care culture.

Therefore, during a period which was characterized by the accelerated corrosion of tradition within both secular and religious culture, Kulbeck used the *Testimony* to make the individual reader a member of an imaginary community which, to cite Hervieu-Léger, "gathered past, present and future members" and a re-established a collective memory, "...which became the basis for that community's existence."[98] Under his guidance, the denominational magazine became a vehicle for responding to a myriad of challenges from the 1960s, including: the rise of new social movements, the reorientation of the educational system, the proliferation of massive bureaucracies, the explosion of material prosperity, the emergence of therapeutic culture, and the birth of the charismatic movement. In each case, as editor of the *Pentecostal Testimony* he responded by affirming the PAOC as a modern denomination, but also by extending and reworking the Pentecostal chain of memory. While the former ensured that readers of the *Testimony* were ready to engage the modern world, the latter guaranteed that they would continue to have a firm understanding of what it meant to be Pentecostal. In so doing, Kulbeck sought to control and use for the benefit of tradition a modern system of meaning which privileged the primacy of the individual experience over institutionally-regulated conformity.[99] In the eight years after Kulbeck retired, the *Testimony* was guided by four short-term editors, but by the late 1970s, the PAOC would again be confronted by a

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[98] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory, ix.*
[99] Ibid., 170.

series of challenges and would again look to one of its most distinguished members for guidance. This time, it would be the great nephew of R.E. McAlister, Robert Skinner, who would take the reins of the denomination's most important publication.

Chapter Three: Tackling the Dilemmas of late modernity: 1983-1992.

As in the 1960s, but now in quite different ways, the decade of the 1980s was a particularly tumultuous time for North Americans. While the ever-present threat of nuclear holocaust receded, what loomed large were increased economic recession, high interest rates and material disparity. As well, critics noted that mass consumerism had become a way of life for North America. As sociologist Robert Bellah observed, by the mid 1980s"... the citizen had been swallowed up in economic man."[1]

What had emerged in the eighties was a multifaceted reality. In one sense, culture was characterized by, to cite Bellah once more, "...restless energy, love of challenges and appreciation for the good life."[2] Liberated from the grand movements which had characterized modernity, citizens were now free to express unrestrained individualism within a morally relative and radically pluralistic environment.[3] In other words, a "radically unencumbered and improvisational self" became the ideal.[4] However, in this postmodern world of potentially infinite agendas, entirely free from moral absolutes, no one could really say that one value system was better than another.[5] When moral relativism and radical individualism are combined with the nearly limitless array of choices fostered by mass consumerism, individuals are left with a feeling of what sociologist David Lyon calls, "cultural disorientation."[6] Without an overarching system of values and symbols, people in the eighties were seen to experience unprecedented

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[1] Robert Bellah, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press: 1985), 271. Although this source focuses on American culture, the insights it provides regarding western values and motivations are particularly useful for this chapter.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Bellah observes that the crucial principle for living became "...that individuals should be able to pursue whatever they find rewarding, constrained only by the requirement that it not interfere with the 'value systems' of others." Ibid., 6-7.
[4] Ibid., 81.
[5] Ibid., 7-9.
[6] See Lyon, *Jesus in Disneyland*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 90.

feelings of alienation and instability. [7] Within this milieu, more than ever before, people turned to therapy and self-examination for answers.

Shifts in family life and corresponding cultural conflicts were also characteristic of the 1980s and early 1990s. Concepts of marriage and family were reconceived. Women entered into the workforce in increasing numbers, and, by the middle of the decade, a substantial majority of married women and mothers worked outside the home.[8] In spite of this development, and the awareness coming out of the women's liberation movement, women's work continued to be lower status and lower paid. These challenges would become defining issues of this period.

In addition to debates over women's rights, people continued to involve themselves in other social and political causes. Despite the individualistic emphases of contemporary culture, issues such as abortion, homelessness and nuclear proliferation led many citizens to get involved within the public sphere. American sociologist Robert Wuthnow has argued that as the scope of government power expanded, its policy became increasingly antagonistic towards the values of religious groups. As a result, he contends, issues such as school prayer, pornography, abortion and gay rights became battlegrounds in the cultural wars.[9]

Within the complex context of the 1980s, sociologists Robert Bellah, Robert Wuthnow, David Lyon and others have suggested that North Americans were motivated by a paradoxical desire for both consensus and autonomy. Mass consumerism, heightened individualism, increased relativism, a new phase of religious cultural wars,

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[7] Bellah, *Habits of the Heart*, 10-13.
[8] Ibid., 111.
[9] Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War Two* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 290-310.

and above all, the corrosion of traditional meaning systems, characterized the period.[10] In the wake of these phenomena, people were often left feeling fragmented and disillusioned.[11] In some respects, the Canadian churches were also affected. By the dawn of the 1980s, they had seen the aspirations of the 1950s go largely unrealized. In fact, Grant observes that, already by the early 1970s, "...all indicators of participation in church activities were heading downward at an alarming and accelerating rate."[12] In mainline Protestant churches, with some notable exceptions, as they matured into adults few former hippies and beatniks became actively involved in church affairs.[13]

In the face of its apparent general stagnation during the 1970s and 1980s, the established Protestant church continued to seek innovative means for connecting with believers. [14] At the same time, increased attention was given to questions of public policy. The charismatic movement also continued to flourish throughout the late 1970s and 1980s. Charismatic phenomena occurred in virtually every Canadian denomination – often causing bitter divisions within bodies of believers. In many ways, this new movement along with other forms of religious expression, such as scientology and the Krishna Consciousness, represented a coming together of individualism and spirituality. Lyon argues that in the post-modern context, "...religious actors tend to construct their religious identity in an ongoing, dynamic way, from the offerings of different religious

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[10] Lyon points to the corrosion of traditional narratives, the localizing of meaning and the spread of information technology and consumerism as the earmarks of the post-modern society. See *Jesus in Disneyland*, x-xi.

[11] Bellah, *Habits of the Heart*, 111-115.

[12] John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Burlington: Welch Publishing, 1988), *227*.

[13] In reality, weekly attendance at Protestant services had already slipped from thirty-two-percent in 1965 to twenty-five-percent a decade later. Ibid., 229.

[14] In virtually every major denomination, orders of service and governmental structures were reconsidered in order to accommodate contemporary society. Even more traditional groups like Anglicans and Catholics attempted to harness modern forces such as folk music and popular psychology. As a result, some clergy began to feel a sense of uncertainly about the nature of their role in an increasingly modernized and in some ways democratized church.
Ibid., 230-31.

groups."[15] The increased popularity of charismatic and quasi-religious groups during the 1980s seems to confirm this trend.

Less sensationally than in the U.S., in the 1980s and 1990s relations between liberals and evangelicals became increasingly strained and the divisions within the Protestant community became more pronounced.[16] Whereas the number of adherents in established churches continued to plateau during this era, the percentage of conservative evangelicals and "born again" Christians continued to rise steadily. While, by the early 1990s, conventional religion in Canada was clearly in decline, people continued to search for meaning. Although they had a number of new avenues through which to fulfill that desire, within Christian circles, ironically, it was evangelical denominations that proved most able to thrive in a pluralistic and urbanized environment. Bolstered by innovative evangelistic techniques – such as televangelist programs like 100 Huntley Street – higher retention of younger believers, and appeal to immigrant communities, conservative evangelicals became a force in the Canadian Protestantism. Furthermore, these groups became even more influential when they invigorated the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada.[17]

Given their membership in the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada and extensive experience with charismatic gifts, the PAOC prospered in the 1980s. Canadian

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[15] Lyon, *Jesus in Disneyland*, 51.

[16] Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, 238-40.

[17] Although The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada was founded in 1964, it did not gain mainstream significance until the mid 1970s. The EFC was an association of conservative and moderate evangelicals who agreed on seven core principles and cooperated on evangelistic, publications' and missions' initiatives. While the EFC was in some ways an offshoot on its American counterpart, the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), the EFC achieved greater consensus and was more representative than its American counterpart, the NAE. For a thorough review of the EFC See John G. Stackhouse, "More than a Hyphen: Twentieth-Century Canadian Evangelicalism in Anglo-American Context," in *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States,* ed., George Rawlyk and Mark Noll (Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1994), 376-85. Also see Stackhouse, "The National Association of Evangelicals, The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, and the Limits of Evangelical Cooperation," in *Christian Scholar's Review* 9:4 (1985): 296-303.

Pentecostals were influenced by the aforementioned cultural changes affecting society at large. Additionally, they were also affected by the turn toward public policy, modernization of worship style, proliferation of parareligious movements and polarization of theological perspective which characterized the wider Protestant community in this period. Pentecostals in Canada maintained their veneration for the Bible, their insistence on moral absolutes and revivalist rhetoric. At the same time, however, new internal developments – some of which were remnants from the past and some of which were entirely novel -- began to shape contemporary Pentecostalism. In particular, as a new generation of academically-trained historians such as Thomas Miller came of age, the PAOC began to put its doctrine and history under the lens of a more rigorous scholarship, initiate an organized and often scathing public policy campaign, reconsider its worship practices, pursue a variety of innovative outreach initiatives, and promote a progressive mixture of spirituality and psychology.

In the face of these developments, its official magazine, the *Pentecostal Testimony*, continued to reconcile a progressive approach with the Pentecostal tradition. In 1983, when Robert Skinner took over as editor, the *Testimony* was distributing about 40,000 copies a month. By the end of his tenure in 1992, the magazine's distribution had nearly doubled. In many ways Skinner's appointment as editor was a part of a general reorientation within the PAOC leadership. As many of the second generation Pentecostals reached retirement age, a new crop of leaders came to the fore. Confronted with the continued rise of the charismatic renewal and the now undeniable shift toward denominationalism, the PAOC, under the leadership of Superintendent James McKnight,

resolved to come to terms with its past and establish a clear direction for the future.[18] The process culminated in the Conference on Pentecostal Leadership (COPL) of 1987, at which 2500 delegates gathered in order to ensure that the denomination was firmly "on track." The 1987 conference, entitled "On Track", included clergy and laypersons from all over the country, and was the largest and perhaps most significant in PAOC history.[19] Skinner, a former missionary, Bible college instructor and pastor, was firmly committed to this mission and used the *Testimony* to celebrate the past and advocate directions for the future. Skinner was also determined to produce a magazine that was professionally-designed and meticulously edited, and, as a result, his involvement was much more active than some of his predecessors. For instance, unlike Kulbeck, Skinner rarely included guest editorials and often wrote more than one article per issue. By the time that he retired as editor in 1992, he had successfully ushered the denomination through one of its most turbulent periods and, as will be elaborated briefly below, helped to guide it into an era of remarkable growth. In fact, on the eve of its seventy-fifth anniversary, the PAOC had grown to nearly 11,000 congregations, over 231,000 members and close to 4000 credential holders (members with PAOC ordination).[20] Like McAlister and Kulbeck before him, Skinner's management of the *Testimony* was vital to this development. In light of the broader socio-cultural context previously described, it becomes clear that Skinner was striving to reconcile what Hervieu-Léger has termed, "the increased gap between the modern culture of the individual, with its insistence on the rights of

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[18] See Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals* (Mississauga: Full Gospel Publishing, 1994) 353-60
[19] Ibid., The conference included clergy and laypersons from all over the country. The 1987 conference, entitled "On Track", was the largest and perhaps most significant in PAOC history.
[20] Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals,* 409.

subjectivity and self realization, and traditional rules affecting belief and observance."[21] This reworking of the Pentecostal chain of memory enabled Skinner to ensure that the movement was both progressive and coherent.

Education

By the start of the 1980s, bolstered by increased government funding and a more populist understanding of higher education, the number of Canadians enrolled in post secondary programs had reached an all-time high. Among Canadian evangelicals, this trend was even more pronounced. In fact, according to historian Larry McKinney, by 1985, there were over 60,000 graduates from evangelical post-secondary institutions.[22]

Amid this milieu, a new generation of PAOC historians and theologians intensified their search for a coherent account of Pentecostal doctrine and history. Much more than their predecessors, third and fourth generation Pentecostals had the material means and pastoral support necessary to pursue serious higher education. Canadian Pentecostal leaders such as Ronald Kydd, Gary Milley and Thomas Miller began to apply academic tools honed at secular universities to the study of the movement. As well, more than before, young Pentecostals were attending evangelical and secular universities.[23] Although Pentecostals continued to emphasize spirituality, in the 1980s and early 1990s they also began to pay greater attention to their history, doctrinal distinctives and socio-economic make-up. In order to prevent this new brand of academic reflection from

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[21]Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 155.
[22] Larry J. McKinney, "The Growth of The Bible College Movement in Canada," *Didaskalia* 10:1 (1998): 31-36.
[23] See Miller, 403. Also, John Stackhouse points out that, by the 1980s, Regent College in Vancouver and Ontario Theological Seminary in Toronto (both evangelical) were Canada's two largest seminaries. See John G. Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to its Character* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 3-10. While some Pentecostals began to attend these institutions, hundreds more continued to attend denominational Bible colleges such as Eastern and Western Pentecostal Bible College.

corroding the conventional PAOC identity, Skinner skillfully integrated theological and sociological contemplation into the Pentecostal chain of memory.

As editor he made theological reflection and doctrinal discussion a prominent component of the magazine. Like Kulbeck and McAlister before him, Skinner printed the entire statement of faith on page two of each issue. However, he added an even greater number of theological articles than his predecessors. By dramatically restructuring the paper and removing various departmental sections, he made room for other components which he deemed valuable – including theological analyses. The paper's new format – which included a features section followed by several columns – was conducive to this type of writing. Among the regular contributors to the theological discourse were Ronald Kydd, Gary Milley, David Boyd and Thomas Miller.[24] Each of these men, who were Bible college professors and capable academics, were granted PAOC funding to pursue their research. As a result, Skinner had a deeper pool from which to draw doctrinal teaching and was therefore less dependent on American publications.[25] Enlisting the assistance of prominent Pentecostal pastors and professors, he was able to compile a twenty-four-part series on the PAOC statement of faith, as well as shorter series on Christ's return and the names of God. Confronted with a preponderance of unstable reference points in an increasingly secularized world, the death of elderly first generation Pentecostals, and a significant destabilization within their own tradition, young Pentecostals found some solace in this theological material. Thus, the privileging of theology and doctrinal discussion within the PAOC can be viewed, in

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[24] Thomas Miller acquired a PhD from St. Andrew's University.
[25] See David Boyd, "The Holy Trinity," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1984) and Gary Milley, "Anticipating not a Decade of Disaster but," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1991).

general, as a response to society's appetite for reflection, and, in particular, an answer to young Pentecostals' demand for a more contemplative faith.

Nevertheless, while Skinner was clearly intent on making the *Testimony* relevant to modern readers, he was also determined that this accommodation would not undermine the denomination's unity. Noting that the higher the level of education within U.S. society, the more likely it is that individuals will not associate with any religious institution, sociologist Wuthnow has concluded that the loss of membership in the established churches was in part due to the secularizing effect of higher education.[26] Fearing a similar result, in order to ensure that conventional PAOC self-understandings would not be corrupted by this scholarly turn, Skinner provided his readers with a system of fixed meanings within which a restructured denominational identity could take shape. Specifically, by emphasizing scripture, theology and doctrine which re-evoked classical and fundamentalist discourse, he ensured that while the PAOC would modernize its methodology, it would not lose sight of its message.

Skinner constructed this system of fixed meanings by including references to scripture in *The Pentecostal Testimony* on a regular basis. Although scriptural references and citations were a part of earlier editions, particularly during McAlister's tenure, Skinner and other contributors can be seen to make a conscious effort to increase the profile of biblical allusions during this period. In some cases, this tactic took the form of explicit advocacy on behalf on the Bible. For instance, in a passionate editorial, Skinner stated that, "atheists, agnostics and skeptics have spent lifetimes in attacking and mocking it... tyrants have burned and banned it... but many have laid down their lives

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[26] Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War Two,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 90-116.

gladly rather recant or deny one truth from the Word."[27] In other cases, the scriptures were presented as the ultimate vehicle for initiating revival and providing stability during periods of turmoil. Throughout his tenure, as previously mentioned, Skinner commissioned a number of biographies on prominent Pentecostals personalities. This initiative was one of his most explicit efforts to fashion a usable tradition. In one such series, a three-part mini history on the life and work of R.E. McAlister, historian Thomas Miller observed that, "...McAlister had a way of marshalling truths of the Bible so as to almost overwhelm the listener with the wonder and fullness of the gospel." He went on to state that the Pentecostal pioneer's "...writings on scriptural themes also blessed the multitudes in the late 1940s, when the Pentecostal fellowship was threatened by erroneous teachings."[28] By reworking the image of McAlister in order to present him as a Bible promoter in an almost fundamentalist sense, this contributor effected what sociologist David Lyon has described as marking the "...boundary between insiders and outsiders, which serves to reinforce identity."[29] In other words, this article created a distinction in the minds of readers between Bible defilers and Bible followers, with the specter of McAlister firmly demarcating the territory of the latter.

Furthermore, Skinner utilized the *Testimony* to foster Bible study campaigns and regenerate interest in the holy text. Throughout his tenure, each issue featured a Bible study section in which readers could follow along and read interpretations week-to-week. Near the end of his term in 1991, Skinner instituted a year-long series on difficult Bible

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[27] Skinner, "The Bible Held Together by Threads," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1984) See also Skinner "The Good Book: Unity of Word – Unity of Movement," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1988).
[28] Miller, "Pentecostal Pioneers," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1987). See also David J Gerard, "Full Gospel," in the same issue.
[29] Lyon, *Jesus in Disneyland*, 115.

verses. This editorial decision was intended to highlight the centrality of the Bible and initiate exegesis of some of its more challenging passages. This Bible-centred approach, though now more theologically articulate, was a throw-back to turn-of-the-century Pentecostalism and enabled Skinner to place new scholarly endeavours within a classical tradition.

Perhaps even more intentionally, the scholarly articles that the editor selected often focused on eschatology and millennialism. During his tenure, Skinner reinvigorated the tradition of millennial rhetoric first adopted by McAlister in the 1920s. This pattern can be attributed, at least to a certain extent, to the fact that in the 1980s Pentecostals were still confronted with the threat of nuclear war and ecological apocalypse. However, it is also clear that Skinner actively sought to revive a sense of immediacy in order to present readers with a traditional aspect of identity of which to grab hold. In several cases, he included diagrams which outlined God's dispensational plan for the ages.[30] As well, he selected a number of articles which addressed other explicitly eschatological themes.[31] The return to this brand of rhetoric can also be attributed to the popularity during the 1980s of fictional and expository writings on the end of times. In particular, Hal Lindsey's book, *The Late, Great Planet Earth*, which examined the immediate future according to the book of Revelations, was immensely popular among evangelicals.[32]

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[30] Skinner "God's Plan For The Ages," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1984).
[31] See Skinner, "Four Minutes Before Midnight," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1983), Lars Kytoffman, "The World Prepares For The Anti-Christ," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1983) and Abraham Kudra, "Five Signs That Point To Christ's Imminent Return," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (December, 1990).
[32] Lindsey asserted that the world as they then knew it was coming to an end and that Biblical prophecy was coming true. See Hal Lindsey and C.C. Carlson, *The Late, Great Planet Earth* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976).

These articles became more frequent in the nineties as the PAOC entered what it dubbed, "The Decade of Destiny". As Superintendent James McKnight put it "...I believe the most significant chapter of the history of our church will be written in this next decade."[33] This brand of statement was intended to re-vitalize the idea of urgency within the Pentecostal memory. Evoking apocalyptic symbols provided a bridge between contemporary Pentecostals and their early twentieth century forefathers.[34] In his article on the impending return of Christ, George Atter, a PAOC historian commented that, "...again today, multitudes are asking the age-old question, "Watchman what of the night?"[35] By evoking the established symbol of the watchman, Atter was making a powerful connection in the minds of his readers between the contemporary context and the discourse of the first generation.

Hervieu-Léger points out that, "...those who prophesy the apocalypse draw inspiration from the patriarchs. In virtually every case, imagination calls on memory for help... they all look to what has gone before to stand for their hereafter."[36] Therefore, while the *Testimony* did respond to its readers' demands for a more contemplative faith, by focusing on themes such as eschatology and biblical inerrancy it placed this theological debate within the stabilizing realm of classical/fundamentalist Pentecostal tradition. According to Lyon, such a coupling of fundamentalist phenomena with postmodern trends such as the fragmentation of identity and corresponding need for stabilizing narratives, should not be surprising. In fact, he states that, "fundamentalisms

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[33] James McKnight, "Decade of Destiny," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1989).
[34] For a thorough account of fundamentalist principles, including biblical centrality and eschatological world views, see George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: the shaping of twentieth-century evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).
[35] Gordon F. Atter, 'Watchman, What of the Night?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (December, 1991).
[36] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 144.

are a response of absolutes and fixity to a world of relativity and flows, but they depend of the flows – of people, finance, ideas – for their visibility and for their mobilization."[37] In some respects at least, by using the denomination's increased scholarly resources to revitalize traditional discourse, Skinner too was blending the postmodern with the fundamentalist.

Finally, during the 1980s, The *Testimony* often made more specific connections between modern scholarship and classical spirituality. Beginning in the late 1970s, Canadian Pentecostals became increasingly involved with the Society of Pentecostal Studies. This group, whose members included faculty members from evangelical colleges and well-respected North American Pentecostal authors, met annually to discuss pressing theological, socio-cultural and doctrinal issues. In 1986, Ronald Kydd was appointed to the position of vice president within this denominationally-prestigious group. Not surprisingly, the *Testimony* celebrated Kydd's new found prominence. In an article following Kydd's nomination, Skinner reported that, "Kydd draws attention to the fact that this is an extraordinarily academic society." At the same time, however, he also added that, "...worship at these meetings is authentically Pentecostal."[38] Whether emphasizing biblical centrality and extending the millennial and eschatological chain of memory, or making specific connections between authentic Pentecostalism and contemporary scholarship, Skinner helped to craft a frame of reference within which believers could comfortably embrace a new degree of theological and academic discussion.

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[37] Lyon, *Jesus in Disneyland*, 114.
[38] Skinner, "PAOC Minister Joins Prestigious Group" *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1986).

Political Awareness and Engagement

The 1980s were a period defined by heated cultural wars and fractious political debate. In such a period of "...rapid social change when moral standards seemed to be crumbling," Bellah has observed that, "...some people were tempted to assert a simple and unquestioned morality, and, in some circumstances, force it on their neighbors." The PAOC's new degree of political consciousness could – at least to a certain extent – be characterized as such. Pentecostals were certainly not the only denomination to pay increased attention to public policy on moral issues. During the 1980s, the traditionally isolated conservative Christian community joined the public policy debate with tremendous enthusiasm. In the wake of the publication of Jerry Falwell's book, *An Agenda for the 1980s*, and the increasing popularity of figures like Pat Robertson and David Maines, conservative Christians all over North America began to re-evaluate their traditional stance on political non-involvement. With regard to the much publicized emergence of conservative Christians on the American political scene, historians John Neuhaus and Michael Cromartie whimsically observe that, "...the country cousins have shown up in force at the family picnic."[39] Although they were certainly not a monolithic group, beginning in the late 1970s millions of evangelical Christians began to lobby for the re-establishment of traditional morality in contemporary society. Neuhaus and Cromartie argue that this wave of fundamentalist activism may be viewed as an "aggressive defense", whereby conservative Christians strove to defend traditional values against governmental actions which they perceived to be dictated by 'secular humanists' and 'radical liberals'.

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[39] Richard John Neuhaus and Michael Cromartie *Piety and Politics: Evangelicals and Fundamentalists Confront the World* (Washington: Ethics and Public Policy Centre, 1987).

Unlike many of these other denominations, the PAOC's role in these struggles represented an almost entirely novel form of engagement with the modern world. In previous decades, it had only spoken out on a few quasi-religious issues such as Sabbath-breaking, family headship and school prayer. Conversely, in the 1980s, the denomination addressed an extraordinary range of topics including: rock music in the church, euthanasia, abortion, divorce, abuse of wives and children, sexual orientation, separation of church and state, Christians in parliament, famine relief, the Charter of Rights, lotteries, birth control, drug and alcohol addiction, capital punishment, AIDS, nuclear power and pornography.[40] Moreover, in 1982, the PAOC appointed a full time head of the newly formed Ethics and Social Concerns Committee. This committee was responsible for formulating and communicating PAOC public policy and lobbying various levels of government.[41] As the PAOC began to reverse its conventional position on political involvement, it became increasingly likely that the conventional Pentecostal identity would come under threat. In order to solve this dilemma, Skinner meticulously used the *Testimony* to write social engagement into the Canadian Pentecostal chain of memory.

Pentecostals were determined not to adopt the liberal Protestant style which, in their view, replaced morality with ethics and spirituality with 'social gospel'. However, the denomination in general and Skinner in particular were intent on embracing socio-political issues and, in so doing, ensuring the ongoing relevance of the Pentecostal message. In fact, in his inaugural issue as editor, Skinner elected to choose the theme of social concerns. Articles in this issue included: "In Search Of A Place To Stand,"

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[40] See Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals, 357-60.*
[41] Ibid.

"Nuclear Disarmament And The Christian," "Pro-Choice And Snuffing Out The Unborn," and Skinner's editorial, "I'd Rather Be Wrong," in which he stated that "...while I could be wrong that social drinking is a sin, I'd rather be wrong and avoid liver failure than right and endure an eternity in hell!"[42] While his decision to lament the evils of alcohol was certainly not a novel approach, his decision to call for a political response was particularly innovative. In fact, in many issues to come, Skinner called on readers to lobby their MPs for a strengthening of various liquor laws.

During the eighties and early nineties the *Testimony* also featured a number of more vehement and graphic articles on socio-political issues. One of the most frequently discussed topics in the magazine was abortion. In nearly every issue, Skinner and other contributors took the opportunity to articulate a radical pro-life position. This advocacy often manifested itself in graphic and sensationalist forms. For instance, Skinner regularly elected to include pictures of unborn fetuses, abortionists' syringes and, on one occasion, a picture of garbage bags outside the Toronto Women's Book Store – an image which implied that pro-choice supporters were placing babies on the street like rubbish. As well, several issues featured pro-life poetry with dramatic phrases like: "...the blood, pain, I am dying, the pain, mommy/ The blood, stop them! Pain/ dying, gone!"[43]

Other, less gory but no less controversial public issues were also regularly discussed. In the wake of the bill C-10 controversy, which sought to limit the charitable tax status of religious organizations that preached politics from the pulpit, Skinner

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[42] Robert Skinner, "I'd Rather Be Wrong," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1983). While his decision to lament the evils of alcohol was certainly not a novel approach, his decision to call for a political response was particularly innovative. In fact, in the issues to come, Skinner called on readers to lobby their MPs for a strengthening of various liquor laws.

[43] Mrs. Judi Korry, "Abortion," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May 1988).

featured a number of articles on the separation of church and state.[44] In one such column, PAOC Social Concerns officer Hudson Hilsden stated that, "...a portion of Church income can be used to lobby our elective representatives."[45] Considering that, in previous years, the PAOC had been hesitant to make explicit political statements, Hilsden's remark clearly reflected the distinct re-interpretation of tradition which occurred during Skinner's tenure. A preponderance of articles was also presented on a variety of other issues from lotteries to child abuse.[46] Another contributor accurately summed up the PAOC's new direction when he stated, "...maybe we ought to be prepared for a 'change in the weather'." That is, a change from private interests to public purposes, from status quo to social responsibility."[47] This paradigmatic shift occurred within the context of a wider reorientation of 'spirit-filled' believers throughout the continent. In a sweeping study conducted in 1996, four American sociologists gathered data on the political positions and voting practices of a wide range of 'spirit-filled' believers – including Pentecostals, charismatics, and other Christians who identified with the Holy Ghost infilling. They concluded that 'spirit-filled' believers accounted for 13.4 percent of the U.S. electorate and also that these Christians were more active and more conservative than their evangelical cousins.[48]

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[44] See John Stackhouse, "The National Association of Evangelicals, The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, and the Limits of Evangelical Cooperation," in *Christian Scholar's Review* 9:4 (1985): 296-303.
[45] Hudson Hilsden, "Separation of Church and State," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1985). For other articles by Hilsden, who served as Social Concerns Officer throughout the period under review, see "Christians and Democracy," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1986) and "The Threat of Bill C-10," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1987).
[46] To select only a few see: John Stainthorpe, "The Social Drink: The Easy Way to Skid Row," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1987), Jeff Shannon, "Pornography: My Secret Sin," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1990) and Skinner, "Reducing The Risk Of Catching AIDS," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1990).
[47] George W. Dawes "Are We Pentecostal?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1988).
[48] See John C. Green, James L. Goth, Corwin E. Schmidt, and Lyman A. Kellstedt, *Religion and Culture Wars: Dispatches from the Front* (Lantham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996), 297-331. Although the 13.4

In his book on the rise of the Christian Right in America, *What's the Matter with Kansas: How Conservatives Won the Heart of America*, and repeating with much conventional wisdom Thomas Frank postulates a theory for the engagement of conservative evangelicals in the public sphere over the past twenty-five-years, which he calls "backlash phenomenon." According to Frank, a confluence of factors, including increased material wealth and dissatisfaction with strictly spiritual strategies, brought these Christians out of their isolationist shell and into the political mainstream. In his view, frustrated by the rise of moral relativism and a perceived decay of values, evangelicals ignored economic explanations "...in favour of vague cultural grievances that were all-important yet incapable of ever being assuaged."[49] As a result, starting in the late 1970s, conservative Christians of various stripes began to take on a plethora of socio-political issues.

The PAOC followed a similar pattern. Despite a lack of tangible progress on any of the PAOC's cultural battles, if anything, the rhetoric in the *Testimony* actually amplified in tone over the course of Skinner's reign. Articles were characterized by their remarkably angry tone and narrow focus. Frank refers to this type of discourse as the "plen-T-plaint". "The plen-T-plaint," Frank states, "is a horizontal rather than vertical mode of criticism, aiming to infuriate with dozens, hundreds, thousands of stories of the many tiny ways the world around assaults family values, uses obscenities, disrespects parents, and so on."[50]

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percentage number may be somewhat inflated, their observations regarding the political activity of 'spirit-filled' believers – black and white – are nonetheless instructive.

[49] Thomas Frank, *What's the Matter with Kansas* (New York: Henry Holt, 2004), 121.

[50] Ibid., 123-25.

This attrition-style complaint extended the chain of memory established by McAlister in the 1920s. Under McAlister and Skinner the *Testimony* applied a similar method to distinct concerns. As noted in chapter one, the editor of the 1920s *Testimony* had included a barrage of brief complaints on topics ranging from missionary persecution to modern indulgences. During Skinner's editorship, the emphasis was placed on larger cultural-political issues, such as abortion and censorship. While McAlister's efforts were intended to motivate evangelism and signal the imminent return of Christ, Skinner's campaign was designed to create a political consciousness and stimulate activism. Nevertheless, in both cases, the method of the "plen-T-plaint" became the vehicle. By re-evoking this editorial style, Skinner was able to place a contemporary political consciousness within a venerable tradition. Superintendent James McKnight's article at the start of the 1990s, illustrates this connection:

> Will the '90s see a spiritual revival in Canada, resulting in the cleansing of the moral climate of our nation? Will the statistics of divorce, drug abuse, pornography, 'alternate lifestyles', and vandalism see a dramatic reversal? Will our streets become safer, and our schools recognize that men were created to glorify God?[51]

This type of article, which featured a long list of grievances, became commonplace in Skinner's time, and allowed the editor to couch new concerns on an old platform.

In order to ensure that increased political awareness did not undermine the conventional PAOC self-understanding, Skinner wrote this new trend into the PAOC tradition. In an article entitled "Awakened Social Conscience" Wayne Hilsden reminded

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[51] James McKnight, "What the Spirit is Saying," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1990). In the 1980s Pentecostals had plenty of battles to fight and causes to pursue. It appears that contributors' efforts to combat a plethora of problems from pornography to lottery tickets were consistent with many of the priorities of American fundamentalists. According to the American Coalition for Traditional Values website, the top ten issues in its campaign to restore traditional values include: prayer and Bible reading in school, a pro-life constitutional amendment, legal restrictions on pornography and alcohol and a resistance to feminist and gay rights legislation. See http://www.traditionalvalues.org/defined.php, October, 2006.

readers that, "...what is too often forgotten about most recent revivals is that social conscience emerged naturally from the revival fires."[52] He goes on to proclaim that social action and political change were priorities for John Wesley, Charles Finney, and Dwight L. Moody. By writing contemporary advocacy into classical traditions, such an article successfully reworked the PAOC chain of memory. Wayne Hilsden's father, Hudson, who was head of the PAOC Social Concerns Committee, also wrote regularly on the importance of Pentecostal action in the secular sphere. In one of his most passionate articles, "Re-Thinking the Separation of Church and State", Hilsden Sr. declared that "...if we fail to legislate morality we will legislate immorality." He went on to state that:

> We must not underestimate the power of political action. We must exercise our Biblical convictions on juries, on the judicial bench, in our schools, in our work places, in government, and in legislatures.[53]

He was also careful to reassure his readers that, "...the notion of separation of Church and state is a recent phenomenon, inconsistent with apostolic tradition." Another contributor went so far as to cite specific examples of apostolic political action. In an article entitled, "God's Prophetic Voice to the Nation" he observed:

> While he was incarcerated in Jerusalem, Paul appealed his case to Caesar when justice was unlikely to be determined in the Jews' court. Neither was he backward about giving a clear presentation of righteousness, temperance and judgment to Felix when opportunity presented itself.[54]

The refashioning of tradition evident in these contributions is consistent with Wuthnow's characterization of the conservative Christian perspective. By the mid 1980s, Canadian

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[52] Wayne Hilsden, "An Awakened Social Conscience," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1983).
[53] Hudson T. Hilsden, "Re-Thinking the Separation of Church and State," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1985).
[54] C.W. Lynn, "God's Prophetic Voice to the Nation," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1985) For further articles along these lines see Don Kauffman, "The Major Missing Ingredient in World Evangelism," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1985) and Skinner, "Pentecostal Power Politics," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1988).

Pentecostals had come to believe that, since the state was determined to legislate morality and promote secular liberalism, the church must be willing to politicize its position and protect traditional values.[55] By incorporating this brand of article, the *Testimony* succeeded in making political activism a part of the authorized memory. Skinner's efforts to acclimatize his readers to a new degree of political activism, or "aggressive defense", is a clear example of what Hervieu-Léger would deem, "...a deliberate choice of invoking the authority of tradition, by becoming incorporated into a continuing lineage" and thereby constructing a post-traditional identity.[56]

Spirituality as an individual expression

In the 1980s, Canadian Pentecostalism was also affected by increased individualism within both the secular and religious spheres. Bellah and others have observed that, during the eighties, self-definitions were, above all, based on "one's own individual choice."[57] While this heightened individualism threatened many mainstream denominations, charismatic and evangelical groups were better able to accommodate this particular element of post-modernity. Bellah explains this distinction:

> Within the conservative Christian community, what connected one self to another was the objectively given reality of their creation as God's children and God's own continuing presence in the world in Jesus Christ. However, since this reality was one each person freely accepts, (it) established the bonds of the Christian community while affirming individual identity.[58]

Thus, in a period characterized by fragmentation and cultural conflict, this unique relationship with Christ – as defined by the conservative Christian community – blended

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[55] Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion,* 290-301.
[56] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 165.
[57] Ibid., 65.
[58] Bellah, *Habits of the Heart*, 156. Hervieu-Léger's perspective echoes Bellah's observation. She argues that, since its members believe they are a part of a genuine spiritual community, "the sect, entry to which is invariably through conversion, that is to say personal choice, constitutes a form of religious association presenting, ideal-typically, more affinity with current features of cultural modernity." See, Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 66.

individual religious expression with a unified collective. Unlike Kulbeck, who was more intent on traditionalizing the PAOC as an institution, Skinner re-organized the chain of memory in order to re-assert the PAOC as a denomination which embraced and affirmed individuality. In some ways, since it provided Pentecostals with avenues for debate, the incorporation of political discussion addressed in the previous section also reflected these efforts. Whereas the average adherent could add little to disputes over the nature of the Holy Spirit or the character of the Trinity, ordinary believers could confidently debate abortion and headship.

Nonetheless, it was mainly through other techniques that Skinner was able to re-integrate individualism into the tradition in order to demonstrate that being Pentecostal involved more than attending church. In other words, he used the *Testimony* to affirm the notion that adherents could have multiple identities. During this period, the *Testimony* included a diversity of articles on business-related themes such as time management, retirement savings, and tax preparation. These features were aimed at an increasingly affluent and upper middle class readership. By incorporating these topics, the editor was tacitly affirming the fact that Pentecostals had lives beyond the prayer room.[59] More significantly, the portrayals of Pentecostal pioneers, which continued to be so popular during this era, often presented the founding leaders as multi-taskers. In one of his pieces on R.E. McAlister, it was remarked that the pioneer's "... exploits as pastor, evangelist, publisher, broadcaster, denominational founder, and administrator deserve a full-length biography." Clearly, it was an attempt to demonstrate that, like their forefather, PAOC adherents should endeavor to have multiple identities.

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[59] See I.J. Stanley, "Some Abuse It! Others Use It! What Are You Doing With It?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1983) and Skinner "Tithing and Taxes" *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1986).

Moreover, during Skinner's tenure, in an effort to accommodate the needs of contemporary believers for individual expression in culturally appropriate ways, Holy Spirit Baptism and other Pentecostal distinctives were substantially refashioned to lose some of their earlier experiential distinctiveness. In an unusually lengthy article entitled, "Spiritual Gifts and The Church", Ken Birch, a leading PAOC pastor argued that:

> The Bible clearly teaches that every Christian has some charismata with which to serve the Lord. There are probably a lot more spiritual gifts in operation in most churches than we normally recognize. This is because we usually think of more dramatic, spectacular gifts such as healing, miracles and tongues... but we need to understand that there are many unspectacular gifts which are just as divine in their origin and just as powerful in their effect. Such gifts as helps, encouragements, giving and administration are a few that come to mind.[60]

This article is particularly noteworthy because it reflects a democratization of charismata within the PAOC. Whereas previous editorships had privileged tongues' baptism, during Skinner's tenure the importance of other charismata was also highlighted. While the tongues' experience had always been available to ordinary believers, the *Testimony*, by including much humbler components as well, opened the door to a greater variety of personal spiritual expressions. The decision to value "encouragement" and "administration" as equally important charismata was a drastic re-definition of the authorized memory. However, contributors were also careful to write this contemporary understanding into the well-worn rhetoric of the apostolic church. In fact, in the article cited above, Birch went on to remark that, "...in the Apostolic church it was the possession of a combination of gifts which qualified certain people for positions of public leadership."[61] Hervieu-Léger would call such a comment retrospective inventing of a core

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[60] Ken Birch, "Spiritual Gifts and the Church," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1985). See also, Allan T. Stanley "Why Tongues," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1987).
[61] Ken Birch, "Spiritual Gifts and the Church," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1985).

body of memories.[62] In this case, Skinner selected an article that found new emphases in the apostolic period in order to legitimize a broader understanding of acceptable forms of charismata, and thereby extend the tent to encompass a greater number of believers.

Another revealing piece illustrates the liberalization and individualization of Pentecostal spirituality during the eighties. Its contributor claimed that the most crucial component of Pentecostal spirituality was the way of life which came *after* the Baptism in the Holy Spirit.[63] This assertion is especially important because it created further room for a diversity of acceptable paths after the distinctive tongues' experience. The tongues' baptism, the writer implied, is less important than the practical life that follows the experience. As a corollary, Skinner also featured several theological articles which downplayed the conventional importance of glossolalia (or tongues' baptism) as the "initial sign of Holy Spirit Baptism". Although tongues were certainly still promoted as a crucial part of the Pentecostal doctrine, the rhetoric had softened substantially. One writer referred to tongues as "external evidence" while another suggested that they were a "visible symbol of spiritual reality".[64] Again, this milder rhetoric reflected Skinner's attempt to be more inclusive and more tolerant of individual interpretations. His attempt to empower ordinary believers by democratizing charismata and relaxing the formerly exclusionary rhetoric surrounding Holy Spirit baptism is consistent with what Hervieu-Léger sees as the hallmark of successful late modern religious phenomena: "The absolute imperative for each individual to find his or her own way."[65]

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[62]Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory, 124.*
[63] George Dawes "What's Next?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (July, 1990).
[64] Allan T. Stanley, "Why Tongues?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1987) and Kathy Karr "Tongues Doctrine and Today's Church," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1990).
[65]Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 140.

Here too, however, this contemporary reinterpretation of Pentecostal spirituality was combined with well-established forms of Pentecostal discourse. In an article addressed to third and fourth generation Pentecostals, another contributor encouraged contemporary believers to re-embrace "...the terminology of "praying through," "the glory fall", "Pentecostal power" and "Holy Ghost explosion".[66] Especially during the latter years of Skinner's editorship, contributors increasingly began to call for a return to authentic salvation and spirituality.[67] In one of his last editorials, Skinner remarked that "...although we have fancy projectors, catchy choruses and comfortable pews, I long for the days of the old-fashioned tarrying meeting."[68] This idealized past was often described in terms of personal rather than systematized conversion. In his article, "The Supernatural Element", one third generation Pentecostal wrote that, "...when he considered several generations of [his] forebears, [he thought] in terms of godly people who came into the fellowship through personal salvation."[69]

Ironically, then, in order to embrace late modern individualism, Pentecostals had to reconnect with the classical notions of personal spirituality and conversion. A poem written in January 1985 reflects this strange blend:

> I'm going through, yes/ I'm going through/ I'll pay the price/ Whatever others do/ I'll take the way of/ the Lord's anointed few/ I'm going through Jesus/ I'm going through.[70]

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[66] The phrases refer back to the classical Pentecostal period when believers would spend multiple hours in fervent prayer services. In many cases, adherents would wait for the glory of heaven to descend on their meeting and send them into spiritual ecstasy.

[67] See Skinner's editorials: "Dream the Impossible Dream," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1986), "The Revival We Need," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January 1987), and "The Full Gospel," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1987).

[68] Skinner "Seeking the Spirit," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1990). Also See, Michael Horban "Holiness for Today," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1986) and George H. Dawes, "Are We Pentecostal?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1988).

[69] Stanly J. Smith "The Supernatural Element," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1987).

[70] Skinner, "The Anointed Few," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1985). See also, Thomas Miller, "Giving Leadership for Renewal," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1985) and H.H. Barber, "Decade of Destiny? For Whom?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1990).

In this case, classic Pentecostal discourse such as "paying the price," "the Lord's anointed few," and "going through Jesus," are combined with repeated emphasis on the word "I". In this way, contemporary individualism was written into the PAOC tradition.

Although there was less explicit discussion than during previous regimes, articles regarding divine healing were still an important part of the *Testimony.* As he did in other areas, Skinner managed to situate accommodation with contemporary society within the boundaries of tradition, and refashion the PAOC chain of memory so that it met the needs of his readership for both modern engagement and coherent identity.

Faith healing narratives, though less numerous and less hostile toward science and medical professionals than in McAlister's time, still appeared in the pages of the magazine. Whereas in McAlister's time doctors were often presented as nefarious, and in Kulbeck's time they appeared as foils, during Skinner's regime they were often seen as a crucial part of the healing. In some cases, the skeptical physician was still present; but more often, contributors used phrases like, "the nurses and doctors were of great comfort to me" or "despite their best efforts."[71] Additionally, the healing narratives, infrequent as they were, placed less emphasis on immediacy of results. Certainly, dramatic and implausible healings were still reported. However, during Skinner's term, the instantaneous testimony which was commonplace in previous periods was replaced by more gradual healing. Typically, after prayer, believers reported being "released fourteen days later" or feeling like a new person "by the following Sunday."[72] This shift can be

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[71] Paul Willowby, "Miracle on 3D," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1988) and Ron Stewart "Depression Lifted," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1990).
[72] Paul Willowby, "Miracle on 3D," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1988) and Lorrie Gibbons, "Bacterial Meningitis Cured," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1983).

attributed in part to the fact that a better educated readership would be unlikely to accept the instantaneous healing reported in previous years. Perhaps the most compelling example of Skinner's attempt to bridge the gap between faith healing and science is evidenced by a series of advertisements. In several cases, the magazine featured an ad which read: "Maranatha Health Centres: Christian Health Care Professionals – family physicians, chiropractors, optometrists and dentists."[73] By combining professional competence with Christian qualifications, this ad implied that, ideally, healing would include a mixture of spirituality and science.

In addition to connecting with science and downplaying instant healing, Skinner's presentation of healing also put the emphasis on the individual believer, rather than on the healer. In previous years, a great deal of space was dedicated to the special abilities of remarkable healers such as Aimee Semple McPherson or Dr. Charles Price. Conversely, during Skinner's time, the emphasis was placed on the person seeking healing. For instance, one writer argued that, "...the writer of Hebrews put the potential and the responsibility for releasing God's power into the pew, not the pulpit."[74] Five years later, in a similar piece, another claimed that, "...divine healing is released only when we recognize that it's *our* call to extend."[75] This new presentation of faith healing catered to each believer and allowed the phenomena to persist in a society where, to cite Hervieu-Léger, "...religious observance has become purely a concern of the individual."[76]

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[73] This ad was featured intermittently from 1984 to 1986.
[74] Bryan Clarke, "Healing Through the Word," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1986).
[75] Jack White, "Divine Healing For Today?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1991).
[76] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory,* 164.

Nevertheless, in order to unite readers into a coherent denomination, rather than experience a completely individualized spirituality, the editor had to place this more scientific and individualized version of healing within the Pentecostal tradition. In his article, "A Foretaste of Resurrection," Pentecostal historian Gordon Atter declared that, "Dr. A.B Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, brought his doctrine before the religious world in a sane, rational and wholesome way that led many to experience miraculous physical healing."[77] The re-crafting of traditional divine healing as "sane, rational and wholesome" legitimized the contemporary collaboration with science.

In another article outlining the authentic "full gospel" dynamic of classical Pentecostalism, one contributor presented divine healing as a profoundly personal experience. He wrote, "Following the initial emphasis on a personal experience of salvation, people were encouraged to receive the infilling of the Holy Spirit and to believe God for their divine healing."[78] In his piece on early PAOC superintendent Percy Jones, historian Thomas Miller described the traditional characteristics of divine healing, noting that, "after discovering the truths of divine healing, he sought deliverance by faith from diabetes and was gradually totally healed of his infirmity."[79] These articles reflect a subtle re-consideration of PAOC tradition; rather than being presented in fantastical, public and exclusively spiritual terms, during Skinner's time the legacy of divine healing was being recast as rational, personal and gradual.

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[77] Gordon F. Atter, "A Foretaste of Resurrection," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1986).
[78] Stanly J. Smith, "The Supernatural Element," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1987).
[79] Thomas Miller, "Portraits of Pentecostal Pioneers: Percy Jones," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1987).

Finally, Skinner also reordered the paper's structure in order to incorporate more individual expression. For instance, he was able to make more room for opinion pieces and readers' responses. Under the new format, subscribers' feedback was featured more prominently. This re-tooling was characteristic of an attempt to embrace a variety of perspectives, rather than merely parroting the head office's official positions. One of the more interesting areas in which this process was plainly displayed was in the debate over music style. After several pastors wrote articles lambasting the infiltration of "devil rock music" into the Pentecostal sanctuary, a number of readers wrote to express their disagreement. In fact, the dissension was so marked that Skinner elected to write an editorial entitled, "Rock Music: Some Pentecostals Actually Dig It?", which explained the validity of the different interpretations.[80]

In sum, by promoting multiple identities, reinterpreting charismata, re-emphasizing personal conversion, and restructuring the magazine, Skinner successfully integrated contemporary individualism into the Canadian Pentecostal tradition. In order to promote Pentecostalism as an individualistic faith, while also protecting the movement from perceived radical individualism and extreme fragmentation, Skinner sough to shape what Bellah refers to as "...a socially responsible individualism within a community of memory."[81]

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[80] In addition to believers' musical preference, Skinner also promoted individual interpretation of tithing distribution and leisure activity. See Skinner, "Where Should My Tithes Go?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1983) and "Nature: The Christian's Playground," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1988).
[81] Bellah, *Habits of the Heart,* 155.

New Forms of Outreach and Tolerance

During the eighties, the PAOC also attempted to become more tolerant and inclusive. The denomination substantially extended connections with other evangelicals. Although the PAOC had associated informally with evangelicals for the previous two decades, in the 1980s, under the banner of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, it truly became an active and vocal member of the conservative Christian community. In fact, during this period, the two most prominent and respected Canadian evangelicals, David Mainse and Brian Stiller, were both members of the PAOC. Stiller's position as director of the national Youth for Christ and subsequently as the president of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada has been interpreted as a symbol of the PAOC's integration into the wider evangelical community.[82] In his comprehensive study of evangelicalism in modern Canada, George Rawlyk has suggested that those associating with the Pentecostal experience have become increasingly powerful and, given their unique ability to meet the public's demand for extra-institutional religious experience, will be at the forefront of Christianity in the future. He observes that, "...if the New Birth defined the essence of evangelicalism during the first century of the history of the movement, and an obsession with an inerrant Bible the early part of the twentieth, the charismatic movement, including Pentecostalism, may be at the centre of the evangelical kaleidoscope in the early twenty-first century."[83]

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[82] In previous years, certain evangelical groups were adamant that many of the Pentecostal distictives represented demonic possession. Consequently, Stiller's election and a tempering of distinctives represented a remarkable transition and new found acceptance for the PAOC and its leaders. See Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century,* 10-15.

[83] G.A. Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Christ Your Personal Saviour? In Search of Canadian Evangelicalism in the 1990s* (Kingston and Montreal; McGill-Queen's Press, 1996), 10-14.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, in keeping with this observation, the PAOC had become a leader in the Canadian conservative Christian community. Without the continued reorientation of their self-undestanding, however, this ascendancy would not have been possible. In order to overcome the conventional gap between Pentecostals and their fundamentalist and evangelical cousins, and convince the still hesitant readers of the *Testimony* that an alliance with other conservative evangelicals was worthwhile, Skinner had to again re-craft the chain of memory.

In order to implement this revision, the *Testimony* utilized another set of historical symbols, which would not only integrate the PAOC identity, but also promote the relationship to the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. In an October 1985 article, one contributor wrote that, "Today I believe we are in the beginning stages of another great holistic revival such as occurred during the Reformation awakening in England and America during the years of Wesley and Whitefield: a revival such as that which challenged American society at its heart in the 19th century through preaching of Charles Finney and others."[84] By celebrating the legacy of great revivalists and connecting it with the contemporary revival, he was able to unify his readers' formerly fragmented perceptions of the evangelical community. In other words, in keeping with the insights of Hervieu-Léger, he succeeded in balancing, "the forces of immediacy" which demanded further interconnection, with "an appeal to lineage" which upheld the PAOC identity.[85]

On the eightieth anniversary of Azusa in 1986, the *Testimony* also began a series on a number of "Pentecostal Pioneers." A piece celebrating the life and work of Ellen Hebden – widely believed to have been the first recipient of the Pentecostal baptism in

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[84] John T. Bunner "Revival Fires," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1985).
[85]Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory,* 155.

Canada – took care to recount that the Hebden's store front mission, or "Canadian Jerusalem", welcomed a multitude of Christians including "Methodists, New Brethren Mennonites and Congregationalists."[86] By reminding readers that Hebden (who, until then, was generally remembered as staunchly anti-institutional) understood the value of connecting with other denominations, the *Testimony* incorporated contemporary outreach into its tradition.

In 1989, Skinner commissioned Miller to write a lengthy four-part series of the life of R.E. McAlister. Miller, by then the most prominent PAOC historian, highlighted McAlister's ecumenical spirit, and observed that, "...although he was a zealous defender of the Trinitarian orthodoxy... R.E. was well aware that the early leaders came from a variety of backgrounds – mainly Anglican, Baptist, Christian and Missionary Alliance and Mennonite Brethren – and shaped the principles of Church government accordingly."[87] Although in previous editorial regimes there was certainly some discussion of McAlister, it was in the 1980s that a new level of mythologizing this "trailblazer" began to take place. By turning Hebden and McAlister into a symbol of interdenominational outreach – the *Testimony* created an effective sign upon which readers could base their identity. As the historians of the movement became frequent contributors to the *Testimony,* the past blurred with the present and linear barriers within the denomination's memory became less pronounced.

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[86] Thomas Miller, "Portrait of Pentecostal Pioneers: Ellen K. Hebden," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1986).
[87] Thomas Miller, "The Life of R.E McAlister: Part Two," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1989).

The writing of Miller and others illustrates the substantial centralization of authentic memory during this period.[88] In many cases, this reconfiguration of official memory was intended to promote a particular agenda. As Skinner himself put it in the wake of a *Vision 2000* conference on the evangelization of Canadian society, held in 1990, "...it is obvious that we cannot accomplish this task [evangelism] alone, but together with other evangelicals we can make a significant impact upon our nation for Christ."[89] By re-constructing the authorized memory, Skinner sought to traditionalize cooperative activity and, in the minds of readers, legitimize increased participation in organizations like the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada.

A second form of engagement with cultural change concerned the role of women. During the eighties, a number of Canadian churches were confronted with internal calls for equality. By the early 1980s, women had been granted ordination in the United Church, Presbyterian, Anglican, Lutheran, Baptist, and Mennonite denominations. Additionally, in some Roman Catholic parishes, nuns and female laypersons gained increased influence.[90] For Canadian Pentecostals on the other hand, aligning with the wider shift in women's roles was a much slower and more variegated process. In some respects the proliferation of the charismatic and third wave phenomena, which will be addressed in the final section, did lead to a more egalitarian interpretation of women's

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[88] Hervieu-Léger points out that once a utopian group begins to emphasize the relationship between the past and the present, rather than the past and the radically different future, then the process of respectability has already begun. "This process is taken to an extreme when a group of religious experts (clerics) assumes the monopoly of defining the legitimate memory of the foundation and its implications for the present." See, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 147.

[89] Skinner, "PAOC Cooperates With Vision 2000 Conference," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1990). At this conference, representatives from over 60 Canadian denominations and para-religious organizations gathered to discuss the EFC's conversion strategy for the 1990s.

[90] Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era,* 234-35.

roles.[91] For instance, it was during the 1980s when women were finally granted PAOC ministerial licenses.[92] Nevertheless, a number of historians maintain that in many respects Pentecostal women were and are still very much oppressed. In her 1994 study on the role of women in various U.S. religious contexts, Mary McClintock-Fulkerson points out that, because many Pentecostals still believe in, "...the infallibility of the entire cannon...they implicitly require that all scriptures that refer to women must be obeyed."[93] This 'limited' understanding of the Bible, she contends, is a contributing factor to the oppression of women in the Pentecostal church. Although she identified a different cause, Elaine Lawless reached a similar conclusion in her 1984 study of Pentecostal churches in Indiana. Highlighting the struggle of women to be "speakers in a culture that is basically hostile to women as speakers," she concluded that by meticulously orchestrating worship services, misogynistic male ministers were able to enforce at least partial control over Pentecostal women's expressive outlets.[94] Within the PAOC, as will be made clear below, the picture was equally ambiguous. There is little question that attitudes towards women had begun to change, but many conservative notions continued to persist.

In some cases, under Skinner's editorship, *The Pentecostal Testimony* appeared to assert a vision of the PAOC which reflected a more inclusive stance toward women. For instance, by the late 1980s, the editor began to move away from some exclusionary

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[91] The American Assemblies of God followed a similar pattern. Although it argues that their authority was precariously and in some cases dangerously held, Lawless' other book does trace the significant increase in official female participation among American Pentecostals in the 1980s. See Elaine Lawless, *Handmaidens of the Lord: Pentecostal Women Preachers and Traditional Religion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).

[92] Until this time, PAOC female ministers were granted the less prestigious "ministerial license."

[93] Mary McClintock-Fulkerson, *Changing the Subject: Women's Discourses and Feminist Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 254.

[94] Elaine J. Lawless, *God's Peculiar People: Women's Voices and Folk Tradition in a Pentecostal Church* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1988), 144.

terminology. Thus, while the Holy Spirit was still identified as 'he,' the term 'man' was gradually replaced by the more inclusive phrase, 'man or woman,' or more general term 'person.' In a March, 1991 editorial, for example, Skinner wrote that, "...the world has yet to see what God will do with a man (or woman) who is wholly consecrated to the Holy Spirit."[95] As women gained a degree of prominence within the Pentecostal culture, the *Testimony* also began to feature a greater number of articles written by women. In one particularly obvious example of this reorientation, Skinner wrote an article celebrating six great Pentecostal leaders. Of these six figures, led by Brian Stiller, two were women. This piece, which included pictures and profiles, outlined the accomplishments of Eastern Pentecostal Bible College faculty member Carol Sireit and renowned Edmonton minister Ruth Wilcock.[96]

At the same time, as he had done in other areas, the editor was careful to place this new degree of inclusion within the context of an authoritative tradition of female behaviour. An article written by first generation and then 90-year-old Pentecostal male minister C.M. Ward illustrates this agenda. Ward observed that, "Mother insisted on plain clothing; no ornamentals were aloud. Mother would not even wear simple wedding band," he continued, "and never patronized a hairdresser." At first glace, this brand of fundamentalist discourse seems to uphold the conservative perception of Pentecostal women. Nonetheless, in the same article, Ward reminded readers that, "...all of our Canadian fathers were touched by sister Hebden's work in downtown Toronto."[97] By

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[95] Skinner, "Dixie Cups and Spirituality," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (March, 1990). See also Skinner "Not Pentecostal in Name Only," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1992) and Skinner, "Suddenly a Sound From Heaven" *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1992).

[96] See Skinner, "What Do These Great Pentecostal Leaders Have in Common?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (April, 1991).

[97] See C.M. Ward, "Peculiar People: An Old-Timer Looks Back to what it was Like in the Early Days of the PAOC," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1991).

balancing the minimalist image of his mother with the influential legacy of Hebden, the author opened the door a crack to a more progressive vision of women without completely setting aside traditional understandings.

During Skinner's tenure, presentations of Pentecostal women often followed a similar pattern. In a tribute to the Reverend Mary Aldworth, following her death in 1986, Skinner told readers that, "She had the ability to speak to thousands, or relate to one young, searching, fearful child."[98] Here too this tension between traditional and contemporary is evident: the image of the powerful orator addressing thousands was offset by the vision of the doting woman comforting a lone child. In an article reflecting on the changing role of the minister's wives, a female contributor recalled that in her youth she had witnessed two exemplary women whose, "uncompromising, sweet commitment to their husbands touches me even now as I endeavour to cope with the tensions that naturally come to a pastor's wife." However, when describing the relationship between these pastors' wives and their husbands, she offered a more contemporary interpretation: "Blessed is she whose husband allows her to develop her own ministry...and who, instead of feeling threatened, welcomes his spouse as a part of the team."[99]

Articles recollecting the role of classical Pentecostal women frequently articulated this re-imagined vision, which featured a tension between conservative and progressive ideals. In her examination of the "Women's Aglow Fellowship", an evangelical/charismatic group which has gained increased popularity over the past three decades, historian Marie Griffiths has tracked a similarly paradoxical trend. Analyzing

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[98] Skinner, "With the Lord," *Pentecostal Testimony* (January, 1986).
[99] Virginia Lynn, "Perfect Pastors' Wives," *Pentecostal Testimony* (June, 1986).

female expression within the movement's principal newsletter, *Aglow*, Griffiths concludes that seemingly submissive narratives actually provided women with a strategy for gaining power.[100] While it took on a somewhat different form, within the *Testimony*, Skinner was able to make the traditional female sphere a forum for expression and power. As editor, he accommodated the demands of modernity within an authoritative context – the collective memory of prominent Pentecostal women.

The PAOC also attempted to engage economically-marginalized ethnic minorities. While other denominations were becoming increasingly suburbanized, the PAOC was intent on maintaining a visible presence in urban environments where recent immigrants gather in greater numbers. In large cities across Canada, Pentecostals established inner-city missions designed to attract both disillusioned corporate workers and disenfranchised transients. As well, the denomination continued to court various immigrant communities, particularly Latino, Caribbean and South East Asian, and add diversity to its already extensive multicultural base. In order to support this outreach, the head office funded various community liaisons and foreign language sub-branches, which ranged from Western Slavic to Mandarin. Furthermore, in order to extend its influence, the PAOC made new efforts to connect with students at university campuses. From coast-to-coast young Pentecostals joined evangelical student societies and even installed Pentecostal chaplains on various campuses.[101]

Within this milieu, in order to avoid a destabilization of identity, the PAOC had to reconcile its desire for multiculturalism with a self-understanding rooted in conservative

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[100] Marie Griffiths, "Submissive Wives, Wounded Daughters and Female Soldiers: Prayer and Christian Womanhood in the Women's Aglow Fellowship," in *Lived Religion in America*, ed. David D. Hall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 178-79.

[101] Best known was Bernice Gerard, a long time student chaplain at the University of British Columbia. She hosted a successful televangelism program on the west coast for many years.

values. Here too, it was through the *Testimony* that the process of re-imagining took place. During this period although dogmatic and xenophobic articles were still present, a number of pieces promoting diversity also became prominent. While reporting on a revival in Hamilton in 1983, one contributor observed that, "...when the altar call was given, those who came were varied in age, background, race color and creed; some were even in wheelchairs."[102] In a similar column three years later Skinner asked, "... did you know that other western nations, including the United States, are now following Canada's lead in multi-cultural social policy?" He continued, "... did you know that more than half of our churches are ethnically based and that our Sunday school services are held in 27 languages?"[103] In an even more obvious example of alignment with Canada's increasingly multicultural nature, a PAOC educator wrote that, "children in Canada can no longer be shielded from the fact that this is no-longer 'a Christian country". However, she continued by observing that, "when a Christian student learns to be tolerant of the beliefs of others, and shows love and care towards others without compromising his or her own beliefs, this can be a marvelous testimony to the power of God."[104] In other words, multiculturalism offered new opportunities for evangelism. An advertisement which was run regularly during the 1987 version of the *Testimony*, offers further evidence of this connection. The ad, which was intended to recruit young Pentecostals to the North West Bible college in Edmonton, boasted that its region featured, "25 ethic churches which provide splendid opportunity for evangelism and practical ministry involvement." In another piece which highlighted the relationship between multicultural

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[102] Howard K. Benn "Revival in Hamilton," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1983).
[103] Skinner, "Our Multicultural Heritage," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1986).
[104] Georgia Bamber "Public Schools and the Pentecostal Child," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1989).

outreach and evangelistic mission, a Bible college professor warned readers to avoid, "the self-centredness of race, language, social class, and ethnic identity." Instead, he continued, contemporary Pentecostals must have "meaningful redemptive contact with the world."[105] In short, under Skinner, the *Testimony* went to great lengths to show that, even if only as an evangelistic tool, the PAOC was in step with multiculturalism, one of the decade's dominant ideologies. As the editor himself put it, "...the same goes for immigrants coming to Canada in their millions; our ethnic churches are being used to reach these multitudes with the gospel."[106]

At the same time the *Testimony* endeavored to show that this spirit of inclusion and tolerance was grounded in Pentecostal tradition. Reflecting on the long history of the PAOC's Stone Church in Toronto, one contributor observed that, "...this venerable pillar of the Pentecostal Assemblies has stayed in the city since 1931 because the gospel either works downtown or it doesn't work at all." The article continued by reminding readers of the words of the church's first minister, Walter McAlister: "God has brought to our doorstep people from all over the world. How can we close our doors to their need?"[107] Following the analysis of Hervieu-Léger, by the 1980s the PAOC had, at least to some extent, "...transformed into a religion of signs and values... which can be reprocessed in different ways as required by those who extract it."[108] The legendary status of men like the McAlister brothers and institutions such as the Stone Church had become cemented, and authorized producers of memory had a wealth of symbols from which to choose in

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[105] Gary Milley, "Self-Centredness: A Hindrance to Ministry," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (July, 1987).
[106] Skinner, "What is that in Your Hand?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1987). See also Gary Slaunwhite, "God's Call to the High Arctic," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1987) and Betty Jane Grams, "Welcome to Canada Jose, Eusibio, Jorge and Teresa," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1987).
[107] Lois Neely, "Toronto's Stone Church," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (December, 1988).
[108] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory,* 158.

order to traditionalize the contemporary connection between evangelism and multicultural outreach.

Contributors continued to make use also of apostolic symbols in order to promote tolerance. In an article entitled "Self-Righteousness: A Note to Those Who Cause Divisions," another writer described fifteen signs of a narrow-minded and isolationist believer. She warned readers that, "...intolerance of anyone who is not as 'spiritual' as you are or who comes from a different background may be a sign that you need scales lifted from your eyes and ears."[109] Moreover, she concluded her article by citing a warning from the Apostle Paul's teaching: "Now I urge you, brethren, note those who cause divisions and offenses, contrary to the doctrine which you learned, and avoid them."[110] By placing new emphasis on this aspect of Apostolic Church doctrine, which frowned upon divisiveness, the author was attempting to write the concept of tolerance into the legacy of Canadian Pentecostal tradition.

As the PAOC entered the 1990s, its self-proclaimed "Decade of Destiny", which placed renewed emphasis on evangelistic mission, it became especially important for Pentecostals to enlist the support of evangelicals, women and economically-deprived minorities. As it did in other areas, the *Testimony* became a tool for placing a new degree of ecumenical, progressive and multicultural values within the stabilizing confines of tradition.

In conclusion, during the 1980s, as the PAOC began to put its doctrine and history under the lens of rigorous scholarship, initiate an organized and often scathing public policy campaign, reconsider its worship practices, pursue a variety of innovative outreach

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[109] Edie Hiebert, "Self-Righteousness: A Note to Those Who Cause Divisions," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September, 1988).
[110] This passage is selected from Romans 16:17, 18.

initiatives, and explore a potent intermixture of spirituality and psychology, the *Pentecostal Testimony* under the guidance of Robert Skinner continued to serve a vital function. While it did validate the PAOC as a reflective, activist, individualistic and progressive entity, it also grounded these modern attributes in an authoritative tradition. This reworking of the denomination's chain of memory to allow for greater tolerance and inclusivity, helped the PAOC to ensure its vitality without fragmenting its identity. There remained, however, one potentially destabilizing contemporary religious challenge to this newfound inclusivity, and it too had to be incorporated into the chain of memory.

The Third Wave

During the 1980s, the PAOC continued to be faced with the rise of revivalist and charismatic groups. In some cases this revival took place within established churches, such as Baptist, Methodist and other traditional evangelical denominations, which had not been affected by the spiritual fervency of the 1970s. Since it came after both the Pentecostal outpouring at the turn-of-the-century and the charismatic renewal of the 1960s and 1970s, church growth expert C. Peter Wagner has termed this revival "the third wave". The so-called third wave movement often included individual churches that were open to the Holy Spirit baptism but considered themselves neither Pentecostal nor charismatic. In many cases, these believers placed less emphasis on charismata and, because of their affinity for spiritual counseling and healing services, were often accused of being "self help Christians."[111]

The response within *Testimony* to these various phenomena was far from monolithic. While some writers embraced the third wave as further evidence of the

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[111] See Margaret Poloma, "The Toronto Blessing: Charisma, Institutionalization, and Revival," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 36 (1997, No 2): 258-60.

PAOC's relevance and righteousness, other authors established a stark contrast between the new movement and the authentic Pentecostal tradition. As editor during this period, Skinner was faced with a number of tough choices, but the dilemma created by the spread of the third wave was perhaps the most difficult of all. As mass consumerism took a firm hold of Canadian society, the PAOC had to deal with what Hervieu-Léger refers to as, "the mobility, reversibility, and transferability of all markers."[112] Within this context, more than ever before, non-Pentecostal groups began to incorporate Pentecostal traditions into their discourse and practice. Following Hervieu-Léger, Skinner's handling of the third wave within the *Testimony* can be seen as a complex process. Faced with the third wave's perceived piracy, Skinner chose to present the PAOC as an important repository of spiritual signs but also to re-articulate a uniquely Pentecostal vision. While the former required a down playing of conflict by presenting third wave spirituality as what Hervieu-Léger dubs a "worthwhile expression of diversity in culture and feeling," the latter involved reworking, "the individual and collective consciousness of emotional belonging."[113] In other words, Skinner had to convince his readers that the Spirit manifested itself in a variety of ways but that it was also necessary for Pentecostals to be the spiritual standard by which authentic Christianity could be measured.

As the third wave continued to spread and other revivals flared up, contributors to the *Testimony* were careful to validate the moving of the Spirit. In fact, since the PAOC was adamant that the Holy Spirit was active in modern times and not merely limited to the confines of the New Testament Church, many of these latter day outpourings seemed to confirm such a position. As Skinner declared in an unusually passionate editorial:

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[112] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, ix. Lyon identifies the spread of communications technology and mass consumerism as the earmarks of postmodernity. See *Jesus in Disneyland*, xi.
[113] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of* Memory, 174.

"Now, in the 1980s, the Holy Spirit is finally being outpoured in the Third Wave upon the rest of the Protestant churches – with signs and wonders following!"[114] From this standpoint, the factors that had previously separated Pentecostals from their mainline cousins were now secondary to the experience that united them, the celebration of charismatic gifts.

In another piece relating the details of the Assemblies of God general conference, at which Skinner was a participant, the editor recalled, "Superintendent Zimmerman urged ministers and churches to 'get into the great river flowing and 'become a meaningful part of what God is doing in our time."[115] This speech was a direct admonition to those Pentecostals who were rejecting the latest wave of revival. By including this article under the newlines portion of the paper rather than the editorial portion, Skinner was giving a similar – although less direct – warning to his readership. Pentecostals who denied the legitimacy of the third wave as an act of God, the *Testimony* seemed to imply, were rejecting the force at the heart of the PAOC movement – a dynamic, contemporary spirit. Thomas Miller's article on the historic relationship between Pentecostals and charismatics perfectly sums up this position:

> Zelma Argue, a pioneer lady evangelist from Winnipeg, once received a vision in which she saw the waves of the ocean rolling onto the shore. Each succeeding wave was more intense than the last, and rolled higher up the shore. The Lord revealed each wave represented one of the great revivals of the past. Then, in the vision, an exceedingly large and powerful wave, representing the Pentecostal revival, rolled far up the shore. To her surprise, Zelma then saw another wave of great power, mounting higher and higher, just ready to break. "Since then", she wrote, I have always been expecting another great visitation from the Lord."[116]

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[114] Skinner, "Best Laid Schemes of Mice and Men," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1988).
[115] Skinner, "A Report of the Assemblies of God Conference," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1986). T.F. Zimmerman was the superintendent of the AOG during the 1980s.
[116] Thomas Miller, "Pentecostals and Charismatics," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1983).

By choosing to resurrect pioneer Zelma Argue's inclusive vision which characterized revivals as waves, Miller legitimized the outpouring of the 1980s. According to some contributors, therefore, the third wave was to be embraced as compelling evidence that the Spirit was indeed moving and that the Pentecostal experience was at the heart of a religious revolution.

While Skinner was intent on recognizing the third wave as clear evidence that the Pentecostal message had uniquely modern relevance, he was also, however, determined to reassert the PAOC as the guardian of authentic charismata. As a result, the magazine was filled with a variety of articles which delineated the gap between authentic Pentecostal spirituality and the aberrant and even heretical practice of the new charismatics. One contributor wrote, for example, that "the trend toward non-nuclear lifestyles within these groups", which he designated, "Third Wave families", "is irreversible".[117] Another writer asserted that, "...to be really Pentecostal, the norm of the early Church must be the ideal for today's Church. Anything less will result in complacent bless-me clubs which offer nothing more than sounding brass and tinkling cymbal!"[118]

In some cases, the criticism aimed at the "bless-me clubs" (or charismatic groups) was even more specific. One pastor wrote that unlike Pentecostals, who had become organized and theologically astute, "...the charismatics are going down the tube theologically." Moreover, he continued, "The Holy Spirit isn't unsystematic, sloppy or

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[117] Bryan Clarke, "Utopianism: A Threat to the Christian Way of Life," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1986).
[118] George Dawes, "Are We Really Pentecostal?," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May, 1988).

disorganized, he's an organizer!"[119] This article is an unmistakable example of how the *Testimony* significantly re-worked the PAOC's conventional self-understanding. Pentecostals, the writer seemed to contend, should be proud of their fidelity to an organized and doctrinally-sound movement. He accused third wavers and new charismatic sects, such as Word of Faith and Kingdom Now, of giving in to eschatological extremism, spiritual indulgence and even anti-Semitism.[120]

While some charismatic leaders were seen to be moving from extremism to heresy, the PAOC, as presented in the *Testimony*, continued to embody the authentic Christian tradition. As Skinner wrote in one of his final editorials:

> Many people assume that if you are going to succeed, get out of The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. That's a wrong response! You can have every blessing in the Bible, every gift and fruit of the Spirit, and everything that God has for you, and remain a loyal member of this Fellowship. You don't have to jump ship to see God move in healings, miracles and revival. You don't have to jump ship to see a great harvest of souls. [121]

In the face of an ever-increasing appropriation of Pentecostal symbols and practice, the *Testimony* strove to present the PAOC as moral corrective to indulgent sects and a shining example of genuine spirituality. This process culminated in 1991 with the passing of a motion which re-affirmed the denomination's "Statement of Fundamental and Essential Truths". Reporting on that resolution, Skinner observed that, "The delegates reaffirmed those doctrinal points which distinguished PAOC views from other charismatics and rejected the many unacceptable dogmas and practices still maintained

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[119] Donald Cantelon, "Addressing Issues of Pentecostal Power," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February, 1988).
[120] Ibid. Word of Faith and Kingdom Now were small, charismatic sects that gained brief prominence during the 1980s.
[121] See Skinner, "Prophecy Not Deception" *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November, 1990).

among them."[122] In a context where religious symbols were becoming increasingly transferable and where the PAOC no longer monopolized the charismatic experience, the *Testimony* was forced to reduce its exclusionary perspective and also reemphasize the Pentecostal tradition.[123]

By the time that Skinner's editorship came to an end in 1992, the pastor was ready to retire and hand the magazine over to the next generation. Like McAlister and Kulbeck before him, Skinner re-crafted the PAOC tradition in order to integrate the demands of his own immediate context into the authentic memory. As editor, he was able to validate the need of believers to participate in the public sphere and to maintain an individual identity without succumbing to relativism and fragmentation, both of which represented a serious threat to established religion during this period. In his final editorial, looking back on his career, Skinner upheld the axiom which characterized his tenure: the PAOC must maintain its distinctively modern approach, but its style must always be grounded in apostolic and classical Pentecostal tradition.

> It is not always easy to see things in terms of right and wrong nowadays especially when we live in a generation which tends to regard all behaviour as being relative. Our children face challenges and temptations which we never knew while growing up. However, each generation has to make its *own* commitment to the lord. If the Gospel is not relevant to each and every generation then it becomes meaningless in a world fraught with difficulties.[124]

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[122] See Skinner, "According to the Doctor" *The Pentecostal Testimony* (October, 1991).
[123] With the proliferation of the Airport Blessing in the mid 1990s, the paper's function would become even more crucial. The Airport Blessing, located north of Toronto and affiliated with the Vineyard Church, gained international attention when it experienced a new "outpouring of the spirit." People who attended these services often manifested exotic spiritual behaviours, such as uncontrollable laughter and spontaneous shaking. For an in-depth study of this movement see Margaret Poloma, "The Toronto Blessing: Charisma, Institutionalization, and Revival."
[124] Skinner, "A Final Farewell," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (August, 1992).

Conclusion

Movements emphasizing charismatic gifts and glossolalia have emerged at different times throughout the history of Christianity. Nevertheless, the modern Pentecostal movement, which is most often viewed as beginning either at Charles Parham's Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas in 1901 or at the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles in 1906, has certainly been the most enduring. In fact, sociologist Margaret Poloma has declared that nearly a hundred years after its explosive beginnings, "Pentecostalism, in its varying expressions, comprises the second largest communion of Christians in the world." In 2006, a century after William Seymour's historic gathering, what Harvey Cox has deemed Christianity's "primal religion," continues to prove that it is capable of re-ordering modern religious expression.[1] Individuals identifying with the Pentecostal experience can be found in nearly all the Christian denominations and virtually every nation in the world. According to some estimates, by the start of the 21st century, Pentecostals could claim nearly 500 million followers worldwide – including an international component with a reported a growth rate of 20 million members a year.[2]

On the Canadian scene, although independent assemblies were established in both the east and the west within a year of Azusa, the movement really began to pick up momentum in 1919 with the establishment of the PAOC. Initially, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, which considered itself a fellowship rather than a denomination, was staunchly fundamentalist in its doctrine, primarily experiential in its worship and predominantly sectarian in its ideology. As this initially frail alliance of twenty-seven

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[1] Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995).
[2] David Barrett and Todd Johnson, "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1999," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 23 (January): 24-25.

congregations grew, it faced the inevitable series of challenges which came with practicing religion in a particularly contemporary way and in a remarkably modern context. In fact, the dilemmas first confronted by Pentecostals in twentieth century have lately been faced by older religious groups in the twenty-first century.

As Canadian Pentecostals began to do a century ago, other denominations are now beginning to confront the challenge of persisting in profoundly a fragmented, radically individual and remarkably a-traditional context. Like pioneer Canadian Pentecostals, modern religious groups are now struggling to find their place in a culture "...in which they can no longer reasonably hope to play an active or significant role."[3] Like early Canadian Pentecostals, contemporary belief systems are now attempting to assert a coherent identity without the aid of an accessible repository of traditional symbols. As Canadian Pentecostal adherents have done, modern religions are now toiling to maintain a stable set of beliefs in a culture characterized by fluidity and mobility.[4] Like previous generations of Canadian Pentecostals, contemporary denominations are now attempting to retain loyalty and uphold collectivity despite a radically individualized and predominantly market-oriented culture.[5] Lastly, similar to the last three generations of Canadian Pentecostals, modern religions now find themselves caught between, "carrying their compromise with modernity too far" and "being unable to talk the language of today." Consequently, as these Pentecostals have

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[3] Ibid., 1.
[4] Ibid,, 163.
[5] In this respect, Hervieu-Léger's analysis echoes the work of theologian Harvey Cox. See "The Market as God", *The Atlantic Monthly* (March 1999) Volume 283, No. 3; page 18. However, unlike Cox, Léger believes that successful religious groups are using techniques other than "market appeal" in order to attract and retain followers. See Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 173-76.

done, contemporary belief communities must now, to cite Hervieu-Léger , "...come to terms with the dynamics of the propagating and reprocessing of signs."[6]

In many cases, it was within the pages of *The Pentecostal Testimony* where the PAOC grappled with these issues. In particular, over the past eighty-five-years, the editors of this newspaper/magazine have struggled to resolve four major questions: How can the PAOC maintain a coherent identity without a centralized institution? How can the PAOC have a social impact from a marginalized cultural location? How can the PAOC facilitate successful evangelistic contact in a society where alienation was commonplace and the 'other' increasingly less visible? Finally, how can the PAOC handle new revivals without a firm sense of history and doctrine? These questions, in addition to the specific difficulties of their own times, would become central concerns for R.E McAlister, E.N.O. Kulbeck, and Robert Skinner, the editors of the denominational newspaper, *The Pentecostal Testimony*, in the 1920s, 1960s and early 1970s and the 1980s and first part of the 1990s respectively.

Given these seemingly insurmountable obstacles, how were Pentecostals able to achieve such incredible success? Although historians have posited a variety of explanations including: Pentecostals' balance of primitivism and pragmatism, their theological creativity, their experiential worship style, their facility with technology and their functional appeal, there is another way to interpret the movement's unlikely spread. This thesis has endeavoured to illustrate that Canadian Pentecostals' tremendous development in the face of the modernity's corrosive challenges would not have been possible without with the establishment of an authoritative tradition. Using Hervieu-Léger's theoretical framework as a springboard, I have attempted to demonstrate that, in

[6] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 168.

order to thrive in the turbulent, fragmentary and hostile context of modernity, the PAOC had to craft and continually reinvent a chain of memory, which functioned as a "fund of memory and a reservoir of signs," and was accessible to a variety of individual believers.[7]

Hervieu-Léger has suggested that in order to thrive in the modern context, religious groups must come to see themselves as begotten with a living and stabilizing tradition; "... as members of a spiritual community that gathers past, present and future believers, and which functions as an imaginary reference."[8] Particularly as new revivals – including the New Order of the Latter Rain in the 1920s, the Charismatic Renewal of the 1960s and the Third Wave Outpouring in the 1980s – gained prominence, it was crucial for the editors of the *Testimony* to assert a distinct PAOC identity which affirmed the movement as contemporary and, without undermining its relevance, also rooted the fellowship in apostolic and classical Pentecostal tradition. Therefore, in their own way and to different degrees, McAlister, Kulbeck and Skinner each managed to place necessarily modern characteristics within the denomination's re-imagined chain of memory. It was this consolidating initiative which allowed the PAOC to stay modern while also crafting tradition.

Will the editors of the *Testimony* continue to be successful in navigating what sociologist David Lyon has termed, "...the unfamiliar tides and currents of the postmodern?"[9] The *Testimony's* proven ability to build tradition and permanency in a a context where, to cite Hervieu-Léger once more, "...time implodes into an endless present, which has the dangerous potential of attenuating memory and foreclosing hope,"

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[7] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 168.
[8] *Ibid.*, 81.
[9] Lyon, *Jesus in Disneyland*, 138.

makes continued success a genuine possibility.[10] As well, to cite David Lyon, the *Testimony's* well-established propensity to "encode their messages, (and) their symbols, in ways that adapt them for the new media," seems to make continued development even more likely.[11] Moreover, inasmuch as previous editors have proven themselves to be experts in marketing and masters of evangelism, even the new challenges of the postmodern era – especially mass consumerism, hyper-commodifcation and the strange hybrid of connection and distancing which follow the growth of the global village – appear to be surmountable for the *Testimony*.

In the 21st century, conventional religious media such as McAlister's broadsheet will no doubt be completely replaced by internet chat rooms and sophisticated electronic marketing campaigns. Nevertheless, according to Léger, although the means may change, the importance of collective memory will remain the same, and successful religions will continue to develop an "ideological, practical and symbolic system through which the consciousness, both individual and collective, of belonging to a particular chain of belief is constituted, developed, maintained and controlled."[12] As this thesis has attempted to show, for the PAOC, the function has been admirably well served by *The Pentecostal Testimony* under the guidance of McAlister, Kulbeck and Skinner.

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[10] Ibid., 139.
[11] Ibid., 145.
[12] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, 82.

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The central primary source for this project is *The Pentecostal Testimony*, a denominational newspaper/magazine which has been published monthly from December of 1920 until the present. This document, which was first published in Ottawa, then London, and most recently Mississauga, is available in both paper and electronic format. While most of the quotations for this thesis were taken from the electronic adobe version, the paper version, which is housed at the PAOC archives in Mississauga, was also consulted.

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