

**Pentecostalism, Mainline Protestantism, and the
A.C. Valdez Jr. Healing Campaign in Winnipeg, 1952**

By Brian McLean

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
The University of Manitoba
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg

Copyright © 2014 by Brian McLean

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore an aspect of Canadian religious history that has been largely neglected by historians, namely the relationship between conservative Protestant Christianity and mainline Protestantism from the early twentieth century to the 1960s, and address critical questions related to the continued presence of conservative Protestant Christianity in Canadian society. Through its focus on relations between conservative and mainline Protestants in Winnipeg, it will examine whether the abandonment of evangelicalism in mainline Protestant churches contributed to the growth of groups like the Pentecostal movement throughout the first half of the twentieth century. It will investigate whether Pentecostals and other evangelical groups filled the void vacated by the liberalizing mainline denominations. And finally, it will consider whether the continued growth in membership of conservative Protestant churches in the middle decades of the twentieth century was indeed influenced by conflict between liberal and conservative Protestants.

My dissertation addresses the place of conservative Protestant Christianity by examining a specific event. The A.C. Valdez Pentecostal healing campaign in Winnipeg in 1952, and the murder of a seven-year old girl by her parents, long-time members of the United Church unhinged by the Valdez claim that the end of the world was imminent, sparked vigorous public debate and exposed long standing tensions within the Protestant world of Winnipeg and elsewhere. I argue that the campaign and the murder were watershed moments in the religious history of Winnipeg and provide many insights into the larger Canadian context. An analysis of these events shows both the mass public appeal of Pentecostal evangelism and the liberal Protestant response revealing deep-seated theological divisions among evangelical and non-evangelical Protestants in the city. The event was a turning point in the religious history of the city that marked the beginning of a new era that saw Pentecostalism emerge as one of the centres of aggressive evangelism as mainline Protestantism retreated to a modernist theology that increasingly abandoned the evangelical beliefs of its past.

Acknowledgements

I'd like to thank the following people for their generous assistance in the preparation of this dissertation. Diane Haglund, the Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference Archivist at the United Church, assisted me in my initial research. Due to her efforts the rich collection of records from the Gordon-King United Church was catalogued just prior to the start of this project. Gloria Romaniuk at the Diocese of Rupert's Land Archives was helpful in my research on the Canadian Guild of Health. Anita Schmidt and Hazel Birt both provided useful information regarding the history of the Guild in Winnipeg. Special thanks to Hazel for inviting me to attend a memorable meeting of the Guild at St. James Presbyterian Church. At the Pentecostal Archives of Canada in Toronto the late Marilyn Stroud was a key contact and this work owes a tremendous debt to her and her assistance in locating records related to Pentecostalism in Winnipeg. James Craig at the PAOC Archives graciously shared his extensive knowledge of early Pentecostalism in Canada. One of the great pleasures of doing this research was meeting Chris Kennedy at the Calvary Temple Archives. Chris was responsible for organizing the archives and worked tirelessly in guiding me through the church records. He also kindly introduced me to members of the church who had attended Calvary Temple in the early 1950s. I was fortunate to be one of the first researchers not affiliated with the church to visit the archives and I greatly appreciate receiving the Calvary Temple Board's permission to access these records. Glenn Gohr at the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Centre in Springfield, Missouri provided useful suggestions for my research on A.C. Valdez Jr. and Pentecostal scholars Mel Robeck, Gastón Espinosa and Larry Martin provided helpful suggestions for sources. Jamie Howison generously shared his research on Elim Chapel and fundamentalism in Winnipeg. Troy Van Ginkel, the former minister at Gordon-King United Church, took an early interest in my research and assisted me in becoming familiar with that church and its history. I am grateful to have been in contact with Carol Colvin and Janis McCullough, grandchildren of Gavin and Lillian McCullough, who shared their memories of their father and grandparents. Debbie Norman and Rick Wilcosh provided support and feedback. Thanks to all.

I'd also like to thank my examination committee, Roy Loewen, Lisa Alexandrin, Len Kuffert and Robert Burkinshaw for their insightful comments. Finally, this research would not have been completed without the support and encouragement of my advisor Barry Ferguson.

Dedicated to my son Brendan
and in loving memory to my sister Sandy (1959-2013)
and my parents Betty (1932-2012) and Keith McLean (1930-2012)

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Dedication	iv
Table of Contents	v
Chapter 1 - Protestant Evangelicalism and Secularization in Twentieth Century Canada	1
Chapter 2 - The Origins of Pentecostalism	34
Chapter 3 - Pentecostalism in Winnipeg	59
Chapter 4 - Spiritual Healing and the Anglican and United Churches in Winnipeg	122
Chapter 5 - The A.C. Valdez Jr. Healing Campaign in Winnipeg	149
Chapter 6 - The Murder of Martha Louise McCullough	189
Chapter 7 - The Response to the Murder	246
Chapter 8 - Conclusion	288
Bibliography	295

Chapter One

Protestant Evangelicalism and Secularization in Twentieth Century Canada

During the twentieth century a profound shift occurred in Canadian religion as the strongly evangelical character of mainline Canadian Protestantism declined. In the late nineteenth century Presbyterian and Methodist churches were the center of Canadian evangelicalism and based their doctrine on the acceptance of the Bible as the supreme authority and infallible word of God. By the late twentieth century liberal Protestantism was the dominant ethos in most of Canada's mainline Protestant churches and the leadership of the evangelical movement had passed to a variety of conservative Protestant groups including the Pentecostals.¹

The nature of this religious realignment and the place of evangelicalism within mainline Protestantism in Canada have been subject to extensive historical debate. The contours of the "secularization debate" have been reviewed by numerous historians who have focused almost exclusively on mainline Protestant denominations.² While there remains much disagreement about the time-line of secularization, most historians agree that at some point in the twentieth

¹ Kevin Flatt, *After Evangelicalism: The Sixties and the United Church of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), p.2.

² On the historiography of the secularization debate in Canada see David B. Marshall, "Canadian Historians, Secularization and the Problem of the Nineteenth Century", *Canadian Church Historical Association, Historical Studies*, 60 (1993-1994); Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada 1900-1940* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), pp. xi-xiii; Flatt, *After Evangelicalism*, pp.6-7. For an extended discussion of the "secularization debate" see Kevin Neal Flatt, "The Survival and Decline of the Evangelical Identity of the United Church of Canada, 1930-1971", (Ph.D. thesis, McMaster University, 2008), pp.2-8.

century Canada's mainline Protestant denominations had largely abandoned evangelicalism and entered a period of membership decline and decreased social influence.

As the number of evangelicals in mainline denominations declined, population surveys have shown a consistent pattern of growth among evangelicals in Canada. In 1987, sociologist Reginald Bibby estimated that approximately seven per cent of the Canadian population were evangelicals, and in a later study in 2001, concluded that the number had risen to eight per cent.³ During roughly the same period, while the number of evangelicals grew the percentage of Canadians who reported that they had attended a weekly religious service dropped from forty-one per cent to thirty-two per cent.⁴ Other studies have estimated even higher numbers of evangelicals in Canadian society. In 1996, George Rawlyk suggested that as many as eleven per cent of the Canadian population were Protestant evangelicals, and in 2004 an Ipsos-Reid survey found that twelve per cent of the population were Protestant evangelicals. The following year *Maclean's* magazine reported that almost one-third of the population described themselves as "born again or evangelicals" and that thirty-seven per cent of this group resided in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.⁵ As Robert Burkinshaw has noted, by 1991 nearly half a million Canadians were

³ Reginald W. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Irwin Publishers, 1987), p.28; Reginald W. Bibby, *Restless Churches: How Canada's Churches Can Contribute to the Emerging Religious Renaissance* (Toronto and Kelowna, B.C.: Novalis and Wood Lake Books, 2004), p.39.

⁴ Warren Clark and Grant Schellenberg, "Who's Religious?", *Canadian Social Trends* (Summer 2006) p. 2.

⁵ Aileen Van Ginkel, "Evangelical Beliefs and Practices: A Summary of the 2003 Ipsos-Reid Survey Results", *Church and Faith Trends* (December 2003), p.1. Jonathan Gatehouse, "2004 in Review – The Poll: Sex, Snacks and Grapes" *Maclean's* (December 27, 2004 and January 3, 2005).

Pentecostals, though little historical work has been done on this development.⁶

In this chapter I discuss the main studies of secularization in mainline Protestant denominations and key works on evangelicalism and fundamentalism to consider how historians have understood mainline Protestant secularization, modernist/fundamentalist controversies, and the development of conservative Christianity in Canada.⁷ My dissertation addresses the place of

⁶ Robert K. Burkinshaw, “Aspects of Canadian Evangelical Historiography”, *Historical Papers 1995: Canadian Society of Church History*, p.189.

⁷ Most historians of North American Protestantism argue that “mainline” and “evangelical” are two broadly encompassing terms that identify two separate historic traditions. The term “mainline” is used by historians to describe Protestant denominations that followed similar paths of development in the last half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, including developing national denominational structures and identifying increasingly with progressive social issues and liberal Protestant theology. In Canada, the largest of these denominations has included the Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, United and Anglican Churches. Robert Wuthnow and John Hyde Evans, eds., *The Quiet Hand of God: Faith-based Activism and the Public Role of Mainline Protestantism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002) p.4. The term “evangelical” describes individuals who believe “in a personal God, in the divinity and unique saving work of Jesus, and in the unique authority and inspiration of Scripture.” As Sam Reimer has argued, this broad definition would include conservatives in Catholic and mainline Protestant churches. See Sam Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide: The Conservative Protestant Subculture in Canada and the United States* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) p.6. Within the evangelical tradition, fundamentalism and Pentecostalism emerged as distinct movements just after the turn of the twentieth century. Fundamentalism arose as part of an effort on the part of prominent evangelical leaders to defend traditional evangelical orthodoxy against liberal modernism. The movement combined biblicism and Calvinist orthodoxy with, evangelicalism, an emphasis on the higher Christian (Holy Spirit) directed life, and a millenarian eschatology. The term “Fundamentalist” was taken from a twelve volume series of articles, *The Fundamentals*, published by leading conservatives who defended their belief in the infallibility of the Bible. See Joel A. Carpenter, “Fundamentalist Institutions and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism, 1929-1942”, *Church History*, vol.49, issue 11, (March 1980) p.64. Pentecostalism developed during roughly the same time period as fundamentalism, and was a distinct movement rooted in the holiness wing of nineteenth century evangelicalism. The movement was unique among evangelicals due to its emphasis on the “gifts of the Holy Spirit”, including faith healing, prophecy and speaking in tongues. The term “charismatic” is used to refer to evangelicals influenced by Pentecostalism, but not affiliated with a Pentecostal

conservative Protestant Christianity in Canada by examining a single event, the A.C. Valdez Jr. Pentecostal healing campaign in Winnipeg in 1952. It places this event into a larger historical context by analyzing the development of Pentecostalism in Winnipeg, one of the earliest and largest centres of the movement in Canada, and the impact of a succession of popular healing campaigns on the community that attracted thousands of attendees over a period of nearly five decades. In Winnipeg, the Valdez healing campaign in 1952 was followed by the tragic murder of a seven-year-old child by her parents, both long-time members of the United Church. Both parents had attended the campaign and became convinced that the end of the world was imminent. Five days after the campaign ended they killed their child. The tragedy sparked a vigorous public debate about the murder's relationship to faith healing and Pentecostalism, and exposed tensions between mainline Protestants and Pentecostals that had been building for decades. In this study, I consider how this relationship influenced the history of Pentecostalism, and what role conflict and debate between Pentecostals and mainline Protestants played in the changing the city's religious marketplace. The concluding section of this introduction will discuss a sermon by Rev. H.G. Tolton at King Memorial United Church, delivered shortly after the murder, that highlights the key themes of the debate that influenced the investigation of the murder, the subsequent trials of Gavin and Lillian McCullough, and the response by the city's clergy, press, and public officials.

congregation. While Pentecostals shared with Fundamentalists a set of beliefs based on a literal interpretation of the Bible, Fundamentalists believed that miraculous signs like prophecy and speaking in tongues ended in biblical times. The Pentecostal emphasis on experience distinguished the movement from Fundamentalists, who emphasized biblical doctrine, and other evangelicals. Robert D. Woodberry and Christian S. Smith, "Fundamentalism et al: Conservative Protestants in America", *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 24 (1998), p.29.

Modernist and Conservative Movements in Twentieth Century Canadian Protestantism

Studies of Canadian Protestantism by Richard Allen, Brian McKillop, and John Webster Grant, writing in the 1970s, identified the origins of the realignment of Canadian Protestantism in the late Victorian period. These historians have argued that the new urban-industrial order and the challenges of biblical criticism, Darwinism, and philosophical idealism were absorbed by the evangelical tradition, and the growing dominance of these views in Canada's mainline Protestant churches led to a displacement of evangelicalism by modernist views in mainline church colleges. McKillop's study in particular emphasized the decline of Scottish Common-Sense philosophy and its displacement by Hegelian idealism, a secular liberal philosophy highly contiguous with liberal Christianity in the nineteenth century, and the extent to which an idealistic-evolutionist progressivism gained the ascendancy in ecclesiastical and academic circles, a key development contributing to the union of the Methodist, Congregationalist and part of the Presbyterian churches in 1925. The result was an openness to new scientific thought among religious elites and a tendency to reinforce non-emotional and non-enthusiastic religion. As a result, evangelicalism ceased to be a significant force among the Protestant theological establishment as liberal theology became the dominant intellectual force in Canadian Protestantism. New currents of theological thought that viewed Christianity as a social religion primarily concerned with ameliorating the human condition on earth swept through Protestantism in Europe and North America and inspired interest in a social gospel movement that became preoccupied with social problems. In its interaction with social realities including World War I and labor unrest, the movement in Canada eventually broke down into competing conservative, progressive and radical factions, and this breakdown in unity undermined its social

objectives and support.⁸

In their writings during the 1980s and 1990s, Ramsay Cook, Marlene Shore, and David Marshall extended the declension of religion narrative by linking the decline of evangelicalism and the increased dominance of liberal theological views to a transition from theology to sociology among mainline Protestant clergy. Cook concluded that the influence of Darwinism and higher criticism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led church leaders to focus their efforts on progressive social action and reform. The shift of emphasis from personal salvation to a preoccupation with social salvation led ultimately to the unintended secularization of the mainline Protestant churches and failed to achieve the Christianization of the social order, as the impetus behind social reform shifted to social scientists, business groups and labor organization. Shore examined the emergence of secular Christianity in C.A Dawson's sociology at McGill University, the first sociology department in Canada, during the 1930s and 1940s. Dawson was a former pastor in a Nova Scotia Baptist parish whose career, following studies at the University of Chicago, progressively moved away from theology to sociology. Shore's study shows how during the Depression, Social Gospel ideas merged with empirical sociology and

⁸ Richard Allen, *The View from Murney Tower: Salem Bland, the Late Victorian Controversies, and the Search for a New Christianity. Bk. 1, Salem Bland: A Canadian Odyssey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914–28* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979) pp. 181-95; John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*. 2nd ed., (Burlington: Welch Publishing, 1988). Phyllis Airhart's study of Methodist attitudes toward revivalism shows that as church leaders moved away from evangelicalism in favour of the social gospel they began to associate revivalism with fundamentalism. She argues that a non-revivalist and progressive piety took hold within the Methodist Church and it was these forces, and not the erosion of faith linked to biblical criticism and evolutionary thought, that led the church to deliberately set itself apart from evangelicals. Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

influenced a new generation of social scientists at McGill.⁹ Marshall argued that the seeds of theological doubt sowed by social gospel contributed to the abandonment of evangelicalism and supernaturalism in mainline churches, a process he suggests was largely complete by the 1930s, the result of an accommodation between mainline Protestantism and the forces of social engagement and modernity. Each of these authors see in the changing relationships between the churches and other social institutions a secularization process that resulted in a decline in the significance of religious ideas, practices and institutions in society and a general weakening of religion in the social order.¹⁰

Some scholars have suggested an alternative view of turn of the century Canadian religion and evangelicalism that modifies the time-line of the secularization thesis. Marguerite Van Die's study of the Methodist leader Nathaniel Burwash demonstrated how some Protestant leaders selectively accepted modernist views while not rejecting their evangelical beliefs. Her later multi-generational study of the Colby family in Carrollcroft, Ontario, underlined the increasing public/private discontinuity in religion during the late Victorian period. She shows how socio-economic forces reshaped both the community and family, and links the religious experiences of multiple generations to this process. The family's denominational evangelical identity was diminished as new generations adopted new forms of religious experience related to their changing middle class experience and their focus shifted away from the domestic sphere to a more public type of religious practice with the emergence of urban revivals and voluntary

⁹ Marlene Shore, *The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

¹⁰ Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

religious societies. She argues that these changes brought an end to the earlier form of Victorian domestic religion but did not result in the disappearance or decline of religion. Similarly, Michael Gauvreau's study of Methodist and Presbyterian Church leaders and colleges argued that evangelicals demonstrated a high degree of flexibility toward modernist views, and concluded that up to the Depression evangelical leaders were successfully able to accommodate the challenges of theological liberalism. According to Gauvreau, this balance of faith and reason resulted in the continued vitality of the evangelical creed in these churches and he concludes that the core of Canadian evangelicalism remained unscathed during this period. Yet despite these accommodations, both Van Die and Gauvreau share the view that the evangelical consensus of the nineteenth century was eventually abandoned by Protestant theological elites.¹¹

More recent studies have challenged the view that evangelicalism was no longer dominant in mainline Protestant churches by the 1930s, and persuasively advanced a revisionist time-line that argues for a continuation of a strong evangelical tradition up to the early 1960s. These studies have examined evangelicalism in the context of popular culture, social reform and social service and concluded that in most mainline Protestant denominations, and particularly the

¹¹ Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); David Lyon and Marguerite Van Die, eds., *Rethinking Church, State, and Modernity: Canada Between Europe and the USA* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Marguerite Van Die, *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada: The Colbys of Carrollcroft* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2005); Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1990). Studies by Phyllis Airhart and Eric Crouse have also concluded that in the period prior to 1930 Canadian mainline Protestant leaders abandoned evangelicalism. See Phyllis Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992) and Eric Crouse, *Revival in the City: The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884-1914* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

United Church, a balance was maintained between personal salvation and social activism. By looking at evangelicalism as more than just an intellectual phenomenon, they have emphasized the continued support for evangelism and social activism as evidence of a continued role for evangelicalism in mainline Protestantism in the period after 1945. In *A Full-Orbed Christianity*, Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau extend Gauvreau's earlier work by arguing that the major Protestant churches provided significant leadership in area of social reform in the 1930s and 1940s and that evangelicalism was a key force in shaping the social activism of this period. David Plaxton has also addressed the role of social service as an important characteristic in the evangelicalism of the United Church and concludes that the abandonment of evangelicalism did not occur until the 1960s. Plaxton, Christie and Gauvreau see the period of evangelical decline in the United Church as part of a long process beginning in the 1940s as church leaders and elites saw evangelical religion as increasingly part of an emerging mass culture that in turn fostered dissension toward evangelicalism within the church.¹²

William Katerberg has identified a similar process in the Anglican Church of Canada. In the 1930s the church was split into several factions including evangelicals, Anglo-Catholics, liberals and traditional church-goers. By the 1960s, the liberal-modernists became the most

¹² Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); David Plaxton, "'We Will Evangelize with a Whole Gospel or None': Evangelicalism and the United Church of Canada" in G. Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*. Other studies that identify the continuing role of evangelicalism in mainline Canadian Protestantism after 1945 include Kevin Kee, *Revivalists: Marketing the Gospel in English Canada, 1844-1957* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006) and Gary Miedema, *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-Making of Canada in the 1960s* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Robert Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); John Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

powerful force in most denominational institutions and dioceses during a period when Anglicanism saw a decline in membership and divisions between liberals and conservatives.¹³

Kevin Flatt has argued that the United Church maintained an evangelical institutional identity between the 1930s and 1960s even though during the same period a majority of its leaders did not hold evangelical beliefs. United Church leaders found it expedient to use institutional practices of evangelicalism and moral reform and thus projected an evangelical public image of the Church. Yet he concludes that this leadership paradigm ultimately broke down by the late 1950s as church leadership increasingly moved towards more liberal and non-evangelical beliefs leading to the public re-definition of the United Church in the 1960s as a non-evangelical institution.¹⁴

Similarly, Phyllis Airhart has argued that the leadership of the United Church attempted to retain its claim to being evangelical in its theology, but that the church was reluctant to hold on to older methods of evangelism and in time distanced itself away from revivalist practices. Tensions between a belief in spiritual renewal through evangelism and social transformation led leaders to abandon revival meetings in favor of worship services and other activities better suited to its new modern understanding of liberal evangelism that combined mission work with social service. At the heart of this decision was a desire on the part of the United Church to redefine evangelicalism and reject what it saw as the narrow fundamentalist definition of the word based solely on the authority of Christian scriptures. By the 1960s, evangelicalism still had its liberal defenders in the church, but a retreat from older forms of social service and the attempt to

¹³ William Katerberg, *Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 1880-1950* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2001), p.216.

¹⁴ Flatt, *After Evangelicalism*, pp.14, 251-254.

redefine social action and embark on new ecumenical initiatives effectively put an end to the church's liberal evangelicalism of the previous decades.¹⁵

The continued presence of evangelicalism in mainline denominations, in an increasingly liberal form until the 1960s, and the revised time-line for its abandonment by those churches raises an important question concerning the history of conservative Protestantism in Canada. Was the rise of liberal evangelicalism in the mainline churches related to the growth of Pentecostalism and faith healing in Canadian society? I argue that in Winnipeg, the response to the Valdez Pentecostal healing campaign provides compelling evidence that in the early 1950s mainline Protestants began to advocate liberal evangelicalism as part of their response to Pentecostalism and faith healing. Their primary critique of Pentecostal divine healing practices was based on the belief that faith healing was only acceptable when associated with modern medical practices. Mainline Protestant clergy derided Pentecostal divine healing campaigns, their primary vehicle for mass evangelism, as evidence of inaccurate Christian doctrine. In 1952, the first major revival sponsored by the United Church in the city featured the evangelist Charles Templeton, and was a conscious effort to respond to the earlier Valdez campaign and reclaim public interest in a retooled mainline Protestantism. Ultimately, its failure to achieve this goal underlines the extent to which liberal evangelicalism was linked to the declining fortunes of mainline denominations. Pentecostals had solidified their base of support and used the techniques of aggressive evangelism including large public faith healing campaigns to begin to slowly usurp mainline Protestantism of its dominant position in the religious life of the city.

Historians who have challenged the idea that mainline Protestantism was secularized in

¹⁵ Phyllis D. Airhart, *A Church with the Soul of a Nation: Making and Remaking the United Church of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014) pp.106-107.

the first decades of the twentieth century have also noted that liberal evangelicalism and modernist Protestant Christianity played a role in fostering the growth of conservative Protestant Christianity in Canada. Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau have argued that social evangelism appealed mainly to middle class congregations and urban audiences. In contrast, working class congregations in the early twentieth century tended to prefer old-style evangelicalism. In response, after World War I, Presbyterian and Methodist denominations sponsored religious revival campaigns by British and American evangelists that sought to merge social reform messages with old-style preaching. Mainline Protestant leaders began to look beyond their local congregations and used the tools of mass revivalism and access to other public venues to spread the message of Social Christianity into the broader culture. Social evangelism had become freed from the institutional churches of mainline Protestantism to spread the message of social service to the larger population.¹⁶

According to Christie and Gauvreau, mass revivalism promoting Social Christianity in the 1920s produced a backlash from proponents of old-style evangelism. They attribute the rapid growth of conservative Protestantism in part to a conservative Protestant backlash defending personal evangelism against the Social Gospel movement and Protestant liberalism. Of equal importance were the flexible institutional structures that allowed conservative churches to be more inclusive than the established rigid mainline organizations and appeal across denominational boundaries. Pentecostalism, less literalist than other fundamentalist groups, was particularly successful in attracting young, often displaced people, and provided opportunities for leadership to women and others not found in mainline churches. As well, they argue that the

¹⁶ Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *Christian Churches and Their Peoples, 1840-1965: A Social History of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp.55-57.

movement attracted higher rates of new immigrant participation. A higher rate of birth within the movement and the ability to convert outsiders through mass revivalism resulted in a growth rate of one hundred and thirty per cent between 1931 and 1941, a time when the Depression forced many mainline churches to close.¹⁷

Robert Burkinshaw has identified a similar phenomenon in British Columbia. Revivals organized by conservative churches resulted in public controversies with mainline Protestant leaders, and he concludes that this backlash against modernism and the social gospel contributed to rapid growth among Pentecostals, and other fundamentalist groups in the 1920s. In British Columbia, he describes the decade between 1917 and 1927 as being “one of intense Protestant upheaval” in urban centres, in which controversies between modernists and fundamentalists dominated the religious landscape. He views opposition by mainline Protestants to French E. Oliver's evangelistic campaign in Vancouver in 1917 as being “a major cataclysmic event” because it resulted in large protest rallies against religious modernism and had a polarizing effect on Protestants that divided denominations and fostered the growth of conservative churches.¹⁸

In contrast to Christie and Gauvreau, evidence in Vancouver suggests that there was no strong relationship between the social and economic base of the city and the modernist/fundamentalist controversy, though Burkinshaw does acknowledge that the most militant and radical conservative Protestants were typically from working class districts.¹⁹ He concludes that supporters of the Oliver campaign and a later campaign led by the Pentecostal

¹⁷ Christie and Gauvreau, *Christian Churches and Their Peoples, 1840-1965*, pp.160-161; Christie and Gauvreau, *Full-Orbed Christianity*, p.58.

¹⁸ Robert K. Burkinshaw, “Conservative Protestantism and the Modernist Challenge in Vancouver, 1917-1927”, *BC Studies*, no. 85, (Spring 1990), p.24.

evangelist Dr. Charles Price were to be found throughout the city and included working-class, middle-class and elites while opposition to fundamentalism could be found likewise in congregations across class lines.²⁰

Most importantly, tensions between conservative and mainline Protestants laid “the institutional foundation of a vibrant evangelical/fundamentalist community in the province.” Burkinshaw concludes that the legacy of this conflict was sustained growth in conservative Protestant churches and that by the 1960s evangelicals and fundamentalists were the largest and most numerous and active groups among Protestants in the province, and by the early 1980s had weekly attendance that was double that of mainline denominations.²¹

Burkinshaw concedes that neither liberal Protestantism nor conservative Christianity were “monolithic” movements, and that much of the liberal leadership was moderate just as many conservative evangelical churches were less militant in their fundamentalist beliefs. However, a clear distinction took shape in the 1920s between liberal Protestants and conservative Christians who sought to resist modern theological developments and retain evangelical doctrines.²²

Two manifestations of this attempt to retain evangelicalism were dispensationalism and Pentecostalism. Burkinshaw argues that some conservatives adopted new doctrines and practices as part of their opposition to liberal Protestantism. Some were drawn to dispensationalism, which emphasized a literalistic view of scriptures and the end times doctrine that predicted the decline

¹⁹ Burkinshaw, “Aspects of Canadian Evangelical Historiography”, p.188.

²⁰ Burkinshaw, “Conservative Protestantism and the Modernist Challenge in Vancouver”, pp.30-31.

²¹ Ibid., p.24.

²² Ibid., p.26.

of Christendom. For many conservatives, this belief helped explain the widespread adoption of liberal theology in mainline denominations. Others were drawn to the Pentecostal belief in the supernatural works of the Holy Spirit and the modern day availability of miracles described in the Bible.²³

Burkinshaw concludes that the movement in British Columbia expanded as a result of the controversies and divisions between liberal and conservative Protestants after 1917. His study emphasizes the importance of the healing campaigns led by Dr. Charles Price and the impact this had on emergent Pentecostalism in the province.²⁴ By 1981, he argues that conservative Protestants had emerged to become the “worshipping majority” in British Columbia.²⁵ He credits the growth of conservative Protestantism to the ability of evangelical groups to hold on to their distinctive doctrines, emphasizing conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism, while at the same time successfully adapting to modern culture.

Canadian fundamentalism shared many similarities with its American counterpart and in both countries the movement was united in its opposition to liberal Protestantism and its desire for doctrinal purity. As in the United States, most evangelical denominations and groups were to some degree influenced by fundamentalism, though in Canada the greatest impact was among the Baptists. According to Brian Clarke, one of the key differences in Canada was that conservative Protestants were “were not on the whole estranged from the mainstream of their country’s culture.” Nor did they confront to the same degree the kind of progressive Protestant

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., pp.41-42. Robert Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1995) pp.100-120.

²⁵ Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, p.200.

theology advanced by many clergy in the United States after World War I. Adherents of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) shared a common belief in the centrality of spirit baptism and speaking in tongues with the Assemblies of God in the United States, and this theology distanced the movement from fundamentalism as it had in the United States. In Canada, Pentecostals and Fundamentalists maintained closer ties through the growth of denominational and non-denominational bible schools in the 1920s and 1930s. The success of the bible school movement in Ontario and western Canada was a key factor in shaping how fundamentalism influenced conservative Protestantism in Canada and charted a less confrontational path during a period when the United and Presbyterian churches were struggling to recover from the turmoil of church union. At the same time, fundamentalism found a home with Pentecostals and other denominations in colleges where the Bible was studied as “revealed truth”, much in the way it had been prior to the emergence of higher criticism.²⁶

Pentecostals shared many beliefs with Fundamentalists. As David Elliott has argued, both movements were “revivalistic, pietistic, often dispensational and most often premillennialist, they believed in an inerrant bible, and fought the theory of evolution”. However, after 1928 Pentecostals were expelled from the World Christian Fundamentalist Association due to their emphasis on what fundamentalists believed were their doctrinal innovations including their belief in faith healing.²⁷ Despite these divisions, Canadian Pentecostals and Fundamentalists held to a

²⁶ Brian Clarke, “English-Speaking Canada from 1854” in Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perin, eds., *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996) pp.344-345.

²⁷ David Raymond Elliott, “Studies of Eight Canadian Fundamentalists”, (Ph.D., University of Calgary, 1989), p.22. In his definition of fundamentalism, historian George Marsden excluded most Pentecostals due to their perceived non-scriptural beliefs. George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) p.5. Donald Dayton has challenged

common set of theological principles and, united in their opposition to liberal Protestantism, these groups eventually coalesced to form an identifiable conservative Protestant Christian movement in Canadian society.

John Stackhouse has examined the origins of this movement and shown how a broad Canadian conservative Protestant movement emerged following the 1930s, united in what he terms a shared belief in pluralistic evangelism. He argues that characterizations of evangelicalism in Canadian society have often drawn on a “church-sect” typology that defines mainline denominations as “churches” and evangelical groups as “sects”. In his view, this approach draws too heavily on a European understanding of organized religion developed by Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch that he believes does “not apply exactly” to the Canadian environment, which lacked established churches and dissenting sects. Evangelicalism is a Christian tradition that dates back to the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century, and the emergence of Puritan and Pietist groups that inspired evangelical revivals in the 18th century. In Canada, it took the form of an “informal network of Christians” loosely tied by a fellowship that, depending on the group, displayed more “churchish” tendencies while others, who chose to separate themselves from the mainstream culture, can be defined as being more “sectish”. He concludes that during the twentieth century, these two streams of evangelicalism tended to draw together into a “definable evangelical mainstream” and by the last decades of the twentieth

Marsden’s exclusion of pentecostalism and advanced a broader definition of the Fundamentalist movement that includes Wesleyan Holiness and Pentecostal traditions. See Donald Dayton, *The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*; Donald Dayton, “The Search for the Historic Evangelicalism: George Marsden’s History of Fuller Seminary as a Case Study”, *Christian Scholar’s Review* 23 (September 1993), 12-33. Edith Blumhofer has argued that throughout the 1920s and 1930s many Pentecostals found unity with Fundamentalists and saw themselves as “Fundamentalists with a difference”, sharing a common understanding of orthodox Christian doctrine. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, p.5.

century has “expanded and coalesced to rival the mainline movements as a powerful force in Canadian Protestantism.”²⁸ As the “evangelical consensus” of the nineteenth century in mainline Protestantism broke down, the twentieth century saw the emergence of a pluralistic evangelism outside of mainline denominations in Canadian society became evident by the 1960s. According to Stackhouse, the Toronto Bible College, Prairie Bible Institute, and Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship were important examples of evangelical institutions that maintained “orthodox doctrine” and supported the presence of evangelicalism in Canadian society in the last half of the twentieth century.²⁹ As the “old Christian Canada fragmented”, the new evangelicalism became more “unified and prominent”, in part because it tended to display less militancy than its American counterpart, and lacked any systematic ideology that delayed its institutionalization and encouraged a more “mainstream type of faith” that distanced it from the fundamentalism of many American evangelicals, making it more palatable to a broad Canadian audience.³⁰ Stackhouse identifies the emergence of a new “evangelical transdenominationalism” in late twentieth century Canada, and acknowledges that by the early 1980s Pentecostals were the fastest growing evangelical denomination in the 1980s, surpassing the Canadian Baptist Federation in membership, and that “the old United-Anglican-Presbyterian hegemony had eroded in Anglophone Canada” as a new evangelical alliance had emerged in Canadian society.³¹

²⁸ John Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) pp.7, 12, 16, 17.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.50-51.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.197-198.

³¹ John G. Stackhouse, “The Emergence of a Fellowship: Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century”, *Church History*, Volume 60, 2, (June 1991), pp.259, 261.

Eric Crouse has shown that the formative years of non-mainline Protestant evangelicalism were directly influenced by “an onslaught of American popular religion” in Canadian society. Before the First World War, he estimates that as many as one and a half million Canadians attended approximately eight hundred revival meetings led by American evangelists throughout the country in the previous few decades. In their quest for spiritual renewal, these evangelists spread a conservative evangelical message that emphasized biblical inerrancy and the necessity of a “new birth”. Their teachings were set apart from the social reform ideals of mainline Protestantism and the Social Gospel. Rather, as “proto-fundamentalists” they emphasized a blend of theological conservatism and an individualistic approach to social action.³²

He argues that conservative evangelical leaders played a key role in attracting American evangelists to Canada, and that the popularity of these revivals across class lines depended on their preaching “a conservative evangelical message”. Much of their appeal was based on offering an “emotional, pious, heroic and masculine image” that he believes was especially attractive to the working class in urban Canada. The sheer numbers who attended these revivals attests to the idea that populist conservative evangelicalism must have had a broad interest beyond the middle-class and petty bourgeoisie, and encompassed large numbers of working class Canadians.³³

Furthermore, prior to the First World War, revivalism appealed to most Protestants across all the denominations. Crouse cites the example of evangelist Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman, who

³² Eric Crouse, *Revival in the City: the Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884-1914* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), pp.3-4.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp.10-14.

conducted a series of revival meetings in Winnipeg and other Canadian cities between 1907 and 1911. Chapman believed in the premillennial second coming of Christ and biblical inerrancy and had attracted as many as 400,000 people to his meetings in Toronto. In Winnipeg, Presbyterian minister C.W. Gordon was one of a few clergymen who were responsible for bringing Chapman to the city in October and November, 1907, with the hope that professional revivalism would help to attract larger numbers of unchurched people to the city's churches. Crouse notes that the campaign demonstrated a significant level of harmony among the mainline Protestant churches, and that during the Chapman campaign meetings were held in Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregationalist churches throughout the city. A number of Chapman's assistants also held meetings in factories, saloons, jails, theatres, and community buildings. In the end, the Winnipeg campaign attracted between 4,000 and 5,000 every night. Though the campaign received some support from Anglicans in the city, the general position of the church towards evangelicalism was unsympathetic. The high church leadership were critical of the “fanaticism” and “emotionalism” that occurred at revival meetings.³⁴

Despite the excitement surrounding the campaign, Chapman's visit to the city did little to revive interest in religion in the city. Crouse sees this form of institutionalized revivalism as an early, but ultimately unsuccessful attempt on the part of evangelicals in mainline Protestant churches to attract “the growing number of unsaved”. While unsuccessful, their attempt shows that conservative evangelicalism remained for many mainline Protestants the dominant message, and that this interest in the “old-fashioned Gospel message” was shared with Protestants across the border. His study confirms the vitality of evangelism at the grass-roots level of the mainline Protestant churches and suggests the continued attraction of these audiences to conservative

³⁴ Ibid., pp.3-4.

evangelical Protestantism. However, after 1911 he notes that “secular and other forces” lessened both theological and financial support for American revivalism in Canada, and that increasing numbers of mainline Protestant leaders found little reward for their investment in American revivalism and conservative evangelicalism as attendance began to wane, and were concerned with the association of religion with popular culture.³⁵

Crouse concludes that the influence of American popular religion in Canadian society during the first decades of the twentieth century had a lasting impact on future patterns of Protestant denominational affiliation. In their quest for spiritual renewal, American evangelists spread a conservative evangelical message that emphasized biblical inerrancy and the necessity of a “new birth”. Their teachings were set apart from the social reform ideals of mainline Protestantism and the Social Gospel. Rather, as “proto-fundamentalists” they emphasized a blend of theological conservatism and an individualistic approach to social action.³⁶ An unintended consequence of these revivals, sponsored by mainline Protestant churches, was to revive interest among the broader Protestant laity in conservative teachings and helped to lay the groundwork for the future growth of the nascent Pentecostal and Fundamentalist movements.

Bruce Hindmarsh has shown how a unique regional form of fundamentalism, which he terms the “Winnipeg fundamentalist network”, took root in the early twentieth century that was aligned with the “more centrist” and less militant wing of American fundamentalism. His work focuses on the emergence of Elim Chapel, in Winnipeg in 1910, and argues that the church was the centre of a network of fundamentalists throughout Manitoba and Saskatchewan who

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

emphasized world missions and personal holiness. He challenges what he terms the “Alberta-centric” understanding of Canadian fundamentalism, and like Stackhouse views prominent leaders like William Aberhart and L.E. Maxwell as exceptional figures who have dominated accounts of conservative Christianity in western Canadian history. Hindmarsh's study examines a range of individuals influenced by premillennial dispensationalism who were preoccupied with establishing foreign and home missions and were less engaged with more militant fundamentalist concerns including combatting evolution and communism. By 1940, he argues that this network was well-established in the prairie provinces and became primarily focused on institution building and professionalization.³⁷

Hindmarsh sees Winnipeg as a unique environment in North American fundamentalism and describes the city as being “a distinctive case”. It was in his words “an instant city” that emerged in the late nineteenth century and lacked “a significant identity-giving past”. In terms of religion, the city had no existing “pedigree” of conservative Protestant Christian groups like those that dominated older eastern Canadian cities and North American centres, and was only visited by American urban evangelists like D.L. Moody and J. Wilbur Chapman during a brief period in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Elim Chapel was from the beginning an independent, evangelical enterprise that arose apart from the liberal evangelicalism that dominated mainline Protestant denominations. As a result, fundamentalist Protestant Christianity in Winnipeg, independent and undenominational and not connected to mainline seminaries, did

³⁷ D. Bruce Hindmarsh, “The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940: The Roots of Transdenominational Evangelicalism in Manitoba and Saskatchewan”, in George Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997) p.304.

not engage in the polarizing theological debates that divided modernists and fundamentalists elsewhere.³⁸

In his periodization of evangelicalism in Canadian history, George Rawlyk, the preeminent historian of evangelicalism in Canada, has argued that since the late eighteenth century, evangelicalism was “shaped” by its emphasis on the “quadrilateral ideology of conversionism, biblicism, activism, and crucicentrism”, but notes that by the late nineteenth century the belief in conversionism was no longer the “defining moment” for most mainline Protestant evangelicals, and belief in the necessity of the “new birth” became a less significant doctrine as some evangelicals began to become preoccupied with their belief in the Bible as an inerrant and divinely inspired document. During the last decades of the twentieth century, Rawlyk argues that the charismatic movement, including Pentecostals, became the “leading edge of both evangelical belief and experience.” He summarizes the development of evangelicalism in Canada from an early belief in “new birth”, to an emphasis on an inerrant Bible in the early twentieth century by fundamentalists, to the ascendancy of Pentecostalism and the charismatic

³⁸ Ibid., pp.304-306. On the early history of Elim Chapel see Jamie A. Howison, *Not a Typical or Uncontroversial Fundamentalist: Sydney T. Smith and the Story of Elim Chapel* (Winnipeg, MB: Robinswood, 2010). The co-founder of Elim Chapel, Sydney T. Smith, was the multi-millionaire president of the Reliance Grain Company in Winnipeg. A former member of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, Smith was an influential figure in the early Fundamentalist movement in Winnipeg. Howison argues that Elim Chapel played an important role in sponsoring urban evangelism during a period of rapid expansion in Winnipeg “when it was barely possible for the traditional churches to keep pace with the growth of the city.” During his career Smith became a renowned fundamentalist lecturer throughout North America and was elected as president of the World Christian Fundamentalist Association in 1925. He was also president of the Canadian Bible Society from 1925 until 1947, and served on the boards of the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago and the Dallas Theological Seminary. Howison, pp.3-16.

movement.³⁹ For Rawlyk, late twentieth century Pentecostalism became the leading force of an evangelical tradition that had evolved over two hundred years in Canadian society.

.....

On February 3rd, 1952, Rev. H.G. Tolton preached a sermon titled “Whose Crime?” based on Matthew 7: 15-23 to a congregation of more than one thousand people at King Memorial United Church in Winnipeg. His subject was the murder of seven year-old Martha Louise McCullough on January 25th by her parents, Gavin and Lillian McCullough, both former members of the church. He cautioned the congregation that their church was not a court of law, and that he could make no claim to knowing the full truth of the events that had occurred during the previous week. For him the central issue was trying to understand what could have been done to have prevented the murder of Martha Louise by her parents.⁴⁰

Tolton began the sermon with a quote from Ephesians 6:12: “For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places”, a reference to the religious forces that he believed had caused the tragedy. He recalled that the McCulloughs had been members of the King Memorial United Church on Cobourg Avenue for almost twenty-two years, and had

³⁹ George Rawlyk, “Introduction”, *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, George Rawlyk, ed., (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997) p.xiv.

⁴⁰ “Whose Crime?”, February 3, 1952, “Records of Worship and Special Services”, Box 6, Gordon-King Memorial United Church, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference; “Faith Healing’ Stirs Pulpit Controversy”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 4, 1952. Matthew 7:15 begins by stating “Beware of false prophets who come to you as sheeps but underneath are ravenous wolves.” Alexander Jones, ed., *The Jerusalem Bible* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968).

The Rev. Gordon Tolton was ordained in 1935 and served in six Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference parishes before retiring from King Memorial United Church in 1956 at the age of 50. He passed away on December 25, 1994. *The Observer*, March 1995, vol.58, no.8.

decided to finally part ways with the church just weeks before the murder. They became persuaded that the United Church was “of the devil” and for many weeks had been also attending a “down-town Church (not a United Church)”, the Pentecostal Calvary Temple. Despite their decision to leave the United Church, Tolton described the McCulloughs as “still our people” and that the congregation were “members of Christ's sacred body with them”. He stated that the murder demanded the attention of the church because it involved people who for many years had been closely associated with the congregation but had “gone astray”. It was imperative to understand why they had come under the power of “some monstrous Frankenstein” who waved a “Devilish wand” and transformed them into something unrecognizable to the United Church.⁴¹

Tolton attributed the fervent publicity surrounding the murder to the fact that the police, clergy, and public all recognized that this tragedy was one of the “strangest and most brutal things that ever happened in Winnipeg.” He followed with an account of the events leading to the murder, beginning with the arrival on January 6th, 1952, of a Pentecostal faith healing mission known as the Valdez Divine Healing Campaign in Winnipeg. The three week campaign promised miraculous healing for physical ills and troubles, and faith healer A.C. Valdez Jr. claimed to be anointed with divine power to heal through the laying of hands on the physically ill.

Tolton spoke about his own experiences as a witness to the events during the campaign. Lillian McCullough called Tolton on Wednesday, January 16th, 1952, and at her request he attended a Valdez meeting that evening and then again on the night of Friday, January 18th, 1952, the latter date joined by the Chairman of the Presbytery of Winnipeg for the United Church and a

⁴¹ “Whose Crime?”, February 3, 1952, “Records of Worship and Special Service”.

fellow minister, D. A. MacLean, from Gordon United Church. He was aware that Lillian had attended almost all of the Valdez meetings and assured her prior to attending that he remained open-minded to faith healing. He added that after that conversation he never spoke with Lillian again.

Tolton's first impression was that what was happening at the Valdez healing campaign was "a bad thing." The service began with what he termed a "loosening up process" that included sentimental music such as the popular song "He's Coming Soon" and an invitation for the audience to stand up, smile, and shake hands with seven people around them. Following the introductory music Valdez Jr. appeared and immediately impressed him with his charismatic presence and unique vocal delivery, a quality he acknowledged contributed greatly to his showmanship and appeal.⁴² However, the evangelist's message deeply concerned the United Church minister. Tolton was struck by the overt criticisms of non-fundamentalist churches made by Valdez. While Valdez claimed he did not want to fight the churches in the city, he consistently poked fun at churches where people couldn't stand up and say "Hallelujah for Jesus" or clap hands, and ridiculed the "Educated Highbrows" among Winnipeg's clergy. In Tolton's view, the agenda of the faith healing campaign became clear at the Friday meeting when A.C. Valdez Sr., the Pentecostal evangelist and father of A.C. Valdez Jr. who assisted with the

⁴² Ibid. Tolton described Valdez Jr. as a "Seth Parker type", a reference to the clergyman and backwoods philosopher character created by American radio personality, writer and actor Phillips Lord. "Sundays at Seth Parker's" began as a weekly hymn-sing show that ran on NBC from 1929-1933 and later in different formats until 1939 and featured the character's creator Phillips H. Lord as "Seth Parker". The early shows featured a regular cast that gathered every Sunday after supper to sing spirituals and featured much "between-hymns banter". Singing a mix of religious and popular songs with thick vernacular conversation the show attempted to "paint a picture of life on the coast" in northern Maine and "conjure up days of long ago". The show was an immediate hit and "much lauded" by ministers. John Dunning, *On the Air: the Encyclopedia of Old-Time Radio*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) pp. 605-606.

campaign, encouraged all the attendees to go out and join a fundamentalist church.⁴³

In terms of his theology, Tolton described the prophetic claims of Valdez Jr. and the emotional nature of the meeting to be better suited to a “mental institution”. However, he recognized the immediate appeal of the message to those in attendance. In response to Valdez’s claim that Jesus was coming soon, Tolton estimated that at least three thousand eight hundred of the four thousand people gathered in the Winnipeg Roller Rink raised their hands. Valdez predicted “coming tragedies” associated with the premillennial return of Jesus and promised to speak of his “terrible vision of a conflict with the devil” in the following evenings, his last weekend in Winnipeg.⁴⁴

Tolton contrasted his account of Valdez Jr.'s faith healing “performance” with the kind of faith healing practiced by Dr. Leslie Weatherhead, an English Methodist minister who had delivered talks on faith healing the previous summer in Winnipeg. He stressed that Weatherhead’s approach was widely recognized as useful by physicians and addressed cases where spiritual or emotional trouble contributed to the improvement of an individual’s physical illness and general condition. In contrast, Tolton described Valdez Jr.'s faith healing as “the wildest, wierdest (sic) thing” that he and his United Church colleagues had ever witnessed. Whereas Weatherhead advocated an approach to faith healing that was deemed acceptable by medical professionals and was widely supported by the mainline Protestant clergy, he characterized the Valdez “performance” as a charade that falsely claimed to heal people “by the dozen”.⁴⁵

⁴³ “Whose Crime?”, February 3, 1952, “Records of Worship and Special Services”.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

In the wake of the tragedy Tolton spoke for his congregation by saying that the entire church had become disturbed “by this prostituted religion”. He described Valdez Jr.’s message as “dangerous and vicious” and that his misguided promise of divine healings could only lead to “disappointment and heartbreak, to say the least”. Valdez practiced a form of religion that was described by Tolton as a travesty to all the beliefs represented by the United Church. His claims to have exorcised the devil out of the physically ill were based on a false reading of scripture that resulted in producing the opposite result, distancing his followers from the core beliefs of Christianity as understood by the United Church leaving them susceptible to deluded and deceptive teachings and potentially evil acts. It was a form of religion that he believed preyed on gullible and trusting people. It brought them to an ecstatic and emotional state of mind where, like the McCulloughs, they became incapable of being responsible for their actions.⁴⁶

He implored that the time had come for “sane and reasonable” Christians to assert their views and resist this form of religion that was “masquerading in the name of Jesus Christ”. Tolton challenged Valdez to produce people from the meetings who could be verified to have been healed according to a medical doctor, implicitly suggesting that none could be found. Tolton then attacked the Pentecostal churches that had sponsored the Valdez mission and stated that they, and Valdez, shared in the responsibility for the tragedy.

Tolton concluded that the McCulloughs murdered their daughter because they embraced religious views that were anathema to the beliefs of the United Church. The United Church stood for the “fundamentals of Christian faith” and the “inspiration” of the word of God, as opposed to a literal reading of the Bible and an emphasis on practices such as divine healing that he believed

⁴⁶ “Elmwood Minister Denounces Recent Faith Healing Mission”, *Elmwood Herald*, February 7, 1952.

were based on a misguided reading of scripture. The church taught that God is revealed “in His son Jesus Christ - that God was in Christ reconciling himself to the world” and that he came to redeem and save the world from sin. Members of the church sought “God’s cleansing” in their lives. He stressed that these beliefs were “poles apart” from the “spiritual wickedness” of the Pentecostal teachings propagated during the Valdez campaign and by Pentecostal churches. “This morning I raise my voice”, he proclaimed, “against this kind of denomination of religion.” The Valdez campaign and the McCulloughs involvement in Pentecostalism were in Tolton’s view contributing factors to the death of Martha Louise McCullough. He declared that those who sponsored the campaign and were gullible enough to support it were to blame for the tragedy.⁴⁷

.

The murder of Martha Louise McCullough set off a firestorm of controversy that galvanized religious debate in the city. An examination of this controversy provides insight into a process of change that had slowly been transforming Protestantism in Winnipeg for several decades. Most importantly, I argue that mainline Protestants saw the murder as an act of religious fanaticism inspired by the Valdez campaign and used the tragedy as an opportunity to aggressively attack Pentecostalism. The center of the debate was divine healing, and this became the fulcrum upon which mainline Protestants set out to discredit the beliefs and practices of Pentecostals.

The mainline Protestant critique of Pentecostal divine healing had a long history in Winnipeg. Divine healing was a source of strength for Pentecostal growth for several decades preceding the Valdez campaign, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter. The recurrent

⁴⁷ “Whose Crime?”, February 3, 1952, “Records of Worship and Special Services”; “Elmwood Minister Denounces Recent Faith Healing Mission”, *Elmwood Herald*, February 7, 1952.

yearning among Pentecostals for restoration in their movement inspired periodic divine healing campaigns, which in turn were increasingly opposed by mainline Protestants who feared their inter-denominational appeal. Following decades of successful and widely attended divine healing campaigns, the murder provided mainline leaders an opportunity to strike back. In doing so, they moved further away from their own evangelical past.

For Pentecostals, the Valdez campaign was considered a tremendous success and was proudly acknowledged to have been the largest evangelical event ever held in the city. It was the culmination of decades of Pentecostal growth, attracted large inter-denominational audiences, and initiated a new era of expansion that positioned the movement in a leading role in the emerging conservative Christian evangelical movement. The Pentecostal response to the mainline Protestant critique of the campaign refuted accusations that the event was in any way linked to the murder of Martha Louise McCullough. Rather, Pentecostal leaders defended the campaign on the grounds that the practice of faith healing was a longstanding Christian practice based on scriptural authority, and that the results of the campaign demonstrated that miraculous healing described in the New Testament could occur in modern times. In their view, opposition to Valdez was further evidence of mainline Protestantism's lapse into the abyss of liberal modernism.

The chapters of this dissertation are organized around the central event, the A.C. Valdez Jr. healing campaign in Winnipeg in 1952. Chapters 2 and 3 examine the origins of Pentecostalism, the early history of Pentecostalism in Canada, and the history of Pentecostal healing campaigns in the city that preceded Valdez. The third chapter focuses on the first Pentecostal mission in the city, led by A.H. Argue, and discusses how the mission incorporated

faith healing and sponsored healing evangelists from its inception. This is followed by an examination of a series of faith healing campaigns led by Aimee Semple McPherson and Charles Price and a discussion of how these widely attended public events became the main vehicle for Pentecostal evangelism between the 1920s and 1940s. The next chapter looks at the ways that mainline Protestant churches embraced an alternative view of faith healing. While the activities of the largely Anglican Guild of Health, and later the teachings of Methodist Leslie Weatherhead during a visit to the city in 1951, were on a smaller scale and reached fewer people, these perspectives proved to be significant in influencing the mainline critique of Pentecostalism in the wake of the murder. Chapter 5 explores the Valdez healing campaign in 1952 and places the campaign within the context of an era of North American Pentecostalism known as Latter Rain restorationism.⁴⁸ It also discusses how the campaign was aligned with the Voice of Healing movement, a post-World War II charismatic revival, and the ways in which that movement reinvigorated Pentecostalism in an effort to reclaim the teachings and practices of the early movement. The sixth chapter discusses the details of the murder of Martha Louise McCullough, the investigation into the murder, and the trials of her parents. It argues that the actions of the McCulloughs are best understood within the context of the larger experience of the Valdez Jr. revival in 1952, and how their motivations to kill their daughter were understood by mainline Protestants and public authorities to be religiously derived. The chapter also examines how the McCulloughs, having spent their entire life in the United Church, became drawn to

⁴⁸ Pentecostals used the term “former rain” to describe the miraculous events described in the book of Acts. The term “latter rain” describes the restorationist yearning on the part of Pentecostals “to recover the supernatural power and miracles of the New Testament church” and the belief that there would be “a final outpouring of the Holy Spirit’s glory at the close of history.” See Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001) p.3.

fundamentalist and charismatic religion. An analysis of their lives and the events leading to the murder of their child illustrates the tensions that existed navigating between these two worlds. Chapter 7 considers the response to the campaign, and the ways that the Valdez campaign and the murder were exploited by mainline Protestants to discredit Pentecostalism and fundamentalist views. It concludes with a discussion of the first major revival held by the United Church in Winnipeg, led by Charles Templeton, and how this campaign was unsuccessfully used by mainline Protestants to strike back at the success of Pentecostals through a new form of retooled mainline Protestant evangelism.

This dissertation argues that the roots of Pentecostal growth in Winnipeg during the early twentieth century can be traced back to successive waves of Pentecostal faith healing campaigns and the public's fascination with miraculous healing. The Pentecostal impulse in Canada, and the continued presence and evolution of conservative Protestantism, can be best understood in its dynamic relationship with mainline Protestantism. Pentecostalism constituted a serious challenge to mainline Protestantism and this conflict, rooted in liberal Protestantism's opposition to the movement's aggressive evangelism in the form of faith healing campaigns, initiated a new era of religious change that positioned Pentecostals as a dynamic and leading force in Canadian evangelicalism.

The findings of this study challenge the view that the history of Protestantism in Canada was a process of incremental secularism in the twentieth century. By examining the events and public controversies surrounding the Valdez healing campaign within the larger context of Pentecostal and mainline Protestant history, my research shows how Pentecostalism in Winnipeg, closely associated with the movement in the United States, defined itself in opposition to liberal Protestantism's abandonment of evangelicalism, and played a key role in making

conservative Protestantism the fastest growing religious movement in Canada by the last decades of the twentieth century.

Chapter 2

The Origins of Pentecostalism

The origins of Pentecostalism are deeply rooted in the religious heritage of North American evangelicalism. Pentecostal belief in the Fourfold Gospel - salvation, healing, baptism in the Holy Spirit, and the second coming - connected the movement to earlier traditions of radical evangelicalism and a religious movement of people who believed they were living in the days of prophesied restoration and revival. Pentecostals, like many other evangelicals, believed that only a pristine return to New Testament faith and practice would precede the physical return of Christ to earth. It was a restorationist worldview expressed by people who experienced a deep sense of cultural loss and rejected the values of modernity.⁴⁹

While the Pentecostal four-fold Gospel adhered to the quadrilateral of evangelicalism (conversionism, activism, biblicism and crucicentrism) and qualified the movement as evangelical, belief in Spirit baptism as evidenced by speaking in tongues distinguished the movement among evangelicals and as a result distanced Pentecostals from some segments of the wider evangelical movement.⁵⁰ However, Pentecostal belief in the quadrilateral, a

⁴⁹ Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism and American Culture* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993) pp.11-12. On the fourfold gospel of Pentecostalism see Donald W. Dayton, *The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1987), pp.17-28, 232-233. The Fourfold Gospel applies to “classical Pentecostalism”, a term used to describe the early movement. See Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p.10.

⁵⁰ Adam Scott Stewart, *Quenching the Spirit: The Transformation of Religious Identity and Experience in Three Canadian Pentecostal Churches*, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Waterloo, 2012), p. 44. On the evangelical quadrilateral see David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in*

distinguishing characteristic of evangelicalism and conservative Protestantism, placed the movement within the historical tradition of Protestant evangelicalism and ensured that “classical” Pentecostalism remained associated with the larger conservative Protestant movement.⁵¹

In Canada, recent Pentecostal historical scholarship has argued that the early movement was different from its American counterpart. Peter Althouse and Michael Wilkinson have characterized the development of Pentecostalism in Canada as “something of a hybrid shaped by influences across the Atlantic and the United States”, and “not wholly British nor wholly American”. While many Canadian Pentecostals looked to the Azusa Street revival at the Apostolic Faith Mission in Los Angeles in 1906, the first Pentecostal revival in the United States, as the origins of their movement, Althouse and Wilkinson contend that the early movement was uniquely influenced in the Canadian environment by the Keswick conventions and Methodist Holiness traditions in England.⁵²

Adam Stewart argues that the apparently independent emergence of Pentecostalism at the Hebden Mission in Toronto, in 1907, undermines the view that Azusa Street was the primary source for the rise of global Pentecostalism and instead supports the case for multiple

Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 2-17; Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2003), p.19.

⁵¹ The term “Conservative Protestants” has been defined by Reginald Bibby as describing a number of religious groups, including Pentecostals, who “come under the umbrella of “the Believer’s Church”, in which a central criterion for membership is “regeneration” or “rebirth” – the belief that the individual has to have a personal, life-changing encounter with Christ in order to become a Christian and join the Church. They also stress the authority of Scripture.” Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, p.26.

⁵² Peter Althouse and Michael Wilkinson, “The Many Faces of Canadian Pentecostalism”, *Canadian Journal of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity* 2, (2011), p.ii.

sources of North American Pentecostalism. According to Stewart, the Hebden revival in Toronto illustrates the polygenetic origins of the Pentecostal movement and the often unique qualities of the emerging movement in different centres. In the case of Toronto, the Keswick influenced theology of the revival's leaders and the spontaneous nature of the Hebden revival have led him to conclude that Canadian Pentecostalism emerged independent of the American movement.⁵³

These interpretations of Canadian Pentecostal origins are problematic because they ignore the inter-connectedness of the North America movement during its first phase of development. The first experiences of Spirit baptism and speaking in tongues in Toronto, Topeka and Azusa Street connected these North American points of origin and became the shared foundational theological emphases of early Pentecostalism. As Steven Studebaker has argued, the possibility of the polygenetic origins of Canadian Pentecostalism does not preclude the important influence of centres of revival like Azusa Street and the close connections the American movement had with early Canadian Pentecostalism. Most of the early influential Canadian Pentecostal missionaries had some connection to Azusa Street revival and were responsible for spreading the message of charismatic renewal to their local communities.⁵⁴

In this chapter I examine the historical origins of Pentecostalism in the United States and

⁵³ “A Canadian Azusa? The Implications of the Hebden Mission for Pentecostal Historiography”, in Michael Wilkinson and Peter Althouse, eds., *Winds from the North: Canadian Contributions to the Pentecostal Movement* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p.18.

⁵⁴ Steven M. Studebaker, “The Plausibility of the Independent Origins of Canadian Pentecostalism: Winds From The North”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, 33 (2011) pp. 418, 421-423. On the American influence on Canadian Pentecostalism see Ronald A.N. Kydd, “Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse”, in George Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), pp.289-290.

Canada and argue that from its inception, the movement in both countries was intertwined. I discuss the theological origins of Pentecostalism and examine the similar emergence of the movement in both countries. In the following chapter I will expand on this theme in my analysis of early Pentecostalism in Winnipeg and argue that the Azusa Street revival, and visits by a succession of American-based Pentecostal evangelists, directly influenced the emergence and growth of the movement in Canada.

The most important influences on Pentecostalism were the Keswick movement, the healing home movement, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and the Holiness movement of the late nineteenth century. The Keswick movement aspired to a “higher life” of sinlessness through the renewing power of the “infilling” of the Holy Spirit, a belief later embraced by Pentecostals. As expressed in W.E. Boardman’s *The Higher Christian Life* (1858), participants in the Keswick conventions that began in England in 1875 believed that a form of Christian perfection was achieved gradually and required constant “infillings” of holy power to achieve the “higher life”. The conventions were attended by Methodists who rejected the Wesleyan idea of an instantaneous “second blessing” leading to the entire purification from sin. Rather, Keswick holiness believed perfectionism was achieved gradually by the individual in the quest for the “higher life”.⁵⁵

The healing home movement established homes and missions for the purpose of divine physical healing and played a significant role in popularizing the practice throughout Europe and North America. The evangelical emphasis on healing began in the mid nineteenth century and was linked to efforts to restore New Testament signs and wonders to the church. The roots

⁵⁵ James Opp, *Lord for the Body: Religion, Medicine, and Protestant Faith Healing in Canada, 1880-1930*, (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), p.21.

of the modern healing movement began among a number of European teachers including the Presbyterian Edward Irving in London in 1830 who with others developed the idea of the “healing home”, a hospital-like space where prayer rather than medicine was administered to remedy the individual’s ailments. The movement spread to North America in 1864, when Charles Cullis of Boston, a medical doctor, opened free faith homes where patients were treated with prayer. Cullis travelled extensively promoting his ideas and in the 1880's divine healing homes and conventions in centres including Boston, New York and Buffalo attracted the attention of Canadians interested in the phenomenon.⁵⁶

In Canada, the interdenominational Christian Alliance founded by A.B. Simpson in 1887 in the United States and later the Dominion Auxiliary Branch of the Christian Alliance were the primary vehicles for Protestant Divine Healing and extended the early work of the healing home movement into the public sphere. Simpson, originally ordained in the Presbyterian Church, based the movement on a “fourfold” doctrine that saw Christ as “Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King”. He rejected claims that the supernatural gifts of the apostolic age were no longer available and taught that all individuals should experience a baptism in the Holy Spirit, subsequent to salvation.⁵⁷ The Christian Alliance foreshadowed many of the teachings of early Pentecostalism. While its leader did not accept later Pentecostal teachings regarding glossolalia (speaking in tongues), many members of the movement both in

⁵⁶ Paul Chappell, “Healing Movements” in Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee and Patrick H. Alexander, eds., *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, (Regency Reference Library, 1988) pp. 353-374. On the establishment of “faith homes” as sacred spaces to evangelize unbelievers see Heather D. Curtis, *Faith in the Great Physician: Suffering and Divine Healing in American Culture, 1860–1900* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

⁵⁷ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.64.

Canada and United States eventually left and joined Pentecostal denominations.⁵⁸

Of most importance was the Holiness movement, a reaction to liberalism and higher biblical criticism, the school of biblical scholarship in the established Protestant churches that analyzed biblical texts using the tools of literary criticism. The Holiness movement emphasized the need for a personal experience of conversion, the moral perfection of the individual, and biblical literalism.⁵⁹

Holiness taught a modified version of John Wesley's Methodist belief in a "second blessing", which Pentecostals later interpreted as signified by charismata, the gift of tongues. The movement grew out of the tradition of Wesleyan Methodism and the belief in Christian perfection. John Wesley's concept of Christian perfection stood in contrast to the Calvinist view of the natural depravity of humanity and the sovereignty of God in the quest for human redemption. In the early nineteenth century, Methodists taught an optimistic vision of personal salvation that emphasized the individual's role in achieving salvation. The idea of "entire sanctification" was based on the belief that following conversion the believer would experience a second blessing where their heart would be purified of sin. Conversion was seen as the first Christian step toward gaining a fully divinely-consecrated relationship with God.⁶⁰

The idea rapidly gained currency among evangelicals in the nineteenth century and

⁵⁸ Joseph W. Williams, "A.B. Simpson" in George Thompson Kurian and James D. Smith III, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Christian Literature*, Volume 2, (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2010) p.566. Christian Alliance members in western Canada were particularly attracted to Pentecostalism. Opp notes that "Pentecostalism claimed both a significant portion of the membership and many of the leaders of the Alliance in Manitoba." Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.129.

⁵⁹ Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, pp. 27-33.

⁶⁰ Adam Scott Stewart, "Quenching the Spirit", pp. 34-35.

proponents of Christian perfectionism played a key role in inspiring a variety of social reform movements including abolition and temperance. Some evangelicals interpreted Christian perfection on a solely personal basis and believed that the promise of sanctification offered the individual the ability and responsibility to achieve personal salvation.⁶¹

By the late nineteenth century, some forms of Wesleyan Holiness began to separate from mainstream Methodism and embrace a belief in the need for a “third blessing” that included the doctrine of baptism in the Holy Spirit. In Canada, a small number of radical Wesleyan Holiness denominations emerged that broke away from mainline Protestantism and created splinter sects that were immediate precursors to Pentecostalism.⁶²

While the Holiness movement of the nineteenth century emphasized personal holiness, or “entire sanctification”, as evidence of the presence of the Holy Spirit, the works of grace leading to salvation proposed by the more radical faction of the Holiness movement established the baptism in the Holy Spirit as a distinct event in the spiritual life of the believer. This theological innovation prepared the way for the development of Pentecostalism. Pentecostals expanded on Holiness teachings in believing that “baptism in the spirit” was the essential subsequent experience to conversion and that speaking in tongues was evidence of the authenticity of this experience. For Pentecostals, the scriptural authority for these beliefs was based on the emphasis placed on the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts described in the twelfth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians and evidenced in the Book of Acts.⁶³

⁶¹ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p. 20.

⁶² Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p. 22.

⁶³ Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, pp. 27-33; Donald Dayton, *The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, pp.232-233. Grant Wacker has described the Book of Acts “as something of a church constitution” for the early Pentecostal adherents. Grant Wacker,

Pentecostalism was a religious expression of cultural loss and a reaction against the perceived impact of modernity on religion in the early twentieth century. Early Pentecostals believed modern society threatened the social values and theological underpinnings of their world and many were resistant to modern medical practices, new forms of critical thinking in the sciences, and biblical criticism. The ahistorical Pentecostal belief system provided alternate meaning and values to the social and cultural challenges of modernity through the receipt of a spiritual gift from God.⁶⁴

Pentecostal anti-modernism was expressed through a radical restorationist belief that a return to the faith and practises of the New Testament would precede the physical return of Christ. It was a religious movement of believers “who were certain they lived in the days of the prophesied restoration, revival, and consummation” and believed that their movement alone could escape the tribulation by participating in the rapture. In their quest for a continual personal encounter with God, Pentecostals believed that the gifts of the Holy Spirit were present in the church of their time. They strived to go beyond the conversion experience and taught that “the baptism of the Holy Ghost, accompanied by speaking in tongues, was the final, and Pentecostal, work of grace to be sought by every Christian.” It was an experiential theology that believed that glossolalia was the sign of God’s “second blessing”.⁶⁵

Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture, p. 251.

⁶⁴ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, p.19; David Edwin Harrell, Jr. *All Things Are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in Modern America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1975), pp.10-11. Among Pentecostals and Fundamentalists the term "anti-modernism" was understood as opposition to "Darwinism, liberal theology, the reformist Social Gospel, and historical-critical Biblical scholarship." See Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992) p.110.

⁶⁵ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, pp.11-12, p.16; David Edwin Harrell, Jr. *All Things are*

One expression of radical restorationism was the Pentecostal belief in divine healing and the desire for miraculous healing to return to the role it played in New Testament. The tradition of faith healing has a long history in the Christian Church, most importantly as a widely held practise in the charismatic traditions of Roman Catholicism. By the early twentieth century belief in faith healing was increasingly associated with evangelical Christianity, and particularly newly emerging movements such as Pentecostalism that promoted the healing of the sick through prayer and the yearning for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Pentecostals differed from the teachings of the healing home movement, the Christian Alliance, and other proponents of faith healing by associating physical healing with the baptism in the Holy Spirit and end times restoration.⁶⁶

James Opp has shown that the Pentecostal practise of “tarrying”, which included long meetings that followed prayer services often involving divine healing, was important in creating a communal space where groups of adherents met to reinforce each other’s faith. Also, these

Possible, p.11; Edwin Gaustad, *A Documentary History of Religion in America Since 1865* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1983), p. 300.

Pentecostals believed that an individual who received the baptism of the Holy Spirit was set apart from other Christians by speaking in tongues. In addition to the baptism of the Holy Ghost, David Harrell has identified nine additional Biblical gifts of the Spirit that Pentecostals believed could be received including “the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, the gift of faith, the gift of healing, the gift of miracles, the gift of prophecy, the gift of discerning spirits, the gift of tongues, and the gift of interpretation of tongues – were available to Christians today. Those anointed by God with these charismatic gifts had miraculous powers that would build the faith of others.” David Edwin Harrell, *All Things Are Possible*, p. 12.

⁶⁶ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, p.14; Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, pp. 1,3,4, 13,15,18. Martin Marty, *The Christian World: A Global History* (New York: Random House, 2009) p.180; Edwin Gaustad, *A Documentary History of Religion in America Since 1865*, p.303. Turn-of-the-century popular evangelicalism was receptive to the interrelated impulses of restorationism and premillennialism and within Pentecostalism contributed to what Blumhofer calls “historylessness”, “an eschatological view of history that emphasized a belief in end of times and biblical restorationism.” Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, pp.13, 18.

groups ultimately created a sacred space that they believed embodied the restored apostolic church. Pentecostals modified earlier beliefs in faith healing to include the idea that certain people could receive this gift and that these individuals could play a role in events leading to the Second Coming.⁶⁷

The radical restorationism of Pentecostalism distanced the movement from historical Christian traditions and fostered a sense of uniqueness from other Christian groups. This “primitivist” impulse led some early Pentecostals to reject the doctrine of the Trinity on the grounds that the apostles in the Book of Acts only baptized in the name of Jesus.⁶⁸ Despite the theological continuity that connected the movement to Wesleyan Methodism and the Holiness movement, the radical eschatological character of Pentecostalism led believers to a self-understanding that saw their movement as different and not bound to the historical precedents of Christendom and therefore representing a definitive break from Christian denominations and groups that had come before.⁶⁹

In its rejection of modernity, the Pentecostal belief system embraced traditionalism. Grant Wacker has described the movement as a form of historical primitivism that was impervious to “historical, rational, or empirical criticism.” By reclaiming apostolic Christianity, it abandoned church history since the second century in favor of a dispensational millennialism

⁶⁷ Opp, *The Lord for the Body*, pp.136-138.

⁶⁸ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, pp. 8, 251.

⁶⁹ Dale T. Irvin, “Pentecostal Historiography and Global Christianity: Rethinking the Question of Origins”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, Volume 27, No. 1, Spring 2005, pp.37-38; Augustus Cerillo, “The Beginnings of American Pentecostalism: A Historiographical Overview” in Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, and Grant Wacker, eds., *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999) p.243.

that stood in contrast to the conventions of denominational Christianity.⁷⁰ For Pentecostals, history was irrelevant because perfection meant a return to an earlier era of Christian unity and simplicity and the reclamation of the “pure” gospel.⁷¹ Yet the anti-modernism of Pentecostal “primitivism” has been balanced throughout its history by a willingness on the part of the movement to accommodate itself to the everyday demands of life. Wacker argues that Pentecostal “pragmatism” enabled the movement to work within the social and cultural expectations of its age and this ability to balance “primitivism” and “pragmatism”, ensuring its continued vitality and growth.⁷²

Pentecostals’ primitivist conviction that the Holy Spirit did everything, and that they themselves did nothing, bore grandly pragmatic results. It freed them from self-doubt, legitimated reasonable accommodations to modern culture, and released boundless energy for feats of worldly enterprise. At the same time, this vigorous engagement with everyday life stabilized the primitive and kept it from consuming itself in a fury of charismatic fire.⁷³

The specific origins of Pentecostalism can be traced back to Charles F. Parnham’s Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas, in 1901 when a student named Agnes Ozman spoke in tongues. The Bethel Bible College was one of a few faith healing centres in the United States influenced by the Holiness movement and its emphasis on both faith healing and

⁷⁰ Grant Wacker, “Functions of Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism” *Harvard Theological Review*, 77, 1984, p.374; Grant Wacker, “Playing for Keeps: The Primitivist Impulse in Early Pentecostalism”, in Richard T. Hughes, ed., *The American Quest for the Primitive Church* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988) pp.207-213.

⁷¹ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, pp.13-14.

⁷² Wacker, *Heaven Below*, pp. 12-13.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.14.

premillennialism.⁷⁴ Parnham expanded upon earlier Holiness beliefs and taught that glossolalia, also known as tongues speech, indicated a baptism in the Holy Spirit. In turn, Parnham and his students believed that the receipt of this gift would precede the beginning of a new era of Christian evangelicalism, the imminent return of Jesus to the earth, and ultimately the rapture of the last days. Following an experience on January 1st, 1901, Ozman is said to have begun writing and speaking in Chinese. In the weeks that followed, others at the college had similar experiences and a revival ensued. Following the revival, glossolalia became for believers evidence that an individual had received and been baptized by the Holy Spirit.⁷⁵

Agnes Ozman's experience at Bethel College set off a spark that led to the eventual emergence of Pentecostal groups throughout North America. A meeting in the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles in 1906 led by William J. Seymour, an African-American Holiness

⁷⁴ Other healing centres included the Bible Institute in Nyack, New York led by A.B. Simpson, and Alexander Dowie's Zion healing home in Chicago. Parnham was greatly influenced by the holiness teachings of Frank Sandford in Durham, Maine. Parham was also a proponent of British-Israelism, the belief that Anglo-Saxon peoples were God's chosen people, indicating the attraction of other premillennial teachings for early Pentecostal leaders. James Opp, *The Lord for the Body*, p.123; Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, p.2

⁷⁵ Parham was the first evangelist to formulate the doctrine that speaking in tongues was evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit as described in the Book of Acts 2. Parham believed that the tongues spoken were always in a foreign language and were given for the purpose of accelerating global missions. This understanding of tongues speech was later discarded in favour of a view that viewed glossolalia, an experience that sometimes included speaking in unintelligible languages, was evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Dale T. Irvin, "Pentecostal Historiography and Global Christianity: Rethinking the Question of Origins", *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, Volume 27, No. 1, (Spring 2005), p.40.

An earlier manifestation of glossolalia, not directly connected to the development of the early Pentecostal movement, occurred in Cherokee County, North Carolina, at a camp meeting in 1896 where the first manifestations "of a distinctly Pentecostal experience" occurred. See Michael Di Giacomo, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Canada: Its Origins, Development and Distinct Culture" in Michael Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009), p.17.

preacher and son of ex-slaves, launched the modern Pentecostal movement. Seymour had spent time in a Bible class led by Parham in Texas, and had learned from Parham the idea that speaking in tongues was evidence for the baptism of the Holy Spirit. He then left for California where he was invited to be pastor for a small Holiness group in Los Angeles. Within weeks of preaching at the small mission, originally started in the homes of several supporters, he began to draw wider attention from a multi-racial audience and moved to a building on Azusa Street where it continued for three years. The revival was unique due to the widespread ecstatic behavior of speaking in tongues. Many witnesses believed they were speaking or hearing foreign tongues which they interpreted to be the initial evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the entry of that person into the fullness of Christian life.⁷⁶

News of the revival was circulated via Seymour's *Apostolic Faith* newspaper and was widely communicated by the visitors who attended the revival and by Pentecostal missionaries sent throughout the world. Early twentieth century transportation and communication technologies facilitated the dissemination of news of the revival and within a short time the local events on Azusa Street soon had global implications.⁷⁷ In North America, the Azusa Street revival marked the beginning of an organized Pentecostal movement. The rapid appearance of

⁷⁶ Dale T. Irvin, "Pentecostal Historiography and Global Christianity: Rethinking the Question of Origins", p.49.

⁷⁷ Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., "Pentecostal Origins from a Global Perspective", in *All Together in One Place: Theological Papers from the Brighton Conference on World Evangelization*, Harold D. Hunter and Peter D. Hocken, eds., (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) p.180; Michael Di Giacomo, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Canada: Its Origins, Development and Distinct Culture" in Michael Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009) p.18. *The Apostolic Faith* reached the peak of its circulation of 50,000 in 1908. Approximately twenty-six Pentecostal denominations trace their origins to the Azusa Street revival. Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.40-42.

numerous Pentecostal sects led within a decade to the organization of the largest Pentecostal churches in North America including the Assemblies of God, the Church of God, and the Pentecostal Holiness Church in the United States as well as in Canada the Apostolic Church of Pentecost, and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC).⁷⁸

The unique social and religious dynamics of Los Angeles in 1906 were those of an emerging cosmopolitan city. More recent historians of Pentecostalism have been careful to point out that in many ways the legacy of Azusa Street for later Pentecostals has been largely symbolic, and that the subversion of race, class and gender categories that occurred in Los Angeles was in many ways unique to that community. The early Pentecostal movement was not homogeneous and from the beginning adherents were frequently divided by doctrinal and other controversies that reflected traditions, beliefs and sociocultural conditions specific to their own local backgrounds and environment. Charles Parham initially praised the revival at Azusa Street but renounced it in 1906. He condemned the racial mingling and objected to what he saw as unacceptable disorderly and ecstatic behavior.⁷⁹ At the same time, many newly emerging Pentecostal groups had both direct and indirect ties to events in Los Angeles. Azusa Street remained for the majority of Pentecostals the symbolic cornerstone of their movement that represented restorationism and a place where the experiences of the Apostles described in Acts 2 were replicated, namely the baptism of the Holy Spirit accompanied by speaking in tongues.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Harrell, *All Things Are Possible*, p.11; Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1971), p.168.

⁷⁹ See Parham's articles from *The Apostolic Faith* reprinted in E. Myron Noble, ed., *Like as of Fire: Newspapers from the Azusa Street World Wide Revival* (Washington, D.C.: Middle Atlantic Regional Press, 1991), pp. 54-61, 89.

⁸⁰ On Pentecostal historiography and the role of Azusa Street in the movement's history see Joe

Edith Blumhofer divides the Pentecostal movement's history into four stages. The origins of the movement during its initial stage of development were focused on restorationism through mission work and the resolution of theological disputes that threatened the unity of the movement. Early members were divided by doctrinal differences that separated members into trinitarian and non-trinitarian camps. Theological divisions among early Pentecostals centred on the "Oneness" controversy, and divided those who believed Jesus was "the full revelation of the Godhead in the dispensational age" from those who held to a trinitarian view, the view that "Jesus, God and the Holy Spirit were all one person, whose name was Jesus." In 1916 the Assemblies of God, the largest Pentecostal group in the United States, asserted a commitment to traditional trinitarianism. Most of the congregations in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, formed in 1918, also adopted trinitarianism. The "Oneness" or "Jesus only" churches formed splinter Pentecostal sects and, after 1945, many of these sects in the United States joined to form the United Pentecostal Church in the United States. In Canada, the controversy led Frank Small, of Winnipeg, to create the Apostolic Church of Pentecost in 1921.⁸¹

Creech, "Visions of Glory: The Place of the Azusa Street Revival in Pentecostal History", *Church History*, Vol. 65, No. 3 (September, 1996).

⁸¹ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, pp.2, 13, 127-135; Harrell, *All Things Are Possible*, pp. 11-12. On Frank Small see Ronald A.N. Kydd, "Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse", in G. Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*. (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), p.290.

The period between 1911 and 1921 was a time of rapid expansion of Pentecostalism in central and western Canada. Membership grew from 513 in 1911 to over 7,000 with new missions established in most major Canadian cities. Early attempts to organize were eventually realized with the formation of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in 1919. The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) was the creation of Pentecostals in eastern Canada and received its charter as an official religious denomination from the Canadian government on May 17, 1919. Pentecostals in western Canada chose to join the American Assemblies of God (AG), and were followed a year later in 1920 by the PAOC which also joined the AG. Western Canadian

Following a period of organizational and denominational development, the second stage included increasing affinities with fundamentalism, leading Pentecostals to increasingly see themselves as “fundamentalists with a difference”. Shortly after the Assemblies of God was formed in the United States in 1914, the new denomination began to define an appropriate doctrine and found similarities with emerging fundamentalist groups that affirmed a shared sense of cultural loss and agreement on basic points of orthodox Christian doctrine.⁸²

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s members of the Assemblies of God found unity with fundamentalists in their opposition to modernists and found common ground in their shared common assumptions and similar educational experiences at vocational and Bible institutes. However, some Pentecostals believed that the standard fundamentalist profession of faith was not enough. Pentecostals insisted that physical healing was “in the atonement” for all believers. Belief in Spirit baptism and speaking in tongues threatened some fundamentalists and in 1928 Pentecostals were expelled from the World Christian Fundamentalist Association because of their emphasis on speaking in tongues which was viewed as an unacceptable doctrinal innovation. By the 1930s Pentecostals were increasingly estranged from the fundamentalist movement.⁸³ While Pentecostals self-identified as fundamentalists and evangelicals,

Pentecostals were incorporated into the PAOC but remained a sub-division of the AG. The PAOC became independent from the Assemblies of God in 1925 and included Pentecostals in all Canadian provinces. The PAOC currently accounts for approximately sixty per cent of all Pentecostals in Canada, with the remaining forty per cent divided among twelve other denominations and independent groups. Thomas William Miller, “The Canadian “Azusa”, The Hebden Mission in Toronto”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, 8 (Spring 1986) , p.25; Adam Scott Stewart, “Quenching the Spirit”, p.44.

⁸² Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, p.5.

⁸³ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, p.5; Joel Carpenter, “From Fundamentalism to the New Evangelical Coalition” in George Marsden, ed., *Evangelicalism and Modern America*, (Grand Rapids. MI: William B. Eerdsman Publishing, 1986) p.14; Martin Marty, “Fundamentalism as a

longstanding suspicions by both movements of what was seen as the emotional excesses of Pentecostals resulted in a separation of the movements prior to the 1960s. For their part, Pentecostals saw both movements as lacking real power and an openness to the Holy Spirit.⁸⁴

The third stage after the second World War was one of charismatic renewal and introduced a new stage that sought to restore the early vitality of the movement. Throughout its history large sectors of the Pentecostal movement remained fiercely independent and successive bursts of restorationist fervor termed “the latter rain” regularly challenged both institutionalization and acculturation in modern society. The successful healing campaigns throughout North America and internationally in the late 1940s and early 1950s marked a restorationist surge in the movement and set the groundwork for the upsurge in Pentecostalism’s membership and popularity in the last half of the twentieth century.⁸⁵

This periodic restorationist fervour ensured an ongoing independent Pentecostal movement frequently in tension with the denominational side of the movement.⁸⁶ As Dale Irvin has observed, the emergence of Pentecostalism posed a significant challenge to the Christian churches world-wide because “the persistent Pentecostal practice over the past century has been to challenge the historical stability of our various narratives of Christendom.” From its earliest beginnings Pentecostalism was a movement intent on fracturing and reframing Christian self-

Social Phenomenon” in George Marsden, ed., *Evangelicalism and Modern America*, (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdsman Publishing, 1986) p.64. David Raymond Elliott, “Studies of Eight Canadian Fundamentalists”, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Calgary, 1989), p.22.

⁸⁴ Sam Reimer, “Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada's Congregations: Vitality, Diversity, Identity and Equity”, *Canadian Journal of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity*, 3 (2012) p.54.

⁸⁵ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, p.2.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.4.

understanding. It was an adaptable localized movement with global designs. Irvin concludes that Pentecostalism “is a challenge to that mode of history that seeks coherent branches and to the spirituality that needs to be joined to a great tradition.”⁸⁷

By the latter half of the twentieth century, the fourth stage saw the Pentecostal movement grow beyond its denominational mode of organization and expand into all the main Christian denominations. The spiritual praxis unleashed in Topeka, Azusa Street, and elsewhere proved to be adept at cross-cultural fertilization as well as attracting and influencing adherents in other denominations. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, charismatic movements appeared in all the main Christian denominations. Beginning in the 1970s neo-Pentecostalism, not affiliated with classical Pentecostalism, began to grow among non-denominational and independent Christians who adopted aspects of Pentecostal theology.⁸⁸

Pentecostal flexibility and adaptability have been the keys to its success, but the same qualities have produced a history of cyclical fragmentation and division in the global movement. The forces that have energized the movement have also typically led to difficulties in maintaining church unity and been resistant to ecumenicism.⁸⁹

Canadian Origins – the Hebden Revival

Ellen Hebden, who received Spirit baptism in Toronto on November 17, 1906, is regarded

⁸⁷ Irvin, Dale T. Irvin, “Pentecostal Historiography and Global Christianity: Rethinking the Question of Origins”, p.50.

⁸⁸ Adam Scott Stewart, “Quenching the Spirit”, p.34; Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, p.2.

⁸⁹ Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, p.250.

as the first known person in Canada to speak in tongues.⁹⁰ As a co-founder with her husband of the early movement, her experience illustrates both the British and American influences on Canadian Pentecostalism in Toronto. Ellen Hebden grew up in Gayton, Norfolk in England and as a child attended St. Nicholas Parish, a medieval Anglican Church. In her youth she encountered the interdenominational teachings of the Keswick conventions that, as noted earlier, taught an experiential view of conversion that went beyond mere assent to traditional orthodox theology. The Keswick movement emphasized the necessity of an experience that accompanied conversion that they termed the “fullness of the Spirit”. As a renewal movement that spread throughout the Church of England, she was introduced to a belief in the need for a personal relationship with Christ that contrasted with her high Anglican Church upbringing.⁹¹

After marrying James Hebden in 1893, the couple moved to Jamaica in 1904 to evangelize the Gospel after a devastating hurricane, prior to relocating to Toronto in 1904. In 1906 they opened the East Side Mission on Queen Street.⁹² The Mission was a faith healing home where the Hebdens would care for and pray for the healing of the sick. At one meeting on November 17, 1906, Ellen Hebden “felt a divine presence take hold of her hands” and began singing in another language. In short time, her husband also felt a divine presence and over the

⁹⁰ John Loncy of Snowflake, Manitoba, wrote an account prior to the Hebden revival, published in Seymour’s *Apostolic Faith* paper in December, 1906, reporting that he had been baptized with “the Holy Ghost and fire” and “received the gift of some as yet unknown tongues or tongues” in 1904. Loncy does not appear in any available records of Canadian Pentecostalism, and it is not known if he was a Canadian citizen. Thomas Miller has speculated that he might have been an American immigrant who had homesteaded in Manitoba near the border. Thomas William Miller, “The Canadian “Azusa””, p.5.

⁹¹ William Sloos, “The Story of James and Ellen Hebden: The First Family of Pentecost in Canada”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, 32 (2010), pp. 181, 183, 184.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 187.

following five months at least seventy other individuals received their baptism through speaking in tongues.⁹³

Hebden's account of the experience exhibited a similar narrative and a common pattern of experience with early Pentecostals in Topeka, Azusa Street, and elsewhere.

Suddenly, the Holy Ghost fell upon me, and I exclaimed aloud, "Oh Jesus! Thou art a real, living person!" . . . My whole seemed to be filled with praise and adoration such as I had never realized before . . . I said to the Lord, "What does this mean?, and a quiet, yet distinct, voice said "Tongues" I said "No, Lord, not Tongues". Then followed a moment of deathlike stillness, when the voice uttered again the word "Tongues". This time I felt afraid of grieving the Lord and I said "Tongues, or anything that will please Thee and bring glory to Thy Name!" One unknown word was repeated several times and I thought that must be tongues. On Monday morning (Nov. 19th) I arose again to spend the day with the Lord. I waited patiently for Him. At noon I took the word of God, read a portion of it and spread it on the floor. I then knelt upon it and cried to the Lord to give me nothing only what corresponded with His word. Great peace filled my soul and I began to sing very quietly but to my amazement I was singing in another language. I said eagerly, "Is this Tongues?" and then another burst from my lips, and for two or three hours I sang in an unknown language it was marvellous. Later on the Lord gave me twenty-two languages, one night in a public meeting, and hundreds of verses or poetry have been given to me by the Spirit, also the interpretation of many, also I have been able to write all the languages that God has spoken through me.⁹⁴

News of the Hebden revival and Ellen's experience soon made the mission a mecca for early Pentecostal evangelists and itinerant workers as well as a crossroads for people interested in pursuing a Pentecostal baptism. The Mission became a centre of individuals to meet and share

⁹³ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, pp.122-123, Miller, "The Canadian "Azusa"", pp. 6, 14.

⁹⁴ Quoted in Thomas Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Mississauga, Ontario: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994) pp.5-6.

their experiences of Spirit Baptism, healing, and tongues speech.⁹⁵ The Hebden became the focal point of the nascent Pentecostal movement and quickly became the acknowledged leaders in Toronto. News of the revival and reports of the restoration of biblical charismata attracted the attention of a reporter from the *Toronto Star*, who attended a meeting at the East End Mission to investigate claims that seventeen people had received “baptism of the Holy Ghost”. At the height of the revival meetings were held every evening and all day Sunday in a mission hall that seated approximately two hundred people. The reporter described the audience as consisting of “well-to-do business men” and that “the women, who were slightly in the majority, were well-dressed, evidently intelligent, and refined”. In contrast to their appearance, the atmosphere of the service was described as being manic and raucous and the reporter observed that throughout the hall there was “a continual groan of pleading like the weird wailing of some Oriental devotee,” with attendees speaking “mixed and utterly meaningless” sounds, and testifying to their “getting the power.”⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Miller, “The Canadian “Azusa””, p, 20.

⁹⁶ *Toronto Star*, January 17, 1907, quoted in William Sloos, “The Story of James and Ellen Hebden: The First Family of Pentecost in Canada”, 32 (2010) pp.192-194.

Robert Anderson has interpreted Pentecostalism as a movement of social and economic losers in a period of industrialization who sought solutions to their problems in a socially pessimistic version of millenarian thought. In his view, “the radical social impulse inherent in the vision of the disinherited was transformed into social passivity, ecstatic escape” that promoted conservative conformity in a theology that embraced social passivity. Robert Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p.240.

The description of attendees at the Hebden mission suggests that early adherents were representative of a cross-section of the population and not, as Anderson suggests, primarily the underclass and under-privileged. Adam Stewart persuasively argues that defining Pentecostals simply as those who were deprived fails as an adequate explanation of Pentecostal affiliation on both an empirical and theoretical level in ignoring research by Grant Wacker and others that has shown that the typical Pentecostal convert shared largely the same demographic and biographic

Ellen Hebden told the audience that when moved by the Spirit she had spoken in twenty-two languages and that “she had seen the windows of the hall shaken by the power of God.” She also mentioned that she had recently fasted for twenty-three days and that she “fasts three days almost every week.” In an interview with the reporter from the *Toronto Star*, he asked her if she was engaging in some sort of religious mania. Hebden replied, “I don’t look like a maniac, do I? And I can assure you that I don’t feel like a maniac . . . No, it is simply the gift of God . . . When I think about the thousands about us going down to destruction in the paths of sin, my heart is even more sadly moved. It’s all very well to sing hymns about being ready, but what we need to do is to make preparation.” What appeared to the reporter as religious mania was to Hebden and her follower’s evidence of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the last days. The story contributed to increased interest in Mission among many of the 40,000 daily readers of the *Toronto Star*. It also alarmed the city’s religious establishment in its depiction of seemingly bizarre religious behaviour.⁹⁷

The Hebden revival marked the beginning of a model of Pentecostal ministry, similar to the Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles, which moved divine healing from the healing home environment to the public space. The East End Mission had started as a place to accommodate the sick for extended periods with rest and prayer. Once the revival began the Hebdens began to make healing a key feature of their public services. As a result divine healing became closely

profile of the average American. See Adam Stewart, “Re-Visioning the Disinherited: Pentecostals and Social Class in North America”, in Michael Wilkinson and Steven M. Studebaker, eds., *A Liberating Spirit: Pentecostals and Social Action in North America* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2010), pp.144-154; Wacker, *Heaven Below*, p.205.

⁹⁷ *Toronto Star*, January 17, 1907, quoted in William Sloos, “The Story of James and Ellen Hebden The Story of James and Ellen Hebden: The First Family of Pentecost in Canada”, pp.192-194.

linked with Spirit Baptism and was seen as immediate and dramatic evidence of the restored church.⁹⁸

Despite their active role in fostering their mission and organizing the first Pentecostal convention in the city, the Hebdens opposed any form or structure to organize the movement. The Hebdens and others in the movement resisted any formal association of congregations and believed that God had called Pentecostals away from all organizations and not to be identified with anything man-made.⁹⁹

However, others in the movement saw a need for some form of union among congregations to support and organize work in both the home and mission fields. At a camp meeting in Markham, Ontario in 1909, A.G. Ward led an attempt to organize congregations into a new body named the Pentecostal Missionary Union. The proposed union was modeled after a similar body created the previous year at a camp in Alliance, Ohio. Vicar A.A. Boddy, who attended the Markham meeting and assisted Ward, had set up a similar organization in England. In response to opposition to the union, and in an effort to avoid controversy and potentially endanger the new movement, Ward acknowledged that the attempt to organize had been premature.¹⁰⁰

The Hebdens expanded their ministry beyond Toronto and began leading revivals throughout Ontario, establishing the first Pentecostal camp in Canada just south of Simcoe on Lake Erie. The result was a broadened ministry base and a growing reputation for leading revival

⁹⁸ Sloos, "The Story of James and Ellen Hebdens: The First Family of Pentecost in Canada", p.194.

⁹⁹ Miller, "The Canadian "Azusa"", p.21; Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.126.

¹⁰⁰ Miller, "The Canadian "Azusa"", pp.20-21.

meetings.¹⁰¹ Yet despite their active role in fostering their mission and organizing the first Pentecostal convention in the city, the Hebdens gradually declined in influence due in part to their opposition to any form or structure to organize the movement. As well, some early Pentecostal leaders in Ontario were wary of what they believed was an undue emphasis by the Hebdens on divine healing, reflecting the growth of a more mainstream theology in the movement. By 1914, the Hebden Mission had closed.¹⁰² However, the legacy of the Hebden revival lived on and was an important early influence on Canadian Pentecostalism. The East End Mission formed the nucleus of what became the City Evangel Temple, one of the largest Pentecostal congregations in Canada, and by 1910 many of the fourteen Pentecostal congregations that had emerged across Canada were in some way connected to the Hebden Mission.¹⁰³

This chapter has shown how some radical evangelical traditions of the nineteenth century, particularly the Holiness movement, proved to be influential during the first phase of Pentecostal development in both Canada and the United States. As in Los Angeles, the first phase of the movement in Toronto focused on restorationism through mission work and the resolution of disputes concerning organizational and denominational development. In both countries, early Pentecostalism was responsible for moving the practice of faith healing from the home to the public space, and in both Los Angeles and Toronto Spirit baptism was understood by early converts to be evidence of the restored church. Most significantly, as the following

¹⁰¹ Sloos, “The Story of James and Ellen Hebden: The First Family of Pentecost in Canada”, p.195.

¹⁰² Miller, “The Canadian “Azusa””, p.24.

¹⁰³ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.123.

chapter will show, within a decade of its origins an inter-connected North American Pentecostal movement emerged that combined old-style evangelism with mass public faith healing campaigns and, beginning in the 1920s, began to position itself at the vanguard of Protestant evangelicalism.

Chapter 3

Pentecostalism in Winnipeg

The Pentecostal movement in Winnipeg grew from a small gathering of people in 1907 to become what Edith Blumhofer has described as “the primary centre of early Canadian Pentecostalism.”¹⁰⁴ The first Pentecostals in the city were directly influenced by developments in Los Angeles, Toronto and Chicago, where founders of the movement had begun to spread a new message of biblical restorationism and a “primitivist” inspired anti-modernism. The message resonated in Winnipeg among a community of people already familiar with traditions of evangelicalism that emphasized Christian perfectionism, sanctification, biblical literalism and divine healing.

This chapter examines the first decades of Pentecostal growth in Winnipeg. It begins with a discussion of the early leadership of A.H. Argue, a successful businessman with a background in the Holiness movement, who became interested in the events occurring at the Azusa Street revival. In 1907, Argue traveled to Chicago where he was baptized in the Holy Spirit and returned to Winnipeg to establish the first Pentecostal assembly in the city. Unlike the Hebdens in Toronto, Argue was a proficient organizer who, in just over a decade, established a permanent church that would become one of the primary centres of Pentecostalism in Canada. Once established, the movement flourished as a result of divine healing campaigns that

¹⁰⁴ Edith Blumhofer, “Transatlantic Currents in North American Pentecostalism”, in Mark Noll, David Bebbington and George Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond, 1700-1990* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997) p. 359.

popularized charismatic religion to thousands in the city over several decades. I argue that the early movement in Winnipeg was innovative in its successful combination of stability, charismatic religion, and gender inclusivity, and from the beginning was closely aligned with the movement in the United States. An advocate of divine healing, Argue played a key role in the organizing the first mass public healing campaign in the city, led by Aimee Semple McPherson in 1920. In the decades that followed, a series of increasingly popular campaigns led by the Pentecostal evangelist Dr. Charles Price contributed to steady growth of Pentecostalism in the city and the establishment of Calvary Temple in 1938, one of the largest Pentecostal churches in the country. Within thirty years, the small congregation had established a significant presence in downtown Winnipeg and began to attract new adherents from mainline Protestant denominations. In doing so, it challenged mainline Protestantism with an experiential form of religion that transformed Winnipeg's religious setting.

A.H. Argue and Early Pentecostalism in Winnipeg

A.H. Argue was born in Fitzroy Harbour, a small town west of Ottawa in 1868. In his youth, he was raised in the Methodist church and on occasion attended revival services conducted by the Salvation Army. Following his marriage to Eva Argue, a Methodist convert, he moved to North Dakota where he farmed for five years, later relocating his young family to Winnipeg where he established a successful real estate business. In Winnipeg, Argue became active in the holiness networks in the city and in central Canada. He became friends with Dr. George Watson, a holiness proponent who preached the "Deeper Truths" in Winnipeg, and began preaching as a "lay exhorter" at Methodist holiness camp meetings with the American bishop J.H. King, of the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church, in Ontario. He was also familiar with

Annie Douglas, the Fire-Baptized Holiness evangelist from Toronto, who with her husband founded the Bethel Undenominational Holiness Mission in the former Bethel Methodist Church in Winnipeg after their arrival in the city in 1892. The Fire-Baptized Holiness group taught that the baptism of the Holy Ghost was a unique experience that occurred following sanctification. Pamela Holmes argues that the group “is important in the role it played in preparing the people of Winnipeg and the surrounding area for the Pentecostal message . . .”¹⁰⁵ Argue also developed an early interest in faith healing. In 1906, he attended a Christian Alliance convention in Winnipeg that featured A.B. Simpson where he received prayer for “chronic internal trouble” that resulted in a “wonderful healing” that “greatly inspired” both his faith and a lifelong belief in divine healing.¹⁰⁶

Already aware of the “outpouring of spirit” in Topeka, Argue first got word of the Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles while preaching at a holiness camp meeting at Thornbury, Ontario, north of Toronto in September, 1906.¹⁰⁷ He received a copy of Seymour's *Apostolic*

¹⁰⁵ Pamela M.S. Holmes, “Zelma Argue's Theological Contribution to Early Pentecostalism”, in Michael Wilkinson and Peter Althouse, eds., *Winds From The North: Canadian Contributions to the Pentecostal Movement*, pp.131, 147; Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1997), pp. 52, 55.

¹⁰⁶ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.126; A.H. Argue, “Azusa Street Revival Reaches Winnipeg”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, vo.37, no.5 May 1956, p.9; Thomas William Miller, “The Canadian “Azusa””, p.16; Thomas William Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, (Fall 1986), pp.120-122. Opp notes that Winnipeg had “some of the strongest connections to various strands of the holiness movement” in western Canada. Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.126.

¹⁰⁷ The date of the Thornbury camp meeting has been inaccurately recorded in some sources as occurring in 1907. See Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, p.122; Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.126. On the fiftieth anniversary of the Azusa Street revival Argue recalled that the Thornbury meeting was held in September 1906. A.H. Argue, “Azusa Street Revival Reaches Winnipeg”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, vol.37, no.5 May 1956, p.9. The meeting was held approximately two months prior to Ellen Hebden’s experience

Faith newspaper that told of “a remarkable outpouring” taking place in Los Angeles, “where hungry hearts were being filled with the Holy Spirit... by the evidence of speaking with other tongues.” Similar reports from other centres, including Chicago, as well as his own experiences with holiness and divine healing inspired him to witness the phenomenon first-hand.¹⁰⁸

In early 1907, Argue traveled to Chicago after hearing that a Pentecostal revival had begun, similar to what had occurred on Azusa Street. He went to William Durham’s North Side Mission to witness the events of the revival and “saw numbers being filled with the Spirit”. While there, he experienced “a wonderful vision of Jesus” and twenty-one days after his arrival, he was “filled with the Holy Ghost, speaking in tongues as the Spirit gave utterance”. The impact of receiving Spirit baptism and the influence of William Durham on Argue’s understanding of Pentecostal theology would be profound. Durham had been raised in the Arminian Wesleyan tradition and had received Spirit baptism at Azusa Street, but rejected Seymour’s emphasis on holiness and the belief that “holiness cleansing” was required before receiving the spiritual baptism and speaking in tongues. Rather, Durham taught that the initial experience of conversion was the “Finished Work” of salvation.¹⁰⁹

of Spirit baptism on November 17th, 1906 in Toronto. Argue was not in contact with the Hebden in Toronto prior to 1907, though Ellen Hebden did refer to the Argue Mission in Winnipeg in her publication *The Promise* and they did later become acquainted. See Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, p.122.

¹⁰⁸ A.H. Argue, “Azusa Street Revival Reaches Winnipeg”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, vol.37, no.5 May 1956, p.9; A.H. Argue, “After Twenty-Five Years”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, June 1932, p.13; Thomas William Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, p.122.

¹⁰⁹ Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, pp.123-124. Aimee Semple McPherson also received her baptism of the Holy Spirit in William Durham’s Chicago Mission where she claimed to be instantly healed of a broken foot, and embraced Durham’s teaching on “Finished work”. See Michael Di Giacomo, “Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Canada: Its Origins, Development and Distinct Culture” in Michael Wilkinson,

Durham believed that there was no necessity for a sanctification experience as a prelude to baptism and that holiness “cleansing” was not required prior to receiving the spiritual baptism in tongues. In 1911, Durham’s teachings in Los Angeles divided Pentecostals but gathered considerable support within the early movement. His followers in Los Angeles, and later Chicago, became instrumental in the early phase of Pentecostal organization and went on to found the Assemblies of God, the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. In Canada, Durham’s belief in the “Finished Work” was particularly influential among Pentecostals in Winnipeg and western Ontario. For Argue, contact with Durham and his experience in Chicago indirectly connected the early movement in Winnipeg to the Azusa Street revival and embedded the “Finished Work” doctrine as the prevailing Pentecostal belief in the community. As a result of Durham’s influence, Argue’s understanding of Pentecostal theology came to reflect those shared by most twentieth century Pentecostals, namely an emphasis on Salvation, Divine Healing, the Second Coming, and Spirit baptism.¹¹⁰

On returning home, Argue began to host “tarrying meetings” in his house on St. John’s Avenue in Winnipeg’s north end and after the third day of meetings, on May 2nd, 1907, he claimed that “three were filled with the Spirit, speaking with other tongues as in the Book of Acts”. At one evening meeting, Argue quoted from Acts 10:44-46, “While Peter yet spoke these words, the Holy Ghost fell and all them which heard the Word . . . for they heard them speak

ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009) p.18.

¹¹⁰ Opp, *The Lord for the Body*, p.125; Miller, “The Canadian “Azusa””, pp.107-109; Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, p.125; J. Gordon Melton, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism* (2005), pp.225-226.

with tongues and magnify God.” The impact on the small group, he later wrote, was immediate. “Like a flash from heaven, the Spirit fell in like manner on two people seated in the congregation, one of whom was a holiness made evangelist. When the people saw the Word thus confirmed it greatly inspired the faith.”¹¹¹

Within a short time, a local revival began that attracted hundreds of people and in response the small group rented a hall to accommodate the overflowing response. Like the Hebden revival and Azusa Street, the first Pentecostal meetings in Winnipeg attracted what Argue termed “a wide variety” of people of different ethnicities and classes “including an Episcopalian minister, Archdeacon Phair, and even numbers of Indians who came down from reservations” and on May 3rd, 1907, as many as twelve people were baptized of the Holy Spirit.”¹¹²

One visitor to the early Argue Mission was E.B. Neve, a student at a theological college in Winnipeg who had been influenced by his reading in the “New Theology” and had become, he later recalled, “unable to accept any longer the very Fundamentals of the Gospel”. A fellow student studying for the ministry at the college told Neve about a mission where people were receiving a Pentecostal experience and that, while attending a meeting led by A.H. Argue, the student received this experience. Neve decided to visit the Mission, and while he described the

¹¹¹ A.H. Argue, “Azusa Street Revival Reaches Winnipeg”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, vol.37, no.5 (May 1956), p.9.

¹¹² A.H. Argue, “Azusa Street Revival Reaches Winnipeg”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, vol.37, no.5 (May 1956), p.9; *World Pentecost*, Issue 4, Volume 7, 1978; *70 Years of Divine Blessing, 1907 - 1977, Calvary Temple 70th Anniversary Booklet*, Calvary Temple Archives (hereafter cited as CTA). Thomas Miller has written that “the Argue ministry attracted people from all social levels, including some of the most respectable of Winnipeg society—doctors, college professors, prominent businessmen, and clergymen”. See Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, p.146.

service as “strange”, he admired what he termed the “reality” of the meeting. He continued to attend meetings at the Argue Mission and, one night in desperation, he began pleading for and received Spirit baptism. “Thank God for Acts 2:4”, he later wrote, “How the emptiness of Modernism fled away from the realities of the Spirit.”¹¹³

The Argue Mission soon became the centre of Pentecostalism in Winnipeg and influenced early adherents responsible for later Pentecostal expansion into much of the prairies.¹¹⁴ From the beginning the group encountered opposition from detractors, including some from the holiness movement, who threw firecrackers, stones and eggs at the Argue home and referred to the “tongues speakers” as being demon inspired.¹¹⁵ Despite the opposition, the meetings quickly grew larger making it necessary for the group to rent a building on Alexander Avenue. Argue’s daughter Zelma later wrote that, during the initial years, “We always felt that if we missed a meeting we would miss seeing someone come through it with whom we had been tarrying. We wanted to be there to rejoice with them.”¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Pastor E.B. Neve, Kimberly B.C., “When the Comforter Came”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, May 1935, p.13.

¹¹⁴ John McAlister attended the Argue Mission after reading a tract by Argue on the scriptural evidence and availability of the baptism in the Holy Spirit in current times. He received Spirit baptism at the Mission and later went on to become a leader of the movement in Alberta. His son, Walter McAlister, also attended the Argue Mission and in his later life went on to become the Superintendent of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, pp.62-63.

¹¹⁵ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.126; Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, p.129.

¹¹⁶ Zelma Argue, *A Vision and a Vow*, (Gospel Publishing House, 1945) p.41; Opp, p.126. Zelma Argue later recalled that “Old 501” was the name given to the first mission where “the power was outpoured in that city, for that was the number on Alexander Avenue. Just a little store building then with tarrying rooms at the back which soon had to be turned into the main part to enlarge it.” Zelma Argue, “Highways”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, July 1936, p.10.

The mission held meetings Tuesday through Friday at 8:00 p.m. and three meetings on Sundays at 11:00 a.m., 3:00 p.m. and 7:00 p.m. An advertisement for the mission published in 1907 stated that it taught justification by faith, entire sanctification, and “baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire as on the Day of the Pentecost Acts 2:4. Also Divine Healing and the Pre-Millennium of coming of the Lord.”¹¹⁷

Word of the revival spread and attracted a range of individuals including Scandinavian immigrants from Minnesota and North Dakota, native people from Manitoba reserves, as well as A.G. Ward, the pastor of the Holiness Mission on Alexander St., and members of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Mission on Main Street.¹¹⁸ In the fall of 1907, Argue organized a convention in Winnipeg, a practice he would continue for several years, for the purpose of inviting people from outlying areas of the city to spread the revival to newcomers. The 1907 convention was held in a large auditorium, and included the water baptism of 148 people.¹¹⁹ The third annual Pentecostal Convention was held in Selkirk, Manitoba, from November 26th to December 6th. Meetings were held each day at 10:00 a.m., 3:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m. The main points of discussions planned were “old-time repentance, sanctification and the baptism of the Holy Ghost with signs following which it is claimed are to be looked for as in the apostolic days namely speaking in other tongues, divine healing for the body and the soon

¹¹⁷ *Manitoba Free Press*, October 19, 1907.

¹¹⁸ “A Brief history Outlining the early days of the Pentecostal Movement in the city of Winnipeg”, *50 Years (1907-1957) and a Golden Jubilee, Calvary Temple*, CTA.

¹¹⁹ The 1907 convention was attended by Florence Crawford, an Azusa Street evangelist, and the founder of the Apostolic Faith of Portland, Oregon. Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, p.130.

coming of Jesus.”¹²⁰ The same year Argue began to publish a paper called *The Apostolic Messenger*. In 1907, 30,000 copies were published and in 1908 two issues totalling 70,000 copies were distributed throughout the world.¹²¹

In 1910, the nascent Pentecostal group set up a mission headquarters at the corner of King St. and Pacific Avenue. After the move, Argue decided to devote himself to full-time ministry and became financially independent by selling his business and investing in income producing properties. He remained the leader of the Winnipeg Pentecostal Assembly until 1912 when he and his family moved to pursue his ministry in California. Following his departure, a board of five lay people assumed responsibility for the church. By 1914, the growing congregation became associated with the newly created Assemblies of God in the United States and became known as The Pentecostal Assembly of God Congregation of the City of Winnipeg. The following year the congregation rented Liberal Hall, later the location of the Hull Publishing Co.¹²²

The Assembly at Liberal Hall offered “Business Men’s Noon Prayer Meetings” that attracted the attention of John Gibson, a deacon at the Sparling Methodist Church in the Weston area of Winnipeg who co-owned a contracting business across the street. At the time, the Assembly lacked a full-time pastor and relied upon traveling evangelists for many of their

¹²⁰ *Manitoba Free Press*, November 22, 1909.

¹²¹ A.H. Argue, “Azusa Street Revival Reaches Winnipeg”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, vol.37, no.5 (May 1956), p.9; “A Brief history Outlining the early days of the Pentecostal Movement in the city of Winnipeg”, *50 Years (1907-1957) and a Golden Jubilee*, Calvary Temple, CTA.

¹²² Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, p.125. The congregation was previously named the Apostolic Faith Mission in 1913. *Calvary Temple 80th Anniversary pamphlet*, CTA.

services. Gibson was impressed by the piety of the group and was, like many of other new converts from mainline Protestant denominations, caught between two worlds of religious practice. When Gibson and his wife mentioned to members of their church that they were attending services at Liberal Hall, they were met with opposition and ultimately left their Methodist church to join the fledgling Assembly.¹²³

In California, Argue served in evangelistic campaigns throughout the west coast, but controversy between trinitarians and “Jesus only” advocates in Winnipeg resulted in his return to the city in the fall of 1916.¹²⁴ Upon his return, Argue, an advocate of trinitarianism, renounced the “Jesus only” faction and began conducting a series of revival meetings to revitalize the local movement. Argue took a resolute stand against the “Jesus only” teachings of Frank Small who attended the first meetings at Argue’s home and was an influential leader in the early formation of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. For his part, Small continued to reject trinitarianism and his loyalty to Oneness led to the formation of the Apostolic Church of Pentecost in 1921 and a separation from the PAOC.¹²⁵

The following January, a healing campaign organized by Argue was held at Liberal Hall led by R.L. Erickson, a revivalist who had toured both America and England, and A.L. Lankin, an evangelist who “prays for the sick”. An advertisement in the *Manitoba Free Press* claimed

¹²³ *Calvary Temple 90th Anniversary Book*, CTA, p.19.

¹²⁴ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.126.

¹²⁵ Thomas Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, p.194; Ronald A.N. Kydd, *Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse*, George Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), p.290. See as well David A. Reed, “Oneness Seed on Canadian Soil: Early Developments of Oneness Pentecostals” in Michael Wilkinson and Peter Althouse, eds., *Winds From The North: Canadian Contributions to the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) pp.191-213.

that “scores had been converted in these meetings” and that “hundreds of sick have been prayed for and many are testifying to the healing of various diseases through the power of God, by the prayer of faith.”¹²⁶ That summer a large tent was purchased and protracted Pentecostal revivals were held on the site of the present Hudson’s Bay store on Portage Avenue featuring visiting evangelists in 1917 and 1918 in downtown Winnipeg. The congregation moved temporarily to Langside Hall on Portage Avenue, after which they purchased the former Methodist Old Wesley Church at the corner of William Avenue and Juno Street, where the first meeting was held on November 30th, 1919.¹²⁷

Between 1916 and 1920, Argue played an instrumental role in nurturing the local church and also participated in early discussions concerning a union of Canadian Pentecostal congregations. He supported the idea of creating a union based on fellowship but was opposed to creating an organization based on doctrine. He also contributed to the efforts to obtain a federal government charter for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) in 1919. Divisions over the Oneness doctrine delayed western Canadian participation in the PAOC, leading to the formation of the Western Canadian Council of the Assemblies of God, affiliated with the

¹²⁶ *Manitoba Free Press*, January 2, 1917.

¹²⁷ “A Brief history Outlining the early days of the Pentecostal Movement in the city of Winnipeg”, *50 Years (1907-1957) and a Golden Jubilee, Calvary Temple, Winnipeg, CTA; 1975 Dedication of The New Calvary Temple*, p.7, CTA.

Despite the early growth of the Winnipeg Pentecostal assembly, outsiders were often dismissive of the new movement’s potential for growth. Stanley Frodsham, editor of the *Pentecostal Evangel*, the official organ of Assemblies of God, U.S.A., wrote that in 1915 “a friend who was living in Winnipeg inherited a fortune. His lawyer recommended him to make a will. My friend stated that he would like to leave some money to the Pentecostal missionaries, but the lawyer told him that the Pentecostal movement would probably die out in a few years, and that it would be better to leave his money to some well-established denominational missionaries.” “A Great Convocation, Written for the Testimony by Stanley H. Frodsham, Editor of the Pentecostal Evangel”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, October 1935, p.19.

American based Assemblies of God. After an increasing number of congregations adopted the trinitarian view, the goal of amalgamating western and eastern congregations in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada was achieved in 1925.¹²⁸ The eastern Canadian Pentecostal movement originally adhered to the doctrine of Oneness. The decision to affiliate with the Assemblies of God, U.S.A. in 1920 indicated a shift to trinitarianism as leaders like R.E. McAlister in Ottawa modified their views, paving the way for association with western Canadian Pentecostals in the PAOC in 1925.¹²⁹

In Manitoba, Argue was instrumental in assisting with the establishment of the largest Pentecostal church in Winnipeg and the early expansion of the movement beyond the boundaries of the city. Argue supported the development of Pentecostal denominations and, unlike the Hebdens in Toronto, was an important force in the organization of early Pentecostalism in western Canada.¹³⁰ Donald Miller has argued that “between 1916 and 1920, Argue’s chief contribution to the fledging Pentecostal Movement lay in making Winnipeg a centre for evangelism and discipleship for Western Canada.”¹³¹ As Steven Studebaker has argued, the church Argue founded was “an uncharacteristic Pentecostal church” in that, contrary to a common myth of organizational instability in the movement, the Pentecostal Assembly at Old

¹²⁸ Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, p.138.

¹²⁹ Michael Di Giacomo, “Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Canada: Its Origins, Development and Distinct Culture”, p.23; Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.127.

¹³⁰ Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, pp.142, 146, 149.

¹³¹ Miller, *Canadian Pentecostalism*, p.80.

Wesley Church combined stability with charismatic spontaneity.¹³²

In 1920, Argue and his family embarked on a career of full-time evangelism that Blumhofer has described as nurturing “the movements revival traditions”.¹³³ While maintaining a home base in Winnipeg, the Argue family spread the message of the Latter Rain and led healing campaigns throughout North America including sharing a service with Aimee Semple McPherson at her Angelus Temple in Los Angeles in 1922.¹³⁴

The “Argue Evangelical Trio”, including A.H. Argue and his son Watson and daughter Zelma, combined “the evangelist’s striking messages” with music to become successful itinerant evangelists in North America in the 1920s.¹³⁵ At a campaign in Binghamton, New York in 1923, the appeal of the trio spanned a wide range of denominations.

The City of Binghamton, N.Y. has just witnessed a very remarkable campaign on the line of healing, with many saved, and a number filled with the Holy Spirit . . . The meeting was conducted by the Argue Evangelical trio . . .

In spite of the fact that this is a city of most conservative church people, not given to attending revivals, the many cards received from those coming for spiritual or physical help showed that the Catholic Church, the Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, Evangelical, Christian, Salvation Army, The Christian Alliance and other, as well as City Missions were well represented.¹³⁶

¹³² Steven M. Studebaker, “The Plausibility of the Independent Origins of Canadian Pentecostalism: Winds from the North”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, 33 (2011), p.418.

¹³³ Edith L. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostals*, Vol. I - To 1941 (Springfield, MO.: Gospel Publishing House, 1989) p. 248.

¹³⁴ Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, pp.138-142.

¹³⁵ “Great Camp Meeting at Findlay, Ohio”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, September 1921, p.4.

¹³⁶ *Pentecostal Testimony*, October 1923, p.1.

As professional evangelists, the Argue family were quick to embrace modern evangelistic methods. A. Watson Argue was promoted as the “Athlete Evangelist” complete with publicity photos that advertised his athletic pursuits. The entire family became adept musicians on trombone, cornet and piano and, in 1921, the family toured with six-year-old Earl Williams, billed as the “World's Youngest Preacher”. They also became known for their catchphrases including “When the outlook isn’t bright, try the uplook,” and “The Bible is many centuries old, but still it does not hobble on crutches.”¹³⁷

During these campaigns, divine healing was a prominent theme in Argue’s preaching and writing. His lifelong interest in the practice began when he personally experienced healing at a Christian Alliance meeting in 1906 led by A.B. Simpson, and had ministered with leading divine healing advocate Mary Woodworth-Etter in campaigns in California. He frequently preached a sermon titled “Jesus the Great Physician” and the importance of healing within the church.¹³⁸

In an article on divine healing published in 1917, Argue stated that “the great atonement not only covers all our sin, but also our sickness”, and reiterated his longstanding belief that physical healing was available to those who became sanctified and baptized of the Holy Spirit. However, he was careful to distinguish between miracles and healing and stressed that laying on hands did not necessarily lead to instantaneous healing because it was only available to the sanctified individual who was cleansed of sin. As well, he associated divine healing with premillennialism, and expressed the dispensationalist view that the appearance of the “gifts” of tongues and healing revealed the imminent return of Christ to the world. In his view, “the times

¹³⁷ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, pp.150-151.

¹³⁸ Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, p.150.

of the Gentiles is about fulfilled, for truly we see the shadow of the awful tribulation over us and the coming of the Lord is at hand... and exalted Christ as the One who heals the sick, as the One who baptizes with the Holy Ghost as at Pentecost, as the One who is coming again very soon.”¹³⁹ For Argue, during the end times, if faith was exercised the way it had been in the early days of the church then supernatural manifestations of God’s power were possible.¹⁴⁰ Throughout his life, he believed that the earthly proof that such miracles could occur was first demonstrated in Los Angeles in 1906. Writing in 1925, Argue acknowledged the key role of Azusa Street in the emergence of the global Pentecostal movement:

Is it not true that the sign or supernatural manifestation of speaking with other tongues accompanying the baptism of the Holy Spirit that fell on a few hungry saints in Los Angeles in 1906 is largely responsible for the great revival that has since swept the world?

When the news of this special visitation was flashed over the wires many of God's saints quickly fell on their knees and soon revival fires began to spread.¹⁴¹

In 1925, the Argue family evangelistic crusades ended when Watson Argue was temporarily named the senior pastor of Old Wesley Church, and A.H. Argue was appointed to be his associate. The decision to remain in Winnipeg was made due to the poor health of A.H. Argue’s wife Eva, and a desire to remain indefinitely based at home while she recuperated. For the following three years the Argue campaign continued under the shared ministry of his

¹³⁹ Quoted in Opp, *Lord for the Body*, pp.139-140. Paul Boyer has argued that “the rise of modern American Pentecostalism... stimulated premillennial belief, since Pentecostals... viewed their distinctive practices, especially glossolalia and divine healing, as signs of the last days.” Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, p.110.

¹⁴⁰ A.H. Argue, “After Twenty-Five Years”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, June 1932, p.13.

¹⁴¹ A.H. Argue, “An Important Sign”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, February 1925, p.5.

daughters, Zelma and Beulah. The Argue sisters held successful campaigns in Chicago and Los Angeles, and were particularly successful in their work throughout western Canada.¹⁴²

Zelma and Beulah Argue - Women in Pentecostalism

The evangelistic careers of Zelma and Beulah Argue that began in Winnipeg during the early 1920s can be seen as part of a tradition of female leadership among many of the earliest Pentecostal groups that initially supported an active role for women in the movement. The scriptural basis for gender egalitarianism was based on the early Pentecostal reading of the prophecy of Joel in the Old Testament, which taught God's sons and daughters would prophesy in the last days.¹⁴³ Beginning with the Azusa Street revival, most Pentecostals welcomed the participation of women as well as racially and ethnically diverse congregations. Most forms of Pentecostalism challenged prevailing social hierarchies while at the same time embraced conservative religious traditions and insisted on a traditional family hierarchy. For Pentecostals, the legitimacy of women adopting a leadership role in the early church was based on an "eschatological sense of urgency" and the belief that Christ's return was imminent. During the end times, all believers baptized in the Holy Spirit were welcome to evangelize, regardless of their gender.¹⁴⁴

Within early Canadian Pentecostalism, women such as Ellen Hebden were instrumental in the expansion of the movement and were important role models as pastors, missionaries and

¹⁴² Linda M. Ambrose, "Zelma and Beulah Argue: Sisters in the Canadian Pentecostal Movement, 1920-1990", *Historical Papers 2008: Canadian Society of Church History*, p.88.

¹⁴³ Old Testament, Joel 2:28-32.

¹⁴⁴ Linda M. Ambrose, "Zelma and Beulah Argue: Sisters in the Canadian Pentecostal Movement, 1920-1990", p.89.

evangelists that paved the way for the active ministry of women in the movement. A.H. Argue embraced this tradition and endorsed the work of his daughters and encouraged their evangelistic campaigns. Linda Ambrose notes that Argue's involvement with prominent female evangelists influenced his decision to support the work of his daughters. Argue had worked closely with the well-known healing evangelist Mary Woodworth-Etter in California between 1913 and 1916. In 1920, the Argue family hosted Aimee Semple McPherson's campaign in Winnipeg and later that year the Argue family joined her for a campaign in Montreal. Zelma Argue's success in evangelizing during the crusade caught the attention of McPherson who tried unsuccessfully to persuade her to leave her father's ministry and help with her work.¹⁴⁵

Zelma Argue was born in 1900 in North Dakota, and began her evangelistic career after completing high school in Winnipeg. She was recognized by the General Council of the American Assemblies of God as an "Ordained Minister in Good Standing" in 1920. A prolific author, in her lifetime she published four books and was a frequent contributor to the Canadian *Pentecostal Testimony*, *the Latter Rain Evangel*, and *the Pentecostal Evangel*, the latter being the official publication of the Assemblies of God.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp.85-86. Woodworth-Etter had risen to fame in the 1890s during her healing campaigns throughout the United States and joined the Pentecostal movement in 1906. According to Vinson Synan, "not even Aimee Semple McPherson a generation later could match her claims as a faith healer." Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*, p.191.

¹⁴⁶ Her books included *What Meaneth This?* (1923) reprinted in *Contending for the Faith* (1928); *Garments of Strength* (1935); *Practical Christian Living* (1937); and *Vision and a Vow of a Canadian Maiden* (1940), a book about her mother. In the 1950s, she pastored at a number of churches in California. Pamela M.S. Holmes, "Zelma Argue's Theological Contribution to Early Pentecostalism", in Wilkinson and Althouse, eds., *Winds From the North: Canadian Contributions to the Pentecostal Movement*; Linda Ambrose, "Zelma and Beulah Argue: Sisters in the Canadian Pentecostal Movement, 1920-1990", p.81.

Despite her success as an author and evangelist, Zelma Argue understood her role and that of other Pentecostal women ultimately in biblical terms. In an article titled “Two Types of Women Described in the Bible”, published in the *Pentecostal Testimony* in July, 1922, Zelma Argue implored “Young Women of the ‘Pentecost’, Spirit-filled and consecrated to God” to follow the “unchanging word of God” and reject a life based on world ideals. As Pamela Holmes has observed, Pentecostals were well aware of the changing social behaviors of their day that challenged traditional gender roles and in response invoked a traditionalist view of gender roles based on their literal reading of scripture that ultimately restricted the availability of leadership roles for women.¹⁴⁷

As Pentecostalism began to denominationalize, formal leadership passed to men. The Assemblies of God in the United States officially began ordaining women in 1914, but permitted only limited forms of ordination. The pioneer phase of Pentecostalism provided new evangelistic opportunities for women and the doctrine of baptism in the Holy Spirit provided a rationale for cross-cultural evangelism and leadership. At the same time, the cultural conservatism and biblical literalism espoused by the movement restricted the roles of women.¹⁴⁸

This tension led to hesitancy among male leaders of the movement to grant full ordination rights to women, and in the United States, full clergy rights were only granted to women by the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel in 1927 and by the Assemblies of God in 1935.¹⁴⁹ The “prophetic stage” of early Pentecostalism was short-lived, as the full

¹⁴⁷ Quoted in Holmes, “Ministering Women”, in Michael Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism*, p.179.

¹⁴⁸ Edith Blumhofer, “The Role of Women in the Assemblies of God”, *Assemblies of God Heritage*, (Winter 1987-88), pp. 13-17.

¹⁴⁹ Sam Reimer, “Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada's congregations: Vitality, Diversity, Identity

participation of women in ministry as exhibited at Azusa Street degenerated into a “priestly stage”, as the process of denomination building placed additional restrictions on women’s roles in the church.¹⁵⁰

By the time the movement began to organize and institutionalize in Canada, with the formation of the PAOC five years after the Assemblies of God in the United States, Canadian Pentecostals were further distanced from the egalitarianism of the Azusa Street, Hebden, and Argue Mission revivals. As issues involving credentials and ordination became increasingly important, gender egalitarianism was abandoned and limitations were placed on the leadership roles of women. From its inception, the PAOC followed patriarchal practices that placed men in sole positions of authority and it was not until 1984 that the Canadian church officially ordained women. While not eligible for ordination, Pentecostal women could obtain a ministerial license in the PAOC that allowed them to actively preach in the church, or obtain the secondary role of Deaconess. Female leaders had an ambiguous role in a church that held to the original Pentecostal ideal of gender equality, and the availability of Spirit baptism for all believers, but refused them full pastoral rights. The result was a decreasing number of women preachers throughout the inter-war period.¹⁵¹ As Canadian Pentecostalism became increasingly

and Equity”, *Canadian Journal of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity* 3 (2012) pp.65-66; Pamela Holmes, “Ministering Women in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada: A Canadian Pentecostal Feminist Exploration,” in Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism*, p.184; Edith Blumhofer, “Women in American Pentecostalism”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, 17 (1995): 19-20.

¹⁵⁰ Charles H. Barfoot and Gerald T. Sheppard, “Prophetic vs. Priestly Religion”, *Review of Religious Research* 22 (1980): 2-17.

¹⁵¹ Tina Block, ““Families that Pray Together, Stay Together”: Religion, Gender, and Family in Postwar Victoria, British Columbia”, *BC Studies*, no. 145, (Spring 2005), p.34; Linda M. Ambrose, “Zelma and Beulah Argue: Sisters in the Canadian Pentecostal Movement, 1920-1990”, p.82.

institutionalized, the church became increasingly more exclusionary toward women. In her study of PAOC Convention business meetings, Pamela Holmes has demonstrated how the church denied recognition to women with ministries and how this gender inequality became institutionalized in the policies of the church.¹⁵²

The limited leadership roles open to women in early Pentecostal denominations did not limit them from actively influencing and participating in the movement. Vivian Deno and Tina Block have shown that Pentecostal women in the United States and Canada successfully avoided attempts to subordinate their role in the church and adapted religious structures within the church for their own purposes. While the conservatism of the movement and the traditionalist patriarchal structures of organization limited women, the emphasis on family redemption and the re-moralization of men empowered women to reclaim a domestic moral authority based on their role in remoralizing their homes and society.¹⁵³ However, by narrating their demands for reform through a language of masculine obligations and male authority, they undermined their right to exercise spiritual authority by bolstering patriarchal authority and privilege. By the 1920s, women found it increasingly difficult to reconcile their call to ministry with the anti-cultural Pentecostal opposition to first wave feminism. Women in the movement were reminded that their scriptural role was to be submissive to men and that their place was in the home.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Pamela M.S. Holmes, “Ministering Women in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada: A Canadian Pentecostal Feminist Exploration,” in Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism*, pp. 179-194.

¹⁵³ Vivian Deno, “God, Authority and the Home: Gender, Race, and U.S. Pentecostals, 1906–1926”, *Journal of Women`s History*, vol. 16 no. 3, (2004), pp.83-86.

¹⁵⁴ Vivian Deno, “God, Authority and the Home: Gender, Race, and U.S. Pentecostals, 1906–1926”, p.97; Tina Block, ““Families that Pray Together, Stay Together”: Religion, Gender, and Family in Postwar Victoria, British Columbia”, p.42.

Aimee Semple McPherson

The history of early Pentecostalism in part follows a Weberian schemata of “sect to church” involving an evolution from lack of structure and support for egalitarianism to ecclesiastical hierarchy and routinization.¹⁵⁵ However, throughout its history the recurring restorationist impulse has periodically disrupted this process and been an important factor in invigorating the movement by attempting to reclaim the Latter Rain spirit of its origins. During such periods women have played significant leadership roles in reinvigorating the movement. Aimee Semple McPherson’s arrival in Winnipeg in 1920 represents a moment of restorationism that introduced divine healing to the community on a scale previously unseen. Her populist appeal and identification with the public combined with her ability to explain the gospel in simple terms and defiance of gender roles spurred new growth in the movement and generated considerable publicity among the general public. In doing so, she initiated an immediate revitalization of the movement in the city that led to a decades long period of Pentecostal divine

¹⁵⁵ Weberian church-sect theory was a comparative methodology used to analyze religious organizations based on the mode of membership. Weber argued that what differentiated religious groups was whether the mode of membership was based on birth (church) or by decision (sect). Weber's use of the concepts “church” and “sect” appear in several of his early works including *The Protestant Spirit and the Ethic of Capitalism* (1930). Ernst Troeltsch's *Social Teachings of Christianity* (1912) adapted the theory by shifting the emphasis from organization to behaviour and different religious styles.

The first major American work to use the church-sect theory was H. Richard Niehbuhr in *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1929). Niehbuhr used the terms church and sect as poles on a continuum, and classified religious organizations according to their likeness to the categories of church and sect. According to Niehbuhr, the process of religious history was understood in terms of groups moving along that continuum. See William H. Swatos Jr., “Church-Sect Theory”, in William H. Swatos and Peter Kivisto, eds., *Encyclopedia of Religion and Society* (Walnut Creek, CA: Rowman Alamira, 1998) pp.90-93.

healing campaigns with mass appeal that profoundly reshaped the needs and tastes of religious consumers in the city.

The Hebden revival played an important role in the development of Aimee Semple McPherson. She was introduced to Pentecostalism by Herbert Randall, a Methodist missionary from eastern Ontario who had spent time in Africa and had been a key figure in the Keswick movement in eastern Canada. Randall received his baptism in the Holy Spirit while visiting the Hebden Mission on March 7, 1907 and shortly after was sent by the Hebdens to hold missions and meetings in several small towns in Ontario including Ingersoll. In December 1907, as a seventeen year-old, she attended Randall's meetings in Ingersoll near her home and within two months she was baptized in the Holy Spirit.¹⁵⁶

Another early convert at the East End Mission was an Irish evangelist named Robert Semple. During the Hebden revival, Semple was cured of tuberculosis, and, after receiving the baptism in the Spirit, he renewed his commitment to preach the Gospel. Robert Semple was also sent by the Hebdens to Ingersoll, and seven months after meeting Aimee the two were married and embarked on a life of evangelism and missionary work. Beginning in 1908, their ministry included leading local meetings in London, Ontario, and assisting the Pentecostal evangelist William H. Durham in Chicago and Ohio in the winter of 1909-10. While at Durham's North End Mission in Chicago, Aimee fell down a flight of stairs and broke her ankle. A group of disciples in the house prayed for her, and as they prayed she described feeling a sensation like a shock of electricity that caused her to shake after which her foot was perfectly healed. Though she had witnessed numerous healings at Pentecostal meetings, this was the first time she had personally experienced it. From that point forward, McPherson made divine healing a routine

¹⁵⁶ Thomas William Miller, "The Canadian "Azusa"", pp.14-15.

part of her itinerant evangelistic work.¹⁵⁷

In 1910, Aimee and her husband departed for missionary work in China. En route to China, Aimee later said that she received a vision from God that she had been chosen to preach and lead the battle against liberal trends in the church. She believed the modern church had distorted the Scriptures and that God had called on her to recover the fundamental truths.¹⁵⁸

Shortly after arriving in China, Robert Semple died from malaria. Following her husband's death, Aimee returned to Chicago where she resumed her work conducting religious services. After a brief and unsuccessful marriage to Harold McPherson, Aimee returned to Canada and began a revival meeting at Mount Forest, Ontario. In Ontario, Aimee and her husband reunited for a time and during World War I they held tent revivals along the American Eastern seaboard, after which the marriage was over. Aimee McPherson's goal was to restore Christianity to its "pure form" as she criss-crossed states along the eastern states in a car painted with the slogan "Where Will You Spend Eternity?"¹⁵⁹

With her mother, two children, and an assistant, Aimee traveled by car through the southern United States where she conducted meetings with white and black congregations, finally arriving in Los Angeles in December 1918, the city that remained her home base for the rest of her life. Once the family had settled, she left her children in the care of her mother and set off for a revival campaign in the northern American states and Canada, including city-wide campaigns in Montreal, Winnipeg, Lethbridge and Vancouver in 1920. Over the next two

¹⁵⁷ Matthew Avery Sutton, *Aimee Semple Mcpherson and the Resurrection of Christian America*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), p.16.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.10-11.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.13.

decades, she went on to become of the best known evangelists of the early twentieth century and established the Angelus Temple in Los Angeles and the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel.¹⁶⁰

McPherson was invited to Winnipeg by the local Pentecostal community of the Old Wesley Church led by A.H. Argue, who delivered a preparatory address for the campaign entitled “The Kingdom of God is Not in Word But in Power.”¹⁶¹ The title of Argue’s address underlines the unique Pentecostal blend of fundamentalist biblical literalism with an emphasis on Spirit baptism, a combination that was at the heart of McPherson’s evangelism. The McPherson campaign began in Winnipeg on February 15, 1920, shortly after her successful evangelistic campaign in Baltimore, Maryland and an earlier campaign in New York City where she consistently attracted crowds of two thousand and more. An advertisement for the campaign published in the *Manitoba Free Press* on January 31, 1920 described her as an evangelist who believes

... in the old-fashioned religion, and takes every word of the Bible to be the word of God. She believes and preaches a literal hell, which can be averted only by the acceptance of Christ, and contends that it is a woman's privilege and duty to bring such a message. Her ministry, however, has been of a practical character and frequently she has gone down into the dives and preached and prayed to the pleasure-seekers. She took the "Barbary Coast" in San Francisco by storm in this manner and won many converts. Another advertisement for the McPherson campaign described her as “one of the most successful and eloquent woman preachers in American” and promised “Soul Stirring Singing” with orchestral

¹⁶⁰ David Elliott, “Knowing No Borders: Canadian Contributions to American Fundamentalism” in G. Rawlyk and M. Noll, eds., *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States* (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), p.362; Adam Scott Stewart, “Quenching the Spirit”, p.42.

¹⁶¹ *Manitoba Free Press*, February 7, 1920.

accompaniment.¹⁶²

At the beginning of her five-week visit to Winnipeg, which she described as “busy, worldly, pleasure seeking and wonderful”, the twenty-eight year-old McPherson decided to advertise the campaign by reaching out to people who otherwise wouldn’t attend a church service. This led her to visit dance halls, jails, restaurants, pool halls, and hospitals and to spend time with women working in the red-light district. After hearing about her plans, the chief of the Winnipeg police offered her an escort to accompany her in her journeys through the city.¹⁶³

On Saturday evening, February 20th, 1920, McPherson arrived at the Alahambra dance club. In front of two thousand people, dressed in a white dress, she led the orchestra in performing one of her favorite hymns. She then delivered a five minute speech where she told the crowd she was recruiting for “the army of the King of Kings and the blood stained banner at the Cross” and she proceeded to distribute bibles and pamphlets to the crowd. She finished by asking how many would be attending her campaign at Old Wesley Church, to which she received an enthusiastic response. Later the same evening she went to the red-light district where she visited and prayed with women who worked on Annabella Street. She then ended her evening around midnight by stopping at the Vienna Cafe where she stopped at each table and booth to

¹⁶² *Manitoba Free Press*, January 31, 1920; *Manitoba Free Press*, February 14, 1920.

¹⁶³ *Manitoba Free Press*, January 31, 1920; *Manitoba Free Press*, March 8, 1920. *The Winnipeg Free Press* billed Aimee as “the female Billy Sunday”. Billy Sunday was a former baseball player who became the most famous evangelist in North America in the early twentieth century. He held large urban meetings that attracted thousands and was known for his simplistic form of Christianity and, like McPherson, the theatrical quality of his evangelism. See Roger Bruns, *Preacher: Billy Sunday and Big-time American Evangelism*, (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Robert Francis Martin, *Hero of the Heartland: Billy Sunday and the Transformation of American Society, 1862-1935*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

speaking with each patron and invited to attend one of her meetings.¹⁶⁴

The response the next day at Old Wesley Church, which seated 1600, was dramatic. To a packed church, McPherson held the crowd spellbound with a mix of evangelistic methods that combined music, testimonies and exhortations with a folksy style of preaching. McPherson described herself as the “Office Girl of the Great Physician”. She told her audiences that her goal was to bring people to Christ for healing, but that only God could heal. During one extended prayer meeting during the campaign, McPherson ministered to a paralyzed six-year-old girl who was incapable of speaking. As she prayed, A.H. Argue began to speak in “Danish and other languages” and others in the audience were observed to be producing “strange ejaculations, sounding sometimes like the gibberings of mute.” The services continued to run every night at 7:45 and Sundays at 2:00 pm and 7:00 pm for the following five weeks.¹⁶⁵

By the end of her campaign, the Pentecostal Assembly at Old Wesley Church was a more energized and considerably larger congregation. The sponsors of the mission claimed that over 45,000 people had attended her meetings and that 400 people had been converted. Upon leaving Winnipeg, McPherson headed for a brief stay in her home in Los Angeles, followed by an extensive campaign at the Methodist Episcopal church in Washington, D.C. after which she was scheduled to lead a campaign in Bridge, Alberta. A follow-up campaign was immediately held in Winnipeg the week after her departure led by E. Goldwater of Houston, Texas, followed by a

¹⁶⁴ *Winnipeg Tribune*, February 23, 1920; Edith L. Blumhofer, *Aimee Semple McPherson: Everybody's Sister* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1993), p. 150.

¹⁶⁵ “Divine Healer's' Assistants Babble in Strange Languages While Administering to Sick”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, February 27, 1920; Edith L. Blumhofer, *Aimee Semple McPherson: Everybody's Sister*, pp.149-151. On the seating capacity of Old Wesley Church see “Winnipeg Revival”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, August 1926, p.10; Janice Dickin, ““Take Up Thy Bed and Walk”: Aimee Semple McPherson and Faith-Healing”, *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, Volume 17: 2000, p.145; Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.150.

revival campaign led by W.E. Moody, from San Jose, California, in late March, 1920.¹⁶⁶ In the wake of McPherson's campaign, the Pentecostal Assembly at Old Wesley Church stated that it planned to make arrangements for McPherson to return to the city in the summer to lead an open-air campaign where there would be no limits to the potential attendance.¹⁶⁷

McPherson was one of the first evangelists to tour North America in the period after World War I with a message that combined "old-fashioned revival" with divine healing. Her tours across Canada in the early 1920s attracted notice from Pentecostals as well as members of mainline denominations, as thousands gathered to attend her healing campaigns. Most importantly, professional evangelists like McPherson and the Argue family transformed healing for mass public audiences into a public spectacle. In addition, the spectacles of public healing led by McPherson and others in large urban campaigns attracted increased notice of the phenomenon by the press. They also invited more public scrutiny of the practice and evoked a litany of negative reaction from newspapers and mainline Protestant leaders.¹⁶⁸

Charles Price

Aimee Semple McPherson's ministry had widespread appeal throughout North America and her message and techniques profoundly influenced a new generation of evangelists, including an English Methodist named Charles Price who was the most popular evangelist to visit Winnipeg in the two decades following the McPherson campaign in 1920. Price was born in

¹⁶⁶ "Mrs. McPherson Concludes Revival Campaign in City", *Manitoba Free Press*, March 8, 1920.

¹⁶⁷ *Manitoba Free Press*, March 15, 1920. McPherson did not return to Winnipeg.

¹⁶⁸ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.147.

England in 1887 and was raised in Sheffield. He served in the British navy for two years after which he attended Wesley College and later earned a law degree from Oxford. After briefly practicing law in Sheffield, in 1906, at the age of 19, he traveled to western Canada and for a while, based in Medicine Hat, worked on the railway. In 1907 he moved to Spokane, Washington where he was converted at the Free Methodist “Life Line” mission and reconnected with the religion of his youth. In Spokane, he began preaching at the mission and became acquainted with members who had attended the Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles and witnessed workers in the mission becoming baptized in the Holy Spirit.¹⁶⁹

Price was warned by a local Methodist minister of the dangers of Pentecostal practices and, convinced their teachings were suspect, chose to leave the mission. He later wrote that his decision to not seek baptism in the Holy Spirit in Spokane “was the turning point” in his life and that he had failed to realize at the time “that God had led me to Spokane so that I might step through the open door into the glorious experience that I am enjoying today, but I listened to the voice of a modernist and by my own act closed the door. Two roads were opened before me and I took the wrong one.”¹⁷⁰

He was later ordained in the Methodist Episcopal Church and proceeded to serve in seven pastorates in Idaho and eastern Washington after which he relocated to California where he became a minister at liberal Congregational churches in Santa Rosa and Oakland. During this time, he fully embraced the teachings of theological modernism and historical approaches to

¹⁶⁹ Tim Enloe, “Dr. Charles Price: His Life, Ministry and Influence”, *Assemblies of God Heritage*, vol. 28, 2008, pp. 4-6, 7.

¹⁷⁰ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.155; Tim Enloe, “Dr. Charles Price: His Life, Ministry and Influence”, pp. 4-6, 7.

Scripture and became an advocate of social gospel teachings. In 1921, he became the pastor at the First Congregational Church in Lodi, California where he preached primarily on social and current issues. In August of that year, he was told of a revival that had begun in San Jose that included mass healing and speaking in tongues. As a sceptic, he published an article in the local paper titled “Divine Healing Bubble Explodes” and decided to attend the revival to debunk the practices of its leaders.¹⁷¹

Price arrived in San Jose to find a tent filled with 6,000 people attending a revival led by Aimee Semple McPherson. His friend Rev. William K. Towner, of the First Baptist Church in San Jose, told him that McPherson was preaching the “real gospel” and that he himself had been baptized in the Holy Spirit during the campaign.¹⁷² Price later claimed that the experience profoundly changed his religious outlook and he believed that everything McPherson preached was accurate and scriptural. During one afternoon sermon he was astounded that she had “won more people to Jesus Christ” than he had in the previous fourteen years of his ministry.¹⁷³

Over the following year, he began to question his modernist theology and became increasingly interested in Pentecostalism. He returned home to lead a revival at his Congregational church in Lodi, including all-night tarrying meetings, and preaching to crowds in excess of 1,000 people. A few months later Price claimed that at least 500 people had been

¹⁷¹ Enloe, pp.7-8.

¹⁷² In 1926 Towner conducted an inter-denominational campaign in Winnipeg from July 25th to August 29th. By that time his church in San Jose was one of the largest in the United States. As well, the church was notable for establishing KQW, one of the most powerful radio stations in North America. Towner claimed to have a radio audience of over 200,000 homes and was heard throughout western Canada. *Manitoba Free Press*, July 17, 1926.

¹⁷³ Enloe, p.8.

baptized in the Holy Spirit.¹⁷⁴

After receiving Spirit baptism, he briefly joined McPherson's campaign in 1922 in Canton, Ohio and Rochester, New York, after which he devoted himself to full-time evangelism and divine healing. Following a successful campaign in Roseburg, Oregon, he was invited to visit Victoria, B.C. by the Victoria Ministerial Association.¹⁷⁵

When Price arrived in B.C., evangelicals were mired in controversy and division over fundamentalism and modernism. An earlier campaign by the evangelist French Oliver in the province in 1917 had publicly split evangelicals along theological lines, with fundamentalists denouncing modernists for their accommodations to secular culture, emphasis on social reform as opposed to individual salvation, and use of biblical "higher criticism". The decision by the Vancouver Ministerial Association not to support the Oliver campaign exacerbated tensions between the groups.¹⁷⁶ Robert Burkinshaw has described the decade between 1917 and 1927 as "one of intense and widespread Protestant upheaval in urban British Columbia, most notably in Vancouver". In his view, the roots of a longstanding vibrant evangelical and fundamentalist community in the province began with the French E. Oliver campaign in Vancouver in 1917, a "cataclysmic event" that he argues rallied opposition to religious modernism and cemented denominational divisions among Protestants.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Enloe, p.10.

¹⁷⁵ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.155; Tim Enloe, "Dr. Charles Price: His Life, Ministry and Influence", pp. 4-6.

¹⁷⁶ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.155.

¹⁷⁷ Burkinshaw, "Conservative Protestantism and the Modernist Challenge in Vancouver, 1917-1927", p.24. See as well Robert Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press) pp.100-120.

Oliver was a Presbyterian minister from Los Angeles who was invited to Vancouver by a conservative inter-denominational group of businessmen, professionals and clergy called the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement. Oliver delivered a spirited attack on theological liberals who he termed “dishonest”, “pegged-legged infidels”, “scholastic infidels”, “theological degenerates”, and “ecclesiastical buzzards”. The impact of the Oliver campaign was partly a reaction against a “social gospel” emphasis in mainline Protestant churches that, as Burkinshaw has shown, had been particularly dominant in the province in the previous two years. He argues that conservative Protestants supported some of the reforms proposed by social gospellers but feared that increased emphasis on social activism would ultimately detract from the true mission of the church which was the conversion of the individual, which in their view was the best solution to social problems. As a result of the campaign, “polarization within the Protestant community was greatly increased and conservatives began the process of laying the institutional foundations of a Protestantism outside of the mainline denominations.”¹⁷⁸

Theological liberalism had gained ascendancy among mainline Protestants during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During an era of evolutionary thinking and higher criticism, theological liberals adapted their religious beliefs to accommodate modern intellectual and scientific changes. In doing so, some turned away from supernaturalism and embraced the view that God’s nature would be revealed in the historical development of human civilization. As Burkinshaw notes, the impact of liberalism on mainline Protestant denominations in Canada was not monolithic and, while proponents of theological liberalism tended to control the educational

¹⁷⁸ Burkinshaw, “Conservative Protestantism and the Modernist Challenge in Vancouver, 1917-1927”, pp.27-28, 33. According to Burkinshaw, the religious polarization that began in the city in 1917 “contributed significantly to dramatic Pentecostal expansion in the Vancouver area from 1923 onwards.” Burkinshaw, p.42.

and ecclesiastical leadership of major denominations like the Methodist Church, the clergy and laity widely varied in their endorsement of these beliefs.¹⁷⁹

Similarly, conservative Protestantism and anti-modernism comprised a variety of streams of evangelicalism. The most militant groups opposed to theological liberalism were the movements that stressed the “fundamentals” of Protestant faith that included a belief in the literal truth of scripture and the inerrancy of the Bible, and emphasized the necessity of personal evangelism and religious experience. Unlike some evangelicals and conservative Protestants with whom they shared a common theological outlook, fundamentalists became known for their militant defense of doctrine and vehement opposition to theological liberalism.¹⁸⁰

Fundamentalists based their beliefs on a literal reading of the Bible and included a dispensational view of the end times and the conviction that they were living in the last days. In their view, the apostasy of theological liberalism was further evidence of the decline of modern society and Christendom.¹⁸¹ For their part, Pentecostals shared in this belief in the “fundamentals” of Christianity and were united with fundamentalists and many evangelicals in their opposition to theological liberalism. What distinguished Pentecostalism was the view that Pentecost, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, could be repeated in modern times “with all

¹⁷⁹ Robert K. Burkinshaw, “Conservative Protestantism and the Modernist Challenge in Vancouver, 1917-1927”, p.25; A. B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), 181-95; R. T. Handy, *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 381-82.

¹⁸⁰ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p.4.

¹⁸¹ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) pp.59-60.

the accompanying signs, manifestations, operations and gifts of the Spirit.”¹⁸²

Despite these divisions, Price enjoyed a broad base of support during his campaigns in B.C. His opposition to theological liberalism, compared to Oliver, was cast in a less controversial manner that appealed to a broad spectrum of evangelicals. He avoided over-emphasizing the controversial issue of Pentecostal belief in tongues, and even continued to refer to himself as a Congregationalist pastor.¹⁸³ While he didn't present his message as overtly Pentecostal, these beliefs infused his campaign and his message that the works of the Holy Spirit were available to Christians appealed to conservatives who opposed modern skepticism of biblical miracles. Price's campaign was the catalyst for future Pentecostal growth in British Columbia. In the decade between 1921 and 1931, Pentecostal membership increased tenfold in the province.¹⁸⁴ Building on the inter-denominational success of the Price campaign, the rapid growth of Pentecostalism in British Columbia and elsewhere was attributed to the movement's appeal to a cross spectrum of evangelicals. Writing in 1922, Ontario Pentecostal leader R.E. McAlister claimed that Pentecostalism “has taken the very cream from every denomination ... In this movement you will find Ministers who once filled pulpits in all evangelical churches ...”¹⁸⁵

In April, 1923, backed by Salvation Army bands and large choirs, Price preached his anti-modernist Pentecostal theology to crowds in Victoria as large as 8,000 people, reaching in excess of ten per cent of the population in the greater metropolitan area. Each meeting was preceded by a morning preparatory service for the sick. Price began the evening service by

¹⁸² R.E. McAllister, “The Pentecostal Movement”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, April 1922.

¹⁸³ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.156.

¹⁸⁴ Burkinshaw, “Conservative Protestantism and the Modernist Challenge in Vancouver, 1917-1927”, pp.42, 44.

¹⁸⁵ R.E. McAllister, “The Pentecostal Movement”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, April 1922.

explaining the doctrine of divine healing and the message of consecration in God, after which he proceeded with an anointing service once he believed the message has been received.¹⁸⁶

He continued his campaign on the mainland in Vancouver on May 6th where the first Price healing meeting attracted more than 8,000 people. His three week campaign in the city attracted up to 250,000 people, and the last day of the campaign was the most successful in his career to that point when he ministered to 23,000 attendees¹⁸⁷

The successful Price campaign in Vancouver was met with hostility and antagonism from mainstream Protestant leaders in the Vancouver Ministerial Association and the local press. The *Vancouver Sun* printed a front-page editorial entitled “Prostituting Religion” that called into question claims of divine healing in his earlier campaign in Albany, Oregon, and suggested that his “bootleg brand of religion” had only succeeded in raising the local death rate in that city. Price’s work was seen as a threat to the work of Vancouver’s churches and was described as a “hideous travesty on the divine spirit of Jesus” that had to be stopped.¹⁸⁸

The Price campaign escalated the already heated tensions between liberal Protestants, evangelicals and fundamentalists in the city. In the weeks following the campaign, controversy over his beliefs and divine healing practices led the General Ministerial Association of Vancouver to establish a committee to investigate claims of healing. The chair of the largely liberal Protestant committee was E.A. Cooke, minister of the First Congregational Church, and one of the main opponents of the earlier Oliver campaign. The committee met throughout May 1923 and eventually released the results of its investigation in a document entitled “Report of a

¹⁸⁶ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.156

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.162.

¹⁸⁸ Quoted in Opp, *Lord for the Body*, pp.162-163.

Clerical, Medical and Educational Committee into the Results of a Campaign of Healing”. The report disputed claims of faith healing during the Price campaign in Vancouver and affirmed that only medical science could heal physical disorders. The report established a clear dividing line between liberal and conservative Protestants in the city and underlined fears of a resurgent theological conservatism and membership loss similar to what had occurred after the Oliver campaign. In a minority report, others on the committee remained open to the possibility that healing occurred in some cases, and some Price supporters including local Baptists ministers and Pentecostals issued statements that the campaign demonstrated that miraculous healing could take place and that Price had validated biblical accounts of miraculous events. In their view, divine healing was real and critics failed to understand that it could surpass the limits of the laws of modern science and medicine.¹⁸⁹

In the face of unrelenting criticism and controversy, the Price campaign continued with great success in Calgary, Brandon and Edmonton, the latter where it packed the city arena with 12,000 in attendance.¹⁹⁰ A promotional article for the Price campaign in Winnipeg in 1924 recounted the success of his work in other western Canadian cities and credited him with inspiring a renewed religious life in these communities. The article noted that after his campaign in Victoria, the weekly prayer meeting at the Methodist Metropolitan Church in that city, previously attended by no more than 50 people, had expanded to an average from 500 to 1,500.¹⁹¹ As James Opp has argued, the key to Price’s appeal was his practice of faith healing, and his ability to attract large audiences to his campaigns attested to the fact that “the practice

¹⁸⁹ Burkinshaw, “Conservative Protestantism and the Modernist Challenge in Vancouver, 1917-1927”, pp.42-43.

¹⁹⁰ Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.163; *Pentecostal Testimony*, October 1923.

¹⁹¹ “Dr. Price and His Work”, *Manitoba Free Press*, August 2, 1924.

could hardly be characterized as a marginal activity.”¹⁹²

Throughout western Canada, Protestant liberals opposed what they saw as Price’s anti-intellectualism and opposition to modernity. Public displays of faith healing distanced religion from modern advances in science and medicine and challenged liberal Protestant views on the role of religion in society. The practice of faith healing was described as an exercise in producing mass emotion that subverted critical thinking, and prepared the ground for individuals to unconsciously hypnotize themselves. Faith healing was an act of deception, and the revival meetings led by Price were intended to create an environment where people with physical ailments were placed in a trance-like state in which they became victims of the faith healer. In other words, liberal Protestants objected both to the idea of Pentecostal divine healing and the way it was practiced.¹⁹³ For them, divine healing was a performance that manipulated unsuspecting victims and reduced religion to degrading theatrics.¹⁹⁴

The Price campaigns in western Canada were his most successful to date and quickly placed him among the most preeminent and sought after evangelists in North America. Over the next two decades Price continued his successful practice of city-wide and church campaigns throughout North America. He refused to identify with any one Pentecostal denomination or group and played an important role in uniting the Pentecostal movement and appealing to mass inter-denominational audiences. In his lifetime, he published more than twenty-one books and was the editor and primary contributor to an influential monthly magazine called *Golden Grain*, first published in 1925, that aspired to remain independent in teaching the “full gospel” to “Holy

¹⁹² Opp, *Lord for the Body*, p.164.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.172.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.175.

Ghost teachers and preachers”.¹⁹⁵

According to David Harrell, Price was the Pentecostal evangelist who most directly influenced the healing revivalists of the postwar period and the restorationism of the Latter Rain movement that emerged in the 1940s. Throughout his career he appealed to non-Pentecostal Christians and laid the groundwork for the outbreak of the post World War II healing revival. Just prior to his death he wrote that he had received numerous letters from Christians eager to follow the Pentecostal path.¹⁹⁶

We are in receipt of a letter from a minister who is, evidently, the pastor of a prominent church telling of his dissatisfactions with the fellowship to which he belongs. This man is hungry for God. His letter is one of many we have received, from various parts of the country. Everywhere the spirit is working in the hearts of men drawing them away from their own traditional path into the walk of communion and fellowship with him . . . God is moving wonderfully in the hearts of His people in this divinely appointed hour.¹⁹⁷

Price in Winnipeg

Price completed his western Canadian tour in the fall of 1923 with a series of meetings in Winnipeg sponsored by the Pentecostal Assembly at Old Wesley Church. The following year he returned to the city where he began a three-week campaign at the Amphitheater and Old Wesley Church on July 27th, 1924.¹⁹⁸ During the campaign, his supporters in the city, aware of his controversial campaign in Vancouver the previous year and liberal Protestant backlash leading to

¹⁹⁵ Harrell, *All Things are Possible*, p.17. Price’s most popular book was *The Real Faith*, first published in 1940. In it, he argues that faith is divinely imparted and, when received, is known with immediate certainty by the individual.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.17.

¹⁹⁷ Quoted in Harrell, *All Things are Possible*, p.17.

¹⁹⁸ *Pentecostal Testimony*, October 1923.

the investigation of healing claims, promoted him as a “Healer Evangelist” who was ordained by the Methodist Church and who was “absolutely orthodox” in his beliefs. He was presented as a trusted, non-controversial figure who, it was stressed, was still a minister in good standing with the Congregational Church of the United States who had gone through “certain spiritual experiences” that revolutionized his religious views.¹⁹⁹ One of these views was Price’s practice of divine healing, which his supporters described as consistent with longstanding Christian doctrine and at the same time unique in its adherence to scripture.

Dr. Price not only teaches the doctrine of the possibility of divine healing of the body, but emphasizes it, and put it into practice. In doing so, he creates a difficulty, for many Christian people. The majority of Christian people believe absolutely in the Bible, and on the other hand, have little faith in the possibility of present day miracles. These devout people are confronted, not only with the stories of the miracles of the time of Jesus, and the Apostles, but with some verses in the epistles, and the stories of the miracles in the Old Testament. Dr. Price takes the firm position that devout Christian people must either revise their views of the Bible or admit the possibility of present day miracles. The Roman Catholic church has always admitted the possibility of miracles, and alleges that such miracles of physical healing occur every year at many of its sacred places. The bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church of the United States, a very large and influential body, at the last meeting of the house of bishops, formally declared faith in the possibility of present day miracles, and instructed the clergy to act in accordance with this faith. It is safe to say that no Christian church in the world would go on record as denying the possibility of miraculous occurrences, and theoretically all churches accept the doctrine of divine healing of the body.

Dr. Price is an extreme fundamentalist. He believes the whole Bible, as it is said, from Genesis to Revelation, to be the word of God. He believes in the deity of Jesus, the personality of the Holy Ghost, the blood atonement, the resurrection of the body, eternal happiness, and eternal punishment.

In the conduct of his services Dr. Price differs from others engaged in this work in one particular regard. The practice in almost all

¹⁹⁹ “Dr. Price and His Work”, *Manitoba Free Press*, August 2, 1924.

evangelistic meetings is to make great use of personal workers. These Christian people go through the congregation, and seek to induce people to make a decision and to find their way to the penitent forms. Dr. Price seeks to place his dependence on the spoken word, and the effect of the forces, and seeks to secure great results by the appeal from the platform.²⁰⁰

On the evening of Sunday, August 12th, an audience of 8,000 people attended the Price meeting at the Amphitheater. More than sixty men, women and children approached the platform, some dressed in Salvation Army uniforms, where Price anointed them with oil and “commanded the ills to leave their bodies”. The platform was filled with people in crutches, wheelchairs, and stretchers and others seeking cures from cancer and other afflictions. The “patients” were described as appearing “nervous, hopeful, eager”, some of whom were sobbing and proclaiming their faith in Jesus. As he was anointing Price claimed he had nothing to do with their healing except to offer “the prayer of faith”. “Some say”, he said, “I look in the eyes or press something on the head. Divine healing is scriptural, and while I like to lay on hands according to the Bible, it is not necessary.” Hundreds of others raised their hands seeking healing, after which he announced that a meeting would be held on Thursday night entirely devoted to healing.²⁰¹

Price claimed that earlier in the campaign a blind boy had been healed and predicted that many more who had been anointed would receive healing in the coming weeks. He then asked the audience how many of them have been healed in answer to prayer, to which several hundred stood up to respond that they had. He told them that it was for them to decide their own

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ “8,000 Are Present at Price's Meeting, Remarkable Scenes as Hundreds of Sufferers Gather Round”, *Manitoba Free Press*, August 13, 1924.

destinies, and that God would not save a person against their will.²⁰²

The following night the topic of Price's sermon was the second coming of Christ. He began by deriding the "jazz age" of the 1920s as a mad and irreligious time of world decline and religious apostasy. The main target of his critique was rationalism and the impact it was having on the Church. The Church was leaving the cross as ordained ministries increasingly denied the virgin birth and the miracles described in the Bible. The result was that true evangelism was being abandoned and in its place "new cults bordering on blasphemy" were asserting their authority as genuine Christians.²⁰³

He explained that for fourteen years he had been a "rabid post-millennialist" Methodist and Congregational minister believing that the work of the Church would bring about a state of righteousness on the earth, and that Christ would return to earth after a thousand years of peace. In time, he abandoned this "spiritual" view of the Bible and embraced a literal view that believed "the whale swallowed Jonah; that Daniel was really delivered from the lions' mouths; that the Red Sea divided" and the pre-millennialist belief that peace would only occur following Christ's return. For Price, the Bible was the word of God and there was no doubt that the second coming of Jesus Christ was to be believed literally. He added that "The Master promised the disciples He would return. When His corporeal body ascended, the angels declared that He would come as He went. The Lord that made the power of gravity will break it that day... He will descend from Heaven with His saints and stand on the Mount of Olives. The graves will open and the dead In Christ will rise first. The iniquitous will wait a thousand years. In the Armageddon and the time of tribulation those who know Him will escape. Jesus will take up His rule over the nations of

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ "World Getting Worse Declares Dr. Price", *Manitoba Free Press*, August 14, 1924.

the earth and the world will see His glory.”²⁰⁴

During the three week campaign, Price’s message reached a broad range of Christians in Winnipeg and immediately fostered increased interest in the Pentecostal movement. Price announced that for the next two years he was going to focus his work in Canada, and that he had already begun negotiating for a permit to use the Amphitheater rink for a planned return to Winnipeg in 1925 to seek “still greater spiritual results”.²⁰⁵ As had occurred in Calgary, two weeks after the campaign, a new organization called the Inter-Denominational Prayer League of Winnipeg was created with denominational representatives from Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Pentecostal churches in the city. The first meeting of the group was held on August 28th and was attended by approximately 1,000 people, many of whom stated that they had been healed during the Price campaign. At the meeting prayers were offered for the sick.²⁰⁶

D. N. Buntain

It was during the 1924 Price campaign that a Methodist minister in Winnipeg named D.N. Buntain first became aware of Price and his teachings. Buntain was born in Prince Edward Island in 1888 and grew up in a Scottish Presbyterian community in New London, attending a Presbyterian church in Clifton during his youth. He later recalled the minister, Alexander Stirling, as being “a godly man” who faithfully attended to the community but did not recall a

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ “Two-fold Salvation”, *Manitoba Free Press*, August 9, 1924.

²⁰⁶ “Prayer League”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, August 29, 1924. The inter-denominational prayer group in Calgary continued to attract “hundreds of Christians” months after the Price campaign in that city. *Manitoba Free Press*, August 2, 1924.

single convert to the Church in all his years there.²⁰⁷

At the age of fourteen, he left for western Canada on a harvest excursion and later worked in lumber camps and on the railways in British Columbia and the western United States, after which he was married and homesteaded in D'Arcy, Saskatchewan.²⁰⁸ After studying at Brandon College, he later moved to Winnipeg where he was a graduate of Wesley Methodist Theological College and became an ordained Methodist minister. In addition to his ministry at various churches in the city including McDougall Memorial Methodist on Main Street in West Kildonan, Buntain was appointed as the Ministerial Association Secretary for the Methodist Church in the city.²⁰⁹

It was during this time that Buntain obtained reports and literature concerning Price's previous work in Canada and decided to attend a meeting to witness his work, acknowledging

²⁰⁷ "How I Came Into Pentecost", *Pentecostal Testimony*, December 1925; "D.N. Buntain, Faithful Stewards in the Christian Ministry: Ordination sermon preached in Wesley Church, July 24th, 1932", in *Pentecostal Testimony*, September 1932.

²⁰⁸ *Pentecostal Testimony*, December 1925; D. Mark Buntain, *Why He is a Pentecostal Preacher* (Toronto: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1944) pp. 9 and 65.

²⁰⁹ Bruce Guenther, "Pentecostal Theological Education" in Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism*, p.113; Gloria Grace Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought: A History of Pentecostalism in Canada* (Toronto: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958), p.55; *Winnipeg Tribune*, July 23, 1923. Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau have argued that the congregation at McDougall Methodist Church was an example of the increasing interest among working-class people in evangelicalism and revivalism. In 1919, the congregation ousted their minister, William Ivens, the editor of the *Western Labor News*, for sermonizing on socialism and radical protest and replaced him with a premillennarian minister named J.O. Irvine. Christie and Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2001), p.58. In their view the 1919 strike in Winnipeg challenged the city's middle-class congregations who were supportive of the Social Gospel and led to increased interest in rediscovering more traditional views that stressed the need for personal piety. Michael Gauvreau and Nancy Christie, "The World of the Common Man is Filled with Religious Fervour: The Labouring People of Winnipeg and the Persistence of Revivalism, 1914-1925" in George Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), p.350.

later that prior to attending the campaign he was “very much prejudiced and took a very decided stand against him.” However, he described being “awakened” by the enthusiasm and singing at the meeting and, upon first hearing Price speak, being struck by the power he possessed in his oratory as he prayed for the sick and the reaction of the audience to his message. Buntain returned frequently to the meetings to study Price and became convinced that he was “a man of God.” After the close of the campaign, Buntain returned to his Methodist ministry, though no longer opposed to Price’s Pentecostal message. He had witnessed people testifying to their baptism in the Holy Spirit and later said he yearned to have this experience himself. As a minister, he stated that “if there was such a thing as healing by laying on hands, and anointing with oil, in faith, I wanted to be worthy and to be used by God in this way . . .”²¹⁰

Buntain began to infuse his sermons with the Pentecostal message from his Methodist pulpit and for three Sundays he preached on the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The 1924 Price campaign was followed in late January and February 1925 by a visit to Winnipeg by the evangelist William. E. Booth-Clibborn, grandson of General William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army. For five weeks he held revival meetings to capacity audiences at Old Wesley Church and the Walker Theater, the latter with a capacity seating of three thousand, as well as prayer meetings for the sick every Wednesday.²¹¹ By the end of the revival, seventy-five new converts had received Spirit baptism and ninety new members were added to the Pentecostal

²¹⁰ *Pentecostal Testimony*, December 1925.

²¹¹ According to A.H. Argue, the Booth-Clibborn campaign greatly increased interest in Pentecostalism in the city. He wrote that the prayer room at Old Wesley Church was filled to overflowing and the large lower auditorium of the church was being used to accommodate new seekers. He described the revival as a “real Pentecostal sight to see” and that “the number of believers that are being filled with the Spirit. Numerous Bible scenes are in our midst.” *Pentecostal Testimony*, February 1925.

Assembly at Old Wesley Church. A.H. Argue commended the restorationist message of the evangelist and vitality it had brought to the movement in the city, and noted that Booth-Clibborn has “severed all connections with what is known as the New Issue”, a reference to his earlier support for the “Oneness” doctrine.²¹²

Members of Buntain’s church attended the Booth-Clibborn campaign and began to participate in prayer meetings at the Pentecostal Old Wesley Church. They returned to their Methodist congregation to share these experiences and some testified to being baptized in the Holy Spirit. One woman approached Buntain in his parsonage and claimed God had told her to ask him to anoint her and pray for her healing. He later wrote,

I did not know what to do. She saw me hesitate and said “Brother Buntain, I know you are seeking the Baptism and the Lord has sent me to try your faith” . . . she dropped to her knees and reading the Promise of James, I anointed her with oil, and laying my hands upon her head, commanded the disease to depart . . . As I did a strange sensation stirred through my body, and like streams of fire ran down my arms and the woman I was praying for went down under the power of God . . . I dropped to my knees in prayer, and then came upon me such waves of divine fire and glory, as overcame me, and tumbled me over on the floor, where I lay praising God, and talking in tongues for nearly three hours . . .²¹³

²¹² *Pentecostal Testimony*, February 1925; “Great Revival in Winnipeg”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, March 1925.

Booth-Clibborn was born in 1893, the son of Arthur Clibborn and Catherine Booth, the eldest daughter of William and Catherine Booth, the founders of the Salvation Army. In 1902 his parents left the Salvation Army and went into independent ministries and in 1906 joined the newly emerging Pentecostal movement in London, England. At the age of 15 Booth-Clibborn was baptized in the Holy Spirit and throughout the 1920s and 1930s embarked on a world-wide ministry of evangelism. He later established the Immanuel Temple in Portland, Oregon, where he died in 1969. “The Baptism in the Holy Spirit: Salvation Army Founder William Booth's Grandson Tells of His Pentecostal Experience During a 1908 London Tarrying Meeting”, *Assemblies of God Heritage*, vol. 10, no.4, (Winter 1990-91).

²¹³ *Pentecostal Testimony*, December 1925.

For Buntain, the experience transformed his religious outlook and led him to restructure the “religious program” in his Methodist Church to become what he termed a “purely spiritual program” that included teaching on the necessity of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and practices such as praying for the sick. His weekly Wednesday night prayer meetings grew in membership from ten people to up to eighty-five and his Sunday services were filled to capacity. In his words, “the Church was on fire”.²¹⁴

Within the congregation the changes also sparked vigorous opposition and some of the members approached the leaders of the Methodist conference asking for his removal. Buntain believed that pressure on the leadership to remove him from his church was based on a lack of understanding of the “new developments” and their willingness to support his opponents was simply an act to suppress the revival in the church.²¹⁵ In reference to Buntain’s church, William Booth-Clibborn wrote following his visit to Winnipeg that “many churches are turning to the full truth these days. A whole Methodist congregation recently in Winnipeg accepted the truth of the Pentecost. You cannot hold back from God’s best for you because of your church . . . Only dead fishes swim with the stream; it takes a live one to go against the current.”²¹⁶

When informed by the Methodist leadership that he was required to cease his teachings on Spirit baptism and divine healing, Buntain asked to be removed from his ministerial position and be left without a station. No longer an active Methodist minister, he began preaching on a temporary basis at Old Wesley Church. On his decision to break with the Methodist leadership and embrace Pentecostalism, he wrote in 1925 that

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ *Pentecostal Testimony*, April 1925.

I can only say I did not come in - I put myself in God's hands and He has simply moved me in . . . I used to find myself going home after the Sunday meetings, satisfied if I got through the day, having carried out a good program; the thought of there being no souls saved never bothered me much, but after preaching last Sunday in Wesley Pentecostal Assembly where I am a temporary pastor, and seeing the number of poor sinners in the prayer room, weeping their way to salvation, and several receiving baptism in the Holy Spirit, I went home praising God . . . ²¹⁷

In 1925 Buntain received credentials with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and the same year accepted the pastorate at the Pentecostal Old Wesley Church, a position he held until 1937. On January 1st, 1938, Buntain was appointed General Superintendent of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, a position he held for the following eight years. After a brief period of interim pastors following Buntain's departure for Toronto, Watson Argue, the son of A.H. Argue, was appointed pastor of Old Wesley Church in 1938 and remained in that position until 1948. Also in the fall of 1938, the Pentecostal Assembly in Winnipeg purchased the former First Baptist Church on Cumberland and Hargrave, and at the suggestion of Charles Price renamed the church Calvary Temple.²¹⁸ In his final years he was pastor of the Edmonton Pentecostal Assembly and principal of the Canadian Northwest Bible Institute. He passed away at the age of 66 on September 8th, 1955.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ *Pentecostal Testimony*, December 1925; Daniel Mark Buntain, *Why He is a Pentecostal Preacher*, p. 107.

²¹⁸ "An Amazing Church", *World Pentecost*, Issue 1, volume 1, 1972; *World Pentecost*, Issue 4, Volume 7, 1978; *Calvary Temple 80th Anniversary*, CTA; "A Brief history Outlining the early days of the Pentecostal Movement in the city of Winnipeg", *50 Years (1907-1957) and a Golden Jubilee*, Calvary Temple, Winnipeg Canada, CTA; *70 Years of Pentecostal Witness - Calvary Temple*, CTA.

²¹⁹ "D.N. Buntain with Christ", *The Pentecostal Evangel*, October 2, 1955.

Price Returns

On April 17th, 1938, Charles Price began a nine week campaign in Winnipeg. The 1938 campaign was widely covered by the Winnipeg press and featured multiple articles depicting the highly emotional divine healing services held at the Amphitheater rink. At one meeting in early May attended by more than four thousand people, Price anointed three hundred people with oil. Photographs were published depicting individuals toppling back into the arms of attendants, lying on the floor in a “semi-conscious” state, crying, moaning and shouting out their prayers as Price recited a prayer saying “In the name of the Lord Jesus, I pray the Lord to heal thee . . . Jesus saves, brother. He will heal you. Believe in Him.”²²⁰

An article in the *Winnipeg Tribune* on May 11, 1938 described the atmosphere in the rink as “verging on psychic hysteria” as hundreds of people anointed by Price stood and laid “prostrate” on the floor while the crowd sang and shouted “Praise the Lord” and “Hallelujah” to encourage those who sought healing. In the background choral and band music was played as Price prayed over each supplicant calling for divine intercession that included men, women and children on crutches, in wheelchairs, and “rheumatics and chronic sufferers from scores of malignant diseases and aches.” It was, according to the report, “an emotional scene such as Winnipeg rarely witnesses.”²²¹

Price told the crowd that he wasn't a divine healer, and that he had no authority or power to heal, but that “God is the Healer, Jesus is the Emancipator. I don't know what is going to happen here tonight but Jesus is here. And when Jesus is here Hallelujah! Anything can happen . . . Oh, Winnipeg, will you listen to me,” he exhorted. “The Bible Is true the cross is true. You

²²⁰ “Evangelist Price Begins Final Week of Winnipeg Drive”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 7, 1938.

can't substitute your filthy Immorality for the cross . . . We don't need more education; we don't need more social life. But we do need a return to the faith of our fathers; to salvation through the cross; to complete reliance upon the Holy Ghost . . . Before you believe In the miracle, you must believe In the word.”²²²

At the end of the service, two proofs of cures were offered including one woman from Tyndall, Manitoba, who said she had been cured of breast cancer, and a child who claimed that that she was no longer cross-eyed. Price then proceeded to walk down the line of supplicants anointing each with oil and praying for them as he held his hands on their heads. After three hours, with many still waiting, Price announced he had to end the service and would attend to the others another night.²²³

Throughout the nine week campaign, Price maintained a busy schedule that included four services each Sunday. At 11:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m., he preached at Old Wesley Church and, then at 7:00 p.m., he led a meeting at the Amphitheater rink. Next at 10:00 p.m., he spoke on the Gospel Fireside Hour accompanied by Rev. Watson Argue, broadcast on CJRC and CJGX.²²⁴

²²¹ “Price Revival”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, May 11, 1938.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ The earliest Pentecostal radio broadcasts were done during the Price campaign in 1924 and in the following years occasional services were broadcast but it wasn't until 1935 that the Pentecostal Assembly at Old Wesley Church initiated a monthly Sunday afternoon show on CJRX. The first weekly studio program began in early 1936 on CJRC and aired each Sunday afternoon. See “A Brief history outlining the early days of the Pentecostal Movement in the city of Winnipeg”, *50 Years (1907-1957) and a Golden Jubilee, Calvary Temple, Winnipeg Canada*, CTA.

The Gospel Fireside Hour radio show was launched on January 9, 1938. By 1945, the weekly Sunday radio program produced by Calvary Temple was heard on radio stations in Winnipeg, Regina, Yorkton, Kelowna, St. Catherines and Stratford. *Calvary Temple 80th Anniversary*, CTA. The initial broadcasts of the Gospel Fireside Hour were produced at the Royal Alexander

During the week, he led services at Old Wesley Church on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday evenings and on Tuesday evenings he led a healing meeting at the Amphitheater. In addition, he delivered noonday services at the Dominion Theatre for business people and on Saturdays preached at the Pentecostal Apostolic Temple.²²⁵

Unlike his earlier campaigns in the city, the 1938 Price divine healing meetings were met with increased opposition and criticism. Sceptics claimed that Price possessed hypnotic powers and that the “miracles” that seemed to occur were simply a result of his ability to place people into a hypnotic trance. Price refuted his critics by saying that only prayer and the “manifestation of the presence of the Lord” were responsible for the results seen at his meetings, and added that the charge of hypnotism was something that typically was raised in every city where he held divine healing services.²²⁶

At an earlier revival in Canton, Ohio, Price had been attacked by the local clergy on the same grounds. He claimed that an authority on hypnotism, Professor DeMude from Denver, Colorado, attended his meetings in that city and concluded that the people who sought divine healing were in such an emotional state that it would be impossible for a hypnotist to gain control of them. In addition, the expert argued that a hypnotist had to look into the eyes of the subject to

Hotel and later live from the sanctuary at Calvary Temple on Sunday evenings. *Calvary Temple 90th Anniversary Book*, (Calvary Temple, 1997), CTA, p.23.

²²⁵ “Dr. Price Opens Seventh Week of Campaign Sunday”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, May 21, 1938; *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 4, 1938. The Apostolic Temple, later known as Zion Church, was founded by Franklin Small and based on the Oneness doctrine, was associated with an organization called the Apostolic Church of Pentecost (ACOP) that received its Canadian charter in 1921. Most Oneness Pentecostal churches in western Canada were associated with the ACOP. Thomas A. Robinson, “Oneness Pentecostalism”, in Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism*, p.46.

²²⁶ *Winnipeg Free Press*, May 13, 1938.

achieve a hypnotic trance, and that Price always closed his eyes when he prayed over his subjects. Finally, only the hypnotist was capable of releasing the subject from the hypnotic trance, whereas at the Price meetings individuals are typically still “under the power” at the end of the services.²²⁷

Quoting the fifth chapter of James, verse 14, Price explained that the practice of divine healing and anointing with oil was scriptural, “If any sick are among you, let him call for the elders of the church and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord and the prayer of faith shall save the sick.” He added that the oil he used for anointing the sick and injured was “everyday olive oil” purchased in Winnipeg, and not to be thought of as mystical in its properties.²²⁸ Other critics claimed that Price placed his fingers on the back of the neck of subjects causing partial paralysis. He replied that he typically held subjects by the shoulder and that in many cases he had prayed for people at a distance and the results have been the same.²²⁹

At a meeting of the Winnipeg Humanist Society on Sunday May 29th at the Dominion Theatre, attended by 1,000 people, Dr. Marshall Gauvin refuted claims that the people who attended Price's meetings had experienced anything miraculous. He explained that when Priceblessed his subjects he gave them a push, and placed two attendants behind them to catch them when they fall. He went on to describe one of Price's Tuesday night healing meetings at the Amphitheatre rink,

I attended Dr. Price's meeting last Tuesday evening . . . After a number of the old, emotion-stirring hymns, Dr. Price came down towards the sufferers who were lined up. He had a vessel with oil in one hand, but the other hand was free. Remember that the hymn singing would raise those people's emotion.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

Standing there in line would weaken them. They would be nervous, not being in the best of health.²³⁰

Gauvin said he witnessed one woman foil Price's attempt to push her backwards by raising one of her feet and setting it behind her so that Price was not able to push her back. He sarcastically added that Price explained the situation by saying that the Holy Ghost was not working with that person that evening.²³¹

In defending his work, Price emphasized the restorationist nature of divine healing as a return to the teachings of the Bible. In an effort to legitimize the practice on the eyes of the general public, he noted that he had prayed for some of the leading ministers of many Canadian denominations, including Dr. Robert Paterson of St. Andrews Presbyterian Church in Brandon, who was cured of a curvature of the spine at one of his meetings in 1925. Price also denied the accusation that he charged money for the healing cards that were required in order for individuals to participate in his healing lines.²³²

On the evening of Sunday, May 29th, Price responded to claims that his divine healing services had resulted in no cures and no proof of healing. Before an audience of 6,000, Price claimed that there was “unquestionable evidence and even medical proof” that God is still performing miracles and repeated his earlier message that he was not responsible for healing miracles “because Jesus and His power do that”. His aim he said was to defend the gospel and proceeded to list a number of specific instances where cures had occurred at his meetings or as a result of prayer after the services. He read to the crowd testimonies of people who had been cured of minor and major ailments including a young girl named Ruby Dimmick, daughter of

²³⁰ “Gauvin Charges Price's Patients React to Push”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 1, 1938.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² *Winnipeg Free Press*, May 13, 1938.

J.F. Dimmick, the pastor of the Metropolitan Methodist Church in Victoria, B.C., who at the age of 13 suffered from a curvature of the spine, resulting in one of her legs becoming shorter than the other. After unsuccessful operations in Toronto, she attended a Price meeting at the Metropolitan Methodist Church in April, 1923, where she experienced miraculous healing.²³³

He offered other examples, including a woman in Vancouver who was healed of cancer and a Mrs. C. Parker, who was a performer of stunts who broke her neck while performing in Oklahoma City, and was cured by prayer after being brought in to one of his meetings on a stretcher. Finally, he brought a Winnipeg woman named Mrs. Lemmon to the stage to testify that her two-year-old grandson in Vancouver, who was not able to walk or stand, was healed at a Price meeting. She corroborated Price's statements and added "I have been cured myself . . . I firmly believe in the power of God and divine healing."²³⁴

On the final week of his campaign, Price delivered a sermon titled "Captain's at the Wheel" to 4,000 attendees at the Amphitheater rink on Sunday, June 5th. He reviewed the biblical story of Peter being called as a disciple and the transformation of a simple fisherman into a great missionary of the Christian church. It was, Price argued, an example of the "power of Christ and his gospel" and a restatement of his Pentecostal view that the miracles of the Bible were still available to ordinary people.²³⁵

At the last divine healing meeting on the Tuesday evening more than 3,500 came to the Amphitheater to witness the large-scale healing service that included approximately 200 people

²³³ "6,000 Winnipeggers Hear Dr. C.S. Price Reply to His Critics", *Winnipeg Free Press*, May 31, 1938.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ "Evangelist Price Begins Final Week of Winnipeg Drive", *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 7, 1938.

going through the healing lines for oil anointment and prayer. Once again the building was filled with scenes of people shuddering convulsively as they fell back into the arms of attendants and laid on the canvas covered floor covered with gowns. Price stated that, based on the identification cards of those who had passed through the healing lines during the campaign, there were many people who identified themselves as members of the Roman Catholic, Anglican, United, Baptist and Apostolic churches.²³⁶

Later that week on the Friday evening, Price held a special service for crippled children, assisted by Rev. Watson Argue at Old Wesley Church. At the meeting, more than 50 crippled children aged between a few months to thirteen were anointed with oil and received prayers for their recovery. The church was filled to capacity and overflowed into the aisles for the event, and an additional service was held in the basement for those not physically handicapped. Price delivered a sermon titled “What Mariner of Man is This?”, based on the miracles performed by Christ in the New Testament. For his farewell sermon on the Sunday evening at the Amphitheater, Price called for a restoration of the “religion of the gospel . . . the kind of religion we learned at our mother's knee, the good, old time religion which taught us about heaven and hell and to believe the Bible from cover to cover.” He ended by thanking the churches that had co-operated to support the campaign, particularly Old Wesley Church and the work of its pastor, Watson Argue.²³⁷

Later that month, a letter to the editor in the *Winnipeg Free Press* written by “One of Many” responded to criticism by mainline Protestant ministers and the Humanist Society concerning the divine healing practice of Price. The author cited several biblical passages in the

²³⁶ “Final Large-scale Healing Service Attracts 3,500”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 9, 1938.

²³⁷ “Crippled Children Attend Special Dr. Price Service”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 14, 1938.

books of James and Ecclesiastes to suggest that the critic's failure to understand the Bible had led them to misunderstand the Price campaign and what he was trying to do. Stating that the Bible provides "convincing proof" for divine healing, the author challenged ministerial leaders to give an explanation of these verses before making public accusations and criticisms against the campaign.²³⁸

In May 1940, Price returned to Winnipeg to lead a three week evangelistic campaign at Calvary Temple, his fourth in the city. Many of his sermons dealt with "the present crisis in light of the Scripture" and the challenges to religion during World War II.²³⁹ In the late 1930s, Price had traveled to Europe three times and told his Winnipeg audience that the prevailing spirit he found was a pagan philosophy of violence and force. In his view, the war had contributed to a heightened sense of religious conscience and clearly displayed the struggle in the world between good and evil for all to see.²⁴⁰

His final campaign in Winnipeg began on July 2nd, 1944. The 1944 campaign featured evangelist Theodore Ness, a "preacher, singer, trombonist" from Minneapolis who would later become pastor of the Calvary Temple from 1948 to 1953. The summer campaign was held at Calvary Temple and the Osborne Stadium.²⁴¹

²³⁸ "Price and His Critics", *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 25, 1938.

²³⁹ *Winnipeg Tribune*, May 11, 1940; *Winnipeg Tribune*, May 18, 1940.

²⁴⁰ "Punishment For Hitler", *Winnipeg Free Press*, May 20, 1940

²⁴¹ "Dr. Price, Calvary Temple", *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 24, 1944. Theodore Ness was born in Minneapolis, Minnesota on March 12, 1915. He studied at the North Central Bible Institute in Minneapolis and graduated from the Glad Tidings Bible Institute in San Francisco after three years of training and became a licensed minister in 1936. Prior to coming to Winnipeg, he was a youth pastor in Modesto, California and pastor at the Moline Gospel Church in Chicago from 1947 to 1949. Ness - Clergy Record, Credential File, #192411, Pentecostal Archives of Canada (PAOC), Toronto. See as well www.allenmortuary.com/archive/theodore-ted-ness/index.html, accessed July 24, 2012.

Price suffered a heart attack in 1947 and passed away at the age of 59 in Pasadena, California. His campaigns in Winnipeg attracted record crowds at the Amphitheater in 1924 and 1925, again in 1938, and at Osborne Stadium in 1944.”²⁴² For the Pentecostal Assembly at Old Wesley Church, that numbered 600 members in 1935, the inter-denominational campaigns reached thousands who heard the Pentecostal message and experienced the practice of divine healing for the first time. Price planted the seeds of growth for the movement in the city and reframed the practice and nature of evangelicalism in the city in a way that fostered Pentecostal growth and challenged mainline denominations.²⁴³

Youth for Christ

The practice of mass evangelical revivals in Winnipeg continued in the last half of the

Throughout much of the late 1930s and 1940s, Ness was also an active itinerant evangelist and was known as a talented singer and trombonist and performed at convention, camp meetings and churches throughout North America. *Assemblies of God Heritage*, Vol.22, No.3, Fall 2002. During the 1940s, Ness was a frequent visitor to Winnipeg and preached and performed at a number of large outdoor evangelistic services at the Osborne Stadium that were sponsored by Calvary Temple and attracted as many as 3,000 people. See advertisements in: *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 2, 1943, *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 24, 1944, *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 23, 1945, *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 7, 1945.

Ness arrived in Winnipeg in 1949 and was appointed pastor of the Calvary Temple. In his application for credentials with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, Ness noted that he held credentials with the Assemblies of God - U.S.A. and had been ordained in 1939. The application included a question that asked “Have you an experimental knowledge of salvation and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues according to Act 2:4?” He answered “Yes”. Theodore E. Ness - Credential File, #192411, PAOC Archives. After leaving Winnipeg in 1953, he was a pastor in Detroit, Cleveland and Modesto. He ended his career in Turlock, California and died on May 3rd, 2006.

²⁴² “Dr. C.S. Price Evangelist, Dies”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, March 10, 1947; “Punishment for Hitler”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, May 20, 1940; *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 3, 1944.

1940s in the form of Youth for Christ rallies. In the 1940s, Pastor Watson Argue at Calvary Temple became Winnipeg Director for Western Canada for the Youth for Christ movement and sponsored two large scale revivals led by Billy Graham and Charles E. Fuller.

The Youth for Christ movement was part of a larger trend toward popular religiosity and concerns for public morality in North America in the years immediately following the Second World War. The movement's early leadership came primarily from fundamentalist backgrounds. As Joel Carpenter has shown, during the 1930s fundamentalists and some evangelicals developed new tools for evangelicalization including radio broadcasting, journalism and new advertising techniques. The late 1940s saw these tools applied to a new form of mass revivalism that nurtured a sense of alienation from popular culture and struck what Carpenter has termed a "puritan pose" with revivalism used as an instrument seeking national renewal. Youth for Christ campaigners used the techniques of popular communications to move revivalism into the popular arena and focused their call for spiritual revitalization on their concerns for the morality of the emerging postwar youth culture.²⁴⁴ The movement was part of what Carpenter has termed the "reawakening" of fundamentalism. It included the emergence of a new evangelicalism that saw postwar revivalists put doctrinal differences aside and fashion a new coalition united behind revivalist and missionary efforts.²⁴⁵

As Carpenter notes, Watson Argue's leadership of the movement in Winnipeg and

²⁴³ *Pentecostal Wesley Church Bulletin*, May 25, 1930, CTA.

²⁴⁴ Joel Carpenter, "Youth for Christ and the New Evangelicals' Place in the Life of the Nation" in Rowland A. Sherrill, ed., *Religion and the Life of the Nation: American Recoveries* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990), pp.130-132.

²⁴⁵ Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp.233-246.

western Canada was somewhat unique given his Pentecostal background and that most of the leaders of the movement were Fundamentalists. The fact that Argue organized two major Youth for Christ rallies in Winnipeg in the late 1940s indicates the willingness of Calvary Temple and its leadership to reach beyond denominational boundaries to promote biblical literalism, restorationism, and challenge mainline denominations through promoting new forms of evangelicalism.²⁴⁶

On May 30, 1946, the Winnipeg chapter hosted Billy Graham, then Vice-President of the Youth for Christ International, who appeared at a rally held at the Winnipeg Amphitheater.²⁴⁷ The following year, on May 28th, 1947, a crowd of 10,000 people filled the Osborne Stadium to hear guest speaker Charles E. Fuller from California, director of the “Old Fashioned Revival Hour” radio show.²⁴⁸ Fuller railed against the failure of churches to preach “hell-fire” sermons saying that “If there was more hell fire preaching in the pulpit, there would be less hellish living in the pews.” In his view, the greatest sinners were those who attended church but weren’t “real Christians” because they hadn’t been born again.

I don’t care if you are the most respectable guy in Winnipeg . . . If you haven’t been born again you will spend eternity in blackest separation in the lake of fire. You have to be washed in the blood of the lamb.

I pity the churches who preach salvation through good works . . . and also those who declare there is more than one mediator between God and man. There is only one mediator and that is Jesus.

God has been gracious enough to save me . . . and now after you

²⁴⁶ On Watson Argue and the Youth for Christ see Carpenter, “Youth for Christ and the New Evangelicals’ Place in the Life of the Nation”, p.131.

²⁴⁷ Winnipeg Youth for Christ leaflet, 1946 – “Master Rally with speaker Billy Graham”, CTA.

²⁴⁸ “Overflow Crowd Gathers at Youth for Christ Rally”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, May 29, 1947.

have heard my message it is your responsibility.²⁴⁹

The success of the Graham and Fuller rallies underlined the popularity of old-style evangelism in the city and represented an early stage of what John Stackhouse has identified as the formation of a “pluralistic evangelism” that saw Pentecostals enter into a broader conservative evangelical framework. It was the beginning of an era that saw Pentecostals, Fundamentalists, and other evangelicals draw together to form a “definable evangelical mainstream” that would eventually become the new “evangelical consensus” in Canadian society. In Winnipeg, the Pentecostal Calvary Temple and Pastor Watson Argue were at the forefront of organizing this movement.²⁵⁰

The Establishment of Calvary Temple

The acquisition of First Baptist Church by the Pentecostal Assembly at Old Wesley Church and the creation of Calvary Temple in 1938 was a turning point in the religious character of downtown Winnipeg. It signified a new era of growth for Pentecostalism built on the successful healing revivals of the previous decades and the declining fortunes of a major mainline denomination in the city center.

The First Baptist Church was established on February 7, 1875. As the first Baptist church in the city, it began with a membership of seven people and was originally located on Rupert Street. In 1898, the rapidly expanding congregation built a new church on the corner of Cumberland and Hargrave. At the time the First Baptist Church was constructed in the late 1890s, it was the largest building in Winnipeg. Built for the considerable sum of \$40,000, it was

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* , p.17.

enlarged in 1905 to seat 1,500 people.²⁵¹

After forty years, the decision to sell the church to the Old Wesley Pentecostal Assembly came as a result of the shifting residential patterns within its membership. By 1938, ninety per cent of the First Baptist congregation did not live in close proximity to the downtown church. The dispersment of members into various outlying areas of the city, a phenomenon experienced by all other mainline Protestant denominations in the city, had contributed to declining support and attendance at the church.²⁵² At the final Baptist service, on the morning of October 16th, 1938, Rev. Herman C. Olsen spoke of the dynamic early history of the church, but explained that its downtown location had become no longer viable. He appealed to members to join other Baptist churches in the city to “keep the fire of religion burning”.²⁵³

That evening, an overflow crowd of 1,600 attended the first service at Calvary Temple. The service was officiated by the newly appointed pastor Watson Argue, assisted by his father A.H. Argue. The only non-Pentecostal official attendees were E.J.B. Salter of the Bible Society and Hugh Spitzer, of the “Jewish north end mission”. Argue's inaugural sermon was titled “Why We Believe the Bible to Be the Word of God”, and the service was accompanied by a sixteen

²⁵¹ *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 27, 1954; *First Baptist Church, Winnipeg, fiftieth Anniversary, 1875-1925*, p.9, CTA.

²⁵² *First Baptist Church, Winnipeg, Fiftieth Anniversary, 1875-1925*, CTA; “Changing Times”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 7, 1938.

²⁵³ After the sale of the church the congregation amalgamated with Broadway Baptist, forming the Broadway-First Baptist Church. See *First Baptist Church, Winnipeg, fiftieth Anniversary, 1875-1925*, p.9, CTA.

On December 6, 1938, a newly formed German-speaking Pentecostal congregation moved into Old Wesley Church. The Erweckungs Mission, later known as the German Full Gospel Church joined the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in 1943 and in 1960 was renamed the Immanuel Pentecostal Church. See <http://ipcwinnipeg.org/goto/who_history.html>, accessed on December 10, 2013.

piece band and large choir.²⁵⁴

Following the campaigns of Aimee Semple McPherson and Charles Price in the early 1920s, the Pentecostal Assembly at Old Wesley Church began a period of prolonged and uninterrupted growth culminating in the acquisition of one of the largest churches in downtown Winnipeg in 1938. During the 1930s, the Assembly established a summer camp at Rock Lake, later known as Red Rock Lake, in what is now the Whiteshell provincial park, where it held annual summer retreats. These camp meetings included evangelistic services and a series of visiting evangelists such as the prominent British evangelist Donald Gee and Rev. G.A. Chambers, the General Chairman of the PAOC. Meetings were held in a Tabernacle that consistently attracted in excess of 600 people each summer over several weeks.²⁵⁵

As well, the congregation at Old Wesley Church planted new Sunday schools in the St. James, Weston, East Kildonan and St. Vital areas of the city.²⁵⁶ In time, some of these schools became missions and eventually churches. By 1941, Calvary Temple had established four branch churches in North Winnipeg, St. James, St. Vital and Transcona and worked in association with three other Winnipeg Pentecostal churches in the PAOC including The Berean Assembly on Burnell Street, The German Full Gospel Church on Ross Avenue, and the Beulah Mission in St.

²⁵⁴ “Last Service, First Baptist Church of Winnipeg is Rechristened Calvary Temple”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 18, 1938.

²⁵⁵ Donald Gee, “At a Canadian Camp Meeting”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, August 1930; “Rock Lake Camp Meeting”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, November 1932.

Gee was an internationally popular Pentecostal bible teacher and the author of *Wind and Flame* (1949), a history of Pentecostalism in Europe. On Gee see W. K. Kay, “Donald Gee: An Important Voice of the Pentecostal Movement”, *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, 16, 1, (2007) 133-153.

²⁵⁶ *Pentecostal Wesley Church Bulletin*, May 25, 1930, CTA.

Vital establishing a vigorous Pentecostal presence in the city.²⁵⁷

Between 1931 and 1941, Pentecostals were the fastest growing Protestant denomination in Manitoba. According to census data on religious affiliation, in that period, the United Church had grown from 176,240 people in 1931 to 194,001 members in 1941, an increase of just over 9% making it the largest Protestant denomination in the province. During the same period, Pentecostal affiliation had grown from 3,441 to 5,020, an increase of over 30%. The number of Baptists stayed approximately the same while the Anglicans saw a decrease of just over 2.5% and the number of Presbyterians was just under 30% lower than 1931.²⁵⁸

The annual financial statements and reports for the Pentecostal Assembly during the period it was located at Old Wesley Church indicate a period of stability followed by slight decline during the depression. From 1926 to 1931 the church consistently reported total annual receipts of approximately \$16,000. Beginning in 1932, annual receipts dropped to \$12,506.39 and remained at approximately that amount through the remainder of the 1930s. Following the purchase of First Baptist Church and the establishment of Calvary Temple in 1938, total receipts grew at a steady pace and by 1945 the total receipts were just under \$50,000. By 1950, that

²⁵⁷ “Winnipeg's Downtown Evangelistic Centre”, *Western Bible College Yearbook, 1941-42*, Calvary Temple Archives.; *The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Official List of Ministers and Missionaries Together with a Directory of Assemblies Arranged by Districts*, (Full Gospel Publishing House, Toronto), Revised to April 1st, 1951.

Of these churches, the Berean Pentecostal was unique in that it was the only Pentecostal church that had transferred from another denomination. In late 1927, a majority of the congregation at the Berean Baptist Church on Burnell Street decided that they “stood for the same things” as their Pentecostal brethren and decided to change their name to the Berean Pentecostal Assembly. The pastor of the church, David Wellard, became closely associated with the Old Wesley Pentecostal Assembly and became a lecturer at the Pentecostal Bible College initially located at Old Wesley Church. “Baptist Church Becomes Pentecostal”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, June 1928.

²⁵⁸ “Catholics Lead in Manitoba”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, December 4, 1942.

amount had grown significantly to just under \$80,000. The growth in membership and affluence of the congregation was also indicated by a significant increase in church offerings to the missionary account which rose from \$3,000 in 1937 to \$11,732 in 1945 and to \$15,561 in 1950.²⁵⁹

In late June 1949, a religious survey was conducted in the Notre Dame west area, a section of the city in close proximity to Calvary Temple, by twelve missionaries from the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints. They asked residents questions concerning their “doctrine, ritual and belief”, and reported that approximately 60% to 70% of the people contacted responded to their questions. They found that thirty per cent of the residents identified themselves as affiliated with the United Church, twenty per cent with the Anglican Church, and sixteen per cent were Roman Catholic, seven per cent were Lutheran, both Presbyterians and Baptists were five percent, and Pentecostals made up three per cent of those surveyed. All other religious groups had significantly smaller representation in the area and those who claimed no religious affiliation were eight percent.²⁶⁰ The relatively small number of Pentecostals in one of the adjacent neighbourhoods suggests that the central geographical location of Calvary Temple was a significant asset and worked to the advantage of a religious group thinly spread out across the city. A centrally located place of worship that supported four outlying missions and Sunday

²⁵⁹ Financial Statements and Reports, Wesley Pentecostal Assembly, 1926-1938 and Calvary Temple, 1938 -1975, CTA.

²⁶⁰ “Religious Survey Has Good Result”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 9, 1949. An earlier survey conducted in 1942 by the Christian Advance Movement of the United Church in the Elmwood and East Kildonan neighborhoods of Winnipeg found similar results. A total of 2,318 survey calls were made in the district. The survey found that just under 35% of residents were members of a United Church, 23% were Anglicans, 12% were Roman Catholic, and approximately 1% were Pentecostals. “The Elmwood Survey, 1942”, Christian Advance Movement Survey 1942,

schools that eventually became branch churches was organizationally well suited to support the growth of the movement. In contrast, for the Baptists, the location of first Baptist Church had become problematic, as members moved over generations to outlying areas forcing a consolidation of Baptist congregations in the downtown area and the challenge to establish new churches in those areas to support future growth.

From its fledgling beginning in A.H. Argue's house on St. John Avenue in 1907 to the creation of Calvary Temple in 1938, the Pentecostal movement in Winnipeg grew by the mid twentieth century to become a dynamic force in Winnipeg's religious marketplace. After an initial period of mission work, consolidation and theological division, Pentecostals found unity with people disenchanted with liberal Protestantism, who were drawn to mass public faith healing campaigns and responded to an experiential form of religion that emphasized personal piety and biblical literalism. Most importantly, the movement was sustained by decades of divine healing campaigns that popularized charismatic religion, challenged mainline denominations, and attracted new adherents. As a result, after 1938, Calvary Temple experienced exponential growth and was uniquely placed to appeal to an inter-denominational audience in the decades following World War II.

Chapter Four

Spiritual Healing and the Anglican and United Churches in Winnipeg

In the first decades of the twentieth century, an alternative view of spiritual healing emerged among mainline Canadian Protestants that stood in contrast to the Pentecostal Divine Healing movement. Groups like the primarily Anglican Canadian Guild of Health embraced the role of medicine in healing but sought a place for spirituality and faith in the healing process. The blending of medical therapeutics and religion set mainstream Protestant advocates of spiritual healing apart from the divine healing movement and informed their critique of Pentecostal faith healing missions by the mid-twentieth century.

In Winnipeg, the branch of the largely Anglican inter-denominational Canadian Guild of Health was the primary expression of the mainline Protestant spiritual healing movement in the first half of the twentieth century. Frequent visits to the city by Guild leader T.E. Rowe and the formation of prayer circles helped foster an ongoing interest in the practice of spiritual healing among mainline Protestants. Interest in spiritual healing among mainline Protestants reached a peak with the visit to Winnipeg by Leslie Weatherhead, an English Methodist proponent of spiritual healing, in the summer of 1951. The Weatherhead visit served to unite the larger mainline Protestant community in the city and proved influential in defining the appropriate practice and role of spiritual healing for an Anglican and United Church audience. By the mid twentieth century,

mainline Protestants in the city shared a common understanding of the need to balance the role of spiritual healing with modern medicine in the healing of the sick. In turn, these views informed their critique and general disdain of the increasingly popular Pentecostal divine healing movement that flourished throughout North America after the second World War.

The origins of the late nineteenth century Protestant faith healing movement can be traced to the theological transformation that occurred in the wake of the Second Great Awakening. The growth of Methodism and holiness movements marked a transition to an Arminian emphasis on the individual and free will with an optimism that stood in contrast to the eighteenth century Calvinist belief in the sinfulness of humanity. Many Protestants began to seek a new birth after conversion that “would purify the converted and offer a life of consecrated sinlessness.”²⁶¹

By the 1880’s, the divine healing movement became influential throughout North American Protestantism and was particularly active in many denominations influenced by the holiness movement.²⁶² Due to its popularization through books, journals, and speaking tours by its proponents, the movement began to appeal to increasing number of individuals across denominations. James Opp has argued that the widely communicated

²⁶¹ James Opp, “The Word and the Flesh: Religion, Medicine, and Protestant Faith Healing Narratives in North America, 1880-1910”, *Histoire social/ Social History*, vol. 36, no.1 (2003) pp.209-210.

²⁶² The holiness movement emerged within nineteenth century Methodism and other evangelical Protestant denominations that emphasized the idea of “Christian perfection”. The central teaching was that it was possible to live a life without sin through receiving a second work of grace from God. See Charles Edwin Jones, *Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867-1936* (Lanham MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2002).

healing testimonials of divine healing advocates “renegotiated” the understanding of medical culture and scientific understandings of the body for many Protestants.²⁶³

The theology of healing that took shape within the late nineteenth century divine healing movement taught that atonement from sin through a belief in Jesus Christ also led to healing from the afflictions of sickness and disease because they themselves were the products of sin.²⁶⁴ At a time when modern science and medicine had become ascendant, the divine healing movement challenged the role of medicine in society.²⁶⁵ By offering an alternative to the progressive model of modern medicine, some Protestants succeeded in repositioning the body as divine and claimed a space within which individuals could voice a spiritual understanding of their experience of illness, as Opp’s examination of faith healing testimonials has shown.²⁶⁶ Groups like the Pentecostals became known for their commitment to divine healing and growing antipathy towards biomedicine. As a result, the seeds were sown for a more extreme form of divine healing that would develop in North America by the mid-twentieth century that sought divine healing through faith alone.

Pamela Klassen has observed that, in contrast to the divine healing movement, some mainline Protestants in Canada endeavoured to combine a belief in spiritual healing

²⁶³ Ibid., p.212. On the nineteenth century faith healing movement in North America see Donald Dayton, “The Rise of the Evangelical Healing Movement in Nineteenth Century America”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 1982); R. J. Cunningham, “From Holiness to Healing: The Faith Cure in America, 1872-1892”, *Church History*, vol. 43 (1974); Paul G. Chappell, “The Divine Healing Movement in America”, (Ph.D. thesis, Drew University, 1983).

²⁶⁴ Opp, *The Lord for the Body*, p.29.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., p.3.

²⁶⁶ Opp, “The Word and the Flesh”, p.223.

with their support of modern medicine. She argues that in the early twentieth century some Protestants, including Anglicans and Methodists, made healing a central part of both their public identity and religious practice but rejected the doctrine of healing by faith alone. Both denominations actively supported foreign and domestic medical missions and established numerous hospitals and medical schools. In so doing, these churches were challenged with balancing their support of modern medicine with their traditions and faith. In an era of increasing medicalization, these churches were further challenged by the competing versions of religious healing offered by Pentecostals and the extreme anti-medical views of healing promoted by Christian Science. The mainstream Protestant response was to develop a view of spiritual healing that embraced modern therapeutic culture.²⁶⁷

Mainline Protestants, Healing and Science

As agents of medicalization, mainstream Protestants were critical of biblical literalists within the divine healing movement whose versions of healing they viewed as based on superstition. The Pentecostal belief that the gifts of healing bestowed at the Pentecost were still available was viewed by Anglicans and Methodists as a misreading of the New Testament. In their view, ritual practices such as speaking in tongues

²⁶⁷ Pamela Klassen, "Textual Healing: Mainstream Protestants and the Therapeutic Text, 1900-1925", *Church History*, 75:4 (December 2006), p.810. The Christian Science was founded by Mary Baker Eddy in the United States during the late nineteenth century. Baker taught a radical form of philosophical idealism that saw reality as purely spiritual and viewed sickness and disease as spiritual, not physical disorders. On Christian Science see Rennie B. Schoepflin, *Christian Science on Trial: Religious Healing in America* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003).

distanced Pentecostals from the formality of written texts. Mainline Protestants espoused what they believed was a more “rational” approach to Christianity and spiritual healing founded on their own version of supernaturalism. They believed that healing could not be demonstrated by personal testimonies but only by scientific method. For mainstream Protestants, healing could be communicated through biomedicine in association with therapeutic techniques of faith and the written word.²⁶⁸

Anglican and Methodist church newspapers became active forums for the discussion of the new mainline Protestant gospel of health. In the early decades of the twentieth century, both the Methodist *Christian Guardian* and the Anglican *Canadian Churchman* published many articles and letters to the editor on the topics of new medical developments, spirituality and health. Their key concern was to promote an approach to spiritual healing that equally valued science and faith. Their writings were also a reaction to claims by Pentecostals and other divine healing groups that science-friendly Christians had lost their ability to see the works of God in the healing of the sick.²⁶⁹

Contributors to the *Christian Guardian* and the *Canadian Churchman* argued that Pentecostalism was heretical for two reasons. Firstly, it was a misreading of New Testament texts to believe that the apostolic gifts of healing in the New Testament were still available to Christians. Secondly, Pentecostal emphasis on ritual practices like divine healing and speaking in tongues put undue emphasis on experiential religion and de-emphasized the importance of written Christian texts that they believed provided a

²⁶⁸ Pamela Klassen, *Spirits of Protestantism: Medicine, Healing, and Liberal Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), p. xii-xiv, p.60.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.66, 72.

manual for healthy living in modern society.²⁷⁰ For mainstream Protestants, divine healing represented an abandonment of science, an obstacle to healing modern society, and a distraction from the essential teachings of Christianity.

The Founding of the Guild of Health

The Guild of Health was first established in England in September 1904 by Percy Dearmer and Conrad Noel, both Anglo-Catholic clergymen. The original goal of the Guild was to revitalize Christianity by ministering to the spirit and to the body. In its early years, a split occurred among its membership and the members that espoused more Catholic values separated to form the Guild of St. Raphael, leaving the Guild of Health to become a more moderate and ecumenical group after 1915 whose purpose was to foster a renewed relationship between religion and modern science.²⁷¹ At the core of the Guild's teaching was the argument that spiritual healing was not a substitute for medicine but that, depending on the case, faith and prayer could play a valuable role in the healing of the sick.²⁷²

Dearmer was trained at Oxford and in his later life became Canon of Westminster Abbey. In 1909, he authored an influential work titled *Body and Soul* that explored his longstanding interest in the science of the mind and body.²⁷³ The book explored how the

²⁷⁰ *Canadian Churchman*, March 1, 1900; *Canadian Churchman*, January 8, 1903; *Christian Guardian*, January 31, 1900; "The Limits of Faith Healing", *Christian Guardian*, May 27, 1914.

²⁷¹ Sheryl Root, "The Healing Touch: Spiritual Healing in England, c. 1870 – 1955", (Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 2005), p.11.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p.87.

²⁷³ Pamela E. Klassen, "Radio Mind: Protestant Experimentalists on the Frontiers of Healing",

relationship between psychological health and religious faith influenced healing and examined Christian healing practices in the Old and New Testaments. He concluded that religious faith contributed to a wholeness that played an important role in physical well-being.²⁷⁴

The Guild of Health maintained that the most efficient path to health was by physical means and it remained conciliatory to modern medicine. It promoted the idea that medicine itself was spiritual and, in association with religious faith, it played an important part in healing the whole person. In the view of the Guild, medicine and science were God's work and the role of the Guild was to reconstitute the relationship between faith and medicine.²⁷⁵

The Origins of the Guild in Canada

The Reverend Canon Thomas Rowe initiated the Canadian Guild of Health movement in 1918 while he was rector of the parishes of Sardis and Abbotsford in British Columbia. He established the Guild, like its British counterpart, to stand within the “universal church” as an interdenominational organization.²⁷⁶ His own experiences with illness and spiritual healing inspired him to dedicate his efforts exclusively to the Guild

Journal of the American Academy of Religion, (September 2007), Vol.75, No.3, p.656.

²⁷⁴ Georgina Byrne, *Modern Spiritualism and the Church of England, 1850-1939* (Woodbridge and Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2010) p.159.

²⁷⁵ Root, “The Healing Touch: Spiritual Healing in England, c. 1870 – 1955”, pp. 87, 90.

²⁷⁶ “The Canadian Guild of Health, 1924-1970”, M 58 1, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert's Land.

and promote it across Canada.

Rowe was born in the West Indies in 1878 and, following the death of his father, immigrated to Canada in 1892. He was ordained in 1905 in the Anglican Diocese of Qu'Appelle and in 1918 was the parish priest at Sardis and Abbotsford in British Columbia. During the influenza epidemic of that year, he believed that he had received the gift of healing and began the Anglican practice of laying on of hands with prayer to the sick. In many cases, some of the dying recovered quickly. This led Rowe to believe that miraculous healing could occur. The experience of healing convinced him to begin practicing a ministry that encouraged others to find inspiration in their faith to assist the ill which was something he believed the church had increasingly failed to inspire among its membership. Seeking guidance on how to organize his work, he traveled to England and studied the work of the Guild of Health and, in 1918, he returned home, relinquished his parochial duties, and founded the Canadian Guild of Health.²⁷⁷

Following the model of the British Guild of Health, the goal of the Canadian Guild of Health was to develop a fellowship of faith and prayer among Christians devoted to the study and teaching of the “true relationship between spiritual life bodily health.”²⁷⁸ It aspired to restore the apostolic practice of Christian healing through prayer, the laying on of hands, counseling and personal ministrations, prayer, confession, and anointing with holy oil. As an organization its aim was to encourage the formation of prayer groups and practice the principles set out by the English founders of the Guild whose central

²⁷⁷ “The Reverend Canon Thomas Elliot Rowe, D.D. (1878 - 1951), Founder of the Canadian Guild of Health”; M 58 1, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert's Land.

²⁷⁸ “Handbook of the Canadian Guild of Health: A Fellowship of Faith, Prayer and Spiritual Healing”, p.3, M 58 1, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert's Land.

principle was that Jesus Christ had manifested God's will to heal the sick. It believed that the Christians needed to restore Jesus's ministry by preaching his teachings and healing the sick. The realization of the individual's spiritual nature would lead to a renewed health and strength for the body. Rowe continued as Warden and Director of the Canadian Guild of Health from 1918 until his retirement in 1946.²⁷⁹

The objectives of the Guild as stated in its Handbook were fourfold: the "quickenings" of the spiritual life through the study of "the spiritual, mental and physical factors in well-being; the cultivation of health through spiritual means; the restoration of the Apostolic practice of healing through prayer, laying on of hands, and anointing as well as the commitment to practice this healing "in complete loyalty to scientific principles and methods"; and the practice of "personal and united prayer" for those "in any ways afflicted or distressed in mind, body or estate."²⁸⁰

The Canadian Guild of Health focused its efforts on the study and teaching of what it believed was the "true relation between spiritual life and bodily health." The Guild openly criticized "certain societies" that it claimed were practicing divine healing doctrines inconsistent with the essential teachings of Christianity and sought to address what it described as "the steady movement from the Church to these societies." The

²⁷⁹ "The Reverend Canon Thomas Elliot Rowe, D.D. (1878 - 1951), Founder of the Canadian Guild of Health"; "The Canadian Guild of Health, 1924-1970", M 58 1. The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert's Land. Rowe took a course in Psychiatry at the University of Toronto, and in 1929, studied for a year at the General Theological Seminary in New York. He spent three years at the Seabury Divinity School in Minnesota where he earned the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity, Master of Theology and Doctor of Divinity.

²⁸⁰ "Handbook of the Canadian Guild of Health: A Fellowship of Faith, Prayer and Spiritual Healing", p.3, M 58 1, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert's Land.

leaders of the Guild recognized that the growing popularity of Pentecostal divine healing practitioners posed a potential threat to mainline Protestant membership. They hoped that the establishment of an inter-denominational faith healing organization would stem the tide of membership loss by offering a form of Christianity that was “a religion of power and of sound mind” based on the belief that happiness and health were directly dependent on the individual’s “spiritual state of trust”. To achieve this, the Guild stated that its objectives were to inspire a “quickening of spiritual life”; restore the Apostolic practice of healing by prayer, anointing, and laying on hands; provide prayer under guidance of the Holy Spirit for those afflicted by illness or in a distressed state of mind; and cultivate bodily health.²⁸¹

In a pamphlet titled “A Fellowship of Faith and Prayer” published in 1922, Rev. T.E. Rowe wrote that there was no difference between spiritual life and bodily life. To

²⁸¹ *Handbook of the Canadian Guild of Health: A Fellowship of Faith, Prayer and Spiritual Healing* (first published Vancouver, 1922, reprint Victoria, 1936), p.3, M 58 13, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert’s Land; “Rowe Pamphlet”, M 58 5, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert’s Land.

In Mark 6:13 the disciples of Jesus used anointing for healing the sick. Anointing was used primarily for baptisms in the early church. In 1549, the practice of anointing was added to the Anglican Book of Common Prayer but, in 1552, it was removed from other services such as baptism. The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, the defining statements of doctrine of the Church of England in 1563, stated that anointing was not to be considered a sacrament of the Gospel. In the twentieth century, there was widespread reversion among Anglicans to the practice of anointing for the sick, and at baptisms and confirmations. The anointing with oil was considered a healing channel for the living. Many Anglicans believe that anointing of the sick has a sacramental character and is therefore a channel of God’s grace. Colin Buchanan, *Historical Dictionary of Anglicanism* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006) p.31.

In the Gospel of St. Mark, Jesus is recorded as having commanded his disciples to: “Lay hands on the sick and they shall recover.” Mark 16:18. The “scriptural authority” of laying-on of hands was re-confirmed by Anglican Church authorities at the Lambeth Conference in 1924. *The Ministry of Healing: Report of the Committee Appointed in Accordance with Resolution 63 of the Lambeth Conference, 1920* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1924).

receive physical or material blessings the individual must never doubt the will of God to provide healing. It was the will of Jesus that individuals could receive “spiritual blessings”, but this can only occur if they are ready to receive them. Only those who possess a conviction of faith and prayer can be healed.²⁸² He believed that to pray in the name of Jesus was to pray as if Jesus was with the afflicted. If asked how this prayer will cure cancer or restore eyesight, Rowe said that he had no answer except to acknowledge that life held many deep mysteries that were beyond human understanding.²⁸³

Rowe cautioned his readers not to spend their time with psychotherapists who he called “mind healers”. For him, Jesus Christ was the “profoundest psychologist who ever walked the earth” and, therefore, the best psychotherapy was to believe in God. He believed that the ministry of Jesus demonstrated that the will of God was that no person should be sinful, sick or diseased and that that the reason these conditions exist is because individuals resist coming to God and, therefore, his will is thwarted. Physical healing can only occur when there is an atmosphere of faith “sufficiently pure to transmit and manifest His Love and Power.”²⁸⁴

Members were instructed that the aim of spiritual healing was to lead the sick and suffering away from themselves to the source of healing which was “the actual presence of “Jesus Christ” within them, upon which the success of spiritual healing was dependent. The “Basic Principles” of the Guild acknowledged that “Medicine, Surgery and Nursing

²⁸² Rowe, *A Fellowship of Faith and Prayer*, p.13.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.15.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.19-20.

are God-given means of healing” but that in spite of advances in modern medicine “human skill and knowledge have always proved inadequate to remove the abnormal limitations and diseases of men.” The Guild taught that the root cause of disease is sin which it defined as the “separation of the soul of man from God”. Therefore, the “radical cure” of disease could only be achieved through the “conscious union” of the individual with God through Jesus Christ.²⁸⁵ To be a member of the Guild was to act as an “intercessor” and offer prayer on behalf of the sick. Prayer was seen as an activity of faith that is a communication with God that includes petition, intercession and co-operation. Members were cautioned that prayer was not an appeal to God but rather an act of co-operation to “bring about the fulfillment of His Will” upon earth.²⁸⁶

As for the suffering, the Guild taught that God’s “primary will” was to heal them. Sickness and disease was evidence that God’s will “has in some way been frustrated” and that unbelief created a barrier between the individual’s soul and God. The sick were instructed to renew their faith and trust in Jesus Christ. One of the first steps in the attainment of spiritual healing was to be obedient to the Sacraments ordained by Jesus and be regular Communicants. The core teachings and practices of the Guild were described “by God through the Apostle St. James:”

Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord and the Prayer of Faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if you have

²⁸⁵ “Handbook of the Canadian Guild of Health: A Fellowship of Faith, Prayer and Spiritual Healing”, p.5.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.11.

committed sins they shall be forgiven.²⁸⁷

The Guild of Health in Winnipeg

In 1922 and in 1923, Rowe visited Winnipeg and gave several addresses to small Anglican groups about the work of the Canadian Guild of Health. He returned in 1924 and had a week long mission in the “Music and Arts building” at Broadway Avenue and Hargrave St. in Winnipeg. Following the 1924 mission, the Winnipeg Branch of the Guild held its inaugural meeting at the home of one of the attendees on June 1924. Twelve people attended.²⁸⁸

Two years later, Rowe returned to Winnipeg accompanied by James Moore Hickson to hold a nine day mission in September, 1926. Hickson was a charismatic Christian healer and the founder of the Society of Emanuel in England, established in 1905 with the aim of developing the “Divine gifts” described in the New Testament. Hickson was a practitioner of the laying on of hands and sought to restore the practices of spiritual healing in the Anglican Church. The Society remained in existence until 1921 and. in the years that followed Hickson embarked on a world spiritual healing tour during which he visited India, China, Japan, the Philippines, Egypt, Palestine, Italy, Ireland, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand and Canada. Hickson was a controversial figure in the Anglican Church and was sometimes criticized for what was seen as his wild claims regarding healing and cultivating an element of hysteria during his mass healing

²⁸⁷ James 5:14, 15; “Handbook of the Canadian Guild of Health: A Fellowship of Faith, Prayer and Spiritual Healing”, p.9.

²⁸⁸ “The Canadian Guild of Health, 1924-1970”, M 58 1, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert’s Land; Anita Schmidt, *On the Banks of the Assiniboine: A History of the Parish of St. James*, M 58 13, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert’s Land.

services.²⁸⁹ Others in the Canadian Anglican Church supported his efforts in reclaiming traditional practices of spiritual healing in the church. His mission at Toronto's Anglican St. James Cathedral in 1920 was described in the *Canadian Churchman* as having been warmly received by clergy and lay people and, unlike other faith healers, his healing service based on laying on of hands and anointing with oil was "popular but not overly emotional."²⁹⁰

The Rowe and Hickson mission led to increased interest in the Winnipeg branch of the Guild. Rowe's three visits to the city had laid the organizational groundwork for the Guild's development in the city while Hickson's visit had introduced a charismatic form of spiritual healing practices not previously experienced by Winnipeg Anglicans and brought new vitality to the practice of spiritual healing among church members. As the membership of the Guild began to grow, Rev. H.R. Ragg invited the Guild to move its meetings to the Lady Chapel of All Saints Anglican Church where it continued to meet until the late 1950s. Throughout this time, the Guild remained inter-denominational but remained under the umbrella of the Anglican Church with the Bishop of Rupert's Land appointing its clerical leaders.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ "The Canadian Guild of Health, 1924-1970", Sheryl Root, "The Healing Touch: Spiritual Healing in England, c. 1870 – 1955", pp.12-13. On the Emmanuel Movement see Raymond J. Cunningham, "The Emmanuel Movement: A Variety of American Religious Experience", *American Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (1962), pp. 52-53. On Hickson see Raymond J. Cunningham, "James Moore Hickson and Spiritual Healing in the American Episcopal Church", *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 39:1(1970), 2-16.

²⁹⁰ "The Christian Mission of Healing", *Canadian Churchman*, (July 1, 1920).

²⁹¹ "The Canadian Guild of Health, 1924-1970". In 1929, there were thirteen branches of the Guild of Health across Canada. "Canadian Guild of Health Report of the General Secretary of Prayer Circles", January 1928 to January 1929, M 58 1, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert's

From its inception, the Winnipeg branch was required by the Canadian Guild of Health to follow the Constitution for Local Guilds and its suggested by-laws. Every member was expected to possess a copy of the Guild's Handbook and the branch was strongly encouraged to focus its efforts on the formation of prayer circles.²⁹² The prayer circle was the primary organizational unit for Guild members. Their purpose was to unite members in groups of twelve or less to practice united prayer for those who were ill. Members were instructed to meet at least once a week for "United Intercession" and to pray individually each day for at least ten minutes for those who desire their prayers.²⁹³

Prayer circles were instructed to conduct circle meetings whose purpose was to pray for those people who requested and expressed a desire to cooperate with Guild requirements. Requests from the sick or their relatives were accepted on conditions laid down in the Guild's Handbook which required that they express their desire for the prayers because they believe that God wills their healing, and that they would do their best to co-operate with the intercessors. The Handbook stated that the "Laws of Spiritual Healing" must be obeyed as well as the "Laws of Medical Science", so requests from individuals and relatives who did not agree to comply with the conditions of the Guild would be rejected.²⁹⁴

Land.

²⁹² "Letter to Fred P. Robinson, Secretary Treasurer of the Local Guild of Health, Winnipeg, from Patience Day, the General Secretary of the Guild, May 8, 1924", M 58 5, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert's Land.

²⁹³ *Handbook of the Canadian Guild of Health: A Fellowship of Faith, Prayer and Spiritual Healing*, p.13.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.11.

The Prayer Circle Secretary co-coordinated the prayers for the sick. Once a request was accepted, the head of a circle would contact the Prayer Circle Secretary and that person in turn made contact with the other circles. There were a number of cells or circles of people who regularly prayed for each individual sick person. Only the Christian name of the person was shared and a brief description of the nature of the illness or problem.²⁹⁵ By 1929, the Winnipeg branch had ten prayer circles and a total of seventy-four members. During that year, the prayer circles prayed daily for eighty-three people of whom seventeen reported complete healing, while nine others reported that their conditions had improved and withdrew their names, and one name was removed because of lack of cooperation.²⁹⁶

The Winnipeg branch report to the General Secretary of Prayer Circles of the Canadian Guild of Health highlighted accounts of two cases in 1928 where spiritual healing was credited with healing the sick. The first was a case of a woman who was suffering from “a serious stomach trouble for which the doctors were afraid to operate on account of her extreme weakness.” The report claimed that following her requests for prayers, she was completely recovered, able and became healthy enough to “hold a responsible Hospital position.” The second involved the case of a two-year-old boy who was born blind and had been on the Guild’s prayer list since his birth. The report noted that he had gained partial vision and that his Mother was “overjoyed at his progress.” Also on the branch’s prayer list were nine young children “for whom medical science can

²⁹⁵ “The Canadian Guild of Health, 1924-1970”.

²⁹⁶ “Canadian Guild of Health Report of the General Secretary of Prayer Circles, January 1928 to January 1929”, M 58 1, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert’s Land.

do no more.” The branch secretary remained confident that through prayer and certainty in one’s faith these children would be healed because “All things are possible to him that believeth!”²⁹⁷

By the early 1930s the Guild began to expand its activities throughout a number of churches in Winnipeg. In 1932, Rowe delivered sermons at Trinity Anglican and St. James Anglican. Also, he conducted a public anointing service where thirty three people were anointed and a further ten others were anointed by Rowe in their homes. During his visit, Rowe visited several hospitalized soldiers and met with the Archbishop of Rupert’s Land who expressed a great interest in the work of the Guild.²⁹⁸

During his visit to the city in 1934, Rowe delivered a lecture to approximately one hundred and seventy-five people at St. James Anglican Church on the topic of “Sincerity” and its importance to spiritual life. Two days later, a public anointing service was held in the church at which eighteen people were anointed. As well, two lectures were delivered at All Saints Anglican Church on the underlying principles of spiritual healing and an anointing service was held at the Hospice Taché in St. Boniface.²⁹⁹

In 1937, Rowe visited Winnipeg three times: the first a three week visit in April held primarily at All Saints Anglican and St. James Anglican churches. His message throughout the mission was that the individual consists of spirit, mind and body and that “the spirit must take control, otherwise every form of evil will be encountered.” As he

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ “Letter from Secretary, Winnipeg Branch of the Guild to Mrs. Patience Day, June 1, 1932”, M 58 5, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert’s Land.

²⁹⁹ “Dr. Rowe's Mission - October, 1934”, M 58 5, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert’s Land.

had done on previous visits, Rowe conducted anointing services at both Churches as well as the Hospice Taché where a total of forty-six persons were anointed and thirty-seven received the laying-on of hands. He also preached at St. John's Cathedral and St. Marks, indicating the growing interest among Anglicans about the work of the Guild. Missions were also held in the city in October and November. As a result of these missions, membership in the Winnipeg branch of the Guild had grown to one hundred and ninety-one members, a modest increase of ten new members over the previous year."³⁰⁰

In May 1938, Rowe conducted a brief mission in Winnipeg from May 22nd to the 26th. He preached at St. James Anglican Church on the subject of "prayer" taking as his text the prayer of Balaam, "Let me die the death of the righteous..."³⁰¹ Rowe used this prayer to illustrate a life living and dying in the favour of God, and discussed why a righteous death like Balaam's "could only follow a righteous life." The following evening, he conducted an Anointing Service at All Saints Church where seventeen people were anointed. His final lecture was at All Saints church where he addressed a group of Guild members who had been studying spiritual healing for several years. Rowe's topic was the healing of the nobleman's son described in the New Testament Gospel of John, Jesus's first act of miracle healing.³⁰² In this miracle, a nobleman asks for Jesus's intervention on behalf of his dying son. Upon seeing the man's faith, Jesus performs the miracle. Rowe linked this story to one of the key principles of the Guild's teaching,

³⁰⁰ "The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Winnipeg Branch of the Canadian Guild of Health", M 58 2, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert's Land.

³⁰¹ Numbers 23:10. Balak, the King of Moab, tried to persuade Balaam to curse Israel against God's wishes. Instead of cursing Israel, Balaam blessed the Israelites.

namely that spiritual healing can only occur for those who truly have faith in God.³⁰³

During the mission, a meeting was held at a Guild member's home where Rowe responded to questions regarding public criticism from local churches concerning the seven-week divine healing campaign conducted in the city by the Pentecostal evangelist Charles Price. Just prior to Rowe's visit to Winnipeg, Price's divine healing service on Friday, May 20th, had been attended by 4,500 people at the Winnipeg Amphitheater. Later that week Price continued his campaign for large audiences at the Dominion Theatre and the Pentecostal Wesley Church.³⁰⁴ Rowe was aware of the campaign's success and the threat it posed in drawing membership away from mainline Protestant denominations. Rowe's greatest concern, he told Guild members, was that the Pentecostal evangelist was popularizing a belief in divine healing and a set of practices that were problematic on doctrinal grounds. He warned members that such beliefs were dangerous and to be avoided.³⁰⁵

In the following decades, the Winnipeg branch of the Guild of Health maintained a stable but largely stagnant membership of up to two hundred members, with approximately one hundred actively involved in prayer circles. Financial reports from

³⁰² John 4:46-54.

³⁰³ "Copy of a letter written to Mrs. Townsend from Louise Hamilton, Sec. Winnipeg Branch of the Guild of Health, May 28, 1938", M 58 1, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert's Land.

³⁰⁴ The Price campaign was sponsored by Wesley Church, and at most meetings he was assisted by Rev. Watson Argue, pastor of Wesley church. Throughout the campaign, Price was regularly featured on the Pentecostal Gospel Fireside Hour, broadcast each Sunday at 10:00 p.m. on CKRC and CJGX. "*50 Years (1907-1957) and a Golden Jubilee, Calvary Temple*", Winnipeg, Canada, CTA.

³⁰⁵ "Letter to Mrs. Townsend from Louise Hamilton, Sec. Winnipeg Branch of the Guild of Health, May 28, 1938"; *Winnipeg Tribune*, May 21, 1938.

1953 and 1954 reveal meagre support with yearly collections and offerings amounting to \$400.87 and \$282.17 respectively. In a monthly letter written in 1953, the Guild Warden of the branch, Stanley Atkins, stressed the importance of the monthly devotional meetings as the only opportunity for a public service of laying-on the hands, but lamented that they “could be made more vital” and called for renewed activity among the membership.³⁰⁶

By the early 1960s, the Guild began a slow decline. While never wholly embraced by the Anglican clergy and laity in Winnipeg, the Guild became increasingly marginalized in the church. In 1962, Rev. George Kelly of Holy Trinity Anglican Church was appointed Warden of the branch despite the fact that he had no prior experience with the Guild. He reported that the monthly devotional services at All Saints Anglican Church were attended by approximately seventy-five to eighty people and maintained that the Guild still had the support of the Archbishop of Rupert’s Land. When asked if the Anglican Church in Winnipeg would support a Guild mission that year, he said that he knew of seven Anglican priests who would support the Guild and its work.³⁰⁷ Kelly attributed the loss of interest in the Guild to the fact that the public understanding of spiritual healing had “gone off at tangents and become the favorite pass-time (sic) of excited and occasionally fanatical individuals and groups” such as the Pentecostals. In contrast, the mission of the Canadian Guild of Health was to endeavor to keep its ministry

³⁰⁶ “Winnipeg branch receipts, June 1952 to May 1954”, M 58 1, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert’s Land; “The Canadian Guild of Health, Winnipeg Branch, Winter and Spring monthly meetings 1952-53”, M 58 1, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert’s Land.

³⁰⁷ “Letter from Rev. George D. Kelly to Mr. Taylor, October 19, 1962”, M 58 6, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert’s Land.

of healing within the “discipline of the church ... as reflected in our common book of prayer.”³⁰⁸

Rev. Leslie Weatherhead at Grace United

The work of the Guild was greatly enhanced by Dr. Leslie Weatherhead’s visit to the city on July 19, 1951. The visit heightened awareness of spiritual healing practices in mainline Protestant denominations and broadened support for these beliefs. It inspired a new discussion about religion and healing in the largest Protestant churches and provided the intellectual framework for a critique of Pentecostal divine healing.

Weatherhead was a psychologist, author, and Methodist minister from City Temple, London, and that evening he spoke on the topic of spiritual healing to an inter-denominational capacity audience of 1,500 people at Grace United Church in Winnipeg. Also in attendance were the Manitoba Lieutenant Governor R. F. McWilliams, Winnipeg Mayor Garnet Coulter and Rev. J. McKinney of the British and Foreign Bible Society, all of whom were on the platform with Dr. W.G. Martin, the chairman of the meeting and minister at Grace United.³⁰⁹

Weatherhead appealed “for the cooperation of doctors, psychologists and ministers in combating mental and spiritual ills that beset many people today.” He described the work done by a team of ten Christian medical psychologists in the London City Temple and how this work provided a challenge to Christians’ return to a ministry of preaching and healing through the combination of medical psychology and religion.³¹⁰ Weatherhead drew on examples from his

³⁰⁸ “Letter from Rev. George D. Kelly to Mrs. Reindorp, August 12, 1964”, M 58 6, The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert’s Land.

³⁰⁹ “A Packed Church Winnipeg”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, July 19, 1951.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

experience at City Temple where the methods he advocated were put into practice. He cited numerous instances of persons with apparent physical illnesses who had been cured by a combination of psychological, medical and religious methods.³¹¹

In his study of the historical relationship between psychology and religion, Graham Richards has argued that Weatherhead was the major figure among the group of “psychochristians” that emerged in Britain in the inter-war period.³¹² Weatherhead was educated for the Methodist ministry at Richmond College, London, and was first introduced to psychotherapy while serving with the British forces in Basra in 1917-18 by Major Bennett Tombleson in the Royal Army Medical Corps who had published a paper on the use of hypnosis in military psychology. While serving as a missionary in India in the early 1920s, and later as a minister at the Methodist Church of Oxford Road, Manchester and the Brunswick Methodist Church in Leeds, he furthered explored his interest in psychotherapeutic psychology and began applying these practices as part of his parochial duties. In the late 1920s, Weatherhead began writing columns for the *Methodist Recorder* on psychology and, in 1929, collected this work in a book titled *Psychology in Service the Soul* which drew considerable attention to his work. In 1936, he became the minister at City Temple in London where he established the City Temple Psychological Clinic. The Clinic was the first institution in England that practiced religiously based psychotherapy and its generally free services were made accessible to the general public. Weatherhead was president of the British Methodist conference in 1955 and 1956 and

³¹¹ “Let Religion Help Science Cure Sick Pastor Urges”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 19, 1951.

³¹² Graham Richards, *Psychology, Religion, and the Nature of the Soul: A Historical Entanglement* (New York: Springer-Verlag Inc., 2011) p.78.

remained as minister of City Temple until his retirement in 1960.³¹³

Weatherhead began his address in Winnipeg by stating that there was a need to return to the “ancient days” when the church and medical profession worked together and religion and healing were “were closely allied”. Jesus, he said, had called the church to heal and preach. In the early church, healing had been one of its “normal functions” but he lamented that, in modern times, the church had abandoned its call to heal and entrusted that role to the medical profession. As a result, neither religion nor medicine was adequately equipped to meet the needs of the sick on their own. Furthermore, the neglect of healing had resulted in the church losing its faith and function so that it operated in a way that only partially fulfilled its purpose.³¹⁴

His central theme was that “God's will is always on the side of health”, and those individuals that thought that sickness comes from God were mistaken. He compared the human body to an automobile that sometimes breaks down and requires repairs. In his view, the cause was more often than not “the fault of the driver”. Weatherhead argued that physical well-being was often tied to mental well being, and claimed a role for religion in ensuring that emotions like desire, fear, hate and jealousy did not poison the

³¹³ Graham Richards, *Psychology, Religion, and the Nature of the Soul: A Historical Entanglement*, p.79; J. D. Douglas and Philip Wesley Comfort, *Who's Who in Christian History* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1992), p.76. Weatherhead passed away in 1976 at the age of 84. He was the author of more than thirty books that included sermons, popular theology, and treatises on the relation of psychology to Christian faith. His most influential work was *Psychology, Religion and Healing*, published in 1951. For Weatherhead miracles were “law-abiding events” that were subject to the laws of modern science but also to God’s laws which were beyond human comprehension. He believed that through miracles God may act in ways that were surprising but ultimately could only be imperfectly understood. Weatherhead, *Psychology, Religion and Healing* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951) pp. 40, 41, 42, 45.

³¹⁴ “Cleric Urges Church Medicine To Cooperate in Healing”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, July 19, 1951.

mind and contribute to health problems. For Weatherhead, many types of physical disabilities were primarily the result of “physical or psychological or spiritual disharmony” and he argued that unhealthy emotions “poison the secretions in the body and turn them into toxins.” Bodily pain was often easier to withstand than mental pain and, as a result, the mind transmits this strain to the body causing physical suffering. True religion, he believed, was capable of curing many of these maladies and he stressed that faith and prayer were the therapeutic elements required to complement modern medicine. If the modern church reclaimed its role in healing the sick, he believed that “There are no things that happened in the book of Acts that can’t happen in Winnipeg in 1951. There are terrific energies in the spiritual field of which atomic energy is only a silly shadow.”³¹⁵ Like Rowe and the Guild of Health, he retained a belief in the possibility of miraculous healing and a reverence for the mysteries of life beyond the realm of science.

However, these beliefs were qualified by his rejection of the Pentecostal belief in divine healing through faith alone. Weatherhead argued proponents of spiritual healing needed to jettison the idea of healing by faith alone in favour of pursuing physical health through a combination of medical psychology and religion. For Weatherhead, the combination of medical, psychological and ministerial approach was proven to be the most successful approach. He concluded by chastising the faith healing methods of “divine healers” who claimed that healing could be achieved by faith alone, which he described as a “Middle Ages credulity approach”. Rather, healing required a scientific

³¹⁵ “Cleric Urges Church Medicine To Cooperate in Healing”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, July 19, 1951; “Let Religion Help Science Cure Sick Pastor Urges”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 19, 1951.

approach combined with “true religion”. Mayor Coulter ended the evening by thanking Weatherhead “for an intellectual and spiritual feast”.³¹⁶

The Winnipeg press was quick to endorse the healing practices advocated by Weatherhead and drew a close connection between his work and that of the Guild. An editorial in the *Winnipeg Tribune* effusively described Weatherhead’s work as opening up “a vista of what could be done in any community to help lighten the burdens and sufferings of many individuals and it showed a path that the Christian church could take toward a practical useful ministry that would lift it to greater heights in public esteem.”³¹⁷

The *Winnipeg Free Press* Church Editor, writing on July 28th, 1951, one week after Weatherhead’s appearance at Grace United Church, noted that the subject of religion and health had first been introduced by Rev. T.E. Rowe “who founded the Guild of Health in All Saints Anglican church. It is functioning yet.” The editor observed that an interest in religion and health in the community was longstanding, and that Dr. E. Stanley Jones, originator of the ashrams (religious debate meetings) in America, in the previous year, had filled the Civic Auditorium on the same theme, that “Christian emotions give health”. Dr. A. Cragg of United College, who introduced Weatherhead at a special sermon at the Grace United, referred in a later interview with the *Winnipeg Free Press* to Weatherhead’s statement that “in true religion there is a boundless therapeutic

³¹⁶ “A Packed Church Winnipeg”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, July 19 1951; “Cleric Urges Church Medicine To Cooperate in Healing”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, July 19, 1951; “Let Religion Help Science Cure Sick Pastor Urges” *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 19, 1951.

³¹⁷ “A Packed Church Winnipeg”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, July 19, 1951.

element.”³¹⁸

In a letter to the editor titled “Relation of Bodily and Mental Health” published in the *Winnipeg Free Press* on August 14, 1951, A.E. Thain, the Winnipeg Director of the Canadian Guild of Health, praised the recent visit of Dr. Weatherhead for stimulating an interest in “the inter-relation of spiritual, bodily and mental health” and noted that the subject was an integral part of the gospel and, as such, a concern of the whole Christian fellowship. He appealed to interested readers to seek out groups in Christian churches like the Guild of Faith that made spiritual healing a central part of their prayer, study and practice. He praised Weatherhead for his work restoring the subject of spiritual healing “to its rightful place” as part of a “balanced presentation” of Christian faith and reclaiming the subject away from the questionable practices of divine healers.³¹⁹

The next month, the Guild advertised in the *Winnipeg Free Press* that Rev. Stanley Atkins of All Saints Anglican Church would be presenting four lectures under the auspices of the Canadian Guild of Health on Dr. Leslie Weatherhead’s philosophy of Religion and Health.³²⁰ Atkins was a graduate of London University and Chichester Theological College, had served as a deputy assistant chaplain for British forces in Burma and India, and was an Anglican minister in the Durham Diocese in England prior to coming to Winnipeg. He was rector of a large church in Durham, but came to Canada on a particular impulse to be a missionary on religion and health.³²¹ The main theme of

³¹⁸ “Religion and Health Idea Has Keen Local Following”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 28, 1951.

³¹⁹ “Relation of Bodily and Mental Health”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, August 14, 1951.

³²⁰ “Health Guild Lectures”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, September 29, 1951.

³²¹ “Winnipeg Rector Teaches Cure by Prayer and Touch”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 6, 1951.

his lectures was that healing was a normal part of church ministry and he reiterated Weatherhead's call for the church to return to practices of early Christians. During his "Religion and Health" mission, he instructed his audiences by laying on hands and encouraged attendees to participate in the Guild's Monday evening group for prayers and healing.³²²

The broad appeal of Weatherhead's message to his Winnipeg audience demonstrated the widespread interest in the topic of spiritual healing among mainline Protestants in the city. His visit inspired a renewed interest in the subject that the fledgling Guild of Health hoped would educate and inform the public about what it believed was the true nature and practice of spiritual healing in the Christian church. It was an occasion that brought United Church, Anglican and other mainline Protestants together and provided a model for combining religion with modern medicine that they all could generally agree on. Most importantly, Whitehead's message complemented the longstanding teachings of the Guild of Health and helped crystallize the theological principles and the intellectual foundation of the mainline Protestant critique of Pentecostal divine healing.

³²² Ibid.

Chapter Five

The A.C. Valdez Jr. Healing Campaign in Winnipeg

The A.C. Valdez divine healing campaign arrived in Winnipeg in early January, 1952, at the height of a postwar evangelical revival that swept throughout North America. Beginning in 1947, the Healing Revival and the Latter Rain movement were parallel developments that sought to revitalize Pentecostalism by reclaiming the early beliefs and practices of the movement. Both emerged within Pentecostalism, were rejected by the main Pentecostal denominations, but were widely supported by local congregations and influenced the growth of charismatic religion in the following decades. This chapter examines the genesis of the postwar revival, the backgrounds of A.C. Valdez Jr. and his father, and the response to his healing campaign in Winnipeg. It shows that the campaign exposed tensions between mainline Protestants and Pentecostals and elicited a public counter-offensive by Protestant clergy in the city threatened by the popularity of divine healing.

The Latter Rain movement emerged as a result of an organizational and doctrinal schism at the Bethel Bible Institute in Saskatoon in 1947. The Institute had been founded in Star City, Saskatchewan in 1935 by George Hawtin, a Pentecostal minister in the PAOC. Two years later, it moved to Saskatoon and, in 1945, it became the property of the PAOC. The transition to governance under the PAOC proved to be problematic and a dispute arose between some of the faculty and PAOC officials concerning the requirements for the Institute's full recognition in the denomination. Hawtin and other faculty members opposed centralized control by the PAOC. Their dispute with the PAOC centred on their belief that Pentecostalism had strayed from the

practices of its origins and, in its pursuit of institutionalization, had moved away from the tenets of the early movement. Unable to resolve their differences, Hawtin and two other faculty members resigned from the Institute in late 1947 and severed their connections to the PAOC. They relocated to North Battleford, Saskatchewan, where they joined forces with Rev. Herrick Holt of the International Foursquare Gospel Church and established a number of facilities called Sharon Children's Homes and Schools which included a high school, an orphanage, a technical institute and a Bible school.³²³

By early 1948, many of their former students at the Bethel Institute had joined them in North Battleford. The faculty at the Bible school emphasized the observance of long fasts and conducted extended chapel services where they called out members in the audience and imparted spiritual gifts to them by the laying on of hands. The services became highly emotionally charged and focused on end times prophecy, the gifts of healing, baptism in the Holy Spirit and the premillennial return of Jesus Christ. Within a short time, the services attracted large numbers of visitors and the group began to proclaim the arrival of a “new order” of spiritual experience based on biblical prophecy and the spiritual gifts revealed in the Book of Acts.³²⁴

News of the meetings and the call for a “deeper life” quickly spread among Pentecostals with the publication of George Hawtin's *Church Government* in 1949. Hawtin attacked organized religion and argued that all denominations opposed the true work of God and led to the stagnation of religion. He called for unity among believers of the “full gospel” and the importance of congregational sovereignty. The book was an appeal for the contemporary

³²³ Richard Riss, “The Latter Rain Movement of 1948”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, (Spring, 1982) pp. 38-39; L. Thomas Holdcroft, “The New Order of the Latter Rain”, *Pneuma: the Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, (Fall, 1980) p.47.

³²⁴ Riss, p.39; Holdcroft, pp.48-49; Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, pp. 206-207.

restoration of early Pentecostal beliefs and a sharp critique of the PAOC and all the other North American Pentecostal denominations. In his view, these denominations had abandoned the principles, practices and core beliefs of the early movement.³²⁵

The Latter Rain movement's call for a “new order” reintroduced the views of early Pentecostals and cultivated a sense of outsider identity that resonated among large numbers of members in the years following World War II. It tapped into a latent yearning among many Pentecostals at the congregational level for spiritual revitalization in the movement. Most importantly, the movement challenged denominational boundaries and rebuked what it viewed as the fossilization of organized Pentecostalism. It inspired a renewed wave of evangelism that opened up the movement to a new generation of people beyond the constraints of Pentecostal denominations. It rejuvenated Pentecostal churches and set the groundwork for the postwar charismatic revival and the growth of new forms of non-denominational and independent Pentecostalism. In Canada, the movement achieved its greatest success in the western provinces where “new order” groups influenced numerous congregations to leave the PAOC and become independent Pentecostal churches.³²⁶

The Latter Rain movement was partly inspired by the divine healing campaigns held by William Branham throughout western Canada in 1947. Branham, a pastor at the Missionary Baptist Church in Jeffersonville, Indiana, arrived in Saskatoon in early August where it was reported that he performed miraculous acts of healing in front of crowds of more than eight

³²⁵ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, pp.207-209.

³²⁶ Steven M. Studebaker, “The Plausibility of the Independent Origins of Canadian Pentecostalism”, p. 420; Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, pp.207-209; Holdcroft, p.49.

hundred people.³²⁷ Two weeks prior, on July 14, 1947, Branham conducted healing services at the Zion Church in Winnipeg, a Oneness Pentecostal church led by Pastor Frank Small on Pacific Avenue. During the service, an eighteen year-old woman from Rockville, Illinois, claimed she was cured of deafness. In explaining the miracle and his healing powers, Branham told the *Winnipeg Free Press* that he received “vibrations caused by the germs in the person. I can usually tell what the disease is and when the devil leaves the person, the vibration stops.”³²⁸ Branham’s demonstrations of divine faith healing throughout western Canada deeply impressed Pentecostals like the Latter Rain leaders in Saskatchewan and initiated a new era of mass public faith healing campaigns in the region.

As David Edwin Harrell Jr. has argued, Branham and other prominent healing evangelists like Oral Roberts “were the main actors in the postwar Pentecostal drama.” Within Pentecostalism, they inspired a period of renewal and a return to the practices and beliefs of the early movement. They stressed that the imminent premillennial return of Jesus Christ would be preceded by an outpouring of God's Spirit as described by the prophecy of the day of Pentecost in the second chapter of Acts. As well, their independence from Pentecostal denominations contributed to their inter-denominational appeal and their ability to attract significant interest and support from members of mainline Protestant churches.³²⁹

The Voice of Healing

³²⁷ *The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, August 2, 1947; “Miracle Claimed Here: Minister Cured Deafness, Says 18-Year-Old Girl”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 15, 1947.

³²⁸ “Miracle Claimed Here: Minister Cured Deafness, Says 18-Year-Old Girl”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 15, 1947.

³²⁹ David Edwin Harrell, Jr. *All Things are Possible*, pp.4, 9; Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, p.212.

A key figure in the growing popularity of the salvation/healing revival was Gordon Lindsay whose monthly magazine, *The Voice of Healing*, publicized the healing campaigns of numerous evangelists and contributed to the financial success of the movement.³³⁰ Lindsay had worked as a campaign manager for the healing revivalist William Branham and founded his magazine in 1948 in an effort to promote Branham's ministry. The rapid growth and success of the movement, combined with Lindsay's close association with prominent evangelists like William Freeman and his association with the New Order of the Latter Rain, inspired him to expand the scope of his publication to include other evangelists involved in the larger revival. In an effort to unite the movement in 1950, he held a Voice of Healing convention that attracted one thousand evangelists, most of whom were independent Pentecostals.³³¹

Within a short time, the small magazine, published in Shreveport, Louisiana, grew from a fledgling venture to become the voice of the charismatic revival with a circulation of thirty thousand. *The Voice of Healing* was primarily a promotional tool for the revival. It advertised meetings and featured testimonies of participants who attended faith healing campaigns. Lindsay used the success of the magazine to organize salvation/healing evangelists across North America into a voluntary association to better coordinate their efforts. By the early 1950s, *The Voice of Healing* was not only a popular Pentecostal magazine, but also the name of the organization that promoted the work of evangelists who followed the association's rules.³³²

³³⁰ Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, p.211.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p.214.

³³² *Ibid.*

The Voice of Healing association promoted high profile evangelists like Branham and Roberts, as well as the campaigns of hundreds of lesser known male and female salvation/healing revivalists who preached simple and emotional sermons that emphasized biblical prophecies and miraculous healing. For audiences, their call for a return to “old-time religion” was widely understood as a protest against modernism in mid-twentieth century Christianity. These fiercely independent Pentecostal evangelists succeeded in attracting thousands of people to their faith healing campaigns and appealed to Pentecostals largely at the congregational level. For all, their lack of denominational ties proved to be a significant asset in attracting audiences from across the Christian religious spectrum.³³³

The Full Gospel Businessman's Fellowship

Many of the Voice of Healing evangelists were also associated with The Full Gospel Businessmen’s Fellowship. The organization was formed in 1951 by Demos Shakarian, a Los Angeles businessman in the dairy industry who had sponsored tent revivals for Pentecostal evangelists in the 1940s and had been the chairman of the committee sponsoring Oral Roberts’ campaign in Los Angeles in 1951. The Fellowship was formally organized as a non-profit organization in Phoenix in 1952. Its purpose was to organize entrepreneurs in Pentecostal churches who opposed the increasingly autocratic control of the movement by denominational leaders and pastors. Like Lindsay’s Voice of Healing organization, the Fellowship quickly became involved in nurturing and supporting the healing campaigns of independent Pentecostal evangelists

³³³ Ibid., pp. 212, 216, 217.

estranged from the leadership of the large Pentecostal denominations. For their part, the itinerant evangelists worked to establish new Fellowship chapters in cities and towns throughout North America during their campaigns. Their mission was to take the “full gospel” message into the mainline denominations and to attract people with wealth and influence into the movement. In 1954, the Fellowship held its annual international convention in Washington D.C. where influential independent evangelists including Oral Roberts, William Branham, Jack Coe and A.C. Valdez Sr. delivered speeches to an audience that included U.S. Vice-President Richard Nixon.³³⁴

The declining influence of *The Voice of Healing* magazine, reduced growth of the Fellowship, and the waning of the salvation/healing revival in the mid-fifties was in part due to the lack of order and discipline exhibited by some itinerant evangelists. Lindsay and other leaders were unable to restrain the excesses and controversial financial activities of some of the evangelists in the association and this failure resulted in a decline in financial support and a rapid decline in the number of mass public faith healing campaigns by the last half of the 1950s. The charismatic revival also met with increased opposition from the leadership in the largest Pentecostal denominations. They feared that the techniques and practices displayed at the healing campaigns, the appeals for money and the exaggerated claims of evangelists fostered a type of fanaticism and unseemly behaviour that threatened denominational Pentecostalism. In 1949, the Assemblies of God dismissed Stanley H. Frodsham, the editor of the church’s paper, because of his support for the revival and in 1951 the church claimed the authority to supervise all

private corporations established by ministers in the denomination. By the mid-1950s, most of the main Pentecostal denominations had withdrawn their endorsements of the independent traveling evangelists.³³⁵

The postwar charismatic revival had an important influence on patterns of religious affiliation in following decades. After World War II, many Protestants believed that the horrors of war and threat of “godless” communism in the Cold War would inspire a renewed interest in religion. However, few predicted a large-scale charismatic religious revival that would challenge membership in existing religious institutions and lead to a popularization of charismatic religious groups.³³⁶ The postwar healing revivals exposed thousands of people to a form of Pentecostal worship that espoused the role of supernatural power to transform human existence and attracted a new audience of people fascinated by claims of miracles who otherwise would not have attended a Pentecostal church. Divine healing campaigns were occasions where denominational differences were downplayed and Christian unity was cast in the shared acceptance of biblical authority.³³⁷

³³⁴ David Edwin Harrell, Jr., *Oral Roberts: An American Life* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 153-155. By 1982, the organization had a membership of 800,000 with chapters in eighty-one countries.

³³⁵ David Edwin Harrell, Jr., *Oral Roberts: An American Life*, p. 155; David Edwin Harrell, Jr. *All Things are Possible*, p.5. Frodsham had been an influential leader of the early Pentecostal movement and the editor of the *Pentecostal Evangel*, the official publication of the Assemblies of God, for twenty-eight years. In response to the church's opposition to the Latter Rain movement, he withdrew his name as an ordained minister in the Assemblies of God. Richard Riss, “The Latter Rain Movement of 1948”, p.40.

³³⁶ Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, pp. 216 - 217.

³³⁷ Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, p.219; David Edwin Harrell, Jr., *All Things are Possible*, p.9.

A.C. Valdez Sr.

A key figure in the salvation/healing revival movement before and after World War II was the itinerant evangelist A.C. (Adolpho) Valdez Sr. Valdez who was one of the first traveling evangelists to become associated with the Voice of Healing and was a close friend and associate of Demos Shakarian and an early member of the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship. Valdez relied on both organizations to promote and advertise his evangelism and, in turn, he was an influential force in expanding the Voice of Healing network and establishing new chapters of the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship.³³⁸

Valdez was born in Lakeview, California in 1896. The Valdez family claimed that his great-great-grandfather had been a Spanish soldier in Mexico who settled in California in the late eighteenth century near the Mission of San Diego which was founded by a Franciscan priest named Junipero Serra. For generations, the Valdez family were devout followers of the Franciscan style of Catholicism prevalent throughout the area, named after St. Francis of Assisi. In his later life, Valdez Sr. believed that his Catholic upbringing had introduced him to some religious practices that were directly connected to his later Pentecostal beliefs. He recalled that his father "was filled with the Spirit and many times I found him in the barn on his knees, praying and shaking from head to foot and speaking in tongues." According to Valdez Sr., speaking in tongues and gifts of the spirit had been part of his family's spiritual practise for one

³³⁸ Shakarian wrote the foreword to Valdez's book, *Fire on Azusa Street* (1980) and described Valdez as a "spiritual giant". He met Valdez when he was fourteen and frequently attended his tent meetings in southern California and assisted him in his campaigns. A. C. Valdez and J. F. Scheer, *Fire on Azusa Street*, (Costa Mesa, CA: Gift Publications, 1980).

hundred and fifty years.³³⁹ In an article titled “From Catholicism to Pentecost”, published in 1923, Valdez Sr. described his youthful rejection of the “idolatry and formality” of Catholicism, but maintained his respect for his family’s spiritual heritage and a belief in a non-denominational view of spiritual salvation.

They prayed to God, and as they prayed they would shake under the mighty power of God. God is no respecter of persons or of churches, but wherever people meet the conditions and pray through they will be owned by the Spirit of God.³⁴⁰

In 1905, a famine killed off the family’s livestock and they were forced to move to Long Beach and, in 1906, they arrived in Los Angeles. At the time, Valdez Sr. believed that “God had turned his back” on them. Later that year, the family’s interest in religion was revived when a revival began in an African Methodist Episcopal church in their neighbourhood on Azusa Street. During the Azusa Street revival, which lasted for three years, the Pentecostal movement was “born”. Valdez Sr. and his family were frequent visitors to the church and during the revival became believers and active participants in the emerging Pentecostal movement. As a ten year-old child, he recalled that, at one meeting, “waves and waves of the spirit went through the hall” and then “tongues appeared over the heads of some people.” An African-American man jumped to the floor and spoke words Valdez had never heard before, followed by a woman who rose and thanked Jesus for the miracle of returning her sight. That, he said, was his first night at 323 Azusa Street.³⁴¹

³³⁹ A. C. Valdez and J. F. Scheer, *Fire on Azusa Street*, pp. 21-22.

³⁴⁰ A C Valdez, “From Catholicism to Pentecost”, *Latter Rain Evangel*, February 1923, p.13.

³⁴¹ Valdez, *Fire on Azusa Street*, pp.6-7. Gastón Espinosa attributes the rapid growth of Pentecostalism among Latinos in the United States to independent and indigenous Latino

That same year, Valdez Sr.'s father became ill and his brother suffered a severe injury while working at a quarry. The family began visiting the local Pisgah Healing Home of Finis E. Yoakum. While at the home, his brother experienced instant healing and his father's condition improved. Following their healing experience, both converted to Pentecostalism and were "Baptised in the Spirit". For Valdez Sr., the healing of his family members convinced him of the relevance of divine healing and deepened his interest in the Pentecostal movement. Following the Azusa Street revival, Valdez Sr. and his family became closely associated with the influential Pentecostal evangelist William Durham and his mission in Los Angeles. As a Pentecostal convert, Valdez later based his beliefs on Durham's "finished work theology", which became a core teaching in the theology of the Assemblies of God.³⁴²

Valdez Sr. was ordained as an Elder in the Long Beach Mission of W.H. Giles in 1916 and for the next decade continued a part-time ministry based primarily in various locations throughout California with frequent visits to Chicago. Valdez Sr. lacked and rejected any formal training and believed that the only guidance he required was "provided by the Holy Spirit and experience". He preached what was described as a "plain gospel" that combined his personal experiences, a literal reading of Biblical texts and a genial style that highlighted his sense of humour. Valdez Sr. believed that the main cause of human suffering and dying was the unwillingness of people to follow "the laws of nature" and he spoke out vehemently against

evangelists like A.C. Valdez Sr., who had attended the Azusa Street revival. Gastón Espinosa, "The Pentecostalization of Latin American and U.S. Latino Christianity", *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, Volume 26, No. 2, Fall 2004, pp. 275, 276, 278.

³⁴² Valdez, "From Catholicism to Pentecost", p.13; A C Valdez, "Hindrances to Divine Healing", *Latter Rain Evangel*, November 1934, p.18. Valdez Sr. maintained a close relationship with Durham throughout his life. Throughout his career Valdez Sr. was a frequent visitor to Durham's North Avenue Mission in Chicago and preached in numerous Chicago area churches.

alcohol, divorce, over-work and birth-control. Much of his preaching emphasized divine healing. After attending camp meetings led by Maria Woodsworth-Etter at Arroyo Seco, California in 1913, he became convinced that miraculous healing was available to all individuals baptised in the Holy Spirit.³⁴³

Throughout the 1920's, Valdez Sr. continued to preach mainly in Assemblies of God Pentecostal churches where his finished work theology was well received. However, when he sought a more stable and established base at an Assemblies of God church in Ripon, California in 1931, his application for Assemblies credentials was rejected. The issue that prevented him from gaining credentials centred on disputes concerning the doctrine of the rapture, an issue that divided the early Pentecostal movement in California. Valdez Sr. was a biblicist who believed that the church would not be raptured, but that it would "go through the Tribulation".³⁴⁴ Due to this controversial belief, which was not shared by the Assemblies of God, and accusations that Valdez Sr. was radical on holiness interpretations of marriage and divorce, his attempt to move away from itinerant evangelism was rejected and the Assemblies of God refused to recognize him. In its efforts to denominationalize, the General Council of the Assemblies of God believed that Valdez Sr. was too independent and self-directed to be part of the increasingly centralized

³⁴³ A C Valdez, "An Interesting Letter from New Zealand", *Pentecostal Evangel*, 29 January 1927, p.6; *New Zealand Evangel*, 6 October 1924, p. 14; Valdez, "Hindrances to Divine Healing", p.19.

³⁴⁴ A C Valdez, "An Interesting Letter from New Zealand", *Pentecostal Evangel*, 29 January 1927, p.6; "J R Evans to M T Draper, 22 December 1931", quoted in Mark Hutchison, "'Second Founder': A. C. Valdez Sr. and Australian Pentecostalism", <<http://webjournals.ac.edu.au/journals/aps/issue-11/02-second-founder-a-c-valdez-sr-and-australian-pen/>>, accessed January 8, 2013. In the 1920's, Valdez Sr. travelled to New Zealand and Australia where he played an influential role in the early development of Pentecostalism in both countries. See Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, pp.141-142.

church.³⁴⁵

Valdez Sr. returned to itinerant preaching and began a series of large tent campaigns through the western United States that attracted large audiences. By the late 1940s, he relocated to his wife's home state of Arizona and became President of the Arizona Trinity Tabernacle Association. In this role, he increasingly used evangelistic techniques pioneered by Aimee Semple McPherson. Influenced by his earlier experiences at McPherson's Angelus Temple in Los Angeles, he sought to employ techniques that attracted media attention to promote a new type of evangelism. He became a pilot and used this ability to become known as the "flying evangelist", a marketing tool he capitalized on to garner interest in his campaigns throughout the country. He frequently would drop small parachutes of candy and sponge rubber balls from his plane into playgrounds. The packages included announcements of meeting times and offered rewards for their return to campaign tents. His novel techniques and commitment to a busy schedule of itinerant evangelism helped him build a wide following and a successful career for many decades as an independent Pentecostal evangelist. Along with other classical Pentecostals like F.F. Bosworth, Valdez carried on a tradition of independent, mobile revivalistic meetings throughout the 1930s and early 1940s that stood apart from the Pentecostal denominations.³⁴⁶

By the mid 1940s, Valdez Sr. played a prominent role in the new wave of Pentecostalism that emerged as a result of the Latter Rain Revival. Like William Branham and Oral Roberts, Valdez Sr. aspired to use his evangelism to revitalize the

³⁴⁵ "J N Gortner to J E Evans, January 21, 1932"; "J R Evans to E S Williams and J R Flower, 12 February 1940", quoted in Mark Hutchison, "'Second Founder': A. C. Valdez Sr. and Australian Pentecostalism".

³⁴⁶ Valdez, *Fire on Azusa Street*, pp. 112-114. Many of the Valdez Sr. tent campaigns were managed by Demos Shakarian, the founder of the global Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International.

movement by returning it to the practices and beliefs of early Pentecostalism that he witnessed during the Azusa Street Revival. Valdez Sr. joined the loosely associated group of healing evangelists involved in the Voice of Healing association under the leadership of Gordon Lindsay, who like Valdez Sr., had earlier been involved with the Pisgah Healing Home in Los Angeles. The mandate of the association was to revolt against what they believed was the “spiritual stagnation” of Christianity in North America after World War II.³⁴⁷

In 1949, Valdez Sr.’s son, A.C. (Alfred) Valdez, who had been a part-time pastor at his father’s church in Phoenix, had “a divine encounter” in which he claimed that God had granted him the gift of healing and, shortly after, joined his father on numerous Voice of Healing campaigns throughout North America and overseas. By 1951, A.C. Valdez Jr. began his own itinerant divine healing ministry and, with assistance from his father, held campaigns in Hammond, Indiana and Vicksburg, Mississippi. His largest healing revival was held in Hawaii in August, 1951 where it was reported that over 90,000 people had attended and over 15,000 people had “responded to the gospel”. In September, Valdez Jr. led a revival in Monroe, Louisiana and, later that month, visited Victoria and Vancouver, B.C. Week-long campaigns followed in Calgary, Alberta and London, Ontario, followed by Kamloops, B.C. in December. The evangelist then proceeded to Winnipeg where he held a three week campaign in January 1952 before

³⁴⁷ Alfred Clarence Valdez did not share his father’s name (Adolpho) but became known as A.C. Valdez Jr. Both William Branham and Oral Roberts both claimed to have had similar “divine encounters” that resulted in their ability to heal. *Voice of Healing*, August 1951, p. 1; *Voice of Healing*, August 1952, p. 18; *Voice of Healing*, July 1952, p.9.

proceeding to Toronto the following month.³⁴⁸

Valdez Jr.'s frenetic pace of divine healing campaigns continued until the death of his mother in 1954. That year he decided to return to Milwaukee where he had held a successful ten-week campaign the previous year. Months after he began holding services in the city, he purchased the Zenith Theatre which was renamed the Milwaukee Evangelistic Temple, and became his permanent base for the following sixteen years. A.C. Valdez Sr. joined his son in Milwaukee as an associate pastor in the church and together they published a journal called the *Evangelistic Times*. The church attracted many high profile travelling evangelists and was a centre for those who had participated in the healing revivals held in the city during the early 1950s.³⁴⁹

A.C. Valdez Sr. later wrote that God had directed his son to open the church in Milwaukee and that in the first year almost thirty thousand people came to the altar “for salvation.” Valdez described the congregation as “an interdenominational and evangelical body of Christian believers” that followed a simple doctrine based on the Bible and accepted “the Holy Scripture just as it’s written”, adding that the church had “no pet theories or axe to grind.”³⁵⁰

He claimed that he and his son never asked any of those saved at their church to join the Milwaukee Evangelistic Temple. Rather, they encouraged them to return to their “home churches” to tell others about their experience. He acknowledged that often these

³⁴⁸ *Voice of Healing*, August 1951, p. 12; *Voice of Healing*, September 1951, p. 8; *Voice of Healing*, December 1951, p. 12; *Voice of Healing*, January, 1952, p.2; *Voice of Healing*, May, 1952, p.16.

³⁴⁹ “Valdez Temple Is 10 Years Old”, *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, October 31, 1964.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

people were received with “a mixed response” in their home congregations and that frequently their pastors were “deeply upset” by their new beliefs. Many, he said, eventually left their churches and joined the 1,600 member congregation at the Temple.³⁵¹

Like his father, Valdez Jr. became adept at successfully using the media to promote the church and his teachings. He produced a television program called “Living Faith” and his radio programs were broadcast in thirty-eight states. On April 5th, 1959, during the Temple's “Operation Milwaukee for Christ” campaign, Valdez Jr. and the Temple's choir broadcast a service from a NorthWest Airlines plane passing over the city via a radio-telephone hookup. The intent was to promote the church’s “house to house” evangelical campaign that asked people to attend the church of their choice.³⁵²

Through the 1960s, faith healing remained a central component of Valdez Jr.’s preaching. Services were held every day at the Milwaukee Evangelist Temple except Mondays and Tuesday and prayers were offered for the sick after every service. The services frequently featured singers, prominent guest evangelists and remained non-denominational in its organization.

In Milwaukee, Valdez Jr. modified some of his teachings regarding faith healing when speaking publicly about his church. During his earlier campaign in Winnipeg in

³⁵¹ Valdez, *Fire on Azusa Street*, p.117. The Milwaukee Evangelistic Temple began with 240 charter members and by 1970 had a membership of 1,300. It was purchased for \$110,000 and during its first ten years more than \$150,000 was invested in remodeling and improving the building. “Valdez Temple Is 10 Years Old”, *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, October 31, 1964; *The Milwaukee Journal*, January 26, 1970. In 1963 A.C. Valdez Jr. was elected President of the Full Gospel Fellowship of Churches & Ministers International.

³⁵² “Church Services to be Broadcast From Airplane”, *The Milwaukee Journal*, March 13, 1959.

January 1952, he claimed that God had delivered healing powers to him and that he possessed the ability to channel God's power.³⁵³ In Milwaukee, he was careful to point out that he did not possess the power to heal and that he only prayed for healing. In public statements, he also revised his earlier belief that healing could be achieved through faith alone. In Milwaukee, Valdez said he believed that "God works through prayer and through the doctors" and claimed that he told his congregation that if prayers didn't work, those seeking healing should "get the best doctor you can find." He added that "God put doctors here for a purpose."³⁵⁴ After suffering a burst appendix in 1968, followed by an operation to remove his gall bladder, Valdez was asked by the *Milwaukee Journal* why God didn't heal him, Valdez Jr. responded that God had a purpose and wanted to work through doctors in his case. He added that the experience didn't change his belief in divine healing, saying that "Divine Healing may not be scientific, but it's real."³⁵⁵

Valdez's public statements on faith healing were influenced by his new environment. Wisconsin state law required that "no person shall treat the sick unless he had a certificate of registration in the basic sciences and has complied with all other requirements of the law." In Milwaukee, the Temple was under intense scrutiny and was investigated by the board of medical examiners, the internal revenue service, the Milwaukee county District Attorney's office, the Milwaukee police department vice squad and the Better Business Bureau. Valdez emerged "unscathed" and the church passed all the audits according to the *Milwaukee Journal*. By modifying his earlier views

³⁵³ "Faith Healer' Describes How He Got His Power", *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 1, 1952.

³⁵⁴ "Valdez never Claims that he Heals", *The Milwaukee Journal*, March 26, 1968.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

on divine healing, at least in public, Valdez minimized public criticism from local physicians and ministers.³⁵⁶ In his church, evidence suggests that Valdez Jr. held to classical Pentecostal beliefs concerning the gifts of the Holy Spirit including miraculous healing. Despite theological similarities with denominational Pentecostalism and a closely shared history, the Milwaukee Evangelistic Temple remained separate and apart from the increasingly conservative Assemblies of God due to its perceived “extreme practises.”³⁵⁷ As an independent Pentecostal church, it represented a link between the healing campaigns of the 1950s and the charismatic non-denominational mega-churches that were to emerge in the following decades.

In 1970, Valdez Jr. decided to leave Milwaukee and return to his earlier itinerant evangelistic work. As President of the Full Gospel Fellowship of Ministers and Churches International, he planned to visit churches of that fellowship throughout North America and do missionary work in Brazil. However, in 1971, Valdez Jr. filed for bankruptcy. His voluntary petition in U.S. Federal court listed \$8,697 in debts and \$1,892 in assets. Due to illness, A.C. Valdez Jr. retired to California and, in the mid 1970s, finished his career maintaining a small itinerant ministry. His father returned to Arizona and was a frequent guest on Pentecostal television programs including “The 700 Club” and “The PTL Club”. In 1980, a year prior to his death, he published an account of his experience at the Azusa

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ “Letter, R. T. McGlasson to J Wagner, Paramaribo, Surinam, South America, 8 January 1968”, quoted in Mark Hutchison, “‘Second Founder’: A. C. Valdez Sr. and Australian Pentecostalism”.

Street revival in 1906.³⁵⁸

A.C. Valdez Jr. in British Columbia

When A.C. Valdez Jr. began his divine healing campaign in western Canada in late 1951 he was still a relatively inexperienced evangelist. However, he quickly rose to become one of the most charismatic and successful evangelists in the Voice of Healing association and his first campaigns in British Columbia, which began in Victoria on August 17th, continued the phenomenal success he had enjoyed in Hawaii. The campaign arrived well provisioned with two large vans of equipment that arrived by barge from Seattle. Throughout his tour of Canada, Valdez Jr. relied on local Pentecostal congregations to provide support and assistance and take care of any necessary local arrangements. The organizer of the Victoria campaign, Pastor E. Robinson of the Pentecostal Glad Tidings Tabernacle, was responsible for obtaining permits from the City Council, Fire Chief, Building Inspector and an Entry Permit from Immigration Authorities in Ottawa. After five hours of setup, services began in a large outdoor tent cathedral and were described by Pastor Robinson as producing the “greatest stir in twenty years”.³⁵⁹

From the very first service, Robinson claimed that “deaf ears were unstopped and, during the meeting, many received their sight. Removed eardrums were restored and diseases of various kinds disappeared at the touch of the Master's Hand.” Robinson believed that the “Gift of Healing” was “made manifest” during these meetings and that Valdez “preached under a

³⁵⁸ *The Milwaukee Journal*, January 26, 1970; *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, July 7, 1971. A.C. Valdez Sr. passed away in February, 1981 and A.C. Valdez Jr. died at the age of 68 in May, 1996.

³⁵⁹ “The British Columbia Churches Hold Great Salvation Campaigns”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, November 1, 1951.

gracious anointing of the Spirit.” One woman testified that a six-inch cancerous growth “with roots like threads, sloughed away from her body”. A man testified that after attending a meeting he was examined by a doctor who said, "Your cancer has all dried up."³⁶⁰

An article published in the *Daily Colonist* in Victoria and later reprinted in an advertisement for the Valdez revival in Winnipeg, described the healing line at one of the Victoria meetings:

Waiting in an aisle is a long line of suffering humanity, young and old, some with faces distorted with pain. Nearby are stretcher cases, cripples in wheel chairs, old people who need some support to stand. They are all waiting ... waiting for a miracle to happen.

The moment has arrived. All is tense. The faith healer walks to wheel chair where a thin, pale young man sits. He is paralysed from the waist down.

“Affliction I curse thee,” says the evangelist. “Stand up now, you are getting better.”

The man stands. Tears roll down the face of a well-dressed grey-haired businessman kneeling in prayer.

That is what this reporter saw in the big tent. There were many testimonies of cures.³⁶¹

The following month, Valdez Jr. held meetings in Vancouver where he claimed the ability to “use the Lord's power to heal an affliction.” The healing campaign attracted an estimated 2500 persons each night during the third week of September, 1951. An advertisement for the meetings in Winnipeg published in January 5th, 1952, reprinted a story from the *Vancouver Sun*, which reported that, at the first service in the Denman Auditorium, more than a

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ “Commencing Tomorrow Jan 6th, A.C. Valdez Jr. Revival and Healing Campaign”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 5, 1952.

thousand people were turned away on September 16, 1951 as Valdez preached an address titled “How God Gave Me the Gift of Healing” to a capacity crowd of three thousand people. *The Vancouver Sun* reported that the doors to the auditorium were closed and bolted forty minutes before the service began and that the disappointed crowds began to disrupt traffic outside the auditorium. In response, Valdez Jr. delivered an extra sermon that evening to accommodate those turned away. Within the first days of the Valdez Healing Campaign in Vancouver, a spokesperson for Valdez told the paper that “scores” of persons had already begun to return to the meetings “to testify that they have been cured of ailments including blindness, deafness and “inward diseases”.³⁶² As he touched each individual in the healing line, he declared: “There it is! I can feel the power of God!” The *Vancouver Sun* reported that his statements ranged from righteous declarations (“I am giving you the power and authority over demons) to humble admissions (“I’m not a healer, I’m just here to tell you what Jesus can do”).³⁶³

In his preamble to the service, Valdez claimed that his divine healing had resulted in a Louisiana boy growing a second ear after being born with only one. In Victoria, he claimed one woman achieved a cure by placing her hand on her radio while listening to one of his revival broadcasts. Scorning the criticism of non-believers generally, he declared: “If you're persecuted, you can be sure you're God's work.”³⁶⁴

A.C. Valdez Jr. was invited to Vancouver by the city’s Full Gospel Ministerial

³⁶² “Touched by Southern Preacher Scores Claim Cures at Faith Healing Sessions”, *Vancouver Sun*, September 19, 1951, reprinted in *The Voice of Healing*, February 1952, p.4.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.4.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.4.

Fellowship which requested that he conduct a “union salvation and healing campaign in this city”. The Fellowship rented the Denman Auditorium for two weeks from September 16th to September 30th with Sunday afternoon services held in the Evangelistic Tabernacle. The Fellowship estimated that the total attendance for the two weeks ran over 35,000 people with ten Vancouver churches cooperating in sponsoring the campaign and all of which closed their Sunday night and week night services for the duration of the campaign.³⁶⁵

Throughout the campaign, Valdez Jr. emphasized the theme of salvation and repeatedly declared that “when a soul is born again, this is the greatest miracle...” Valdez Jr. was assisted by his father, A.C. Valdez Sr., the veteran Pentecostal preacher, who conducted the afternoon preparatory services. By the end of the campaign it was estimated that approximately one thousand people had signed convert cards. Rev. Walter E. McAlister, Chairman of the Campaign Committee, described the final days of the meetings and its impact on the community:

During the last week of the campaign we had several campaign tarrying services in the Broadway Pentecostal Tabernacle. In each of those services, there were several people who received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit according to Acts 2:4. Even on Sunday nights, when the Auditorium was packed to capacity, Rev. Valdez would lead the congregation in seasons of worship and praise when hundreds of people with hands upraised would praise the Lord... I am sure in these services there were hundreds of church people who had never experienced anything like this. After this revival they can never be the same.³⁶⁶

During the fall of 1951, Valdez continued his tent revival meetings in smaller centres throughout British Columbia including the Alberni Valley and Penticton.³⁶⁷ Pastor M.B.

³⁶⁵ “The British Columbia Churches Hold Great Salvation Campaigns”, *Pentecostal Testimony*, November 1, 1951.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁷ *Pentecostal Testimony*, October 15, 1951; *Pentecostal Testimony*, March 1, 1952.

Delgatty claimed that the Valdez meetings were “one of the greatest revivals” that had ever occurred in the Alberni Valley.³⁶⁸ Three hundred and fifty persons came for “salvation” in five nights of meetings and many more passed through the prayer lines coming in. Delgatty reported that in each of the services “the deaf heard, the dumb spoke, the blind saw and the lame and infirm were made whole . . .” He estimated that the attendance for the last service at the Sports Centre reached nearly 1,200 people.³⁶⁹

In Penticton, crowds gathered hours before the beginning of meetings for all seven days of the Valdez revival. Each day the meetings lasted approximately four hours and were packed to capacity with standing room only. One observer remarked on the “bright Pentecostal atmosphere of the meetings” and claimed that “goiters vanished, blind eyes were opened and great numbers of deaf received hearing immediately, one man who walked in with a crutch and with difficulty left his crutch and went up and down the aisle praising God.” By the end of the week, 190 persons had “received Christ as their Saviour.”³⁷⁰

Promoting the Valdez Jr. Campaign in Winnipeg

Newspaper advertisements for the A.C. Valdez Jr. Healing Campaign in Winnipeg promoted the first services to be held on Sunday, January 6, 1952 at 2:30 and 7:00 p.m. at the Winnipeg Civic Auditorium. During the remainder of the week, the services were scheduled to continue at the Winnipeg Roller Skating Rink on Portage Ave. at 2:30 and 7:30 p.m. Evening services on Sunday January 13th and 20th were to be held at the Civic Auditorium, with the

³⁶⁸ *Pentecostal Testimony*, October 15, 1951.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ *Pentecostal Testimony*, March 1, 1952.

campaign ending at the Civic Auditorium on Sunday, January 20th.³⁷¹

The Pentecostal Calvary Temple advertised that pastor Rev. Theodore Ness, co-chairman of the Valdez Jr. campaign, would preach on the topic “Faith Brings Victory” at 11:15 a.m. on Sunday, January 6th and, that “co-operating with the Valdez Interdenominational Revival with Prayer for the Sick”, services would be held weekdays at the Winnipeg Roller Rink and Sundays at the Civic Auditorium. The advertisement also mentioned that daily prayer meetings would be held at 10:00 a.m. at the Calvary Temple and noted the weekly church radio broadcast on CKY at 9:30 p.m. on Sundays. The Pentecostal Glad Tidings Tabernacle advertised that the church would be open for “morning prayer” each day at 10:00 a.m. and that Rev. H. Wuerch, chairman of the campaign, would lead “morning devotions” at 11:00 a.m. every day of the Valdez Jr. healing campaign. The Grace Tabernacle Church at Marjorie St. and Portage Ave. noted as well that worship would be offered each morning at 11:00 a.m. with Pastor John D. Kennington, but that the Tabernacle would be closed Sunday evening and that there would be no evening services during the Valdez healing campaign at the civic Auditorium.³⁷² Healing services were “For all People, For all Churches.”³⁷³ During each of the afternoon services, the advertisements noted that an "instructional period for the sick" would be held by A.C. Valdez Sr. and appointment cards were to be distributed at that time. In the evening, services would be conducted by A.C.

³⁷¹ “Revival and Healing Campaign to be Held in Winnipeg”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 5, 1952.

³⁷² *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 5, 1952.

³⁷³ “Commencing Tomorrow Jan 6th: A.C. Valdez Jr. Revival and Healing Campaign”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 5, 1952.

Valdez Jr., who would lead a ceremony “of prayer, laying on hands and anointing with oil.”³⁷⁴

The advertisement for the meetings in the *Winnipeg Free Press* on January 5th, 1952 quoted 1st Corinthians 12:9, “God has given him the gift of healing.”³⁷⁵

On January 1st, 1952, the thirty-seven year old Valdez was interviewed by the *Winnipeg Free Press* in his hotel room at the Marlborough Inn in downtown Winnipeg. In response to a question about his healing powers, he spoke about how he received the power to heal:

The whole atmosphere was charged with electricity. The angels came to my bedside. They placed their hands on my head. A liquid-like warmth flowed through my body to the very soles of my feet. I felt at peace with the world.

Then a voice said: Son, I'm giving you the power of divine healing.³⁷⁶

Valdez believed that he had received the ability to cure a vast range of illnesses including blindness, deafness, lameness, cancer, tumours and the power to cast out demons. He added that “the Lord also told me to tell the people He was coming.” Valdez Jr. said that five years earlier he had been awakened at night with a “burden for prayer”. He prayed and fasted for days during a two year period and then three years previous he had a “strange and moving experience.”

When I pray for the sick, I feel the power of God come upon me, beginning in the pit of my stomach surging up my body and down my right arm. It leaps from my fingertips like electricity... I feel

³⁷⁴ “Revival and Healing Campaign to be Held in Winnipeg”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 5, 1952.

³⁷⁵ “Commencing Tomorrow Jan 6th A.C. Valdez Jr. Revival and Healing Campaign”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 5, 1952.

³⁷⁶ “Faith Healer’ Describes How He Got His Power”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 1, 1952.

the virtue of Christ leave my hand.³⁷⁷

In addition to his father, A.C. Valdez Jr. arrived in Winnipeg with his mother, wife, two children and a soloist. He said that he came to Winnipeg at the request of Rev. H. Wuerch, pastor of Glad Tidings Tabernacle and noted that Calvary Temple also sponsored the campaign. Valdez Jr. told the reporter that he didn't claim to heal people and that only God is capable of that but explained that God heals them when he prays for them. Most importantly, "If in their heart people have a hunger for God and if they live for God, they will be healed for good." Rev. Wuerch added that "It is proven he can heal the sick and afflicted, otherwise, we wouldn't have invited him."³⁷⁸

In describing his plans for the upcoming meetings in Winnipeg, he said that his father A.C. Valdez Sr., a Pentecostal pastor for 37 years, would hold "instructional" periods every afternoon for the sick. The purpose of these meetings was to "get them right with God." Then prayer 'divine healing' cards would be handed out to the ill and then taken to the evening service where Valdez Jr. would pray for the card holders. When asked about his views on medicine and physicians, Valdez responded that he had "no quarrel with doctors - we both try to heal the sick... We have had medical doctors examine the sick before and after I prayed for them and they have declared them cured."³⁷⁹

Accounts of the Valdez Healing Campaign in Winnipeg

The first account of the Valdez healing mission in Winnipeg, published on Monday,

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

January 7th, reported that an estimated 3,800 persons crowded the Civic Auditorium the previous evening, “many in wheel chairs, others on crutches”, for the first of the faith healing rallies. By the end of the evening, six deaf people claimed “new hearing”, one blind person sight and others “with a variety of diseases had felt the power of the healing spirit.”³⁸⁰

Following an opening talk by his father, Valdez Jr. took the stage and promised that healing comes easy if a person is sincere and open to the possibilities. “You will see miracles before your eyes but we must give the glory to Jesus for he's the one who is doing the job. Don't go around the city saying Valdez is healing people, say God is.”³⁸¹

At the beginning of the meeting and afterward, a collection was taken by ushers. Valdez Jr. assured the audience that he did not “touch one penny of the money that comes in here - anyone who wants to investigate is perfectly welcome to do so.”³⁸² He advised that if people attended the meeting faithfully and followed what they were told to do, they would definitely be healed. While he predicted that some people would experience immediate healing, others would receive a “progressive healing” that would be complete by thirty days. The audience was told that those who followed his instructions would “definitely” be healed “or the word of God is not true and that contains no ifs, ands or buts.”³⁸³

Valdez Jr. proceeded to tell a story about an Arizona man who was close to death as a

³⁸⁰ “I Can Hear The Watch Deaf Man Tells Faith Healer”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 7, 1952.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² “He Claims to Heal and Some Believe”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 8, 1952.

³⁸³ “I Can Hear The Watch Deaf Man Tells Faith Healer”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 7, 1952.

result of suffering from tuberculosis. At the end of thirty days, the man had amazed his medical specialists with an immediate recovery following faith-healing treatment. He added that ministers and medical professionals have supported his claim that 90 per cent of those treated have been completely healed.³⁸⁴

Approximately one hundred people moved to the front of the audience and knelt in prayer as Valdez asked the afflicted to show their faith. As people approached the stage, they handed in the healing cards received earlier in the afternoon from A.C. Valdez Sr. When the meeting built to a climax, Valdez Jr. called the “the deaf and the blind” in the audience at the Winnipeg Roller Rink to approach the stage in two separate lines at the sides.³⁸⁵

A woman from the Norwood area of Winnipeg told Valdez Jr. that she had been deaf in one ear for thirty years. He put his hand to her deaf ear and called upon God to heal her deafness and then stepped back. He then held a watch to the same ear and asked her if she could hear anything. She replied that she could hear the watch. As her arms flailed, she grasped a microphone thrust into her hand and said: “It sure is real.”³⁸⁶ A man from Morden claimed he had been deaf for six years and, after the faith-healing, said: “I can hear the watch, that's quite real. I can hear perfectly.” One woman who was blind in one eye clasped her hand over her seeing eye and, following the treatment, called off the correct number of fingers raised by Rev. Valdez. Following each claim of success, Valdez Jr. called upon the audience “to applaud God for his healing.”³⁸⁷

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

Valdez Jr. instructed four-year old Donald Swanson, who had been blind in his right eye since birth, to cover his left eye.³⁸⁸ Valdez Jr. held his pocket watch about six inches from the boy's right eye and asked him if he could see what he was holding. The audience applauded loudly as the boy said he saw the watch, convincing many in the crowd that this was yet another example of Valdez's divine faith healing powers. Later, a reporter asked Donald's father, Norman Swanson, to try a second test on his son's right eye. When the boy was unable to see a bank book held directly in front of the eye, his father said he wanted to wait a few more days before renouncing hope that his son's eye had been healed.³⁸⁹

After the opening service at the Civic Auditorium on Sunday night, Valdez Jr. moved to the Winnipeg Roller Rink where, attended by an overflow audiences, he remained for the following three weeks on week day evenings while returning to the Civic Auditorium on Saturday and Sunday evenings. His reception on the first evening at the roller rink was described as "enthusiastic in the extreme". Dozens of ailing believers reported at least partial healing after receiving prayers spoken over them by Valdez. Others in the "healing line" were assured by the minister that their healing would be progressive provided their faith in God was complete. He emphasized that "it's not Valdez who's healing you - it's God who is healing you. I am just a vessel for His work."³⁹⁰

As people in the healing line passed before him, Mr. Valdez read over a public address system the history of the patient's ailment. Then, he would ask the audience to bow their heads

³⁸⁸ "He Claims to Heal and Some Believe", *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 8, 1952.

³⁸⁹ "I Can Hear The Watch Deaf Man Tells Faith Healer", *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 7, 1952.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

in prayer while he touched the patient's afflicted part and prayed himself. "There it is! Thank you Jesus." He then performed simple tests to demonstrate that the patient had been healed, including asking the people who claimed to be deaf to listen to his watch ticking or to repeat words after him. He asked those who said they were blind if they could see his hand moving in front of their faces. Most of the people in the healing line testified at least to partial healing.³⁹¹

Throughout the Valdez Jr. healing campaign, both the *Winnipeg Tribune* and *Winnipeg Free Press* published reports of people who had gone through the healing line, emphasizing the views of sceptics and cases that called into question the veracity of Valdez's healing claims.³⁹² The reluctance of the two major papers in the city to accept the Valdez campaign's healing claims fuelled mainline opposition to the meetings and underscored the allegiance of the major media outlets to the longstanding mainline Protestant power base in the city. In one case, a fifty-nine year old woman from the Steinbach district was taken to the St. Boniface hospital in Winnipeg in a diabetic coma two days after she had given up insulin injections in the conviction that she had been healed by Valdez Jr. She was revived with insulin at the hospital and returned to taking her daily injections of insulin. She said that she "didn't know" if there was still a chance that Valdez' "ministration" would help her but her sons and daughters all said that they believed there was a chance. "Sure they believe", she declared, "You know they are young and try to believe - I don't blame them. If you were in my condition you would believe too." She said that she still believed in faith healing and recalled that Valdez Jr. had said that sometimes it takes

³⁹¹ "He Claims to Heal and Some Believe", *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 8, 1952.

³⁹² "4 Tests of Valdez 'Healing'", *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 28, 1952.

a long time. “We don't know enough about it to pass judgement.”³⁹³

The *Winnipeg Tribune* reported that the “most pathetic case” was that of a little five-year-old girl who had been deaf since birth. While Mr. Valdez anointed her forehead and prayed over her as the child’s mother stood weeping. Valdez Jr. began testing the girl by snapping his fingers and clapping his hands at either side of her head. After the girl initially made no response, Valdez exclaimed “She hears that... God is definitely healing this little girl... This mother is going to see a great difference... this is not an instant healing.”³⁹⁴

Valdez then instructed the healing line to approach the stage quickly and spent several seconds over each of the men and women and children filing by him. The *Tribune* reported that approximately half the audience went through the line and, as they passed, Valdez Jr. would touch each of them and say phrases like “Thank you Jesus” or “go your way in peace” and assure each of them that they were healed.³⁹⁵ Each service included a call to all those in the audience who yearned for a born again experience to come forward. Each evening several hundred people came forward to the stage to be “saved” as they knelt before the platform.³⁹⁶

Fifty-seven year old George Lebrecht of Winnipeg described the Valdez meeting he attended as “a lot of excitement that did me no good”. Lebrecht lost his sight in one eye in an accident seven years earlier and, since that time, had an artificial right eye. At the healing meeting, Valdez Jr. told him that his sight would be restored within three days. “I prayed... until my eyes were sore and red... but I could still only tell light from darkness.” Lebrecht said that he

³⁹³ “They Weren’t Cured But She’s Still A Believer”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

still had faith in God but that his visit to the Valdez Jr. healing meeting did not improve his condition.³⁹⁷ The fifty-seven-year-old, identified by the *Free Press* as a “seller of mops and brooms”, said that all he wanted “was to recover the sight in my right eye, so that I could read my Bible and walk about without my guide. I have faith in God, but my visit to the faith healer did me no good.”³⁹⁸

Citing an earlier case involving four year old Donald Swanson who was blind in his right eye since birth, The *Tribune* once again disputed Valdez Jr.’s claim that the boy had been healed. After Donald was tested by a *Tribune* reporter and was unable to see a bankbook held in front of his blind eye, the paper contacted his father who refused to talk about the case. The father told the reporter that he “didn’t report it correctly”. The paper added that Donald’s father refused to say what he thought was incorrect about the report.³⁹⁹

In response to negative reports about the faith healing meetings, Rev. A.C. Valdez Sr. complained to the *Winnipeg Tribune* on January 19, 1952 about an “unfair” story of the Steinbach woman who fell into a diabetic coma after stopping insulin injections in the belief she had been cured. He cited the case of Loreen Smith, a seventeen-year-old Winnipeg grocery clerk who said she had been cured of deafness in her left ear. Valdez Sr. said this case proved his son’s healing abilities.⁴⁰⁰ Valdez Sr. stated that her case was just one example of the healing being performed in Winnipeg and that he expected as many as 2,500 testimonies to be recorded by the

³⁹⁷ “4 Tests of Valdez 'Healing'”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 28, 1952.

³⁹⁸ “They Weren’t Cured But She’s Still A Believer”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26 1952.

³⁹⁹ “4 Tests of Valdez 'Healing'”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 28, 1952.

⁴⁰⁰ “Claims Cure by Faith Healer”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 19, 1952.

time the campaign ended at the Auditorium on Sunday, January 20th, 1952.⁴⁰¹

A Winnipeg doctor who removed Loreen Smith's tonsils and adenoids the previous year told the *Tribune* that she did mention her deafness when he examined her but that he could find nothing wrong. He added that he did not attempt to treat her ear and emphasized that the purpose of the appointment was merely an examination "in passing".⁴⁰² Loreen Smith said she did not seek specialist attention for her deafness. Due to perfect hearing in her right ear, she said that the condition did not inconvenience her and that "only a few persons" were aware of her deafness. Her mother confirmed that she had been deaf in her right ear and that it was only after Valdez Jr. prayed over her that she indicated she could hear in her right ear and stated that "she's been hearing fine out of that ear ever since." Loreen Smith provided A.V. Valdez Jr. with a signed testimonial of her healing.⁴⁰³ In the testimony she claimed that she had been deaf in her left ear for about five years and, that after being examined by a doctor, she was told that nothing could be done to restore her hearing. At the Valdez Jr. healing campaign, when Valdez prayed for her, she said that "God instantly opened my left ear and I can now hear even a tiny watch tick. I do give God all the glory for performing this miracle in my left ear."⁴⁰⁴ *The Tribune* noted that the doctor referred to by Loreen Smith was the same one who said he had never attempted to treat her for deafness.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

Initial Responses to the Valdez Jr. Healing Revival

By the end of the first week of the A.C. Valdez Jr. healing revival, several city clergy delivered sermons critical of faith healing. On Sunday, January 12th at Westminster United Church, Rev. Allen Huband spoke on the topic “What About Faith Healing?”, Rev. W. Gordon MacLean at First Presbyterian titled his first sermon in a series on faith healing “The Paralytic at Capernaum” and the First Federated (Unitarian) Church’s Rev. P.M. Petursson gave his impressions of his visits to the Valdez Jr. faith healing meetings in a sermon titled “Faith Healer or Charlatan?”.⁴⁰⁶

Lay critics of faith healing also began expressing their opposition to the Valdez Jr. campaign in letters to the editor published both in the *Free Press* and *Tribune*. One critic named “Interested” wrote that, after numerous visits to the Valdez Jr. meetings, he had “yet to see anything done that could be called a miracle.”⁴⁰⁷ The letter suggested that Valdez Jr. was “trying to force God’s hand” in his claims of healing the sick and predicted that healing of “these so-called completely cured people” would be short-lived and likely found to be false after the hysteria of the revival had passed. The author concluded that these individuals would be better off praying in their own homes and that they didn’t need Valdez Jr. to seek God’s help.⁴⁰⁸

In a letter to the editor titled “About Mr. Valdez”, M.C. Johnson suggested that Valdez Jr.

⁴⁰⁶ “City Ministers to Discuss Question of Faith Healing”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 12, 1952. An advertisement for the First Federated (Unitarian) Church stated that the church “accepts reason as its guide and shuns every attempt to lead it down the path of uncontrolled emotionalism.” See Advertisement, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 12, 1952. “The Paralytic at Capernaum” is a reference to one of the miracles of Jesus described in the Gospels in Matthew (9:1-8), Mark (2:1-12) and Luke (5:17-26).

⁴⁰⁷ “Faith Healing”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 19, 1952.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

should be allowed to go ahead with his teachings in Winnipeg and that the results of the healing meetings would make clear whether he delivered a “false doctrine” or a teaching “from God”.⁴⁰⁹ However, the writer fully expected that, in time, all of the people who thought they were “miraculously healed” by Valdez Jr. would find themselves “in the same infirmity”. The letter questioned Valdez Jr.’s motivations and his use of his claimed miraculous power to heal.

I believe The Word of God when it says “God is no respecter of persons” Acts 10:34. If God is no respecter (sic) of persons why should he give one man power in this day and age miraculous power and not others. (And I know men who have just as strong a faith as Mr. Valdez).

If Mr. Valdez has this power why, when he knows so many people are doubtful, doesn’t he go to our old folks home in St. Boniface and restore the physical health of those poor crippled souls. Again why doesn’t he go to our hospital for crippled children and show this miraculous power in restoring them to their health. If he has the workings of God in him, why doesn’t he prove these things beyond a shadow of a doubt and everyone would be constrained to believe.

In the days when Jesus and His Apostles healed the infirmities of the flesh these infirmities disappeared immediately but Mr. Valdez says one has to wait from one to thirty days. WHY?

The writer concluded that Valdez had demonstrated he was “an excellent psychiatrist” who misrepresented “God’s Holy Word” and that “he ought to take heed to the truth.”⁴¹⁰

In a letter titled “Opposed to Faith Healing Campaigns”, David McKenzie wrote that he endorsed the efforts of the *Tribune* to give voice to those who opposed the A.C. Valdez Jr. “campaign” in Winnipeg. He suggested that those who believed Valdez Jr. should be permitted to hold “his exhibitions” in churches that chose to accommodate him were mistaken. In his view,

⁴⁰⁹ “About Mr. Valdez”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 26, 1952.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

such campaigns should not be permitted in the Winnipeg Civic Auditorium, in any church, or anywhere else in Canada.⁴¹¹ He despaired that the Valdez Jr. healing campaign offered false hope to those who suffered from illness and ultimately would lead to great disappointment for those who believed they had been healed. He concluded that modern society would ultimately demonstrate the falsehood of religion and the advent of the “combine, the sound picture, the radio, the automobile and the airplane are in themselves destined to deal the last solar plexus blow to all ghosts, to all goblins and to all gods.”⁴¹²

After the conclusion of the Valdez revival, a number of Protestant ministers delivered sermons questioning the faith healing claims of the campaign and cautioned their congregations about the potential dangers of extreme “emotionalism” in faith healing. On Sunday evening, January 20th, Rev. Earl V. Phillips of Bethany Baptist church, one of the few Fundamentalist ministers to criticize the campaign, told his congregation that “so-called faith healers” often conveniently blamed their failure to heal on the presence of sin in their “patients”. He affirmed the view that “Bible-believing” people believe in God’s ability to heal but added, in reference to the earlier investigation into the Charles Price healing campaign in Vancouver, that research conducted by “Christian doctors and ministers” into three hundred and fifty “cure cases” following a faith healing rally concluded that only five persons had been healed and these were likely the result of “hypnotic suggestion”. Within six months of the revival, thirty-nine attendees had died, five went insane and four family members of persons believed to have been healed went insane because of the continued illnesses of their family members. He cited another case of

⁴¹¹ “Opposed to Faith Healing Campaigns”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 19, 1952.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

a “faith healer” who conducted campaigns in Toronto and Washington where not a single case of healing was confirmed.⁴¹³

Phillips argued that “faith healers” were mistaken in believing that illness was the result of sin. In his view, they failed to recognize that most physical sickness was caused by “a breach of physical law” and not related to the breaking of moral law. He stressed the importance of prayer for the sick but, at the same time, argued “but it was not God’s will that everyone be healed”. As for faith healers, Phillips suggested that there was no scriptural basis for such a practice and that the Bible could be searched in vain for “the man with gifts of healing who went around advertising the fact in order to draw crowds.”⁴¹⁴

On the same evening at Grace United Church, the Rev. Dr. W.G. Martin delivered a sermon titled “What I Believe About the Miracle of Healing”.⁴¹⁵ Martin disputed the idea that one “endowed” person was capable of healing an illness and argued that the idea of healing in a particular moment “is interfering with the prerogative of God”. However, he stressed the importance of faith in healing and endorsed the “united work of ministers and medical men” whose combined efforts focused on illnesses related to “a lack of harmony in life” and “mental pain”. Martin concluded that healing through “mass emotionalism” often resulted in only

⁴¹³ “Ministers Condemn Healing Rally: One Cautious”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, Jan 21, 1952. Other sermons on faith healing delivered at the conclusion of the Valdez healing campaign included “Spiritual Healing By the Apostles” by Rev. W. Gordon MacLean at First Presbyterian and “True Divine Healing! What is God’s real plan for this healing in His church? The Scriptures make it clear” at the Seventh Day Adventist Church on 355 Young St. See First Presbyterian and Seventh Day Adventist Church advertisements, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 19, 1952.

⁴¹⁴ “Ministers Condemn Healing Rally: One Cautious”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 21, 1952.

⁴¹⁵ Grace United Church Advertisement, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 19, 1952.

temporary improvement and ignored the need for medical attention.⁴¹⁶

Rev. F.R. Gartrell of St. George's Anglican Church argued that divine healing "was a reality" and that all healing can be viewed as "divine". Unlike Martin, Gartrell recognized the role of "emotionalism" in healing and suggested that some people require methods of healing that others might view as "hysterical" adding that "what seemed intellectually absurd could be divinely sane." He acknowledged that some critics would see failures as sufficient reason to reject the idea of divine healing but argued that "failures point to the fact that we don't know enough about spiritual healing... There are miraculous healings of organic illnesses which I cannot explain in human terms. This is God's work and it is miraculous in our times." However, he cautioned that the "extreme" use of "emotionalism" in healing could often result in disastrous consequences.⁴¹⁷

On Friday, January 18th, Reverend D .A. MacLean of the Gordon United Church in Elmwood wrote a brief entry into his diary summarizing his experience at the Valdez Jr. campaign that night. "Evening... Attended Valdez meeting - touch healer faker."⁴¹⁸

Support for Valdez

On January 19th, the day before the conclusion of the Valdez healing campaign, the three churches supporting the campaign published advertisements in the *Free Press*. The Calvary Temple ran the largest advertisement promoting a sermon titled "I Believe in Divine Healing" to

⁴¹⁶ "Ministers Condemn Healing Rally: One Cautious", *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 21, 1952.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Transcript of D. A. MacLean Diary 1951-53, Book XVII, p.1312. King Memorial United Church fonds, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference, Winnipeg, MB.

be delivered by Pastor Theodore Ness at 11:15 a.m. on Sunday, January 20th. In addition, a “Great Prophetic Rally” was scheduled for 2:30 p.m. at the Winnipeg Roller Rink as well as “Two Mammoth Rallies” at 6:30 and 9:00 p.m. at the Civic Auditorium, the latter with accommodation for ten thousand people. The advertisement also noted that a meeting would be held on the evening of Wednesday, January 23rd at Calvary Temple that would include “Wonderful Testimonies of Healing with Special Prayer for the Sick”.⁴¹⁹

The day after the conclusion of the Valdez healing campaign, the two local Pentecostal pastors who co-chaired the campaign, Rev. Theodore Ness of Calvary Temple and Rev. W. Wuerch of the Glad Tidings Tabernacle, were joined by Gordon Upton, the Missionary Secretary of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, in sending a letter in support of Valdez Jr. to the *Winnipeg Free Press*.⁴²⁰ The letter was a response to critics of the campaign and expressed their belief in the miraculous nature of healing. In reference to classical Pentecostal beliefs, they stated that Christianity is a religion of miracles and that it began with “the supernatural birth of Christ followed by His supernatural ministry, death and resurrection.” The ministry of the Apostles, as recorded in the Book of Acts, they asserted that miracles were possible and they believed that there was no scripture in the Bible that stated that the day of miracles had past.

They chastised opponents of the Valdez Jr. campaign for statements that could not be substantiated given that no thorough investigation of claims of healing had been made. They acknowledged that it was natural for some people to discredit the supernatural manifestations of

⁴¹⁹ See advertisements by the Calvary Temple, Glad Tidings Tabernacle and Grace Tabernacle in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 19, 1952.

⁴²⁰ “Three Ministers Defend Valdez”, Letters to the Editor, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 21, 1952.

healing but lamented that it was unfortunate that religious leaders in the city jumped to conclusions and made rash statements before thoroughly understanding what had occurred during the three week campaign. The authors claimed that throughout the healing mission “nothing but the highest praise” had been given to the medical profession and the work done to provide relief to the suffering. However, they added that, in their view, healing was not limited to the human realm and miraculous healing was not founded on human reason but could only be understood through a true understanding of the Bible.

They concluded that people depend on all religious leaders to provide guidance in such matters and that the true test of a case of divine healing was whether it “will stand the test of Scripture.” In their view, the critics of the Valdez Jr. healing campaign had succumbed to the use of “mere human reasoning” in their judgements rather than using the Bible to substantiate their statements. Anyone could be a “critic or a scoffer” but only a Bible believing Christian understood the need to “follow our miracle-working Lord.” For them, the “Wisdom of God” declared that Christianity was “not founded nor does it progress on human reasoning.”⁴²¹

⁴²¹ “Three Ministers Defend Valdez”, Letters to the Editor, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 21, 1952. On December 20th, 1953, Rev. H. Wuerch delivered a sermon at Glad Tidings Tabernacle, Juno St. and McDermot Ave., on the Valdez campaign titled “Will A.C. Valdez Return to Winnipeg”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, December 19, 1953. On September 18, 1954, A.C. Valdez Sr, “author and world traveler”, held a “special ministry to the deaf and dumb, blind and crippled children”, as well as a “prayer for the sick every night”, from September 15th to the 19th at the Pentecostal Glad Tidings Tabernacle. *Winnipeg Free Press*, September 15, 1954, September 18, 1954. This was his last visit to Winnipeg. A.C. Valdez Jr. never returned to Winnipeg after his healing campaign in January, 1952.

Chapter Six

The Murder of Martha Louise McCullough

Initial Reports

The first report of the murder of Martha Louise McCullough appeared in the *Winnipeg Tribune* on January 25th, the day of the murder, and stated simply that a seven year-old girl had been strangled and that police believed the crime had occurred shortly after noon that same day. The girl was identified only as “an adopted daughter of a Carmen Ave. couple”.⁴²² The following day the press identified the victim, a grade two student at Glenelm School in Winnipeg, and added that she had been adopted by her foster parents, Gavin and Lillian McCullough, as a three-month-old infant.⁴²³

The next day, Martha Louise’s parents appeared in City Police Court to hear a joint charge of murder against them for the death of their daughter. Fifty-one year old Gavin McCullough was carried into the court on a chair, unable to walk due to suffering frostbitten feet the previous day as he and his wife prayed outside near Kelvin Street, not far from their home in Elmwood. Fifty-two year old Lillian McCullough entered the court calling for her husband “with a smile on her face”. After the charges were read, a struggling and shouting Lillian was removed

⁴²² “Report Child Slain”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 25, 1952.

⁴²³ “Murder Charge Laid as Court in Uproar”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 26, 1952; “Child Slain in Her Bed, Praying Parents Held”, *The Globe and Mail*, January 26, 1952.

from the court by three policemen.⁴²⁴ Coverage of the case immediately focused on the religious dimensions of the tragedy.

This chapter examines the reaction to the murder and the ways in which the press, the clergy, the police, and medical officials used the tragedy to criticize the Valdez faith healing campaign and Pentecostalism in the city. The murder is described from multiple perspectives, each identifying different details about the events that occurred on January 25th, 1952. It explores the influence of British-Israelism on the McCullough family and argues that their interest in Pentecostalism and faith healing was influenced by Christian eschatological beliefs that predisposed them to an interest in end of times prophecy prior to the Valdez campaign. It also shows how the police investigation and trials emphasized the role of religious fanaticism in the murder and the degree to which the tragedy was linked to the influence of the Valdez healing campaign on the McCulloughs state of mind and their violent act.

Friends and relatives of the family blamed the recent faith healing campaign of American Pentecostal evangelist Rev. A. C. Valdez Jr. for contributing to the couple's high pitch of religious fervour in the preceding weeks. They noted that, after the three-week campaign ended in Winnipeg on Sunday, January 20th, the McCulloughs had been praying almost ceaselessly in preparation for the end of the world. According to their biblical calculations, the McCulloughs expected that the world would end Sunday, January 27th, and they told a friend just prior to the murder that on that day "the heavens will open and great blessing will fall on Winnipeg."⁴²⁵

Many who knew the McCulloughs told reporters that the healing campaign was directly linked to

⁴²⁴ "Religious Fanaticism Blamed In Girls Death", *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952; "Parents Jailed In Child Death", *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 26, 1952.

⁴²⁵ "Mrs. McCullough Always Ready To Talk About Strange Religion", *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

the murder of Martha Louise McCullough because it had promoted religious fanaticism and apocalyptic beliefs that influenced the impressionable couple.⁴²⁶

The day after the murder, Rev. H.G. Tolton, minister of the King Memorial United Church, said that for about fifteen years the McCullough family had rarely missed a service at his church on Cobourg Avenue, generally attending both morning and evening services on Sundays. The couple were known as “devout Christians and valuable citizens and were looked up to by the community of Elmwood.” Gavin McCullough had worked for many years as an accountant for the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce and was described as a “pillar of the Church” who had served as a member of the board of stewards of King Memorial United as well as chairman of the finance committee.⁴²⁷

The family’s involvement with the church ended “almost immediately” after the arrival of A.C. Valdez Jr. in Winnipeg on January 6th, 1952 and Tolton commented that they hadn’t attended King Memorial since that time. The minister described the McCulloughs as “good Christians” who “suddenly went off on a tangent”. According to Tolton, Lillian attended most of the Valdez Jr. meetings and had contacted "virtually every United Church pastor in the city" in an attempt to persuade them to join her in witnessing miraculous acts of healing. She spoke of Valdez “in great awe” and he claimed that she and her husband believed everything Valdez said.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁶ “Religious Fanaticism Blamed In Girls Death”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952; “Parents Jailed In Child Death” *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 26, 1952.

⁴²⁷ “Swayed By Valdez Minister Reports”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952; “The McCulloughs? Religious Fanatics”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 26, 1952.

⁴²⁸ “Swayed By Valdez Minister Reports”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

Tolton's comments gave the impression that the McCulloughs only became interested in faith healing and Pentecostalism during the Valdez Jr. campaign. However, most of their neighbours were aware that they had been interested in evangelical and fundamentalist Christianity for several years. One neighbour said that, the previous spring, he had predicted they'd end up in an asylum from "reading all those fanatic books" and that "it was this other religion about faith-healing that got them."⁴²⁹ Others who knew the McCulloughs recalled numerous conversations with the couple when they spoke about their beliefs in prophecy and premillennialism. Some attributed this to the couple's interest in faith healing, but Gavin's brother Frank McCullough said that, for years, they had been fascinated by religious groups which predicted the imminent end of the world. Before the Valdez Jr. campaign, they had been involved in "another sect" known as the British-Israel World Federation. He said that they both regularly attended meetings of this group and that his brother frequently presented talks on biblical prophecy at these meetings. Two weeks prior to the murder, Lillian McCullough told a neighbour that she was giving fifty-eight dollars to keep the British-Israel World Federation radio show on the air. She tried to persuade some of her neighbours to attend British-Israel meetings and left books on one neighbour's doorstep.⁴³⁰ The neighbour said the books were about "different countries", "God bringing an end to the world" and that "there was something

⁴²⁹ "Religious Fanaticism Blamed In Girls Death", *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952; "Parents Jailed In Child Death", *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 26, 1952; "She Mocked God', Girl, 7, Strangled; Jury Blames Winnipeg Foster Parents", *The Globe and Mail*, January 29, 1952.

⁴³⁰ "Mrs McCullough Always Ready To Talk About Strange Religion", *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952; "The McCulloughs? Religious Fanatics", *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 26, 1952; "The Queen vs. Gavin McCullough", Ref. # ATG0007, 5/4029, Exhibit No. 17, p.3, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereafter cited as PAM). The British-Israel radio program was broadcast every Sunday morning in Winnipeg on CKRC from 10:00 to 10:15 a.m. See "Radio Programmes", *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 27, 1951.

about a stone supposed to be found in Jerusalem but it never was”.⁴³¹

The neighbour was referring to the British-Israel belief that Anglo-Saxon peoples were the descendants of the “lost tribes” of Ancient Israel and that, because of this claim to an Israelite origin, they were believed to be “God’s chosen people”. The historical origins of British-Israelism can be traced back to John Wilson’s *Lectures on Our Israelite Origins*, published in England in 1840.⁴³² The movement’s theology emphasized the biblical story of Abraham as the patriarch of God’s “Chosen People” and the belief that Abraham was the ancestor of all the people of northern and western Europe through his male descendants. British-Israelism became increasingly popular in the United States through the writings of Charles Totten and Edward Hine during the late nineteenth century and, by the early 1900s, evangelical leaders such as Charles Fox Parnham, an early founder of Pentecostalism, and J.H. Allen, a leader in the Church of God, became influential proponents and teachers of Anglo-Israelism as it was known in the United States. British-Israelite beliefs found an early expression in Winnipeg during Charles Fox Parnham’s month long evangelistic campaign in the city in 1900. Parnham was joined by Frank Sandford, an evangelist from Maine, who was also a proponent of Anglo-Israelism, and their message found an audience among some evangelicals who responded to their emphasis on premillennialism. In his study of early British-Israelism, Michael Barkun credits evangelists like

⁴³¹ “Mrs McCullough Always Ready To Talk About Strange Religion”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

⁴³² On the origins of British Israelism see Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) pp.7-8. There were an estimated two million British-Israel adherents worldwide at the turn of the twentieth century. See Eric Reisenauer, “Between the Eternal City and the Holy City: Rome, Jerusalem, and the Imperial Ideal in Britain”, *Canadian Journal of History*, (Autumn 2009), p.250.

Parnham and Sandford for “infusing British-Israelism into the premillennial evangelistic sects”, including Pentecostalism, that were emerging in mid-western areas of the United States and parts of Canada in the early twentieth century.⁴³³

In the 1920s, the primary exponent of British-Israelism in Winnipeg was E.J. Springett, an Anglican minister who had served at St. Martin's in the Fields in the West Kildonan neighbourhood of the city and the parish of St. Patrick's on Valour Road in St. James. In 1931, Springett accepted the appointment of Dominion Commissioner of the British-Israel Association and established the first Canadian headquarters of the federation in Winnipeg. On January 26th,

⁴³³ Barkun, pp.20-21. On the early influence of Totten and Hine in the growth of British Israelism in North America see Steven E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Right-Wing Extremism In Modern American History* (ABC-CLIO, 2011) p.137. Little is known concerning the early history of British-Israelism in Canada. The founding of the Anglo-Israel Association in Canada in 1874 and later the British Israel Identity Corporation in 1880, suggest that it was possible that other proponents of these beliefs might have been active in Winnipeg prior to, and immediately following, Parham's visit to the city. Stanley R. Barrett, *Is God a Racist? The Right Wing in Canada* (Toronto:University of Toronto Press, 1987), p.334. David Elliott has argued that in the first decades of the twentieth century British-Israelism had a large following among middle-class Canadians. The pro-British chauvinism of the movement found support among imperialists and monarchists. Some of the early leaders of the movement included mainline Protestant leaders like Charles Batzold, the minister of Zion United Church in Vancouver. It also attracted fierce criticism from prominent churchmen in the 1920s and 1930s, which Elliot believes reflected the prevailing amillenarian and post-millennialism beliefs of Canada's mainline Protestant denominations. David Raymond Elliott, “Studies of Eight Canadian Fundamentalists”, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Calgary, 1989) pp.78-80.

Throughout the twentieth century, Anglo-Israelism became a prominent teaching among Seventh Day Adventists in the United States and gained its greatest popularity through the teachings of Herbert W. Armstrong whose Worldwide Church of God reached a peak of 120,000 followers by the 1970s. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, the racial elitist teaching of Anglo-Israelism took on an activist form among Christian Identity groups in America. See William Ingram, “God and Race: British Israelism and Christian Identity” in Timothy Miller, ed., *America's Alternative Religions* (Binghamton, NY: SUNY Press, 1995), pp.119-12; Barkun, pp.47-71.

1932, he preached his farewell sermon in Winnipeg at Holy Trinity Anglican Church before leaving Winnipeg to take up permanent residence in Toronto and relocating the headquarters to that city.⁴³⁴

Springett claimed that the teachings of British-Israelism “contained the whole message of the Bible” and did not conflict with his Anglican ordination vows or with “the Doctrines of the Christian Church.” Prior to receiving the Commissionership, Springett visited Anglican Archbishop Samuel Matheson, Primate of Canada, who supported Springett's beliefs and his decision to leave the Anglican ministry and dedicate his efforts to the popularization of British-Israelism. In his role as Dominion Commissioner, Springett travelled extensively throughout Canada delivering lectures on British-Israelism. For over two decades he was a frequent visitor to Winnipeg, attending British-Israel Association meetings and delivering lectures at the Grace United Church, the Playhouse Theatre, and the Fort Garry Hotel.⁴³⁵ In his widely publicized talks, Springett focused on current world events to highlight evidence that he believed demonstrated the imminent collapse of the world and the premillennial return of Jesus Christ. His non-denominational message, combined with his mainline Protestant origins and a long-running national Sunday radio show, expanded the Canadian audience exposed to

⁴³⁴ W34/35, “Misc. Correspondence, 1927-34, 1965-71, St. Patrick’s and St. Jude’s Fonds, Diocese of Rupert’s Land Archives, Winnipeg, MB; *Winnipeg Tribune*, December 16, 1929.

⁴³⁵ “Twenty Years Ago - Sept 20th, 1931”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, September 22, 1951. On Springett’s visits to Winnipeg see “Rev. E.J. Springett Here”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 28, 1946; *Winnipeg Free Press*, September 21, 1946; “Springett Predicts Crash in U.S. Within Five Years”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, March 1, 1948; “Pact Will Fail if God Ignored Springett Warns”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, April 25, 1949; *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 20, 1951. William Ingram has argued that the historical revisionist doctrine of British Israelism was never adopted by the Church of England, but nor was it refuted by the Church, largely because the idea of an Israelite origin of the British peoples contributed to nineteenth century British imperialism. William Ingram, “God and Race: British Israelism and Christian Identity”, pp.119-120.

premillennialism beyond traditional evangelical and fundamentalist groups. In Winnipeg, evidence suggests that as members of the British-Israel World Federation group in Winnipeg and regular listeners of Springett's radio show, the McCulloughs became acquainted through British-Israelism with the Christian eschatological teaching that Jesus' physical return to earth, known as the Rapture, would occur prior to the beginning of a new millenium. While they remained members of their local United Church, they were an example of mainline Protestants who, beginning sometime in the late 1940s, lived in two theological worlds and were open to beliefs outside the doctrine of the United Church.⁴³⁶

During the period of their involvement with British-Israelism, their behaviour was described as normal. Former tenant Mary Jane Patterson, who had lived with the McCulloughs in a two-room upstairs suite since May 1951, said she had been treated with "greatest respect and even tenderness" by the family and described the tragedy as a "surprise".⁴³⁷ However, she noticed that, during the Valdez campaign, the couple became more convinced that the end of the world was imminent. She accompanied the McCulloughs at two of the Valdez healing meetings and stated that she was not impressed with the preacher's claim to perform miracles. She acknowledged that Lillian "believed everything Valdez said" and that she talked a lot about the world coming to an end, but noted that during the campaign she wasn't "wild or violent". Patterson added that Lillian believed she had seen miracles performed by the visiting faith healer, a claim Patterson disputed. In her view, all of the family was healthy "and didn't attend the meetings with any definite purpose of their own." However, in the days preceding the tragedy, she observed an escalation in unusual behaviour. In a letter to a relative dated January

⁴³⁶ The Christian belief in premillennialism is based on Revelation 20:1-6 in the New Testament.

⁴³⁷ "She Talked A Lot About The End of The World", *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

23, 1952, the elderly Patterson wrote that she had begun to feel uneasy in the McCullough home and that she needed to leave because she thought “the folks here have gone off their head all over the healing meetings that have been going on the last two weeks”⁴³⁸

The Police Investigation

Initial police reports of the murder emphasized the apparent link between the murder and the Valdez Jr. healing revival. At 12:05 p.m., January 25, 1952, a phone call was received by Winnipeg police from an employee at the Elmwood Furniture Store, 260 Kelvin St., approximately half a block away from the McCulloughs residence at 116 Carmen Ave. The employee reported that a man and a woman dressed only in night attire were praying and kneeling in the snow on a small vacant lot at the side of the store and that their bizarre behaviour was causing some commotion on the street. The man was observed as being dressed in a flannelette nightgown and in bare feet while the woman was clothed in a kimono but had slippers on her feet.⁴³⁹

Another phone call was received from employees at a local beauty parlour who claimed the couple were walking “scantily clad” in the area, dressed in their night clothes and embracing and kneeling in the snow to pray. The caller identified the McCulloughs and, shortly after the couple returned to their home, the police arrived at their house at approximately 12:30 p.m. on

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ “Police records pertaining to the murder to the death/murder of Martha Louise McCullough of 116 Carmen Ave., Winnipeg. The death occurred on January 25, 1952”. Crime Report #406, Winnipeg Police Service, p.3.

Friday, January 25th, 1952.⁴⁴⁰ After entering the McCullough residence, Constable A.P. Ives observed that they were both in an emotionally upset state. “They ranted on about religion”, he said, and mentioned that “the Lord was coming to get them”. The police inquired if there was anyone else in the house and they replied “yes our daughter is upstairs.” Lillian McCullough then told Ives “We murdered Martha Louise because she is full of the devil. She is upstairs. Go and see her.”⁴⁴¹ As the police searched the home both Gavin McCullough and Lillian McCullough began kneeling on the floor in the living room and praying with their hands clasped in front of respective faces. Ives described the house as being in an “an untidy condition” and that there was a large quantity of religious pamphlets and newspaper clippings dealing with religion, mostly relating to A.C. Valdez Jr., and a number of Bibles.⁴⁴²

Inspector Blow observed that Lillian kept talking about the Lord and visions she had seen as well as Valdez and his healing powers.⁴⁴³ In reference to Martha Louise, she said “we had to finish her off as she was mocking God. She would not get down on her knees and pray.” Blow said he noticed a slight swelling on Gavin McCullough's face. Gavin told him that his wife had hit him with a large book “and beaten him about the head to drive the devil out of him.”⁴⁴⁴ Gavin added that two evenings earlier, Lillian had a “wonderful vision” at Calvary Temple and that

⁴⁴⁰ Crime Report #406, Winnipeg Police Service, p.1.

⁴⁴¹ “These people in religious frenzy deluded hoaxed - Coroner”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952; Crime Report #406, Winnipeg Police Service, p.9.

⁴⁴² Crime Report #406, Winnipeg Police Service, p.9.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ “The Queen vs. Gavin McCullough”, Ref. # ATG0007, 5/4029, PAM, p.32.

“the Lord Was coming”.⁴⁴⁵

Blow also was struck by the state of disorder in the house and noted that newspapers advertising religious services, religious pamphlets, Bibles, other religious books, a pamphlet containing hymns and advertisements for the Valdez healing campaign in Winnipeg were scattered throughout the home.⁴⁴⁶ In the living room bookcase, the police found “an enormous amount of religious pamphlets and some bibles”, numerous paper clippings relating to religion, advertisements for religious meetings and a ten page typewritten article written by Valdez Jr. In the kitchen they discovered a slip of paper with a drawing of a clock “with complete numerals with X’s next to the numerals 9, 10 and 11. Below the clock was the word “Satan” written”. As well there was an apparent written testimony of Lillian’s baptism in the Holy Spirit. It stated that “I received the Gift of the Holy Spirit Sunday a.m. I received the gift of Divine Healing Sunday eve. I received gift of 7 Divine Tongues Monday!”⁴⁴⁷ In reference to a piece of cloth believed to have been given to Lillian McCullough by Valdez, Detective McNeice also noted four pieces of cloth each the size of a handkerchief.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁵ “These people in religious frenzy deluded hoaxed - Coroner”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952.

⁴⁴⁶ Crime Report #406, Winnipeg Police Service, pp.7-8.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ The Queen vs. Gavin McCullough, Ref. # ATG0007, 5/4029, PAM, p.25. The presence of handkerchiefs in the McCullough home was later used as key evidence by Defence Counsel A.J. Stringer in the trials of Gavin and Lillian McCullough to illustrate the influence of Pentecostalism on their religious beliefs and how their belief in faith healing influenced their religious state of mind. James Opp has noted that Pentecostal practise included the belief that divine “power” could be embedded within the fabric like a handkerchief when it was “prayed over, had hands laid upon them, or anointed with oil.” It became common practise among Pentecostals to believe that handkerchiefs “blessed in the moving spirit of God” could serve as vessels for “both tongues and healing”. James Opp, *The Lord for the Body*, pp.141-142.

When police entered the second floor of the house, they noticed the deceased body of Martha Louise McCullough in a large bedroom at the very rear of the second floor. As in the rest of the home, religious literature was scattered all over, with a greater amount in the room where the body was found. Most of the literature pertained “to the recent visit to Winnipeg of A. C. Valdez, Jr., a faith healer.”⁴⁴⁹

Inspectors David Nicholson and George Blow found a “nearly full” one quart “capacity bottle” with the label “Berlou guaranteed Mothproof” near the body of Martha Louise who was lying with her back on the floor. The officers immediately suspected that the bottle was the murder weapon. They observed numerous bruises on her head and face and that blood was congealed on her nose and the mouth. At 12:28 p.m. on January 25th, the officers on the scene determined that the victim had been slapped, struck with a bottle and strangled. The city coroner arrived at 1:00 p.m. and pronounced that Martha Louise had died as a result of either blows to the head or by strangulation. He stated that the approximate time of death was somewhere between 10:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m.⁴⁵⁰

One of the first police officers on the scene was the McCulloughs neighbour, Detective Webster, who lived two houses west of the McCulloughs on the same side of the street at 112 Carmen Ave.⁴⁵¹ When he entered the home he saw the McCulloughs, who he had known for many years, kneeling on their chesterfield in bare feet praying. Webster overheard Lillian saying several times to her husband that the devil was in him and told him to repeat prayers that the

⁴⁴⁹ “Parents Jailed In Child Death”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 26, 1952.

⁴⁵⁰ Crime Report #406, Winnipeg Police Service, pp.4-5. Berlou mothproof was a product used for protecting rugs. See advertisement for Floors Moderne, 581 Main Street, in *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 6, 1951.

⁴⁵¹ Crime Report #406, Winnipeg Police Service, p.20.

Detective described as “unintelligible”. When the couple stood up, Webster recorded that both “had wild looks on their face and appeared to be mental”. They repeatedly knelt in prayer and then stood up, as Lillian spoke of God and visions she had seen. Finally, Lillian said to Gavin that “if the devil has left you, prove it by putting all of these men out of the house.” Gavin turned to the officers and said “In the name of the Lord, leave this house.” Webster noted that Gavin became “belligerent” when the officers refused to leave and that slowly they were able to quiet him down and reassured him that they were only there to assist him and his wife.⁴⁵²

In his initial statement to police, Gavin said that both of his feet were sore from frostbite but that he was not worried because “the Lord would look after them.”⁴⁵³ He then started to talk about what had occurred earlier in the day and the previous weeks. He spoke rapidly about attending the Valdez Jr. campaign and going through the healing line. Gavin told the police that he and Lillian had been fasting for two or three days “under God’s instructions” and the previous night, when they went to bed, they took turns staying awake. As one of them slept, the other kept vigil “as God was going to establish his kingdom in Winnipeg. God was going to deliver the milk, mail and other things... For years we have built up to this.”⁴⁵⁴ In the meantime, Lillian continued to talk about “the Lord and visions she had seen” and the healing powers of Valdez.⁴⁵⁵ Webster said that neither McCullough showed any signs of recognizing him and noted that they

⁴⁵² Ibid., p.21.

⁴⁵³ The maximum temperature in Winnipeg on January 25, 1952 was -18.3 degrees celsius. See <<http://climate.weather.gc.ca>>, accessed April 21, 2014.

⁴⁵⁴ Crime Report #406, Winnipeg Police Service, p.24.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., pp.22-23.

appeared to be in a “mental” state of mind.⁴⁵⁶

Gavin McCullough then began to talk in greater detail about what had happened that morning. He had appeared very irrational when the police first arrived in the home. However, when he began to make his statement, they observed that he appeared to be “fully aware of the seriousness of the offence and of the likely consequences” and that he told them that “everything will be alright... the Lord will look after us.”⁴⁵⁷

Gavin McCullough then spoke to the police about his early life. He said that he was originally from Carman, Manitoba, that he attended Normal School, and then taught for three years in the Whitemouth District. After his marriage to Lillian, they moved to Winnipeg where he attended the Success Business College to study accountancy and later became employed as Office Manager and accountant at the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce on Main St., a position he held from 1938 until Tuesday of that week. On his own, the police noted that Gavin McCullough appeared to be rational but that his demeanour abruptly changed when he was in the presence of Lillian. The police recorded that “she completely dominated him and ordered him to do things that he would not have attempted on his own and he even attempted to carry out any of these orders as she told him the Lord was commanding him to do so... he was well aware of what he was doing but that he could not help himself.”⁴⁵⁸

Gavin McCullough told the police that the reason he and Lillian went walking on the street dressed in their night attire was that she was trying to “bring him back to the Lord”. He said that, after he had struck his daughter and strangled her, “the devil had got a hold of him” and

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., p.24.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., p.10.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

that Lillian then tried to “bring him to his senses”. He continued by saying that Jesus was returning to establish a Kingdom. The police report sarcastically noted that the McCulloughs believed this because this was what “the so called great Dr. (Valdez) had told them when he attended the city a short time ago with his series of lectures and the ability to cure the sick through God.”⁴⁵⁹

Gavin McCullough then began to recount the events of the previous evening. He told Inspector McNeice that when they woke up on the morning of Thursday, January 25th, their son, Lorne McCullough, had already gone to work. When Lorne returned home after work on the evening of January 24th, his parents demanded that he kneel and pray with them but he refused and said he would pray by himself. At that point, Gavin said that he and his wife were convinced that “the devil was with him.”

The next morning, Gavin recalled that when Martha Louise entered their bedroom, both parents asked her to get down on her knees and pray. When she didn’t move, her mother slapped her. Lillian hit the young girl with a bottle but was “not strong enough” to kill her. Gavin then hit Martha as hard as he could with the bottle and then put a knee to her chest and strangled her. He added, “She is now safe in the hands of the Lord.”⁴⁶⁰

Police interview with Gavin McCullough, Rupert St. Jail, January 25, 1952

Gavin McCullough was then taken into custody and moved to the Rupert St. jail where he agreed to make a second statement to the police after being told that he might be charged with

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., p.9.

⁴⁶⁰ “These people in religious frenzy deluded hoaxed - Coroner”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952.

the murder of Martha Louise. Gavin began his statement saying that both he and Lillian first found out that a “Divine Healer” was coming to Winnipeg through the British-Israel World Federation, an organization they had been involved with for several years. He said they had been studying the Bible with Frank Staines, the former Vice-President of the Winnipeg chapter.⁴⁶¹

The McCulloughs planned to attend the campaign because they expected that Valdez was going to perform miracles. Gavin said that even though there was nothing medically wrong with him, he went through the healing line with Lillian and Martha Louise in order to witness “the healing of people by Jesus through Valdez.” After one meeting, he said that he noticed that his hearing was improved. At another meeting, Martha Louise went through the healing line and told her parents the next morning that she had seen a “vision”. Her father said “Christ appeared to her in a stream of light and he spoke and said “Martha, you won’t need glasses anymore, your eyes are going to be healed. And she hasn’t worn her glasses since.”⁴⁶²

On the evening of January 20th, 1952, at the final meeting of the campaign in Winnipeg, Valdez told the audience he had a vision and that the Lord told him “my little ones you will be persecuted” and that, in the vision, he saw “that the windows of heaven were opening and all the blessings of heaven descending on Winnipeg.” Valdez proclaimed that in the following two weeks, many miracles would be performed in Winnipeg, affecting every home and that

⁴⁶¹ On April 19th, 1945, Staines delivered a talk to a public meeting of the British-Israel World Federation at the Marlborough Hotel in Winnipeg where he said that the “last and greatest tribulations, as prophesied in the book of Revelations” would occur after the fall of Hitler. He told the audience that “We are still living in the time covered by Bible prophecy, and are nearing the time when the Kingdom of God will come to pass on earth.” “Staines Sees Greatest Troubles with Hitler Fall”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, April 20, 1945.

⁴⁶² “These people in religious frenzy deluded hoaxed - Coroner”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29 1952; Crime Report #406, Winnipeg Police Service, p.12.

“Winnipeg would be turned upside down but then he corrected himself by saying “would be turned right side up.”⁴⁶³

That evening, when Lillian went through the healing line she experienced “a wonderful sensation” and believed that she was “filled with the Holy Ghost”. Following that experience, Gavin became convinced that Lillian had received “the power of healing by touch and casting out demons.” The following Wednesday, January 23rd at 1:00 a.m. Gavin claimed that Lillian had a vision that woke her and that she heard a voice say “Behold the bride groom cometh immediately.” This was followed by another vision that told her “she had been chosen as the one to announce the coming of Christ.” The next day, Lillian and Gavin felt compelled to contact all the United Church ministers they knew but were unable to convince any that Lillian had been given a special power. Lillian became infuriated by their response and told Gavin that she saw that “the devil had a hold of him.” Gavin said that it took two hours on Thursday for her “to finally drive the devil out of him.” Lillian also believed that the same must be done for both of their children, &, when Lorne was on his way to work the morning of Thursday, January 24th. Gavin recalled that they “had trouble driving the devil out of him” but that finally Lorne did “confess his sins and received the Holy Ghost.”⁴⁶⁴

On Thursday morning, Gavin and Lillian told Martha Louise that the time was short and that she wouldn’t have to go to school “because she would be seeing her Maker.” After an entire day of fasting and praying, Lorne returned to the house later in the evening. Lillian and Gavin once again demanded that “he say his prayers” but Lorne refused saying that “he didn’t believe in praying out loud and that he would work on his own salvation.” That night, Gavin prayed the

⁴⁶³ Crime Report #406, Winnipeg Police Service, p.12.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

entire night while Lillian experienced visions that lasted until 6:00 a.m. In the morning, they checked to see if any of the expected miracles had begun to happen and noticed that Lorne had left and taken many of his possessions. Gavin said he recognized “that something had happened” and that “these miracles were not taking place”. At that point, Martha Louise woke up and entered her parent’s bedroom. Her parents told her that her brother was away and that the “the devil had him”. They then told Martha Louise to pray with them. Lillian believed that “the devil was in Martha Louise too”. She began to shake her and started banging her head on the floor. She then picked up a bottle and repeatedly hit her over the head. Unable to kill the child, she called out to Gavin to help her, and after choking Martha Louise he “kneeled on her chest until she stopped breathing.”⁴⁶⁵

Lillian and Gavin then went downstairs and started praying. Lillian told Gavin he was still “under the power of the devil” and struck him on the head several times to “bring him out it”. As a further test, Lillian told Gavin to stand outside in the snow and said that she wanted to walk to her mother’s grave at the local Elmwood cemetery. The McCulloughs walked down the back lane of their street, stopping to play tag around a car on Kelvin St., before eventually going home. Moments later the police arrived at their home and Gavin told them about Martha Louise upstairs.⁴⁶⁶

Police interview with Lillian McCullough, January 25th, 1952

Lillian McCullough was taken into custody and interviewed by police at 3:30 p.m. on

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., p.13.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., pp.12-13.

January 25th, at the Gaoler's Quarters in Winnipeg. At that time, she was informed that she might be charged with the murder of Martha Louise and was asked by police if she understood what that meant. She said she did but, when first asked to make a statement, the police recorded that she "went into religious hysteria."⁴⁶⁷ Lillian then knelt on the floor to pray and made a statement to the police:

I, Lillian Marguerite McCullough hereby publicly announce to the world for our dear Jesus Christ's sake, who died on the Cross of Calvary for our sins, who loved us so, that he gladly not only lay down his own life, but was rejected and renounced by all mortals, but praise his holy loving name, the victory was his, he arose from the grave on the third day from the dead.⁴⁶⁸

The following morning, the Matron at the Winnipeg Central Police Station Gaol visited Lillian in her cell with some food. Lillian refused to eat saying that she was fed "by a higher power". She told the Matron that she had killed her daughter the previous day. When asked why, she responded that "she was full of the devil and it showed all over her face and made her ugly. I tried to choke the devil out of her and then smashed her head on the floor. She still didn't die so we used the bottle. I saw the vision of her going to her grandmothers arms in heaven and she was pretty."⁴⁶⁹

At first, the Matron described her conversation with Lillian to be "normal as could be expected under the strain" but, when she turned to speak to another matron, Lillian jumped on the cell bed and threw the pillow to break the drop light. She then began speaking about religion and A.C. Valdez Jr. and claimed that she had the power to walk over the broken glass without

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., pp.8, 25.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., p.25.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., p.51.

injuring her feet. During later visits, the Matron described her conversations with Lillian as “rambling and incoherent”.⁴⁷⁰

Interviews with Gavin and Lillian McCullough by Dr. John E. Burch, January 26th, 1952

On the afternoon of Saturday, January 26th, Gavin and Lillian McCullough were interviewed in their cells at the Rupert Street jail by Dr. John E. Burch, a psychiatrist at the Winnipeg Clinic. The interviews were done at the request of Defence Counsel Alexander Stringer and later submitted as evidence at the trials of both Gavin and Lillian.⁴⁷¹

Burch’s first impression of Lillian was that she seemed extremely excited and overactive. Throughout the interview, she talked continually in a loud voice and often shouted, rarely completing her thoughts and sentences. Burch described her as exhibiting a “flight of ideas”, that she was often distracted and that she responded to numerous small stimuli such as voice, noise, or movement that happened to get her attention. He judged that overall her speech was irrational and mainly dealt with religious topics. He observed that she was argumentative and threatening, noting that she often banged on the walls of her cell or shook its bars.⁴⁷² Burch concluded that it was impossible to examine her physically or to obtain any kind of coherent account of what had happened during the past few days. When she was asked about the death of Martha Louise, he wrote that “she assumed a look of ecstasy and, spreading her hands, described what appeared to

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., p.51.

⁴⁷¹ “Exhibit No. 17, John E. Burch, M.D., Winnipeg Clinic”, The Queen vs. Gavin McCullough, Ref. # ATG0007, 5/4029, PAM.

⁴⁷² Ibid., p.1.

be the appearance of a little girl after her death.”⁴⁷³

In Burch’s view, there was little doubt that Lillian McCullough was insane and he speculated that she was likely suffering from “manic depressive insanity and undergoing a marked manic disturbance.” Due to Lillian’s unwillingness to sleep or eat, Burch believed that it was possible that she might die from physical exhaustion and, therefore, recommended that she be transferred to the psychopathic hospital.⁴⁷⁴ On January 27th, the police obtained an Insanity Warrant and transferred Lillian McCullough to the Psychopathic Ward of the Winnipeg General Hospital where she continued to be held in custody until charged with murder.⁴⁷⁵

In contrast to his wife, Gavin McCullough remained quiet on his bed throughout the two and a half hour interview with Dr. Burch. Burch noticed that Gavin’s left eye and upper right eye lid were bruised, likely indicating some type of physical altercation, that his pulse was normal and that he appeared more mentally than physically exhausted. He observed that Gavin spoke coherently throughout the interview and showed little evidence of emotion and no signs of depression, guilt or fear. Gavin provided details of his life with Lillian in logical sequence from their early courtship days to the killing of their daughter. As Gavin spoke, Burch recorded that a recurring theme in Gavin’s account was that Lillian’s personality and behaviour always overshadowed her husband and that she appeared to be the dominant personality in their relationship.”⁴⁷⁶ His description of his life with Lillian and their respective family histories

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Crime Report #406, Winnipeg Police Service, p.29.

⁴⁷⁶ “Exhibit No. 17, John E. Burch, M.D., Winnipeg Clinic”, The Queen vs. Gavin McCullough, Ref. # ATG0007, 5/4029, PAM, p.1-2.

revolved almost entirely around their religious life.

Lillian was the only child of a widow who remarried when she was a small child. In her adult life, she told Gavin about her troubled relationship with her stepfather and that she believed he “had the devil in him”.⁴⁷⁷ Gavin claimed that when Lillian was a young girl she demonstrated unusual psychic powers such as naming cards from a closed pack. He believed that she had always possessed special gifts and abilities and, in their married life, he claimed to have witnessed her unusual feats of mental telepathy. He believed she had a vision of Christ while first pregnant, after which her persistent vomiting had ceased. During the battle of Dunkirk, he recalled, she had received a hopeful message from Jesus. Dr. Burch concluded that Gavin “regarded his wife with unusual respect and some awe because of these alleged powers.”⁴⁷⁸

Gavin and Lillian had known each other as adolescents and began a relationship when they were both twenty-one that ended at the insistence of her domineering step-father. After the relationship broke up, Gavin taught in several schools in the Carman District. In the following

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., p.1-2. Gavin McCullough was born Feb. 10, 1900, in Carman, Manitoba, the sixth child and fourth son of John McCullough and Louisa Bridge McCullough. His father was a farmer, and his mother a schoolteacher from England. Gavin went to school in the Albert district west of Carman, and attended high school in Carman. He worked at the Shilson and Co. grocery store in Carman and then taught high school in the Portage La Prairie district. Lillian was born May 4, 1900 in Carman, MB, the first and only child of Artemus Hobart McGinness and Martha Elizabeth Ackerman. Both her family and Gavin’s had moved to Manitoba from Ontario. Lillian's father died of typhoid fever when she was a young child and, shortly after, her mother remarried. Lillian's stepfather was a farmer and horse trader named Francis E. Clark who raised Clydesdale horses. Gavin and Lillian were married on Nov. 23, 1929, and their son Lorne was born in 1931. Martha Louise was adopted in 1945 at the age of three months. After moving to Winnipeg, Gavin held insurance and bookkeeping jobs before being appointed the accountant and office manager of the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce in 1937. “The McCulloughs A Pleasant Couple”, *Winnipeg Tribune* January 26, 1952; Correspondence with Carol Colvin, daughter of Lorne McCullough and granddaughter of Lillian and Gavin McCullough, October 9, 2003.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., p.2.

years, they would frequently see each other and, in 1929, five years after their break-up, they renewed their relationship and eventually married.⁴⁷⁹

Shortly after their marriage, they moved to Winnipeg. Dr. Burch noted that they appeared to live an uneventful life. However, after the birth of their son Lorne in 1931, Lillian suffered from relatively poor health for a prolonged period and was prone to exhaustion and would vomit for days when experiencing any excitement or strain. Due to her ongoing medical issues and the difficulty of her first pregnancy, Gavin said that he and Lillian decided not to have another pregnancy and that they would adopt a child.⁴⁸⁰

Throughout their marriage, Gavin and Lillian shared a keen interest in religious matters and it was typically the main topic of conversation in their household. Both Gavin and Lillian had been raised in the United Church in Carman and, soon after they moved to Winnipeg, they joined the King Memorial United Church in the Elmwood neighbourhood where they lived and where Gavin spent many years as a member of the board.⁴⁸¹

In time, Gavin became interested in biblical prophecy and, in particular, the teachings of

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., p.2.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., p.3.

⁴⁸¹ Gavin and Lillian McCullough transferred from St. Andrews United Church in Carman to the King Memorial United Church and received their certificates of membership on June 30th, 1930. See “Records of the Session and Church Membership Minutes of Meetings 1927-1934”, Gordon-King Memorial United Church Accession Box 2, CA0213; “Communion Roll and Register - 1904-1932”, Gordon-King Memorial United Church Accession Box 8, CA0219, King Memorial United Church fonds records, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference. Gavin was elected to the church Board of Managers several times throughout the 1940s. See “Newsletter and Bulletins (1941-1950)”, Gordon-King Memorial United Church Accession Box 6, CA0217; “King Memorial Church Mortgage Burning Celebrations, October 1946”, Gordon-King Memorial United Church Accession Box 6, Box CA2017, King Memorial United Church fonds records, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

British-Israelism. He was intrigued by apocalyptic ideas and biblical prophecy and believed the teachings of this group had correctly predicted future events. By the late 1940s, Lillian's health improved and she began to attend weekly British-Israelite meetings and quickly became a more fervent disciple than her husband. Gavin recalled one occasion in late 1951 when Lillian and a friend visited Mrs. Staines, the wife of Frank Staines, who at that time was the leader of the British-Israelite group in Winnipeg. Mrs. Staines was reputed to have the ability to speak in tongues, suggesting the close connection many British-Israelites still had with Pentecostalism. Gavin described tongues as "a language unintelligible to us, unless we have the "Power of the Lord", but he added "is understood by angels." During her visit, Mrs. Staines laid her hands on Lillian and, after that experience, Gavin believed that his wife acquired the same power and the ability to speak in tongues. Gavin also noted that the British-Israelites had predicted the end of the world on January 22nd, 1952, the Tuesday night before the tragedy but that he and his wife only half-believed the prophecy, though he claimed that past prophecies by the group regarding world events had been accurate.⁴⁸²

In addition to their regular attendance at King Memorial United Church and their ongoing interest in British-Israelism, the McCulloughs occasionally attended services at the Pentecostal Calvary Temple in downtown Winnipeg. Burch noted that their attendance at Calvary Temple appeared to be an attempt "to enlarge their religious experience and to find further evidence, if they could, of the supernatural powers of religious faith." Calvary Temple was a co-sponsor of the upcoming A.C. Valdez Jr. healing campaign in January, 1952 in Winnipeg and, though Gavin and Lillian had not joined the Calvary Temple, they eagerly anticipated the Valdez healing campaign to further explore their spiritual interests. Gavin said that his wife attended

⁴⁸² "Exhibit No. 17, John E. Burch, M.D., Winnipeg Clinic", p.3.

most of the meetings and that she became increasingly excited at the “revelations” she believed she had witnessed during the campaign. Lillian was most impressed by Valdez Jr.’s healing powers and his ability to cast out demons from those afflicted by ailments. Gavin said that he was also greatly influenced by the healing campaign and believed the experience provided tangible evidence on which to base his British-Israelist beliefs. After attending several meetings, Gavin and Lillian went through the healing line with their daughter Martha Louise, hoping that Valdez Jr. would be able to cure their daughter of poor eye sight and improve Lillian’s health. Gavin told Dr. Burch that he went through the line mainly to observe but also believed it might relieve him of a recurring headache he had developed the previous two years caused by polycythemia.⁴⁸³

By the second week of the Valdez Jr. meetings, Gavin recalled that Lillian was unable to sleep and, in the evenings at home, they would discuss at length the things they had seen at the meetings, exhibiting behaviour that Dr. Burch interpreted as caused by an “over-excited state”. Lillian began to make a point of speaking with members of the Valdez Jr. party after each of the meetings and Gavin recalled how impressed she was by them, particularly the wife of Valdez Jr. She also expressed her disappointment in those who doubted the powers of Valdez Jr. Frustrated by public criticism of the campaign, she and Gavin contacted United Church ministers in the city to persuade them to attend the meetings and witness the healing powers of Valdez Jr.⁴⁸⁴

On the weekend before the final week of the campaign, Lillian became more excited and frenzied as she began to connect the British-Israelite prediction that the world would end on

⁴⁸³ Ibid., p.3. Polycythemia is an increase in the production of red blood cells.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., p.4.

Tuesday, January 22nd, 1952, with the apocalyptic teachings of Valdez Jr., and came to believe that the end of the world was imminent. At the same time, she became increasingly angry that none of the ministers, friends, and relatives they had contacted shared her and Gavin's views about the Valdez Jr. meetings. By Sunday, January 20th, Gavin felt his wife's condition was becoming extreme and "verging on the hysterical" and told Dr. Burch that it calmed her when he agreed with her plans, though at no time did he believe she was insane.⁴⁸⁵

Lillian soon became convinced of the impending dissolution of the world and convinced Gavin not to go to work on Monday, January 21st. They spent the next two days telephoning ministers, friends, and relatives, urging them to understand the meaning of the Valdez Jr. meetings. The rest of their time was spent in prayer. Gavin told Dr. Burch that, from that point on, Lillian didn't sleep and that he couldn't sleep more than an hour or two each night because of Lillian's feverish activity in the house and her endless talking. Lillian stopped eating, drank only juice and Gavin said that, in the following days, he ate only lightly and infrequently.⁴⁸⁶

On the morning of Wednesday, January 23rd, Lillian woke Gavin and told him that she had seen a vision of the Lord who said "Lo, behold the bridegroom cometh immediately". Both of the McCulloughs understood this to be the accepted warning of the second coming of Christ and decided to visit Dr. Martin, the minister of Grace United Church, and inform him of this vision. In Dr. Burch's report he noted that

Mr. Valdez had told the people at his meetings that the following two weeks "would see wonderful things for Winnipeg" and Mrs. McCullough, apparently associating

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., p.4.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

this with the British-Israelite prediction, took this to mean that Winnipeg was the chosen city and that the morning would find it risen on hills.⁴⁸⁷

They drove to the house of Dr. Martin but found no one there and returned home. When Martha Louise awoke, she announced to her parents that she too had seen a vision which excited her parents despite the fact that Armageddon had still not occurred. Gavin told Dr. Burch that Martha Louise had seen “eight squares of glass with the face of the Lord in them” and that these squares were in the form of a cross. Both of her parents believed the cross proved her vision was true.⁴⁸⁸

Inspired by Martha Louise’s vision and her own, her mother spoke of the evangelical mission that had to be undertaken and suggested that Gavin leave his job permanently. That evening, the McCulloughs took Martha Louise to the Calvary Temple so they could testify to their experience. However, Gavin claimed that Pastor Theodore Ness interfered with their efforts during the service to give testimony. After the service, Gavin and Lillian went to visit the pastor. When they approached Ness, he refused to talk and told them they should go home for a rest. Dr. Burch noted that Ness apparently recognized Lillian McCullough’s “abnormal condition”.⁴⁸⁹

On the morning of Thursday, January 24th, Gavin went to work but decided not to stay and left almost immediately. On returning home, he found Lillian still in an excited state. When their adult son Lorne returned home that evening after work, Lillian demanded that he fall on his knees with his parents and “pray the devil be released from him”. When he refused, Lillian

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., p.5.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., p.4.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., p.5.

attacked him but he still refused to do as she asked. Gavin told Dr. Burch that her excitement increased through the evening and that she asked Gavin to pray for the devil to be cast out of him and that he free his soul from the devil with louder and louder prayer.⁴⁹⁰

When the McCulloughs awoke the next morning, they went downstairs to find that their son Lorne had gone and taken most of his possessions. Lillian became enraged and, later that morning, when Martha Louise awoke and entered her parent's bedroom, her mother immediately began to shout at her and demand that she fall on her knees and pray. Martha Louise became upset and stood in silence. When she didn't respond, her mother pushed her down on her knees beside the bed and said that she would kill her if she didn't pray. Again the child said nothing. Lillian then began to choke her and hit her head with a bottle. Her mother soon became exhausted and, as Martha Louise attempted to move away, Lillian called for Gavin to hit her. At this point in the interview, Dr. Burch believed that Gavin exhibited some sense of pity for his daughter but concluded that, partly to end the suffering of the child and partly to satisfy Lillian's demands, he hit Martha Louise against the wall until she was dead.⁴⁹¹

Lillian then turned to Gavin and told him that she would have "the devil cast out of him even if she had to kill him." She struck her husband, bruising his eye, and then attacked him with a knife. He began to defend himself and was able to take the knife away from her. Gavin told Dr. Burch that, in that moment, "he saw her face take the form of the devil, with horns emerging from her forehead". He began to shout at the devil to "get the hell out of here" and

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., p.5.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

immediately “the devil’s face faded away” and once again he recognized Lillian.⁴⁹²

Lillian then attempted to demonstrate the supernatural powers she believed she possessed and called for the lights to go out. When that didn’t occur, she said that they both must leave immediately to visit her mother’s grave at the local Elmwood cemetery a few blocks away. Dressed in their night clothes, and Gavin without footwear, she was determined to prove her powers and she assured him they would not be injured by the snow or freezing cold. As they walked to the cemetery, Lillian insisted that they kneel down to pray at intervals but, after getting only part way there, Gavin suggested that they return home and, within moments, Lillian consented. Shortly after they entered their home, the police arrived at their residence. Gavin concluded his statement to Dr. Burch by saying that for the rest of that day he felt “completely benumbed and hypnotized” and it wasn’t until the following day, when visited by some friends at the jail, that he began to realize the implications of what had happened.⁴⁹³

Dr. Burch determined from Gavin’s statements and his own observations that Lillian was insane and had been for at least several days prior to the murder of Martha Louise. Beginning on Sunday, January 20th, she had been in an extreme state of excitement and in the following days, she had exhibited behaviour that was irrational and impulsive. Her hallucinatory activity and delusional beliefs in her supernatural powers led Burch to conclude that, at the time of the murder, Lillian had no knowledge of the meaning or consequences of her actions.⁴⁹⁴

Gavin’s behaviour posed more of a challenge to understand. Dr. Burch described him as a

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., p.6.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

“good citizen, a thoughtful husband, and a kind father.” He had few interests outside of work except “activities of a religious and mystical kind”, he appeared to be calm and not aggressive, and exhibited no traits or condition that could be seen as neurotic or pre-psychotic. However, Burch did view Gavin as the less dominant partner in his relationship with Lillian and noted that he appeared to be “rather suggestible”. Throughout his relationship with Lillian, he believed that his wife possessed unusual and supernatural powers. In concluding his report, Dr. Burch emphasized Gavin’s subordinate role in his marriage and noted that “even in their sexual life he had restrained himself and he would not ask for intercourse unless she indicated she had desire for it; their ultimate adoption of a child was for this reason rather than from any inability on his wife’s part to have children.” Burch believed that Gavin’s submissive behaviour intensified in the days leading up to the murder.⁴⁹⁵

Burch questioned why Gavin did not recognize Lillian’s worsening state of mind and her descent into insanity. In his report he wrote, “Why did he not earlier realize his wife’s condition and take steps to have her obvious over-excited condition corrected by having her placed under treatment?” Burch concluded that because Lillian’s excitement increased gradually over a period of days and because she exhibited behaviour that Gavin had grown accustomed to over many years, he was unable to understand the severity of her condition in the days preceding the murder. At the same time, Gavin had also become excited and, after years of believing in supernatural powers coupled with his belief in prophecy, interest in the promise of miraculous events as well as mental and physical exhaustion, his judgement had become impaired. In those few moments when he had tried to restrain Lillian, his actions were met with increased fury and

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

excitement which further limited his ability to control the situation. Burch believed that the more Gavin became exhausted, the more susceptible he became to Lillian's demands.⁴⁹⁶

In the end, Dr. Burch was convinced that Gavin's attack on Martha Louise was prompted entirely by Lillian and was not due to any delusional activity on his part. The fact that Gavin felt pity for his daughter when the murder occurred suggested that he was still in touch with some of his feelings at that moment. Yet, at the same time, other expected emotional reactions such as horror, anger and guilt were absent from Gavin during Lillian's initial attack on the child and his willing completion of her death. Furthermore, the fact that Gavin's lack of an emotional reaction to the death of his daughter continued for hours and that he and Lillian continued their previous pattern of activity until the police arrived and they were restrained, in Burch's view suggested some type of temporary delusional state of mind.⁴⁹⁷

Burch concluded that the murder of Martha Louise by her parents was a classic case of "Folie à Deux", or double insanity. This form of insanity occurred in a "rather uncritical" environment where people lived in close proximity and where one partner who is the more dependent of the two follows the pattern of the other and becomes insane. Once the two are separated, the person playing the secondary role regains their critical faculties and ceases their delusional and irrational behaviour. He concluded that

It seems to me that the behaviour of Mr. and Mrs. McCullough follows this pattern closely. Mrs. McCullough was and remains obviously insane, and the reactions of Mr. McCullough, until the separation from his wife, were that of an insane man. In my opinion, therefore,

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., p.7.

Mr. McCullough at the time of the child's death was in fact insane, and had no knowledge of the meaning or consequence of the act which he committed.⁴⁹⁸

Coroner's Inquest, January 29th, 1952

At an inquest into the death of Martha Louise McCullough on Tuesday, January 29th, Deputy Coroner Dr. Athol Gordon, who had arrived at the McCullough home at 12:50 p.m. on January 25th to examine the body, testified that she died at approximately 10:00 a.m. on January 25, 1952, "due to extreme fractures of skull caused by a blow to the head using a quart bottle filled with liquid, coupled with suffocation... this administered by Lillian and Gavin McCullough". The coroner's report reiterated views expressed in initial police reports that the McCulloughs were seemingly in a crazed and delusional state on the day of the murder. In a summary of his findings to the coroner's jury, Gordon emphasized that being in an unstable state of mind, Gavin and Lillian McCullough "were unable to stand the impact of what occurred to them as an imagined religious experience. He went on to describe them as "religious, fanatical, frenzied, deluded and hoaxed".⁴⁹⁹ "You are all men of mentality", he added, " but it goes to show you a tragically deranged couple, far gone in a religious fanatical fervour... were unable to stand the impact of what occurred to them as an imagined religious experience, and they acted in

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., p.7. Folie à Deux was also referred to as communicated insanity or shared psychosis. In the 1950s, Dr. Ian Gregory studied eleven couples who displayed symptoms of Folie à Deux and had been admitted to the Ontario Hospital in London, Ontario. He said that there were a number of factors that might be responsible for the high frequency of marital partners who displayed these symptoms. He argued that it was partly attributable to "assortative mating", individuals who choose partners based on similar traits and interests, that predisposed the couples to the disorder. Ian Gregory, "Husbands and Wives Admitted to Mental Hospital", *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, v. 105 (1959), pp.457-462.

⁴⁹⁹ "These people in religious frenzy deluded hoaxed - Coroner", *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952.

accord with a perverted impulsion and did what they did.”⁵⁰⁰

In an attempt to persuade the jury that the events of the Valdez healing revival were not to be associated with acceptable religious practises, Gordon referred to the A.C. Valdez Jr. healing meetings attended by the McCulloughs and warned the jury at the inquest that this form of religion was an aberration and “not to make any recommendations in their verdict that would threaten religious freedom.” He went on to criticize the Valdez campaign by asking the jury “whether stirring up of the emotions of unstable people by others who come and go with a sizeable (sic) collection is religion or not.” In Gordon’s view, the Valdez campaign was “little better than a circus sideshow”. He concluded by comparing the event to the Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey and characterized the campaign as a profit-seeking venture that took advantage of people “by coming in the name of the Lord”. “If they come in the name of the Lord”, he stated, “they should come asking for nothing and taking with them nothing.”⁵⁰¹

Dr. D. Penner, a pathologist at the Winnipeg General Hospital, stated that his post-mortem examination of the body of Martha Louise McCullough at Mordue’s Funeral Parlour on January 25th showed extensive injuries to the head and marks of injury on the neck of Martha Louise and that her death was consistent with being struck on the head with a bottle. He underlined the violent nature of her death, and noted that there were extensive injuries to the head and that most of the upper half of the face showed a “mottled bluish discolouration” and that the left side of her face was swollen. He also noticed a number of marks of injury on the neck. The internal examination of the head showed there was “a lot of haemorrhage, or bleeding,

⁵⁰⁰ The Queen vs. Gavin McCullough, Ref. # ATG0007, 5/4029, PAM, p.28.

⁵⁰¹ “These people in religious frenzy deluded hoaxed - Coroner”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952.

deep to the scalp and there was a large depressed fracture - that is break of the skull - on the left side. Inside, the brain showed evidence of injury and showed areas of haemorrhage into it.” Dr. Penner concluded that cause of death was “primarily one of head injury, severe injury to the head, with a question of injury to the neck and suffocation entering in.”⁵⁰²

Lorne McCullough, the twenty year old son of Gavin and Lillian, was the twelfth witness to take the stand at the inquest. Lorne testified that on the morning of Thursday, January 24th, prior to leaving for work, his parents demanded that he kneel down and pray with them. When he refused, his father said he would not allow him to go to work and ripped the shirt off his back and dislocated his shoulder. Lorne left the house shortly after the altercation with his father.

Lorne said that he had worked late that evening and returned home around 11:00 p.m. Shortly after he went to his room, his mother came downstairs and asked if he was alright and whether he had prayed out loud that day. When he told her that he had not, she replied “that is not right, you have to pray out loud.” About fifteen minutes later, his father came to his room and Lorne said that, after some conversation, the two of them kneeled and prayed together. After his parents went to bed, Lorne began quietly collecting his possessions and, at about 1:00 a.m., as his parents prayed loudly in their bedroom, Lorne left the home.

Lorne told defence attorney Alexander Stringer that the last time he saw his sister Martha Louise was at about 8:30 on the morning of Thursday, January 24th, shortly before he left for work. Stringer then asked if he had attended any of the Valdez Jr. meetings. Lorne said that he went to part of the meeting on the previous Saturday night but left before the healing line started

⁵⁰² Penner’s testimony at the inquest was later submitted as evidence at the trial of Gavin McCullough.

and added that Martha Louise had attended the last meeting on Sunday, January 20th.⁵⁰³ Stringer then asked if Martha Louise appeared upset as a result of the meeting. Lorne replied that she told him she wouldn't have to wear glasses again, but added that he was sure she didn't need them. Asked if she seemed happy about that, Lorne said that 'she was always happy'. Finally, Lorne was asked to identify a bottle produced as evidence at the inquest and confirmed that he had seen the bottle in the house a few days earlier.⁵⁰⁴

Following the inquest, Gavin McCullough was committed for trial February 21, 1952. In the case of Lillian McCullough, a stay of proceedings was ordered on February 21, 1952, after which she was transferred to the Selkirk Mental Hospital and later committed for trial on July 7, 1952.⁵⁰⁵

A private funeral service for Martha Louise McCullough was held at the Clark Leatherdale Funeral Home, 232 Kennedy St. and she was buried that day at the Elmwood cemetery.⁵⁰⁶ During the brief ceremony attended by relatives of the McCullough family, Rev. H.G. Tolton of King Memorial United Church said

We believe that little Martha Louise is now in safer
hands... We believe that the soul of this little one is safe
with Thee. We leave her with Thee. We leave with Thee

⁵⁰³ During Gavin McCullough's trial his son Lorne testified that he attended the final Valdez Jr. meeting on January 20th and part of another meeting. The discrepancy might be due to inaccurate reporting by the *Winnipeg Tribune* at the inquest. See "The Queen vs. Gavin McCullough", Ref. # ATG0007, 5/4029, PAM, p.48.

⁵⁰⁴ "These people in religious frenzy deluded hoaxed Coroner", *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952.

⁵⁰⁵ "Police records pertaining to the murder to the death/murder of Martha Louise McCullough of 116 Carmen Ave. Winnipeg", Crime Report #406, Winnipeg Police Service, p.2.

⁵⁰⁶ "Death notice, Martha Louise McCullough", *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 31, 1952.

too, these strange things of life we do not understand.⁵⁰⁷

On the evening of January 31st, the annual meeting of the King Memorial United Church was held in the lower auditorium of the church with one hundred and fifty members present. The Clerk of the Session, Mr. Henderson, spoke to the congregation about the “shocking tragedy” that had occurred on January 25th and read a letter to the congregation that had been sent to Lorne McCullough on behalf of the congregation.

The distressing events that have overtaken you have evoked in all your friends & associates in the church a deep feeling of sincere compassion. May it be of some consolation to you to know that at the annual meeting on Thursday evening a touching expression of profound sympathy was extended to you. It is impossible for us to conceive the grief and mental suffering you have to bear but you have many good friends in King Memorial Church who are deeply concerned & are praying for your well-being.

May God comfort & strengthen you with Christian fortitude in the days that lie ahead.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁷ “McCullough Child Buried”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 31, 1952.

⁵⁰⁸ “Annual Meetings Minutes, January 1911 - January 1958”, Gordon-King Memorial United Church Accession Box 9, CA0220, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

The Trials of Gavin and Lillian McCullough

On January 31st, the *Winnipeg Free Press* reported that Gavin McCullough had been jointly charged with his wife in the “child prayer slaying murder of their seven-year-old foster daughter” Martha Louise on January 25th, 1952.⁵⁰⁹ On the morning of February 5th, 1952, Gavin McCullough appeared briefly in the Court of King’s Bench where he attended on a committal warrant from the city police court. He was brought to the court from the Winnipeg General Hospital where he was still undergoing treatment for frostbite and arrived in an ambulance, lifted on a stretcher and carried to the court entrance. At the request of Crown Counsel W.J. Johnson, his trial was traversed to the summer assize in May, 1952.⁵¹⁰ Chief Justice E.K. Williams said that Gavin McCullough would be under the protection of the court and warned the public that the court would use its “very wide powers” to punish for contempt if the McCullough trial was in any way compromised. In response to the sensationalist media coverage of the murder and the public outrage expressed in the press concerning the murder, Williams reminded the public that the accused was presumed to be innocent until found guilty.

I desire to say something to the press and through the press to the general public and especially those whose zeal, shall I say, seems to be triumphing over their discretion... I hope that having drawn attention in this manner no one will from now on do anything that might prejudice the fair trial of

⁵⁰⁹ “Wife To Remain In Psychopathic Ward”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 31, 1952.

⁵¹⁰ “McCullough Trial for Summer Assize”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, February 5, 1952; “Father is Committed in Winnipeg Killing”, *The Globe and Mail*, February 2, 1952.

this man when it takes place.⁵¹¹

Lillian McCullough continued to remain under restraint in the psychopathic ward at Winnipeg General Hospital where she was reportedly violent and on a hunger strike and was unable to attend court. That same day, the Winnipeg Police announced that Lillian would be “moved to an insane asylum”. Crown Prosecutor C.W. Tupper, Q.C. said that, given her condition, the murder charge would likely be dropped and, on February 21st, Crown authorities stayed proceedings against her and she was committed to the Selkirk mental hospital after the provincial psychiatrist, Dr. T.A. Pincock, declared her insane. Tupper noted that Lillian would be examined periodically by psychiatrists and that a stay of proceedings meant that the case could be opened at a later date if she was ever determined to be sane. If that occurred, Tupper stated that a new murder charge would be laid.⁵¹²

The Trial of Gavin McCullough

The trial of *The Queen vs. Gavin McCullough*, presided over by Judge J. Beaubin, began on May 20th, 1952 and lasted two days. The court documents described Gavin McCullough, age 52, as an accountant with a grade 11 education, and that his religious affiliation was “United Church”.⁵¹³ As the trial began, Gavin appeared before the court and pleaded “not guilty” to the charge of murder. He then left the courtroom and was escorted by guards to the Vaughn Street

⁵¹¹ “McCullough Gets Court Protection”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, February 5, 1952; “Your Opinions”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 26, 1952.

⁵¹² “Wife To Remain In Psychopathic Ward”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 31, 1952; “Mother's Hearing Delayed”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, February 2, 1952; “Murder Charge Fades”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, February 5, 1952; “Murder Charge Stayed”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, February 21, 1952.

⁵¹³ “The Queen vs. Gavin McCullough”, Ref. # ATG0007, 5/4029, PAM.

Detention home where he stayed for the remainder of the trial.⁵¹⁴

The Defence Counsel Alexander Stringer began the trial by telling the court that he planned to prove that Gavin McCullough was insane at the time of the murder. His opening comments were followed by testimony from psychiatrists Dr. T.A. Pincock and Dr. G.L. Adamson who testified that their examinations of the accused confirmed that he was insane when Martha Louise McCullough was killed. Pincock said that he examined Gavin three times after his arrest and concluded that the accused suffered “from a type of communicated insanity” on the morning of January 25th but, in the days that followed when he was removed from that environment, he was able to regain his reason and judgement. He explained that this rare condition is known as “Folie à Deux”, a condition that occurs when one person becomes insane when closely associated with another person who is insane. According to Pincock, Gavin believed that his wife possessed special powers and spiritual abilities and over many years came to rely on her judgement, so much that when she decided that Martha Louise needed to be killed to be saved he agreed. Pincock told the court that there was no question in his mind that Lillian was severely insane at the time of the act and had been for some time prior to the murder and that Gavin was “dominated, tired out and confused, and had a belief in the imminent end of the world.”⁵¹⁵

Dr. Adamson also testified that Gavin McCullough was insane at the time of the murder. However, he said that when he examined him on March 28th he could not find signs of insanity or mental illness. Adamson concluded that Gavin was completely dominated by Lillian and that, at the time of the murder, he had begun to “mirror delusional ideas”. He also believed that the

⁵¹⁴ “Trial Underway for McCullough”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, May 20, 1952.

⁵¹⁵ “Religious Frenzy Gripped Couple”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, May 21, 1952.

“growing religious tensions” in the McCullough house led Gavin to think that he had no other alternative than to obey Lillian and think that her actions and demands were right.⁵¹⁶

Dr. John E. Burch, Superintendent of the Selkirk Mental hospital, also testified at the trial and told the court that he examined Gavin McCullough on February 17th and that he “found him free of mental illness.” He said that he had previously examined McCullough on January 26th, and stated that in his opinion Gavin McCullough was insane at the time of the murder.⁵¹⁷

Throughout the trial, Defence Counsel Alexander Stringer focused his cross-examination of selected witnesses on the religious background to the murder of Martha Louise McCullough. He began by questioning Detective McNeice of the Winnipeg Police about the newspapers that were found throughout the McCullough house and notices of religious meetings. Stringer asked the detective if any of this material made reference to the recent visit to Winnipeg of a “faith healer by the name of Valdez”. McNeice confirmed that there was a pamphlet found with a picture of Valdez Jr. that advertised the meeting and that there was also a clipping of Valdez Jr.’s picture pinned to a calendar in one of the bedrooms. Stringer then asked if the detective noticed any pieces of cloth in the house and McNeice confirmed that four pieces of cloth about the size of a handkerchief were identified.⁵¹⁸ Police officer John Main testified that, when he examined the front room of the McCullough house, he found a number of religious pamphlets, articles and hand printed verses and that one of these articles was a ten page typewritten article headed by the

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ “The Queen vs. Gavin McCullough”, Ref. # ATG0007, 5/4029, PAM, pp. 24-25.

name Valdez.⁵¹⁹

When Lorne McCullough took the stand, he testified that, three weeks prior to the death of his sister, his parents had been “as normal as they had been for years” and, when asked by Stringer if that meant they were behaving as “normal, rational people”, Lorne said that they were.⁵²⁰ He told the court that he first noticed a change in their behaviour either on Monday, January 21st or Tuesday, January 22nd and attributed these changes to their enthusiasm about the last Valdez Jr. healing revival meeting on Sunday, January 20th and their conviction that miracles had occurred that evening.⁵²¹ Lorne said he attended that meeting with his sister and parents and part of another Valdez Jr. meeting. A few days after the last meeting, his mother began claiming that she had visions &, on Wednesday, January 23rd, she awoke him in the middle of the night and said that she had a vision “the Lord was coming in the sixth hour”. He recounted the events of Thursday, January 24th when his parents attempted to prevent him from going to work and demanded that he pray with them and his decision to leave the house at 1:00 a.m. on Friday, January 25th. Stringer then asked Lorne if he had any knowledge about his sister’s condition after her visit to the healing line at the last Valdez Jr. meeting and whether her vision had indeed been healed. Lorne responded that Martha Louise told him that “Jesus had told her she wouldn’t have to wear glasses anymore” but added that “she didn’t wear them much anyway.”⁵²²

The next witness was Mary Jane Patterson, the elderly tenant who rented two rooms on

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., p.46.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., p.47.

⁵²¹ Ibid., p.48.

the second floor of the McCullough house. When asked by the Counsel for Prosecution Tupper if she had any religious conversations with Lillian McCullough, she replied that she would sometimes say that “the Lord is coming in the next year” and that, after attending the Valdez Jr. meetings, she repeated that “he was coming soon”.⁵²³ Mrs. Patterson said that on the morning of Wednesday, January 23rd, Lillian came to her room and told her to get up to pray because the Lord was coming and then left with her husband to go visit Rev. Martin, a United Church minister. She testified that she didn’t see the McCulloughs until the next day and, when she asked Lillian the next day about their visit to Rev. Martin, she was told that the minister wouldn’t open the door for them. She added that before they left on the Wednesday morning, the McCulloughs put a letter written by Lillian under her door that requested she leave the house by February 1st. The letter was then read to the court by Tupper:

I’m very sorry, but we will need more room now that all this has happened, your bedroom for a Bible Study and prayer room, and the kitchen for Lorne to do all his picture developing, he will also be working for the Lord – making color pictures to show shut-ins at Calvary Temple – (No after 2 – God is changing Winnipeg Man – weeks there may not be any shut-ins or sick, or sad – Praise the Lord, Bless his Holy Name for ever — He promised last Sunday nite (sic) in the Civic Auditorium, that He (Jesus) was going to bless Winnipeg – so much – I haven’t time to tell all – Thanks so much for all your kindness to us. I wish bring you could see what is coming immediately and help us His Kingdom in. My Lord has revealed to me miracels (sic) untold millions of them. I tried to tell you about it, but you would not listen. I’ll be praying for you steady – so that you can see the light before too late and do your share

⁵²² Ibid., pp. 48-50.

⁵²³ Ibid., p.51.

to help in the Blessed Glorious Saviour, Jesus Christ returning in all his Power and Glory – I just have to go – we haven't eaten today – living on the word of God. Don't be mad at anyone – the Blessed Saviour's Return may be, as my last vision – Thank God – Gavin is coming up with this and talk to you. God bless you — We would like the rooms as soon as possible – I mean Feb 1st 1952.

Mrs. Gavin McCullough
116 Carman Ave.
Winnipeg, Man.⁵²⁴

On the last day of the trial, Crown Counsel Johnson concluded the prosecution's case by asking the jury to "return a true verdict". In a nine-minute address, he said that he believed that Gavin McCullough was insane at the time of the murder but that the jury should make up its own mind based on the evidence. Defence Counsel Stringer told the jury that there was no dispute about the facts of the case. The key issue was for the jury to determine the influence of religion on Gavin McCullough during the time of the murder and to what extent his actions were influenced by his wife. He concluded that the only verdict based on the evidence could be not guilty due to insanity. The Judge reminded the jury that they had no power to reduce the verdict to one of manslaughter or infanticide and it was their duty to determine if the accused was guilty of murder. Mr. Justice Beaubien ended by saying: "By no stretch of the imagination it seems to me could it be claimed, but this is for you to say, that this man was sane at the time the act was committed."⁵²⁵

The jury took only sixteen minutes to return a verdict. The assize court found that Gavin McCullough was insane at the time of the murder of Martha Louise McCullough and was not

⁵²⁴ Ibid., pp. 52-53.

⁵²⁵ "Murder Trial", *Winnipeg Tribune*, May 22, 1952.

guilty of murder. Following the verdict, Gavin remained in custody pending a decision of the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba concerning his status. On May 29th, 1952, the Lieutenant-Governor issued an order that Gavin was to remain in custody at Headingly Jail until it was decided that there was some reason to vary the order.”⁵²⁶

While the jury had determined that Gavin McCullough was not guilty due to insanity, the implicit judgement was that Pentecostal “faith healer” A.C. Valdez Jr. and his healing revival caused the tragedy. Throughout the trial, the aberrant behaviour of the accused was understood in light of his religious interests and beliefs and, along with his wife, their actions were closely associated with their involvement with the revival. Their beliefs in faith healing, prophecy, and end of days were viewed as socially deviant and the primary cause of the murder.

The Trial of Lillian McCullough

On July 3rd, 1952, the *Winnipeg Tribune* reported that Lillian McCullough had been declared sane and was scheduled to be released from the Selkirk Mental Institute on Monday, July 7th, 1952. On the day of her release, she was scheduled to appear in city police court for a preliminary hearing concerning the death of her daughter Martha Louise McCullough on January 25th, 1952. If committed and charged with murder, her trial would be scheduled to begin in the fall assizes in October at the Law Courts Building. Gavin McCullough’s Defence Counsel Alexander Stringer agreed to undertake her defence.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁶ Under Section 966, sub-section 2 of the Criminal code, “a person found insane at the time of committing such an act must be kept in custody to await the pleasure of the Lieutenant Governor.” See “Found Not Guilty of Child Murder”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, May 22, 1952.

⁵²⁷ “Tot-Killing Hearing Set for Monday: Mother Leaves Selkirk, Preliminary is Ordered”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, July 3, 1952.

At the hearing, the court reviewed the evidence from the police investigation of the murder of Martha Louise McCullough. Much of the evidence relied upon police observations concerning the religious activities of Lillian McCullough and it was noted that the McCullough house “was littered with newspaper clippings about the Valdez meetings, Bible, and various other Bible tracts.” Additional testimony was given by the jail matron who attended to Lillian in the days following the murder. She told the court that, when she asked Lillian why her daughter was killed, she replied that “Martha Louise was so full of the devil and ugly. We had to get that out.”⁵²⁸

Throughout the hearing, Lillian “appeared alternatively calm and then wracked with sobs as the body was described.” When the court recorder announced the charge of murder, she “turned her back on the court - pressing a handkerchief to her lips as her body shook with sobs.”⁵²⁹ The trial of *The Queen vs. Lillian McCullough*, presided over by Judge Ralph Maybank, began on October 20th, 1952 and lasted two days. The court documents described Lillian McCullough, age 52, as a “housewife” with a grade 7 education, and that her “origin” was Irish and religion “United”.⁵³⁰

The *Winnipeg Tribune* reported that “The matronly, grey-haired Mrs. McCullough appeared to be under severe strain as she stepped into the prisoner's box this morning. She was wearing a black, sealskin coat and a pink hat. She also wore glasses and her face looked pale and

⁵²⁸ “Trial Ordered”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, July 7, 1952.

⁵²⁹ “Mrs. McCullough Ordered to Trial”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, July 7, 1952.

⁵³⁰ “The Queen vs. Lillian Marguerite McCullough”, ATG 0007 5/4038, PAM. At the trial, Crown Counsel was A. Dewar, Counsel for Prosecution was Mr. Tupper, the Defence Counsel was A. J. Stringer.

set. A woman guard sat behind her.”⁵³¹

Throughout the trial, the evidence presented and the questions posed by the Crown and Defence Counsels followed a pattern similar to the trial of Gavin McCullough. In their cross examinations of witnesses, both the Crown and Defence attempted to show that the McCulloughs were in a state of religious frenzy at the time of their daughter’s death and that they believed the end of the world was imminent.⁵³² As well, many references were made throughout the trial “to Rev. A.C. Valdez Jr. self-styled “faith healer” who was visiting Winnipeg at the time of the tragedy.”⁵³³

The first witness was Wilhelmina Hartenberg, an employee at Elmwood Furniture and Electric, who testified that on January 25th, 1952, she saw two people “dressed in sleeping apparel” praying on Kelvin St. next to the building where she worked and identified Lillian McCullough as then entering the adjacent beauty shop at the corner of Kelvin and Carmen.⁵³⁴

The next witness was Louise Dettman who worked at the beauty shop next door to Elmwood Furniture and Electric. She said that she saw a couple that she recognized as the McCulloughs kneeling down and praying in front of the shop at the corner of Carmen Street and Kelvin Avenue, about fifteen houses away from their home. When asked by Defence Counsel Stringer how cold it was that day, she replied it was about nine below Fahrenheit and that she watched the couple from the store window praying in the area for about twenty minutes. At that

⁵³¹ “Child Full of Devil - Alleged Confession”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 20, 1952.

⁵³² *Ibid.*

⁵³³ “Court Acquits Mrs. McCullough, But Liberty Delayed” *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 21, 1952.

point, she called the police.⁵³⁵

Raymond Ives of the Winnipeg Police Department then testified that he and a number of other officers arrived at the McCullough house on 116 Carmen Avenue &, after knocking on the front door for a couple of minutes, they were admitted into the house by Lillian McCullough who “both appeared very tired and emotionally upset.”⁵³⁶ On entering the home, he observed both of the McCulloughs in the front room and described them as being “in a fanatically religious or emotionally upset state and informed us that the end of the world was coming and that God was coming to take them.” When he asked them if they were alone, Lillian replied “No. There is a daughter upstairs... We murdered Martha Louise because she was full of the devil. Go upstairs and see her”. The police went immediately to the second floor of the house and found the body of Martha Louise lying on her back in the south bedroom. Officer Samuel Siplely told the court that when the police entered the house, there was “considerable praying between both the accused and her husband”. Before the police proceeded to go to the second floor, they asked Lillian if she would accompany them but she refused.⁵³⁷

Detective Robert McNeice said that when the police entered the second floor bedroom and found the body of Martha Louise, he observed that “there were numerous pamphlets,

⁵³⁴ “The Queen vs. Lillian Marguerite McCullough”, ATG 0007 5/4038, PAM, pp.5-6; “Child Full of Devil - Alleged Confession”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 20, 1952.

⁵³⁵ “The Queen vs. Lillian Marguerite McCullough”, ATG 0007 5/4038, PAM, p.8.

⁵³⁶ “The Queen vs. Lillian Marguerite McCullough”, ATG 0007 5/4038, PAM, p.9; “Child Full of Devil - Alleged Confession”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 20, 1952.

⁵³⁷ Thomas F. Allison, member of the Winnipeg Police Photographic and Fingerprint Department said that when he arrived at the McCullough house on January 25th that “Inspector Nicholson, Inspector Blow, Detective McNeice, Detective Webster and, I think Inspector McIntyre of the

newspaper clippings, notes written on scraps of paper, bibles, almost everything in the room pertaining to religious matters. I took possession of a number of pamphlets, notes, bible and a few of these articles that were in the rear second floor.” He collected these materials and they were produced as evidence by Crown Counsel Tupper during McNeice’s testimony. He told the court that the second floor bedroom appeared to be the room of Lillian and Gavin McCullough and that the adjoining room was the bedroom of Martha Louise.⁵³⁸

Later that day, at approximately 3:30 p.m., McNeice and Detective Webster visited Lillian McCullough at the gaoler’s quarters in the Central Police Station. McNeice said that as soon as they entered the room where she was being held, Lillian “began raving fanatically about religion and the coming of the end of the world” and that she then got down on her knees and began to pray. After she was charged by the police for the murder of her daughter, Lillian said that she wanted to make a statement and that “she wanted it published in the newspapers and she wanted the whole world to hear this”. McNeice testified that she then sat down at the table and wrote a statement that “pertained to nothing but religious matters” and made no mention of the death of Martha Louise.⁵³⁹ After completing the short statement, she continued “rambling fanatically about religion, kneeling and praying and so on” and, at that point, the officers decided

Northend Division” were already there. “The Queen vs. Lillian Marguerite McCullough”, ATG 0007 5/4038, PAM, pp. 9, 12-14.

⁵³⁸ “The Queen vs. Lillian Marguerite McCullough”, ATG 0007 5/4038, PAM, p.18.

⁵³⁹ The statement was also produced as evidence at the Coroner’s Inquest. “Exhibit Eleven - Voluntary statement made by Lillian Marguerite McCullough, age 52 years, 116 Carmen Ave., after being informed that she may be charged with the murder of Martha Louise McCullough, age 7 years, and cautioned in the usual manner. Taken by A.J. Webster, Det. and witnessed by R.J. McNeice, Det. Winnipeg Police Department, Gaoler’s Quarter’s, January 25th, 1952, 3:30 p.m.” “The Queen vs. Lillian Marguerite McCullough”, ATG 0007 5/4038, PAM, p.29. The statement was not read in open Court; “Mrs. McCullough Deluded Court Told”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 21, 1952.

there was no point in continuing to speak with her.⁵⁴⁰

Inspector George Blow testified that when he returned to the main floor, Lillian was “talking continually about the Lord” and about visions that she had at 2:00 a.m. every morning and then told him about “Valdez and his healing powers”. Blow was accompanied by Detective Allan Webster who observed that Lillian was in “an irrational state of mind” and that she would stand with her hands on her face and then fall to her knees and “beg the Lord for the forgiveness of the sins of all mankind”. Webster attempted to take notes but said that because Lillian was speaking so rapidly, it was impossible to write down everything she said. He then read to the court a portion of the notes he did record.⁵⁴¹

He looks and acts crazy but I brought him out of hell. I had a wonderful vision Wednesday night at Calvary Temple. The Lord is coming. The Lord wakes me every morning at two o'clock. Lorne has never been saved. We had to finish her off as she was mocking God. She wouldn't get down on her knees and pray.⁵⁴²

The next witness was Detective A.J. Webster, a neighbour of the McCulloughs on Carmen Avenue. Defence Counsel Stringer asked him how long he had known the couple and what his impressions were of the family. Webster said that he had known the McCulloughs since he moved to Carmen Avenue in June 1948 and that they appeared to be a happy family and, when asked if they were “respectable citizens” in the community, he replied “Very much so,

⁵⁴⁰ “The Queen vs. Lillian Marguerite McCullough”, ATG 0007 5/4038, PAM, pp.19-20.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., pp.25-26.

⁵⁴² Ibid., pp.27-28.

yes”. He added that he had never seen them mistreat their daughter.⁵⁴³

Police Officer Helen Hansard testified that when she arrived at the McCullough home at approximately 12:50 p.m. on January 25th, she was instructed by Inspector Blow to escort Lillian to a room on the second floor where she could assist her in dressing. She said that while in the room, Lillian spoke mainly about religious matters and, at one point, dropped to her knees and prayed “Dear Lord, when Martha mocked you we had to kill her. Dear little Martha had to die. She is in your arms now.” She remained with Lillian as she was taken to the gaoler’s quarters at the police headquarters. Lillian continued to speak only about religious matters. Hansard told the court that

She mentioned the Valdez meetings and the value she had received from them and spoke of religious powers she had received. She mentioned her daughter being healed. She had previously worn glasses and after they attended meetings she did not need to use them. Later on she asked me to kneel with her in prayer. I didn’t do that. Then she asked me to place my hands over her eyes and pray with her. I didn’t do that. Then she asked me to hold her hands while she prayed. This I did and remained with her until relieved later by another policewoman.⁵⁴⁴

Crown Counsel Tupper then asked Officer John Main to describe the results of his search of the McCullough home on the afternoon of January 25th. Main stated that in his search of the living room, he found a number of typed and hand printed religious articles, a ten page typewritten article “headed by the name A.C. Valdez and “a handwritten personal letter addressed to Lillian and signed Ralpho.” All of the items were seized and taken to the detective

⁵⁴³ Ibid., p.31.

office.⁵⁴⁵

Tupper then cross-examined former tenant Mary Jane Patterson who said that she left the McCullough house on January 24th because Lillian McCullough wanted to use her rooms to hold meetings. When asked if she noticed anything unusual in the couple's behaviour up to the time she left the house, she replied that she didn't but added that she did notice that since the last week of the Valdez Jr. meetings, that was all that she talked about. She then told the court that she was first told she needed to leave by Martha Louise. When Patterson asked to speak with Lillian, she was told by Martha Louise that her mother was too busy. Shortly after Gavin came to her room and told her that Lillian wasn't pleased because she refused to kneel on her knees and pray and that there was no use speaking to her because the devil was in her. Gavin then left and placed a letter under her door.⁵⁴⁶

Mary Neill, a matron with the Winnipeg Police who attended to Lillian in the remand cell at the Rupert Avenue Police Station, said she brought her food at 8:00 a.m. on the morning of January 26th but Lillian refused to eat saying that she was being "fed by a heavenly power." Lillian told Neill that the previous day she had killed her daughter. When asked why, Lillian responded that "she tried to talk the devil out of her and that she couldn't succeed so banged her head on the floor (sic) and Gavin, her husband, had to help with a bottle." Lillian then climbed on the bed and threw a pillow at the light, breaking the glass and claimed that she could walk on

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., p.32.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., p.34.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., p.35.

glass and not injure her feet because no earthly things could hurt her anymore.⁵⁴⁷

Defence Counsel Alexander Stringer concluded his cross-examination by asking Neill about her impressions of Lillian's mental state. When asked if she believed Lillian was "completely deranged", she replied "Oh definitely, yes." For the remainder of the trial, the court heard evidence given at the preliminary hearing by Gavin McCullough and Dr. Donald D. Penner in February 1952.⁵⁴⁸

On the final day of the trial, three psychiatrists were called by the Crown: T.A. Pincock, provincial psychiatrist; Dr. Edward Johnson, superintendent of the Selkirk Mental Institution; and Dr. Gilbert Adamson of the Winnipeg Clinic. All agreed that Lillian's actions were motivated by "abnormal ideas" and that "she was firmly convinced the end of the world was imminent and that the child was going to be tortured" and so believed killing her daughter was in the best interests of the child. Adamson testified that she "thought God was instructing her to do away with the child" and that she was "saving Martha Louise from something worse than death" and, therefore, she was acting according to her religious convictions though was not aware at the time of the consequences of her actions. Dr. Pincock said that during his numerous examinations of Lillian at the Selkirk Mental Institution, she told him that she "thought her daughter had the devil in her", and was afraid of what would happen to the child.⁵⁴⁹

Defence Counsel A.J. Stringer and Crown Counsel A.S. Dewar were both brief in their final addresses to the jury. Dewar stated that there was no dispute regarding the facts of the case

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., pp.37-38.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., p.38.

and they both focused on the evidence provided by witnesses concerning her fanatical and deluded religious behaviour and the evidence provided by psychiatrists proving her insanity. Both agreed that, at the time of the murder, Lillian did not realize that her actions were wrong though she knew the violent act would result in the killing of the child. Stringer said that there was no need for the defence to present any additional evidence. In his view, the defence had been put in by the Crown because all the Crown evidence pointed to the insane condition of the accused at the time of the murder and that the child had been killed “during a religious frenzy”.⁵⁵⁰

Judge Maybank told the jury that they could only consider three possible verdicts. The accused could be found guilty of murder, acquitted or acquitted because of insanity.⁵⁵¹ After deliberating for sixty-eight minutes, the all-male twelve person jury reached its verdict. Lillian McCullough was acquitted on the grounds of insanity in the murder of Martha Louise. The *Winnipeg Tribune* reported that the “Winnipeg housewife showed no emotion when the verdict was given.”⁵⁵² Mr. Justice Ralph Maybank told the court that he “heartily agreed” with the jury’s decision and ordered that Mrs. McCullough be held in custody at the Manitoba Jail for Women in Portage La Prairie until the nature of her future custody was determined by the Lieutenant

⁵⁴⁹ “Court Acquits Mrs. McCullough, But Liberty Delayed”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 21 1952; “Court Hears Doctors”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 21, 1952; “Mrs. McCullough Deluded Court Told Winnipeg”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 21, 1952.

⁵⁵⁰ “Court Acquits Mrs. McCullough, But Liberty Delayed”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 21, 1952, “Court Hears Doctors”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 21, 1952; “Jury Rules Insanity”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 22, 1952.

⁵⁵¹ “Court Acquits Mrs. McCullough, But Liberty Delayed”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 21, 1952.

⁵⁵² “Jury Rules Insanity”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 22, 1952.

Governor.⁵⁵³

After the Trials

After the trials, A.J. Stringer, acting lawyer for the McCulloughs, made repeated attempts to have Gavin and Lillian released from jail. Beginning in November, 1952, one month after Lillian McCullough's trial, Stringer applied for Gavin's release on the grounds that he was now sane. The *Winnipeg Tribune* inaccurately reported that Stringer had said that the province no longer had any authority to keep him in jail but later reported that Stringer had been misquoted and that he had said that section 966 of the Criminal Code of Canada did give the province the authority to retain Gavin McCullough in custody. However, Stringer said that the purpose of section 966 was to keep individuals in detention who were believed to be a danger to the community and that it was up to the provincial Cabinet to decide if McCullough had regained his sanity. He added that the application for release quoted similar cases where individuals deemed temporarily insane had regained their sanity and been released from custody and noted an earlier case in 1940 where he had obtained a release for a client on similar grounds. He noted that Gavin McCullough's application for release was supported by psychiatric evidence presented at his trial that showed he was sane "sometime after the murder".⁵⁵⁴

On Tuesday, November 18th, Attorney-General Ian Schultz announced that after "careful review" of the application, the Cabinet had decided that Gavin McCullough "could not be

⁵⁵³ "Court Acquits Mrs. McCullough, But Liberty Delayed", *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 21, 1952; "Jury Rules Insanity", *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 22, 1952.

⁵⁵⁴ Attorney-General Ivan Schultz said that the release of Gavin McCullough would require an order-in-council. "Freedom Sought for McCullough", *Winnipeg Tribune*, November 13, 1952; "McCullough Release For Review", *Winnipeg Tribune*, November 14, 1952; "McCullough Release Refused", *Winnipeg Tribune*, November 19, 1952.

released at this time” from Headingly Jail. Schultz said that the warrant of commitment for McCullough did not specify a period of confinement and that the cases of both Gavin and Lillian McCullough would be brought before the Cabinet for periodic review according to procedures proscribed by the Criminal Code. Schultz also announced that the Lieutenant-Governor had signed a warrant committing Lillian McCullough to the women’s jail in Portage La Prairie ⁵⁵⁵

In August 1953, A.J. Stringer again applied to the Attorney-General’s Office for the release of both Gavin and, for he first time, he also applied for the release of Lillian McCullough. Stringer said that psychiatrists at the trial had since have declared both parties to be sane. “Mr. McCullough at Headingley and Mrs. McCullough at the Portage jail for women are both behaving normally”, he said, "and the purpose of confining them to protect the public is no longer necessary."⁵⁵⁶ Once again, the Manitoba provincial Cabinet considered the applications for release but decided to take no immediate action. Attorney-General Schultz said that further reports concerning the condition of Gavin and Lillian McCullough would be required before a decision could be reached. After reviewing these reports on December 10th, 1953, the Attorney-General announced that Crown authorities could not accept Stringer’s argument that the McCulloughs were no longer a menace to the public and that the Cabinet had confirmed that both would remain in custody.⁵⁵⁷ Gavin McCullough remained in custody at Headingly Jail

⁵⁵⁵ Since her trial, Lillian had been detained at the Portage gaol on the order of the trial judge, Mr. Justice Ralph Maybank. “McCullough Release Refused”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, November 19, 1952.

⁵⁵⁶ “May Seek McCullough Release”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, August 29, 1953; “McCullough Freedom Requested”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, August 31, 1953.

⁵⁵⁷ “Cabinet to Study McCullough Case”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, September 2, 1953; “No Cabinet Action for McCulloughs”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, September 8, 1953; “McCullough Decision

while Lillian was transferred from the Portage Women's Jail to the Selkirk Mental Hospital on June 17th, 1955.⁵⁵⁸

On September 30th, 1955, Attorney-General M. N. Hryhorczuk announced that the provincial Cabinet had reviewed Gavin McCullough's case and decided to reconsider his detention pending the results of an examination of his current condition. Hryhorczuk said that he had instructed the provincial psychiatrist, Dr. T.A. Pincock, to examine Gavin McCullough at Headingly Jail and, based on Pincock's recommendations to the Lieutenant-Governor, that McCullough would be released if he is able to pass a mental examination.⁵⁵⁹ On October 20th, 1955, after over three years in custody, the provincial cabinet on the recommendation of the Attorney-General M. N. Hryhorczuk released Gavin McCullough who was now certified sane by the provincial psychiatrist. The *Winnipeg Tribune* noted that Lillian McCullough remained in custody at the Selkirk Mental Hospital and that her release was not being considered.⁵⁶⁰

After living for a brief time in Carman, MB with his brother, Gavin McCullough returned to Winnipeg where he was employed as a cashier for National Motors on Colony Street and later worked as a tire attendant at the Tire Exchange. After a period of time in the Selkirk Mental Hospital, Lillian returned to the Portage Women's Jail. She was released from jail in 1967 and reunited with her husband in Winnipeg. They lived together in St. Vital until Gavin's death in June, 1975. Lillian passed away on October 18th, 1983. They are buried together in unmarked

Delayed", *Winnipeg Tribune*, September 11, 1953; "Release Refused", *Winnipeg Tribune*, December 10, 1953.

⁵⁵⁸ "Mrs McCullough Goes From Jail to Hospital", *Winnipeg Tribune*, June 28, 1955.

⁵⁵⁹ "To Free Prayer Slayer Release McCullough If Able To Pass Sanity Test", *Winnipeg Tribune* September 30, 1955; "Freedom If Sane", *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 1, 1955.

graves beside their daughter Martha Louise in the Elmwood cemetery near their former home on Carman Avenue.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁶⁰ “Now Certified Sane McCullough Released”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 20, 1955.

⁵⁶¹ Max Haines, “Murder in the Name of God: The McCullough Family Was Transformed by the Reverend’s Miracles”, *Toronto Sun*, October 10, 2003; Bill Redekop, *Crime Stories: More of Manitoba’s Most Notorious True Crimes*, (Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications, 2004) p.78; “Lillian McCullough Obituary”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, October 20, 1983.

Chapter Seven

The Response to the Murder

Where is Valdez?

Shortly after the murder of Martha Louise McCullough, the *Winnipeg Tribune* reported that, since his departure from Winnipeg the previous week, A.C. Valdez Jr. had “dropped out of sight”. He was expected to be in Toronto the last week of January to begin preparations for a two-week revival but had yet to appear in that city. The report noted that the Valdez Jr. campaign had already paid \$14,000 for the rental of the Coliseum in Toronto.⁵⁶²

The shock of the murder, five days after the end of the Valdez campaign, sparked a flurry of newspaper reports about the healing revival that characterized the evangelist as a profiteer whose primary goal was financial gain. An investigation by the *Winnipeg Tribune* into the money received by the Valdez campaign in Winnipeg stated that, due to an agreement with the income tax department, Valdez was not required to submit any information concerning “his Canadian collection” until completing his final meetings in Toronto on February 24th, 1952. However, the *Tribune* did report that Valdez had paid \$2,100 for the rental of the civic auditorium in Winnipeg and, based on “one unofficial report”, that his total collection in the city was “a minimum of \$4,000”.⁵⁶³

⁵⁶² “Where is Valdez?”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 28, 1952.

⁵⁶³ “How Much Cash Did He Collect?”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952.

Following news of the murder, several Winnipeg city council members spoke out publicly against the use of the Civic Auditorium for religious purposes. In early February, the issue of permitting the Civic Auditorium to be used for religious events was to be brought before city council for full discussion. Alderman Slaw Rebchuk said that he had been told by an official investigating the McCullough tragedy that the murder was linked with the recent Valdez Jr. faith healing meetings and that he would be asking council for stricter control of the Auditorium. Frank Chester, Chairman of the Winnipeg Auditorium Commission, declared that if he could, he “wouldn't let these people in the country let alone the Auditorium. But it is a free country and thousands have different views.” Alderman G. P. MacLeod, a member of the commission, said he didn't like to interfere with religion but agreed with Rebchuk that “when religion is developed into a form of hypnotism it should be controlled.” Alderman P. Taraska, another member of the commission, thought it would be an “excellent idea” to investigate.⁵⁶⁴

On the evening of Monday, February 4th, 1952, a debate began in Winnipeg city council when Alderman Slaw Rebchuk asked if adequate safeguards had been put in place to ensure that the Civic Auditorium could not be used for “undesirable purposes.” Amid cries of protest including “freedom of speech” and “religious freedom”, Alderman Jack Blumberg asked Rebchuk “What are you getting at?” Rebchuk answered that he could mention “the specific case of Valdez” to which Blumberg replied that it was not the council's place to say who or what

⁵⁶⁴ “To Debate Religion”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 26, 1952.

church could use the Auditorium, adding that it was the Auditorium Commission's job to ensure that the Auditorium was being used in accordance with city by-laws.⁵⁶⁵

A letter was then read to council from Frank. L. Chester, Chairman of the Auditorium Commission, stating that he had been informed through the media that the issue of the use of the auditorium by Rev. A.C. Valdez Jr. was on the agenda for the council's meeting and wanted to convey information concerning the arrangements that had been made for the rental. He recalled that the reservation for the event was initially arranged with the manager of the Auditorium by the Rev. Theodore Ness of Calvary Temple and the Rev. E. Wuerch of the Glad Tidings Tabernacle. At a later date, Ness and Wuerch introduced Valdez Jr. to the manager and the "usual lease" was signed. At that time, Valdez Jr. provided the required deposit and rental fees. He noted that both Ness and Wuerch were in attendance at all the Valdez Jr. meetings in the Auditorium and took part in the services. As with other "Evangelists" who appeared at the Auditorium, Chester assured the council that the commission only rented the facility for events sponsored by "responsible organizations". Chester also informed the council that the Auditorium had been recently reserved by the United Church Presbytery of Winnipeg for a November revival to be conducted by the evangelist Rev. Charles Templeton. He added that all future requests for

⁵⁶⁵ "Freedom-Of-Speech Cries Resound On 'Aud' Rentals", *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 5, 1952.

direct bookings would continue to be carefully investigated.⁵⁶⁶ The City Council decided the Auditorium Commission could be trusted to do its job properly.⁵⁶⁷

The Ministers Respond

The day after the murder of Martha Louise McCullough, Grace United Church minister Dr. W. G. Martin expressed his sorrow for the McCullough family whose lives he believed had been “wrecked” by the Valdez Jr. healing campaign. He urged other ministers in Winnipeg not to let this event go unnoticed, and advised them that in the weeks that followed much effort was required from religious leaders throughout the city to “quiet distraught minds and to get people back to rational thinking.”⁵⁶⁸

Martin mentioned that Lillian McCullough had contacted him by phone on the previous Wednesday, January 23rd, and told him that “the end of the world is coming in only four hours.” Martin said later that “She sounded like a woman crying for help... I saw in this particular case stages of mental distress fastening about their deadly tentacles about the poor woman.”⁵⁶⁹ In his view, the McCulloughs were not alone. He speculated that many other people who attended the Valdez campaign were also experiencing mental stress, grief, and disappointment in the wake of this experience. He warned the citizens of Winnipeg against “this hocus-pocus of religious

⁵⁶⁶ “Frank L. Chester, Chairman of the Winnipeg Auditorium Commission to G.L. Gardner, City Clerk, January 31st, 1952”, City of Winnipeg Archives.

⁵⁶⁷ “Freedom-Of-Speech Cries Resound On 'Aud' Rentals”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, Feb 5, 1952.

⁵⁶⁸ “Minister’s Plea”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

humbug and hypocrisy” and said that he deplored the number of “poor souls” who thought they had been cured by the “self-styled faith healer”. Once the emotional excitement of the revival subsided, Martin believed others would likely begin to realize that the cures they thought had occurred were not manifested. In the aftermath of the revival, he expected that many people would experience additional “mental upset” upon realizing that they were no better off than they had been prior to the campaign. He charged that the “faith healer” used “childishly crude” and sensational methods to prey upon the emotions of his audience to a point where certain people became mentally unbalanced.⁵⁷⁰

Martin declared that he would oppose any organized religious movement or campaign in the future unless its aim was to show people “a good and acceptable way of life”. In the case of Valdez, he believed the evangelist should be apprehended as a material witness for the death of Martha Louise McCullough.⁵⁷¹ It was a shame, he thought, that a man seen in numerous newspaper advertisements holding a bible in his hand “should so hoodwink the people”. In his view, the time had come to rise up against an aberrant form of Christianity that promoted beliefs like divine healing and end times prophecy. He vowed that “never again should Winnipeg’s good name be besmirched by the crude performance of professional fakerism... or by any enterprise in the name of religion which sows the seed in soil of hysterical emotionalism”.⁵⁷² The Valdez campaign had proven “what a wretched thing this 'faith healing' business has been... So many

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ “Minister’s Plea”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.; “Clerics Criticize Valdez' Faith Healing' Claims”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 28, 1952.

⁵⁷² “Minister’s Plea”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

people were carried away... it's a sad commentary on the emotional stability of the human race to be wrought up by such bunk.”⁵⁷³

The reactions of other Winnipeg ministers to the A.C. Valdez Jr. faith healing campaign ranged from “God bless him” to a shared denunciation of the event by religious leaders of various backgrounds.⁵⁷⁴ In contrast to most of the mainline Protestant ministers in the city, Rev. J.D. Marnoch, minister at St. John’s Presbyterian Church and Vice President of the Greater Winnipeg Ministerial Association, contended that Valdez Jr. was “quite sincere” in his healing efforts. Marnoch said that he had attended one of the Valdez Jr. meetings and found nothing in the meeting that he could object to. He believed that Valdez Jr.’s methods, though not consistent with the Presbyterian communion, were “scriptural”. He credited the Valdez campaign with awakening faith in the city and claimed he had witnessed “one or two cases of people healed of blindness and deafness”. He also said that he didn’t think it would be fair to hold Valdez responsible for the actions of the McCulloughs. The fact that Valdez was not in the Presbyterian communion did not “condemn” him, adding that “If he can do it and serve God then I say “God bless him.”⁵⁷⁵

Marnoch’s positive view of the campaign was not shared by most of Winnipeg’s non-Pentecostal clergy. Rev. Irwin McKinney referred indirectly to Valdez Jr. in a sermon titled “Gospel or Confusion”, delivered on Sunday, January 28th, 1952, at Holy Trinity Anglican Church. Speaking about the many faith healers active throughout North America, he suggested

⁵⁷³ “Swayed By Valdez Minister Reports”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

⁵⁷⁴ “Clerics Criticize Valdez' 'Faith Healing' Claims”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 28, 1952.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

that their primary aim was to gain notoriety, fame and wealth. He warned against the dangers of deviant religious beliefs and reminded his congregation that Saint Paul was indignant when the “true gospel” was not preached.⁵⁷⁶

E.J. Springett, the Dominion Commissioner of the British Israel World Federation, told the *Winnipeg Free Press* on January 30th, 1952, that there was no connection between his organization and “any cults or sects... inducing religious mania of any kind.” In response to inquiries about Gavin and Lillian McCullough’s involvement in the British-Israel World Federation, the former Anglican minister from Winnipeg denied that British-Israelism had any influence on their actions. He said that any attempt to link British-Israelism with the “tragic McCullough case” was a “slur” upon the organization.”⁵⁷⁷

Springett said that the teachings of British-Israelism in no way contrasted with “straight Bible doctrine” and, in an indirect reference to the McCulloughs, added that if members of the federation chose to add or introduce “matters extraneous to the straight British-Israel truth”, that was purely “a personal matter”. He also distanced himself and the federation from the recent Valdez Jr. revival by stating that the British-Israel World Federation was not “in any way

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ “Group Spurns Fanaticism, Says Springett”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 30, 1952. Springett was responding to Rev. H.G. Tolton’s description of the McCulloughs as “fadists” who were interested in “British Israelism, pyramids, prophesy and the doctrine of the second coming of Jesus Christ.” See “The McCulloughs Religious Fanatics”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 26, 1952.

connected with the type of revivalist teaching such as that which has recently been conducted in Winnipeg.”⁵⁷⁸

During a three-day visit to Winnipeg that included opening a new facility at the Grace Hospital, Commissioner W.R. Dalziel, the Salvation Army Chief for Canada and Bermuda, told the *Winnipeg Free Press* that he did not hesitate to take a stand against anyone who disregards medical science and professes instantaneous cures. “Certainly I believe in miracles and healing by faith”, he said, “but not in the “doctors are the devil” attitude of so many faith healers...” In his view, anyone who believes in God therefore must believe in an all-powerful God. However, he stressed that healing also requires the knowledge and skill of members of the medical profession.”⁵⁷⁹

Arriving in Winnipeg shortly after the McCullough tragedy, Dalziel said that he hadn’t heard of Valdez Jr. and was unaware of the recent faith healing campaign in Winnipeg. He was, however, familiar with numerous cases elsewhere in the country where people were promised cures by faith healers for serious afflictions only to become disappointed and disillusioned for the remainder of their lives when these cures failed. He advised anyone suffering from an illness to “never stop cures prescribed by physicians” regardless of what they’re told by faith healers.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁸ “Group Spurns Fanaticism, Says Springett”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 30, 1952.

⁵⁷⁹ “God All-Powerful - But We Still Need a Doctor”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 28, 1952; “Army Head See Faith Healing Only as Aid to Medical Science”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 28, 1952.

⁵⁸⁰ “Army Head See Faith Healing Only as Aid to Medical Science”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 28, 1952.

He cautioned that “divine help is linked with human help” and warned that it was “foolish and dangerous” to ignore medical science.⁵⁸¹

Valdez Jr. responds

The *Winnipeg Tribune* finally contacted Valdez Jr. via telephone in Toronto on Monday, January 29th, 1952, where he was preparing to begin a two-week healing campaign beginning on February 10th at the Toronto Coliseum. Valdez Jr. was asked to respond to claims by Rev. H.G. Tolton of King Memorial United Church that the McCulloughs had become “fanatical” after attending his meetings and that the healing campaign in Winnipeg had directly contributed to the tragic death of Martha Louise McCullough. Valdez Jr. stated that he was not in any way responsible for the tragedy and that any blame should be directed at the McCulloughs’ own United Church minister. He accused Tolton of persecuting Lillian McCullough and condemning her for attending the healing campaign. “If any pressure was brought to bear”, he added, “it was brought by the person who persecuted her for attending our meetings.”⁵⁸²

Valdez Jr. said that he found out about the tragedy only after arriving in Toronto and that he did not remember meeting the McCulloughs. He acknowledged that they were “probably at the meetings, though, along with thousands of others.” He mentioned that he would be willing to return to Winnipeg to assist with the murder investigation but that he didn’t see how that would be helpful.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸¹ “God All-Powerful - But We Still Need a Doctor”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 28, 1952.

⁵⁸² “Healer Blames Local Pastor”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952.

⁵⁸³ “Healer Blames Local Pastor”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952; “Willing to be Witness”, *The Globe and Mail*, January 29, 1952.

In reference to accounts of the McCulloughs religious fanaticism, Valdez believed that their condition was the result of “a lot of things” and that the campaign meetings could not have precipitated the murder. He said that even their United Church minister acknowledged that “their mental condition started when they were going to his church long before we ever got to town.” Finally, he claimed that if his meetings had anything to do with the murder in Winnipeg, then similar tragedies would happen all the time.⁵⁸⁴

Following the *Tribune's* telephone interview with Valdez Jr., he made broader accusations of religious persecution in Winnipeg in a Canadian Press dispatch from Toronto. According to Valdez, “friends, neighbours and other persons” had “discouraged and admonished” the McCulloughs for attending his meetings. He believed if anyone should be blamed for what happened “it should be those persons who persecuted them. . .” Furthermore, he criticized opposition to his campaign by the clergy, press, medical professionals and local politicians while he charged the persons critical of his preaching who had “taken advantage of the tragedy to put me in the wrong light with the public.”⁵⁸⁵

According to Rev. Theodore Ness, pastor of Calvary Temple and co-chairman of the Winnipeg campaign, the McCulloughs had never personally met Valdez. Ness said he was certain no meeting took place because, during his entire visit, Valdez remained in seclusion at

⁵⁸⁴ “Healer Blames Local Pastor Winnipeg”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

the Marlborough hotel in downtown Winnipeg and that all calls to the hotel were received by either A.C. Valdez Sr. or other members of the Valdez Jr. “party”.⁵⁸⁶

Ness said that he first heard about “the slaying” when it was mentioned in a radio announcement that reported the McCulloughs had been found praying by the police and that was why “he looked into it.” He stressed that the McCullough family had no connection with his church but acknowledged that they could have attended it at some point. In an effort to distance himself and his church from the tragedy, he said that he knew nothing about the McCulloughs prior to the murder and that everything he knew about the couple had been received from comments in the press made by the pastor of their United Church. Based on this information, Ness said he was aware that the McCulloughs had attended meetings and different “religious discussions” throughout the city, a reference to their involvement in the British-Israel World Federation, and suggested that they had been “mixed up in all these things” that left them “confused”. He claimed that they only attended the Valdez campaign once or twice and speculated that their troubles had been “going on for some time, long before the campaign came to the city.”⁵⁸⁷

In the weeks following the murder, Pentecostal leaders who supported the Valdez campaign spoke out against mainline Protestant critics by challenging their liberal Christian theology. In his first sermon at Calvary Temple following the murder, Ness quoted a divine command to Jeremiah in the Bible to preach the gospel “and diminish not a word”. In reference

⁵⁸⁶ “Swayed By Valdez Minister Reports”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

to those religious leaders who opposed divine healing and other Pentecostal beliefs, he said the gospel “is diminished by those who deny the divinity of Christ; that the Bible is the inspired word of God; the existence of a “personal devil”; salvation through blood; regeneration by the Holy Ghost; and the literal coming again of Christ.”⁵⁸⁸

Rev. H. Wuerch, pastor at Glad Tidings Tabernacle and co-sponsor with Ness of the campaign in Winnipeg, also rejected the idea that the murder was in any way connected to the Valdez meetings. In defence of Valdez, he stated that in all of his experience he had “never seen a person who was “saved” commit a crime or turn insane.”⁵⁸⁹ For Wuerch, those who criticized Valdez and claimed he was responsible for the tragedy did not understand the true nature of Christian salvation.

At Grace Tabernacle Church, Rev. J.D. Kennington, a non-Pentecostal evangelical pastor, told the *Winnipeg Free Press* on January 26th that Valdez Jr.’s failure to affect a cure in certain cases was due to the patients’ “lack of faith”. Critics of the campaign failed to understand that “it is not God who fails”, he stated, “but those who pray. They haven’t opened their hearts to His presence. The evidence of the many unhealed should awaken us to our spiritual deficiencies.”⁵⁹⁰ Kennington said that he considered the comments of United Church minister Rev. H.G. Tolton that blamed the murder of Martha Louise McCullough on the Valdez campaign to be “unethical”, and that United Church minister W.G. Martin’s statement that faith healing is

⁵⁸⁸ “Minister’s Plea”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

⁵⁸⁹ “Faith Healing! Stirs Pulpit Controversy”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 4, 1952.

⁵⁹⁰ “Minister’s Plea”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

“bunk” was “irrelevant”.⁵⁹¹ Kennington said that he did not approve of all of the “tactics” used by Valdez Jr. in the healing campaign but that he was convinced of Valdez Jr.’s ability to heal. However, he conceded that Valdez Jr. had “made a mistake” in claiming that he would be able to heal ninety per cent of the people who came through the healing lines.⁵⁹²

Tolton Responds

On January 29th, 1952, the same day that A.C. Valdez Jr. claimed that Rev. H.G. Tolton had “persecuted” and “condemned” Lillian McCullough for attending his meetings in Winnipeg, Tolton indignantly responded by refuting “absolutely and completely” the statements of “Faith Healer” A.C. Valdez. He rebuked Valdez by saying that he “never spoke a word to them (about the Valdez meetings)”, adding that “Maybe I should have, but they were in no condition to do that.”⁵⁹³

Tolton mentioned that he and Rev. D.A. MacLean, the minister at Gordon United Church, had recently visited Gavin McCullough at the Rupert St. Police Station. He described Gavin as fluctuating between “rational” and “irrational” states of behaviour and that his impression was that Gavin had been under his wife’s “spell”.⁵⁹⁴ Gavin told Tolton and MacLean that on the last night of the Valdez Jr. meetings, contrary to comments made to the press by pastor Theodore Ness, Lillian met A.C. Valdez Jr. and his wife and that she believed in

⁵⁹¹ “Swayed By Valdez Minister Reports”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

⁵⁹² “Minister’s Plea”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

⁵⁹³ “But Minister Says Charge Unfounded”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952.

that moment she had received a spiritual gift. When Lillian introduced herself, she felt that she had received “some power” by looking into Mrs. Valdez’s eyes. She was convinced that Mrs. Valdez “had given the healing power” to her husband and that this power had now been passed to her.⁵⁹⁵

Earlier that week, Tolton told the *Winnipeg Free Press* that Gavin and Lillian McCullough had rarely missed a service at King Memorial United Church but that, in the past weeks, the entire McCullough family, with the exception of their son Lorne, had stopped attending the church “almost immediately” after the Valdez Jr. healing campaign arrived in Winnipeg. Tolton recalled that he began to feel at that time that “something terrible was going to happen.”⁵⁹⁶ Lillian claimed that Valdez Jr. was “appointed by God to do great things” and that she believed that she also had received special powers. Tolton acknowledged that “for a long time” he knew that Lillian “believed and expected the second coming of Christ” but that the Valdez meetings “inflamed the woman to boundless passion.” He was convinced that the healing campaign was the catalyst that led the McCulloughs to go “off in a tangent”. A.C. Valdez Jr.’s preaching and faith healing, he alleged, charged the emotions of people to an unbearable point of emotional excitement and that the tragedy was the ultimate culmination of this experience.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁴ “But Minister Says Charge Unfounded”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952; D. A. MacLean Diary 1951-53, King Memorial United Church fonds , United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference, Winnipeg, MB.

⁵⁹⁵ “But Minister Says Charge Unfounded”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 29, 1952.

⁵⁹⁶ “Swayed By Valdez Minister Reports”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 26, 1952.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

The Tolton sermon

On February 2nd, 1952, the *Winnipeg Free Press* reported that a number of sermons dealing with the implications of the McCullough case would be delivered in Winnipeg churches the next day. At the McCulloughs former church, King Memorial United, Rev. H. G. Tolton would “discuss the case directly” in a sermon titled “Whose Crime?” As well, Rev. D.C. Hill at St. James Presbyterian titled his morning sermon “Legitimate Evangelism” and, in the evening at First Presbyterian church, Dr. W. Gordon MacLean would speak on “The Problem of Demon Possession”. At First Federated (Unitarian) church, Rev. P.M. Petursson’s morning theme was “Faith Healers: Whose Responsibility?”. During the sermon, he said that if churches had not encouraged an attitude of credulity among their people, men like Valdez could not “lay the city by the ears.” At St. Andrews Anglican Church, Dr. Spencer Elliot, a professor of systematic theology at St. John’s College, criticized the public’s attraction to faith healers like Valdez. He argued that it was a “curiously perverse idea” that a preacher who “launches forth on an independent career, without any commission or authority from the church, is somehow closer to the heart of the gospel... than those who belong to the recognized ministry.”⁵⁹⁸

The same day, at an annual meeting of the congregation of King Memorial United Church, the church endorsed Rev. H.G. Tolton’s views on the McCullough “prayer-slaying case”.⁵⁹⁹ A resolution passed without dissent and stated that the congregation unanimously supported the minister and his right to speak in his sermons about “the truth as he sees it”. In

⁵⁹⁸ “Churches Tackle Slaying Case: Four Sermons to Discuss Implications of Tragedy”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 2, 1952; “Faith Healing’ Stirs Pulpit Controversy”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 4, 1952.

⁵⁹⁹ “Congregation Backs Tolton”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, February 2, 1952.

respect to the McCullough tragedy, the congregation expressed its confidence that “with his knowledge of the circumstances” that he would be fair in his judgement.⁶⁰⁰ Rev. Tolton told the *Winnipeg Tribune* that due to the traumatic impact of the murder on his congregation he had decided to postpone his sermon one week and would speak about the McCullough murder the following Sunday.⁶⁰¹

On February 3rd, in a sermon titled “Whose Crime?”, Tolton spoke to his congregation of more than one thousand people about his experiences at the Valdez healing campaign. At the invitation of Lillian McCullough, he said that he and some United Church colleagues went to a meeting at the Winnipeg Roller Rink where they witnessed people “by the dozen” with healing cards in their hands approach the stage to meet the Pentecostal evangelist A.C. Valdez Jr. As each person passed through the line, Valdez would lay his hands on them and command the devil out of them “in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost”. Tolton and his colleagues suspiciously noted the first group that went through the line were all deaf in one ear.⁶⁰²

For Tolton, the most “pitiful” case of the evening involved “the supposed healing” of a one year old blind baby whose parents had flown in from Chicago to attend the meeting. Valdez Jr. placed his hands on the baby and “called on the Lord to restore the eyes”. He asked for a flashlight that he waved in front of the baby's eyes and claimed the fact that the baby had blinked. He then declared that this was evidence that the child's vision had been restored after

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ “Clerics Criticize Valdez' 'Faith Healing' Claims”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 28, 1952.

which Valdez Jr. called for “a big hand for Jesus”. By this point in the evening, Tolton and his colleagues were surrounded by people “moaning and groaning” and, prior to leaving, he observed that “the atmosphere of the place was charged with some kind of mob psychical power and emotional hysteria”. Valdez told the audience that “great things” would be done for the people of Winnipeg and that anyone with “physical ills and troubles” who wanted to be healed and “had enough faith” would be healed.

From his pulpit, Tolton issued a challenge to Valdez to produce people who could be “proven to be blind” prior to the campaign and who could be examined “by doctors of repute” to confirm that their vision had been restored. He said he was instantly suspicious of these claims of miraculous healing and that, on the last evening of the campaign, he contacted Rev. J.F. Stewart, the chaplain at Manitoba’s tuberculosis hospital at Stoney Mountain, to inquire about the status of two people who claimed to have been healed by Valdez. The minister confirmed that the initial claims of cures from blindness and deafness had been false. Tolton concluded that the practices of Valdez amounted to “trickery” and that he had been taking money from his audiences “under false pretenses”. He then asked the congregation, “What do we do with such people?” He said that Valdez claimed to heal almost everyone but that, as he watched “the performance,” he began to think of the book “Cheaper by the Dozen”.⁶⁰³

As for the McCulloughs, Tolton said that he was unable to convince them that the faith healing campaign was “phoney religion” and that, despite his warnings, they became devoted to

⁶⁰² “Whose Crime?”, February 3, 1952, “Records of Worship and Special Services, 1945-1967”, King Memorial United Church, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

the teachings of Valdez Jr. and believed everything he said in a literal way. He recalled that Lillian had told him that she had found it strange to be clapping for Jesus when she went to the first meeting on January 6th, 1952 but, by the fourth meeting, she was doing it “with complete abandonment”. His impression was that she was profoundly moved by Valdez Jr.'s stories about devils and visions, and was excited by his vision of Valdez’s talk of Jesus's imminent return.

At the meeting he attended, Tolton said that Valdez spoke of “coming tragedies” and promised to speak of his “terrible vision of a conflict with the devil” in the following evenings, his last weekend in Winnipeg. Valdez described a letter he had received from "the General of the Society of Lucifer - The Devil's Chief Agent" who would soon be let loose on earth and commented that the Federal Bureau of Investigations in the United States had also been given this information.⁶⁰⁴ In Tolton’s view, these ideas and “everything that went on” during the campaign “made a profound and diabolical impression on Mrs. McCullough”. Tolton said that she committed herself to follow Valdez Jr.'s instruction to pray every hour of every day and at least one hour straight per day for a twenty four hour period. The evening before the tragedy, Tolton said Lillian and her husband Gavin had been awake the entire evening into the next day as she related her visions to him and prayed for the devil to be driven away.

According to Tolton, Lillian believed that Valdez Jr. had become “God's chief agent on earth” and that he possessed the ability to pass along these powers to others. He told the congregation that the day before the last evening of the Valdez Jr. Mission, Lillian phoned United Church Minister W.G. Martin to tell him that Valdez Jr. had anointed many Ministers in Winnipeg with his “power”. As well, she had received a handkerchief from Valdez Jr. that he

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.

had blessed, which she then tried to use on people who she thought needed healing. For Tolton, Lillian's actions were no less “insane” than those of Valdez Jr. By the Thursday morning prior to the tragedy, he described Lillian as “completely gone” and convinced that Jesus was coming at 6:00 a.m. The “crazy, irrational and unreal” things said by Valdez concerning the coming of Jesus have a disastrous effect on people who are emotionally unstable.⁶⁰⁵

Tolton concluded by asking “why did they do what they did?” He described Gavin McCullough as “a nice and cooperative person who would do a good deed for anyone” and someone he had come to rely on greatly in the business operations of the church. However, he said that Gavin had become convinced that his wife had some special powers from God and that ultimately “she had him under her control”, a power that Tolton saw as increasingly diabolical. In the end, Tolton believed that Gavin had come to share Lillian’s “implicit belief” belief in Valdez Jr. and acted no more rationally than Lillian.

He acknowledged that Valdez Jr. could not be seen as directly responsible for the tragedy. At the same time, the nature of his message and his emotional style of preaching were, in Tolton’s view, the main contributing factors to the tragedy. If the “Valdez Mission” had not come to Winnipeg, he believed that Lorne McCullough would have been in his usual place that morning in the church operating the tape recorder and that Gavin and Lillian McCullough “would have been in their usual pew”. Gavin would also have been the manager “taking care of the offering”. Instead, they were “stolen away” due to their willingness to “believe something for which King Memorial most certainly does not stand”. He told the congregation that Valdez

⁶⁰⁵ “Elmwood Minister Denounces Recent Faith Healing Mission”, *Elmwood Herald*, February 7, 1952.

“must have something to do” with the tragedy and that the churches that sponsored the campaign and the “small percentage of people in this city of Winnipeg who are gullible enough to go for that kind of religion” played a part in the events leading to the murder of Martha Louise McCullough. He finished his sermon with a call to the people of Toronto, the location of Valdez Jr.’s next campaign, to heed his warning.⁶⁰⁶

Pastor Theodore Ness, the Calvary Temple and the A.C. Valdez Jr. Healing Campaign

The following month, Rev. Theodore Ness responded to Tolton and other mainline Protestant critics of the Valdez campaign in Winnipeg with an article published in a section of the March 1952 edition of *The Voice of Healing* titled “Canadian Pastors Tell of After-Effects of Valdez Revival”. Ness described the positive impact of the campaign in the city and the massive audiences it attracted. According to Ness, the three-week A.C. Valdez Jr. campaign in January was attended by an estimated 71,000 people and, throughout that time, he said “Winnipeg was stirred tremendously.” During the weekdays, services were conducted in the Winnipeg Roller Rink with a seating capacity of 3,500 and most evenings, he claimed, it was filled to the point that many people were turned away. On Sunday evenings, two services were held in the Winnipeg Civic Auditorium, one at 6:30 p.m. and the other at 9:00 p.m. In total, the combined Sunday services were attended by approximately 7,200 people each week. As well, services at Calvary Temple during the campaign drew a maximum attendance, one of the largest Pentecostal

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

churches in Canada with a seating capacity of 1,600. Ness added that the Valdez Jr. revival was to his knowledge the largest religious campaign ever held in Winnipeg.⁶⁰⁷

By the end of the campaign, a total of 3,500 decision cards were turned in. Each service saw a “tremendous response” to the call to the altar and even A.C. Valdez Sr.’s afternoon preparatory instruction services were well attended. Most importantly, he said that hundreds of people had testified to “definite healings.” These included a man who reported that one of his legs was shorter than the other by three quarters of an inch and that, after being prayed for by Valdez, he was now wearing “ordinary shoes” on both feet. Others who were prayed for testified that their deaf ears “were stopped” and claimed that they “were delivered from arthritis, rheumatism, lung trouble, hernias and other ailments”, with one mother testifying that “her baby

⁶⁰⁷ *The Voice of Healing*, March 1952. Ness had attended the Gospel Tabernacle Church in Minneapolis in his youth during the late 1920s and early 1930s, and later taught music at the North Central Bible College in Minneapolis. After attending the North Central Bible College for one year, he furthered his theological education at Glad Tidings in San Francisco where he studied with L. Wesley Jaeger and, after two years, graduated in 1936. He performed as a trombonist and vocalist frequently at camp meetings, conventions and churches throughout North America. He frequently visited Winnipeg throughout the 1940s where he preached and performed to outdoor audiences of more than three thousand people at Osborne Stadium. “Advertisement for Rev. Ted Ness - Preacher, Singer, Trombonist of Minneapolis”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 23, 1945; *Assemblies of God Heritage*, Vol.22, No.3, Fall 2002. He had been ordained as a minister with the Assemblies of God in the United States in 1939 and prior to coming to Canada had preached at the Moline Gospel Temple in Illinois. On April 21, 1949, Ness applied for credentials with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in order to accept the position of pastor at the Calvary Temple Church in Winnipeg. In his application, he was asked if he had “an experimental knowledge of salvation and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues according to Act 2:4”? He answered that he did. “Theodore E. Ness - Credential File”, Theodore Ness - Clergy Record”, Credential File, #192411, Pentecostal Archives of Canada, Toronto, Ontario.

was cured of club feet”. Throughout the campaign, Ness concluded that “God graciously used our good Bro. A.C. Valdez Jr. in his healing ministry. . . To God be all glory.”

Ness acknowledged that there had been considerable opposition to the campaign in Winnipeg from the newspapers and some “unsympathetic clergymen”. Despite their criticisms and hostility to the Pentecostal practice of faith healing, he said that the campaign continued to grow and each evening the services attracted large number of attendees. He believed that the pastors who fought and disparaged the Valdez Jr. campaign were the losers in the end “in more ways than one” and that the people of Winnipeg would never be satisfied with “a negative Gospel” that denied the possibility of miraculous events occurring in modern day society. For Ness, the campaign proved that thousands of people in Winnipeg are “hungry for the positive truth of the Pentecostal message” and thanked Valdez Jr. for his contribution to spreading “God’s blessing” to the city.⁶⁰⁸

Valdez Jr. in Toronto

Events in Winnipeg cast a shadow over the two-week Valdez Jr. healing campaign in Toronto that began on Sunday, February 10th, 1952. The first published report of the campaign in the *Globe and Mail* began by stating that Valdez had recently received wide publicity after a Winnipeg minister suggested that his preaching was responsible “for a couple attempting to “beat the devil” out of their 7 year old daughter.”⁶⁰⁹ In Toronto, Valdez Jr. was on the defensive

⁶⁰⁸ “Canadian Pastors Tell of After-Effects of Valdez Revival”, *The Voice of Healing*, March 1952.

⁶⁰⁹ “Partial Cures Claimed by Several Attending Valdez Service”, *The Globe and Mail*, February 11, 1952.

and throughout the campaign and was compelled to justify his beliefs and practices in the face of mounting criticism from the press. As a result, he failed to achieve the same level of success he had enjoyed in western Canada.

Advertisements for the “Healing and Revival Campaign” in advance of the campaign claimed that in past years over a million people had attended services by Valdez Jr. and that thousands had testified to being healed. The revival was scheduled to be held in the C.N.E. Coliseum that had a seating capacity of 9,000 “free seats” and was “for all people” and “for all churches”. As in Winnipeg, there would be two services each day, the first at 2:30 p.m. where A.C. Valdez Sr. would hold a service during which healing cards were given the sick. The second service started at 7:00 p.m. and was described as a “Prayer for the Sick” to be led by Valdez Jr.⁶¹⁰

The first evening of the Toronto campaign attracted an audience of nearly 4,000 people that less than half-filled the Coliseum. *The Globe and Mail* reported that most came to see the thirty-five year-old faith healer perform miracles, and that “some claim he did.” As people in the healing line approached the stage on a long ramp, Valdez placed his right hand on them and cried “Hallelujah” and “praise the Lord”, declaring that they had been wholly or partially cured. Most of them said they were deaf or had “eye trouble”, and several people told the audience that they were able to hear the evangelist’s watch ticking and had improved vision after he touched them. The first person he touched claimed that she had been deaf for twenty-five years and was told by her doctor that she would never hear again. Valdez placed his hand on her and prayed “In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Dear Jesus please open up this woman's ear....

⁶¹⁰ *The Globe and Mail*, February 2, 1952; *The Globe and Mail*, February 9, 1952.

Pray you will create a new ear drum.” He then told her to cover her “good ear” and snapped his fingers beside her other ear. She replied that she could hear a faint noise. Valdez then told the audience that “This sister did not receive a miracle” and that sometimes healing takes time. The *Globe and Mail* report noted that she had not been “absolutely deaf” before attending the meeting. When another woman claimed her partial deafness had been improved after being touched by Valdez, the preacher asked the audience to “give Jesus a good hand for that”.⁶¹¹

Valdez then stood up from his chair, pointed to the centre of the audience and asked if a person suffering from a goitre and “chest trouble” was somewhere in the crowd. Two women rose and he chose one. He told the audience that the “Lord showed this to me, dear friends, I didn’t know she was here.” She approached the stage and, after he touched her, the woman said she felt “something go” and that the healing was “real”. Following this, he “directed his healing powers” into the crowd to cure headaches and ended the service by saying that “the Lord spoke to me a moment ago” and that the Lord asked him to stop praying for the sick and to tell the audience to go home and return the next day. In an effort to defuse potential critics, before leaving, he said that the names and addresses of all the people who were touched and claimed healing would be made available so they could be examined by doctors. He added that if the healing was deemed a fraud, he would not continue the campaign in Toronto and that he would stay only for one night. He then asked those in the audience “who felt a borned again experience” to raise their hands. As seventy new converts approached the platform Valdez urged

⁶¹¹ “Partial Cures Claimed by Several Attending Valdez Service”, *The Globe and Mail*, February 11, 1952.

them to join any church with a fundamentalist doctrine, pointing out that the co-operating Pentecostal churches sponsored his campaign in Toronto.⁶¹²

On Sunday, February 10th, A.C. Valdez Sr. conducted an afternoon meeting at the Coliseum where healing cards were distributed to an estimated 2,000 people. Valdez Sr. assured those in attendance that no money collected at the meetings would go directly to his son and that a committee of businessmen and church members would oversee the campaign finances and stop collections once all current expenses were paid. He added that at the close of the campaign a “love offering” could be made to his son “if the budget was met”. He suggested that because of the small audience the previous night, donations of one dollar would help the campaign. As he spoke, ushers circulated through the crowd “with giant paper cups”.⁶¹³

On February 23rd, the *Hush Free Press*, a Toronto tabloid, levelled a scathing attack on the evangelist by mocking his claims to be able to heal, questioning the financial motivations of the revival and accusing him of being directly responsible for the murder in Winnipeg suggesting that he was “capitalizing on blood money”. The paper described Valdez as being an American “peripatetic preacher” and a “religious racketeer” who was a member of a “tribe of wandering evangelists who invade this country frequently” in search of financial profit. Furthermore, the paper accused him of being “primarily responsible for one of the most brutal and insensate

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ Ibid. On Saturday, February 16th, an advertisement appeared in *The Globe and Mail* promoting the upcoming Sunday evening service and noted that Valdez Jr. would tell about “What Really Happened in Winnipeg.” That same Sunday, Rev. E.J. Springett of the British-Israel World Federation delivered a talk entitled “A Prince in Israel” at a public meeting at Massey Hall in Toronto. *The Globe and Mail*, February 16, 1952. The advertisement for Springett's talk noted that his radio broadcast could be heard every Sunday at 9:15 a.m. on CFRB in Toronto.

killings of recent record: the beating and strangling to death of a seven year old Winnipeg girl by her foster parents”, adding that “the case has shocked all Canada”. As for his campaign in Toronto, it suggested that he was there to “continue his mission” to “sell” people in that city “the kind of religious stuff that bore such wonderful fruit in Winnipeg.”⁶¹⁴

The *Hush Free Press* emphasized what it considered to be the questionable financial motivations of the Valdez Jr. healing revival. It reported that Valdez Jr. was staying at the Ford Hotel in Toronto and wondered how “this modern, human copy of Christ, this poor pastor” could afford such luxurious accommodations given that the meetings were advertised as free, sarcastically adding that attendees were allowed “the privilege of putting cash on collection plates.”⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁴ “Faith Healer Cashes in on Brutal Killing: Toronto’s Publicly-Owned Building, the Coliseum, Booked Up for Two Weeks’ Engagement of Religious Racketeer”, *Hush Free Press*, Toronto, February 23, 1952. *Hush Free Press* was one of four weekly tabloids published in Toronto after World War II, and in 1951 had a circulation of 48,000. Founded in 1920, the tabloid published exposes of government agencies, politicians and public figures. While much of its content was sensationalistic it also took strong editorial stands on a range of social and political issues. Eric Setliff has argued that “Hush clearly considered itself a sort of alternative press, willing to step on the toes of the elite and explore subjects that were shunned by the hypocritical dailies...” See Eric Setliff, “Sex Fiends or Swish Kids?: Gay Men in Hush Free Press, 1946-1956” in Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell, eds., *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 2003), p.160.

⁶¹⁵ The *Hush Free Press* inaccurately reported that Valdez Jr. was visiting Toronto “under the auspices of the British Israel World Federation”. This error was likely due to a mistaken interpretation of reports in the Winnipeg press that the McCulloughs had first heard about the Valdez Jr. meetings through their involvement with the British-Israel World Federation in Winnipeg. For example, “The McCulloughs Religious Fanatics”, *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 26 1952 The McCulloughs first became aware of the Valdez Jr. meetings through their association with Frank Staines, a member of the British Israel World Federation in Winnipeg. However,

In reference to the recent faith healing meetings in Winnipeg, the *Hush Free Press* derided the Valdez Jr. “venture” in that city as “successful beyond all expectations” by noting that it began with a series of meetings where people “clapped hands and laughed out loud” and claimed to be healed of various ailments, continued with a series of “miracles” and arrived at a climax “in a murder it inspired”. It then asked how it was possible that these meetings could result in healing that “orthodox preachers and medical men” could not? The tabloid suggested that the answer was that the claims of healing were false and noted that one woman at the Winnipeg meetings, who believed she was cured of diabetes and quit taking insulin, nearly died and was revived by doctors afterwards.⁶¹⁶

The tabloid argued that Valdez Jr. should return to Winnipeg to serve as a witness at the trials of Gavin and Lillian McCullough so that he could be subject to “the scrutiny of reason and justice”. If he did, his claims of healing could be examined by modern medical science and the financial profits of the meetings would be made public. Justice would not be done until his “faith-healing racket” was “exposed”.

While in Toronto, Valdez Jr. blamed the tragedy in Winnipeg on the United Church minister who “did not comfort and minister to the McCulloughs properly”. This refusal to acknowledge any association between the healing meetings and the murder of Martha Louise McCullough was, in the tabloid’s view, unacceptable and reflected the transient nature of American faith healers operating in Canada.

there is no evidence that the British Israel World Federation supported the Valdez Jr. meetings throughout Canada in late 1951 and early 1952.

If these men remained on the scene long enough after their “healing sessions” to follow up their “cures” and face any legal music, it would not be so bad. But, in Canada at least, they are all transients, mostly from across the border; they come and go like vultures in flight; they stay just long enough to pocket a lot of Canadian cash, then they vanish beyond reach of consequences, leaving their patients to live or die as Fate decrees.⁶¹⁷

The *Hush Free Press* called on the Canadian legal system to begin treating faith healers as it would anyone practising medicine without a licence. The practise of Pentecostal faith healing, it argued, “has caused many deaths” and argued that, when its practitioners directly contribute to a murder, the tabloid argued, they should be seen as “morally guilty of homicide”. In the wake of the murder in Winnipeg that “occurred in consequence of emotions overwrought at religious meetings”, the tabloid concluded that “it is time for the law to step in and curb such racketeers and protect Canadian fools and fanatics from their own folly.”⁶¹⁸

When the two-week Valdez campaign ended in Toronto on February 24th, 1952, more than fifty thousand people had heard him speak during thirty services. The last meeting continued for four and a half hours and included seventy-five persons testifying to cures they claimed to have received during the healing campaign of the previous two weeks, including recovery from diabetes and blindness. As he had done in Winnipeg, Valdez Jr. concluded the

⁶¹⁶ This is a reference to a fifty-one year woman from Steinbach who was hospitalized within days of reportedly being healed at a Valdez Jr. meeting in Winnipeg. “They Weren’t Cured But She’s Still A Believer”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, Saturday, January 26, 1952.

⁶¹⁷ “Faith Healer Cashes in on Brutal Killing: Toronto’s Publicly-Owned Building, the Coliseum, Booked Up for Two Weeks’ Engagement of Religious Racketeer”, *Hush Free Press*, Toronto, February 23, 1952.

final meeting with a twenty minute apocalyptic prediction of things to come: “God will shake the whole countryside soon. He is going to make fire come down from heaven, Dead people are going to rise. You will see things that will almost make your hair stand on end.”⁶¹⁹

In a Canadian Press story published in the *Winnipeg Free Press* on February 26th, 1952, it was reported that, while “on stage,” the mission was described as a “financial success”. However, “backstage” representatives of the financial committee for the Valdez Jr. meetings in Toronto said the mission had lost so much money that Valdez Jr. had been forced to sell his revival tent in the United States to cover expenses. On the final Sunday night of the meetings, the audience of 6,500 people were told that Valdez Jr. needed \$2,500 to break even that night. Two collections were made, the first one amounted to \$2,555 and the second collection, described as a “love offering”, and totalled \$943.⁶²⁰

To encourage contributions, the crowd was told “We will all be counted some day - why not stand and be counted now? Obey the Lord and stand. Hallelujah!” In response, one hundred people stood for a \$10 offering. In the end, contributions to the campaign were not sufficient to cover expenses. Rev. Hugh McAlister, the chairman of the campaign’s finance committee, estimated that Valdez Jr. paid between \$1,000 and \$1,500 to cover losses in Toronto.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.

⁶¹⁹ “Valdez Goes 'In The Red' As Toronto Services End”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 26, 1952.

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

The money-raising drive was managed by Rev. Alpheus Noseworthy, of Toronto, who said to the audience on the final Sunday night: “The pickings haven’t been too good. When we have expected most of you to give a dollar, all we could find in the paper cups were pennies and nickels. Oh, but that is lovely anyway, praise the Lord.”⁶²²

Charles Templeton in Winnipeg, November, 1952

On January 19th, 1952, one day before the last Valdez Jr. healing revival meeting in Winnipeg, the *Winnipeg Free Press* reported on Rev. Charles Templeton’s recent evangelistic Mission in Brockville, Ontario. Templeton’s services were described as being “deeply spiritual and singularly free of the sensational” and the article informed Winnipeg readers that they could expect the same when the evangelist visited the city for a planned Mission in the fall of that year. In Brockville, Templeton drew crowds in excess of two thousand people and made a “profound impression” on his audience with his “earnest and sincere presentation of the Gospel message.” As the three-week Valdez healing campaign drew to a close in Winnipeg, the implication was that in contrast to the Valdez Pentecostal healing campaign, the upcoming Templeton mission would offer a genuine and inspiring evangelistic experience.⁶²³

In an interview on October 29th 1952 from Saskatoon, where he was conducting a Mission, Templeton said that he said he was not a fundamentalist because he believed that “Christianity was for the intelligence as well as the heart”. Templeton was described as being “a new type of evangelist” who believed that the purpose of religion was not to bring about an

⁶²² Ibid.

⁶²³ “Church Writer Has High Praise for Templetons”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 19, 1952.

“egocentric development of the soul” but rather to make the individual useful and good living. “He is quiet and earnest, without any trick of words or design in approach.”⁶²⁴

A few days later in an editorial titled “Evangelism”, the *Winnipeg Free Press* continued to promote the two-week Templeton Mission stating that he was “one of the most successful of the modern mass-evangelists” and that “Mr. Templeton comes to Winnipeg under the irreproachable auspices of the United Church.”⁶²⁵ A recent census in the United States had indicated that ninety-nine out of every one hundred Americans believe in God and the paper speculated that, if a similar poll were conducted in Canada, the results would likely be quite similar. Why then, it asked, is there an audience for evangelists like Templeton? The answer it suggested was because people in Winnipeg and elsewhere continued to live in troubled times and there was a palpable hunger for “spiritual certainty”. Templeton’s ability to speak to each individual’s “intellect, will and emotions” and “his gift of speaking directly to the heart” through his “inspired” message met this need and explained much of his success.⁶²⁶ Just prior to the opening of the Templeton Evangelistic Mission in Winnipeg on November 9th, 1952, it was reported that there would be “sense” and “no sawdust trail” at the evangelistic campaign sponsored by the Winnipeg Presbytery of the United Church of Canada. The mission would continue for two weeks with evening meetings at the Civic Auditorium and the Grace United Church as well as afternoon meetings during weekdays.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁴ “Sense, Not Sawdust Trail, Key at Templeton Mission”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 29, 1952.

⁶²⁵ “Evangelism”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 1, 1952.

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

⁶²⁷ “Sense, Not Sawdust Trail, Key at Templeton Mission”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 29, 1952. The Templeton Mission began on November 9th at the Winnipeg Civic Auditorium and

At the Civic Auditorium on the evening of November 18th, Templeton's theme was "Building a Happy Home". He focused his message to the capacity audience on the dangers of the breakdown of the Canadian home. The greatest threat to the nation was not, in his view, Communism but the fact that divorce had increased in Canada by one thousand per cent over the last fifty years and that, in 1952, one in five marriages ended in divorce. The dangers were presented in geopolitical terms. A civilization fails when a "moral dry rot" emerges that undermines the nation. This, in turn, weakens the nation and "when this is present, then an external aggressor defeats the country."⁶²⁸

According to Templeton the home was the "nation's keystone". The greatest social sin was to forsake the family and not provide every child with a happy home. Even among those who remained married, he challenged the audience by asking how many of them remained married for "social reasons". Every marriage, he added, is only as good as the two people in it and he believed it could only be possible if those two people "joined

continued at the Grace United Church, November 10-14th, the Civic Auditorium, November 16-19th, the Grace United Church, November 20th, and ended at the Civic Auditorium on November 22-23rd. The total number of people who attended the Templeton Mission in Winnipeg is not known. Attendance at the Noon Day meetings that were held throughout the two weeks of the Mission at the Grace United Church was 17,000. "Report of the Noon Day Meetings Committee" and "Templeton Mission Invitation Card", Templeton Mission Committee, 1952-53, Winnipeg Presbytery Secretary, Winnipeg Presbytery Box D, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

The term "sawdust trail" was originally used by lumbermen in the Pacific Northwest in the late nineteenth century who used trails of sawdust to find their way back to camp. In 1910 the American evangelist Billy Sunday began to use the term "sawdust trail" as a metaphor for an individual finding their way to God. See Helen "Nell" Sunday, *Ma Sunday Still Speaks*, p.25-27, quoted in William A. Sunday, *The Sawdust Trail: Billy Sunday in His Own Words* (University of Iowa Press, 2005), pp. vv-vi.

⁶²⁸ "Broken Home Seen Threat to Canada", *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 19, 1952.

together by love of God.” A loving home was even more important than the church, government or school.⁶²⁹

However, he believed the evidence suggested that the nation had failed in properly caring for the spiritual health of its youth. Despite their worldly success, many men and women, he argued, had failed as parents. As a result, too many young people ended up in penal institutions. The central problem was that many parents were no longer giving their children the gift of “Christian character” to protect them in their latter life. The youth of Canada could not be brought to the church by preaching. Only the “power of daily example” and “consistent Christian living” could show the youth what is “right and good” and how to lead their own lives. At its core, Christianity was a “family affair” and he urged people to “go back to the good old days of the family pew in church to worship God as a family.”⁶³⁰

At Grace United Church, Charles Templeton told an overflow audience that, if they felt like they were “getting short-changed on the market place of life,” it was likely their own fault.⁶³¹ Modern society has much to offer and many people are primarily interested in “keeping up to date with the latest things” though they may not necessarily be worth pursuing. Templeton suggested that the increasing materialism of society and interest in “some kind of placid philosophy” offered a false promise of happiness. However, the reality was that there was no new philosophy and he cautioned that only by

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

⁶³¹ “Templeton Warns Against False Glitter”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 22, 1952.

returning to a “true relationship with God” can an individual find “supreme value in life”.⁶³²

A great many people are “taken in by glittering baubles” today’s society has to offer... We’re all concerned with keeping up to date with the latest things... even though they may not be the best things... Many folks believe they’ll stumble over a ready-made formula for happiness... or find some kind of placid philosophy that will solve all our problems... But it just doesn’t work that way... Our mass-produced, synthetic and bright world would be well-advised to dust off its Bible and bring itself up to date.⁶³³

Templeton was not without his critics. In a letter to the editor in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, an anonymous writer accused Templeton of delivering a “message of hopelessness”. Unlike other ministers, the writer observed that Templeton’s message differed from other evangelical preachers in that he did not use a “hell and fire method of frightening people”. However, the author believed that he did try to frighten his audience by suggesting that there was a disaster ahead that would leave the “world standing on the edge of an abyss” because mankind did not have the wisdom to be trusted with the atomic bomb. Only God could show the right way forward and the solution was for people to take God into their “hearts and homes.” The author mocked Templeton’s “warmed over message” as avoiding any attempt to seek solutions for the real problems of the world.⁶³⁴

The Templeton evangelistic mission in November 1952 was the largest public event organized by the Winnipeg Presbytery of the United Church and was the result of

⁶³² Ibid.

⁶³³ “Templeton Warns Against False Glitter”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 22, 1952.

⁶³⁴ “The Rewards of Work”, *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 17, 1952.

months of planning by numerous committees within the church. The work of the Publicity Committee for the Templeton Mission in Winnipeg began in May, 1952, six months prior to the start of the Mission. The committee was organized into three sub-committees that included newspaper publicity, general advertising, and radio publicity. The Winnipeg Presbytery of the United Church made use of its connections to all the major media in the city and the subcommittees included representation from the Winnipeg Free Press, the C.B.C., and Hignell's Printing Company.⁶³⁵ In June, 1952, the newspaper committee organized a city-wide pulpit exchange in which United Church Ministers were asked to preach on the upcoming Templeton Mission and advertisements were prepared for each in the church pages of the *Winnipeg Tribune* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*. A month before the Mission opened, the sub-committee published weekly reports in both papers that gave information about the successes of Templeton's Missions elsewhere and included the dates and locations for the Winnipeg Mission. On the Saturday before the Mission began, both of the papers carried an editorial about the Mission and a large advertisement was placed in both papers in their church page section. The church page advertisements were repeated each Saturday throughout the Mission and news stories "were arranged through the City Desk" at both papers. The *Winnipeg Tribune* and the *Winnipeg Free Press* both agreed to have regular newspaper coverage of

⁶³⁵ "On each of these committees were men who had experience in the advertising field. The key men in newspaper advertising were Mr. Cec. Grover of Hignells and Mr. W. McMorran of the Free Press; for general advertising, W. Wheatly and Cec. Grover of Hignells and Mr. Ken McCaskill; for radio advertising, Jack Whitehouse and Herb Roberts of C.B.C." "Report of the Publicity Committee, Templeton Mission", Templeton Mission Committee, 1952-53, Winnipeg Presbytery Secretary, Winnipeg Presbytery Box D, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

all the Mission meetings and, during the Mission, an interview with Templeton by the editor of the Tribune appeared in the paper's editorial page. Templeton also contributed an illustration for the *Tribune's* sports page. Both the *Free Press* and *Tribune* did "personality interviews" with Templeton and his wife accompanied with photographs of the couple. At the conclusion of the Mission, both papers published editorials evaluating its impact on the city. The sub-committee also sent summaries of events and advertisements to suburban and rural papers within a sixty mile radius of the city.⁶³⁶

The sub-committee for "General Advertising" was responsible for creating and printing all of the publicity materials required for the Mission. This included a range of items including one thousand car stickers, ten thousand church calendars, twenty-eight thousand invitation cards, forty-two thousand invitation slips, seven billboards, four thousand decision cards, as well as letterheads, posters and signage for the Civic Auditorium and the Grace United Church. All of the printing was done for free by the T. Eaton Company printing department. In addition, fifteen thousand invitation slips were printed to be sent out with Winnipeg Electric hydro bills.⁶³⁷

The radio sub-committee arranged for two spot announcements to appear during each day of the Mission on the three private Winnipeg stations: CKRC, CKY and CJOB. Laymen of the United Church appeared on the CKY show "Word Divine" to speak about the Mission; on November 10th, Mrs. Templeton was interviewed on CKY; and, later on

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Ibid. Eatons and the Hudson's Bay Company provided free parking in downtown Winnipeg for the duration of the Mission. See "Report of the House Committee", Templeton Mission Committee, 1952-53, Winnipeg Presbytery Secretary, Winnipeg Presbytery Box D, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

November 17th, Templeton was interviewed by George Kent on CBW. Between October 5th and November 23, various Templeton Committee chairmen appeared on the “Come to Church” program on CKY each Sunday and announcements were given during Church services over CBW and CKY by United Church ministers starting Sunday, Sept 7th and continuing until November 23rd.⁶³⁸

The purpose of the Prayer Committee, led by Vice-chairman Rev. W. E. Donnelly of Knox United Church, was to prepare and distribute a prayer card for the Mission that would provide a place for individuals to pledge a “special prayer effort”, provide instructions regarding “special prayer petitions” and include guidance about the values and methods of intercession. A total of twenty thousand prayer cards were distributed throughout all the Winnipeg Presbytery congregations. The sub-committee also encouraged extensive group prayer efforts related to the Mission. They organized regular neighbourhood prayer meetings, mid-week prayers in each congregation and Sunday evening rallies that brought together three or four churches in close proximity of each other to pray together following Sunday evening services. Rev. Donnelly reported that the rallies proved difficult to organize and, despite the best efforts of his sub-committee, he concluded that “a great spiritual harvest” could not be expected from the Templeton Mission. However, he held out hope that maybe, after “persevering prayer, personal and

⁶³⁸ “Report of the Publicity Committee, Templeton Mission”, Templeton Mission Committee, 1952-53, Winnipeg Presbytery Secretary, Winnipeg Presbytery Box D, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

communal,” a religious renewal might eventually occur in the United Church community in Winnipeg.⁶³⁹

Allen R. Huband, Chairman of the Music Committee, expressed disappointment in the music programme performed during the Mission. The selection of choir music was left to the group leaders with the understanding that all of the music should be “evangelical in character”. While he applauded Templeton’s “inspiring” leadership of “community singing”, he lamented that the hymn sheet music used “left much to be desired”. He believed that the selection of hymns was not well suited to evangelistic services and, as a result, a small number of hymns had to be used “over and over again”. He recommended that this issue be communicated to the United Church Board of Evangelism and Social Service and that it would have been preferable if the local committee had been given the ability to prepare its own hymn sheet.⁶⁴⁰

After the Mission ended, the Reverend S.R. McLeod of St. Paul’s United Church, the Chairman of the Templeton Mission Committee in Winnipeg, began his final report by stating that “immeasurable good resulted from the visit of Rev. Charles and Mrs. Templeton to our city.” He described Templeton as being a “great preacher” who brought a fresh perspective to his teachings and reinvigorated the faith of those who attended the Mission.

⁶³⁹ “Report of the Prayer Committee”, Templeton Mission Committee, 1952-53, Winnipeg Presbytery Secretary, Winnipeg Presbytery Box D, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

⁶⁴⁰ “Report of the Music Committee”, Templeton Mission Committee, 1952-53, Winnipeg Presbytery Secretary, Winnipeg Presbytery Box D, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

McLeod acknowledged that it was difficult to appraise the results of the Mission and cautioned that judging its success on the basis of cards signed by people seeking new membership in the United Church would be unwise. He said that Templeton had been emphatic that, in his opinion, “counting heads” was not the best way to determine the value of a Mission and that “commitment or re-commitment to Jesus Christ is not something that can be so easily tabulated”. The main achievement had been “a lift in the spiritual temperature of the Church” in Winnipeg as a result of the mission and that thousands in the city had been “challenged by the demands of Christ” in a way that had not previously been the case. However, he did believe that the Mission had not been the success that United Church in Winnipeg had hoped it would be and that there was good reason to believe that it had failed to reach large numbers of the “unchurched”. Of some consolation was the fact Templeton’s visit and the message that “Christ is the Answer” was widely heard and talked about in the city. Most importantly, the United Church had in his view demonstrated the proper mode of mass evangelism.

Mass evangelism has returned to a place of dignity and respect in the minds of sincere people. Under the sane, Christ centered, church conscious leadership of Mr. Templeton the lie was given to the common assumption that mass evangelism is the particular property of Pentecostal and Holiness sects. The Mission was a recall to faith in an evangelizing technique for too long considered outmoded and ineffective.⁶⁴¹

The Templeton Mission also renewed the value of “mass witness” in the life of the United Church and provided a unique opportunity for church members to move

⁶⁴¹ “Report of the Templeton Mission Committee of Winnipeg Presbytery”, Templeton Mission Committee, 1952-53, Winnipeg Presbytery Secretary, Winnipeg Presbytery Box D, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

beyond their own parochial loyalties and experience their faith in the company of large numbers of co-religionists. This was an experience, he acknowledged, that had rarely occurred in the United Church. As well, the Mission recovered for many in the church the “greatness, power and effectiveness of preaching” and reminded many local clergy of the power of their pulpit. He was greatly impressed by Templeton’s use of humour, simplicity of expression and power of description. He hoped that Templeton’s example might mark “the return of the preacher and prophet to a position of leadership in the worship of a church tending to be perhaps overly concerned for ritual.”⁶⁴²

Organizers like Rev. F.W. Armstrong, the Chairman of the Visitation Committee, admitted that the Templeton Mission was undertaken with much “trepidation and even reluctance”. In his final report written in December, 1952, he wrote that

This reluctance was easily understandable in view of the fact that it was the first venture of its kind to be undertaken by the Presbytery of Winnipeg; and because of the so recent unfortunate experience of the city of a so-called faith healing mission... In view of all this it might be said that one of the first and most obvious benefits of the mission was to demonstrate to the sober minded and sincerely religious people of this city the great value of modern mass evangelism freed from the outworn and often harmful methods of the past.⁶⁴³

Armstrong described the response to the Mission as a “show of strength” on the part of the United Church in Winnipeg. However, he observed that, despite the best

⁶⁴² Ibid.

⁶⁴³ “Report of the Visitation Committee”, Templeton Mission Committee, 1952-53, Winnipeg Presbytery Secretary, Winnipeg Presbytery Box D, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

efforts of the organizers, few non-United Church people were among the attendees. He lamented that “the crowds were not phenomenal” even among members of the United Church. In his attempt to appraise the value of the Mission and to suggest some ways of positive action moving forward, Armstrong acknowledged that the publicity for the campaign had been “excellent” and that the overall organization “left little to be desired”. As for Templeton, he appreciated the vitality and his “sane and graphic presentation” in “offering the way of salvation”.

For Armstrong, the question that remained was “What difference has it made in the lives of the people?” He felt that it was reasonable to expect that all of the effort and good organization that went into the Mission would result in “some awakened souls” but admitted that, almost a month after the Mission, he had heard of none.

In an examination of the Decision cards which came to hand I have found that they appeared to be signed without much idea of their meaning or implication. Several were signed without any indication as to whether it was a re-dedication or first committal. In the case of married couples, not once did they indicate the same decision. Those whom I have visited did not betray any evident change of heart by any outward indication or word of mouth. In other words these people have not had any real experience, they have only been warmed up. . . ⁶⁴⁴

He speculated that one of the reasons for the lack of spiritual awakening was the desire of Templeton to “avoid over emotionalism” in his preaching. As a result, Armstrong believed that the Mission had failed to arouse the deeper spiritual emotions of the audience. As much as Templeton stimulated his audiences and gained their

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

admiration for his oratory skills and storytelling abilities, he was not able to move individuals to “make a definite decision for Christ”.

This is not to condemn the meetings as having failed in their objective but rather to point up the fact that in this type of evangelism the object is not, apparently, to bring large numbers of people to a soul shaking decision in the throes of a great emotional upheaval - although I personally feel that it would be a vast mistake to rule this out as a legitimate means of conversion - but rather to prepare them for a gentler and more gradual process of transition under the guidance of the local pastor.⁶⁴⁵

Armstrong concluded that the Templeton Mission had laid the groundwork for new opportunities in “harvesting the souls of men for Christ”. He believed that the United Church in Winnipeg could build on the inspiration of the Mission to reach out to the people who had fallen away from the church but that it was important to reach out, not as “ecclesiastical census takers,” but to preach the gospel with power and urgency. To capitalize on the momentum of the Mission, the United Church had to return to the evangelism of its past.

There is a text from the 10th chapter of Matthew’s gospel which has suggested itself to me as a possible guide. It is: “But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And as ye go, preach, saying, the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give!” (Matthew 10, 6-8).⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁵ “Report of the Visitation Committee”, Templeton Mission Committee, 1952-53, Winnipeg Presbytery Secretary, Winnipeg Presbytery Box D, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The history of Protestantism in Canada in the twentieth century is a tale of two stories. Since the early 1960s membership numbers for all the mainline denominations have significantly declined. In 1951, membership in the United Church was 7.2% of the total Canadian population, and Anglicans represented 7.8% of all Canadians. By 1981, United Church membership had dropped to 4.2% and Anglicans were 3.8%. During the same period, Pentecostals grew from 0.4% to 1.1%.⁶⁴⁷ The number of “liberal or progressive Christians” has remained in recent decades the largest factions among Protestants in Canada, and by the 1990s amounted to 57% of those who claimed to be “committed Christians”. However, the vitality and growth of conservative Protestant Christianity in the latter half of the twentieth century during a period when the overall percentage of Canadians who were active Christians declined in mainline denominations suggests, as Kurt Bowen has argued, that the growth of conservative Protestant religion in this period was not an insignificant development.⁶⁴⁸

Mainline Protestantism in twentieth century Canada can be understood as a “hybrid form”, similar in different ways to both the United States and Western Europe, but unique in its

⁶⁴⁷ Peter Beyer, “Religious Vitality in Canada: The Complementarity of Religious Market and Secularization Perspectives”, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 36, no. 2, (June 1997) p.282.

⁶⁴⁸ Kurt Bowen, *Christians in a Secular World: The Canadian Experience* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2004) p.22.

own right. In English-speaking Canada, sociologist Peter Beyer has observed that the early development of mainline Protestant denominations paralleled development in the United States, where in both countries, beginning in the mid nineteenth century, these churches operated as voluntaristic organizations in a pluralistic environment and were primarily responsible for the churching of the majority of the population up to the mid-twentieth century. However, since the Second World War, religious decline in Canadian mainline denominations has more resembled the experience in Western Europe, where liberal Protestants possess a diminished role in the social order, and where formerly dominant churches no longer claim an influential role in their societies.⁶⁴⁹

At the same time, by the middle of the 1980s, Pentecostal and Charismatic Christians were estimated to represent approximately one-fifth of all Christians world-wide. By the 1990s, Pentecostal churches were the only Christian group in Canada with a growing membership and were increasing as a percentage of the total Canadian population. During the same decade, Kurt Bowen argues that “23% of all committed Christians in Canada and 27%” in the 1990s claimed that they were “Pentecostal or Charismatic” and that 43% of all conservative Christians “make the same claim.”⁶⁵⁰ In his study of American and Canadian evangelicals, Sam Reimer has argued that on any given Sunday, in recent decades, more conservative evangelicals are likely to attend church than mainline Protestants and that “a sizeable proportion” of evangelicals in both countries continue to adhere to “orthodox beliefs and practices” and that the movement continues to this day to thrive in both countries.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁹ Beyer, p.273.

⁶⁵⁰ Beyer, p.282. Bowen, p.11, 233.

⁶⁵¹ Bowen, p. 25; Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide*, p.5. Kurt Bowen has argued that statistics that show a contraction of Pentecostals in Canada beginning in the 1990s are

What explains the continued expansion of conservative Protestant Christianity in Canada during a period of prolonged decline within mainline denominations? George Rawlyk argued that the ongoing strength and growth of conservative Protestantism was due in part to the movement's loyalty to evangelical doctrinal interpretations and the acceptance that denominational loyalties had become less significant for religious people seeking a church. In his view, conservative Christians tended to be most closely tied to local congregations, but were increasingly less tied to denominational affiliations. In 2003, Sam Reimer identified a similar trend, noting that the number of evangelicals, including Pentecostals, has continued to modestly increase in the overall Canadian population, including many influenced by Pentecostalism who identified themselves as being part of non-denominational congregations. As Reginald Bibby has shown, the growing number of evangelical and independent charismatic churches, many Pentecostal or Charismatic, has resulted in a de-emphasis in denominational affiliation, a primary emphasis among mainline Protestant denominations. By the late twentieth century distinctions between religiously active Canadians were based less on denominational affiliation, and more broadly understood by a distinction between evangelicals and the broader non-evangelical Christian and non-Christian culture.⁶⁵² These trends have underscored a predilection among many evangelicals for local congregational control of their churches, a longstanding tradition among Pentecostal churches. In Winnipeg, Calvary Temple exemplified this phenomenon. While affiliated with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, the church exerted a higher degree

“questionable” and are inconsistent with membership numbers recorded by Pentecostal churches. Bowen, p.27.

⁶⁵² George Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?: In Search of Canadian Evangelicalism in the 1990s* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996) p. 131; Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide*, p. 43; Bibby, *Restless Churches*, p. 21.

of congregational control compared to parishes in mainline denominations.

In 1987, Reginald Bibby challenged the idea that evangelical growth in Canada in the preceding decades was the result of proselytization by evangelical groups or the defection of mainline Protestants to Pentecostalism or other conservative Protestant religious groups. He argued that the expansion of evangelicalism in Canadian society was a result of higher birth rates among evangelicals and a higher retention rate by those groups of their membership. Fewer than ten per cent of evangelical recruits by the mid-1980s, he concluded, came from non-evangelical denominations or from the non-religious in Canada.⁶⁵³

My research provides evidence that when conservative Protestant Christianity in Canadian society is examined in light of the Valdez healing campaign in Winnipeg in 1952, and in a broader historical context, the origins of this movement and its growing role in Canadian society can be identified in an earlier period. An analysis of Pentecostalism in Winnipeg suggests that aggressive evangelicalism on the part of Pentecostals through divine healing campaigns profoundly influenced the trajectory of religious affiliation in the city during the preceding decades. The growth of Winnipeg's Calvary Temple following the Valdez campaign is instructive in understanding the origins of conservative Protestant growth in Canadian society. In 1952, the church received a total of \$72,075.23 in receipts. In 1965 receipts totalled \$158,043.76, and by 1976 had grown to \$717,386.23, while church attendance more than tripled during this period. In contrast King Memorial United Church, the church attended by the McCulloughs, recorded \$40,238.45 in total receipts in 1952, and in 1965 this had dropped to \$33,906.18, with

⁶⁵³ Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, pp.27-31.

membership dropping more than fifty per cent, despite the fact that in terms of size and attendance capacity it was comparable to Calvary Temple.⁶⁵⁴

In this dissertation I have argued that Pentecostalism in Winnipeg defined itself as a movement separate, and opposed to, theological liberalism in mainline Protestant denominations. Divine healing campaigns held by Aimee Semple McPherson, Dr. Charles Price, and A.C. Valdez Jr. emphasized an experiential form of religion that attracted thousands of participants, and challenged prevailing mainline Protestant ideas about denominational affiliation by inviting mass audiences to participate in a religious experience that for many was beyond the boundaries of their respective mainline Protestant religious backgrounds. These campaigns introduced Winnipeg audiences to a religious perspective that claimed scriptural authority for the possibility that miraculous healing could occur in modern times. The emotional appeal of Pentecostal evangelists to reclaim a form of old-style evangelicalism, familiar to many in denominations that had long since abandoned these teachings, stirred a popular response that threatened mainline Protestant clergy in the city. In 1952, A.C. Valdez Jr. offered a message of pan-denominational inclusiveness not found in mainline Protestantism, and in doing so he played an important part in sowing the seeds for a new era of religion in the city.

Beginning in the early 1950s, Pentecostalism in Canadian society was entering into a period of sustained growth while mainline Protestant denominations would reach the zenith of their membership and influence by the following decade. The A.C. Valdez Jr. divine healing campaign in Winnipeg in 1952, the tragic death of Martha Louise McCullough, and the

⁶⁵⁴ Financial Statements and Reports, Wesley Pentecostal Assembly, 1926-1938 and Calvary Temple, 1938 -1965, Calvary Temple Archives; King Memorial United Church, Financial Statements 1926-1965, King Memorial United Church Fonds, Gordon King Accession Box 8, United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference.

subsequent debate and controversies that divided Pentecostals and mainline denominations all provide a window into the formative changes that were developing in Canadian Protestantism in mid-twentieth century Canada. The popularity of the Valdez campaign, and the ability of Pentecostals in the city to sustain prolonged and scathing attacks on their beliefs by mainline Protestant leaders and yet experience sustained growth in the following decades, attests to the emerging strength, resilience, and growth of conservative Protestantism in Canada decades before sociologists acknowledged the continued presence and vitality of conservative Christianity in Canadian society in the 1980s.

As Jon Butler observed in his analysis of American religious historiography, many historians have tended to ignore the role and cultural significance of conservative Protestant Christianity in society between the early history of fundamentalism and the controversies associated with its conflicts with liberal Protestantism in the 1920s, and the emergence of the post-1970s conservative Protestantism.⁶⁵⁵ He argues that the “religious problem” in American history was in part tied to the view, as described in most general histories of the United States, that following the decline of the “religious elite” that had dominated mainline Protestant denominations during a “golden age of American religiosity” in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Protestantism entered a period that historians have interpreted as signalling the demise of religion in the social order in the twentieth century.⁶⁵⁶ As mainline denominational Protestantism retreated, increasingly abandoned evangelicalism, and declined in social influence, he argues that historians have tended to ignore the social significance of personal and group religious affiliations among conservative Christians and the continued importance of their

⁶⁵⁵ Jon Butler, “Jack-in-the-Box Faith: The Religion Problem in Modern American History”, *The Journal of American History*, vol. 90, no.4 (March 2004) p.1359.

personal and public religion. My view is that a similar argument could be applied to the study of Protestantism in Canadian historiography. This dissertation has examined a period of religious change largely neglected in Canadian religious history and concluded that divisions between Pentecostals and mainline that reached a climax in 1952 were instrumental in changing the religious character of the city. Through an analysis of the A.C. Valdez Jr. healing campaign, it has shown the historical significance of this event and the role of the Pentecostal movement in influencing the ascendancy of conservative Protestantism in Winnipeg in the twentieth century.

⁶⁵⁶ Butler, pp.1361, 1362.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

The Archives of the Diocese of Rupert`s Land, Winnipeg MB

“The Canadian Guild of Health, 1924-1970”, M 58.

W34/35, “Misc. Correspondence, 1927-34, 1965-71”, St. Patrick’s and St. Jude’s Fonds.

Handbook of the Canadian Guild of Health: A Fellowship of Faith, Prayer and Spiritual Healing, (first published Vancouver, 1922, reprint Victoria, 1936).

Calvary Temple Archives, Winnipeg, MB

Financial Statements and Reports, Wesley Pentecostal Assembly, 1926-1938 and Calvary Temple, 1938 -1975.

“A Brief history Outlining the early days of the Pentecostal Movement in the city of Winnipeg”, 50 Years (1907-1957) and a Golden Jubilee, Calvary Temple.

1975 Dedication of the New Calvary Temple.

Calvary Temple 80th Anniversary pamphlet.

70 Years of Divine Blessing, 1907 - 1977, Calvary Temple 70th Anniversary Booklet.

Pentecostal Wesley Church Bulletin

Winnipeg Youth for Christ leaflets.

Western Bible College Yearbook.

First Baptist Church, Winnipeg, Fiftieth Anniversary, 1875-1925.

City of Winnipeg Archives, Winnipeg, MB

Frank L. Chester, Chairman of the Winnipeg Auditorium Commission to G.L. Gardner, City Clerk, January 31st, 1952.

Pentecostal Archives of Canada, Toronto, ON

The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Official List of Ministers and Missionaries Together with a Directory of Assemblies Arranged by Districts, (Toronto: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1951).

Theodore Ness - Clergy Record, Credential File, #192411

Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB

“The Queen vs. Gavin McCullough”, Ref. # ATG0007, 5/4029

“The Queen vs. Lillian Marguerite McCullough”, Ref. # ATG 0007, 5/4038

United Church Archives, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference, Winnipeg, MB

D. A. MacLean Diary 1951-53

Gordon-King Memorial United Church Accession Box 2, CA0213

Gordon-King Memorial United Church Accession Box 8, CA0219

Gordon-King Memorial United Church Accession Box 6, CA0217

Records of Worship and Special Services, 1945-1967

Templeton Mission Committee, 1952-53, Winnipeg Presbytery Secretary, Winnipeg Presbytery Box D

Winnipeg Police Service, Winnipeg, MB

Police records pertaining to the murder to the death/murder of Martha Louise McCullough of 116 Carmen Ave., Winnipeg. Crime Report #406

Periodicals and Newspapers

Assemblies of God Heritage

Canadian Churchman

Christian Guardian

Elmwood Herald
Hush Free Press
Latter Rain Evangel
New Zealand Evangel
Pentecostal Testimony
The Globe and Mail
The Milwaukee Journal
The Milwaukee Sentinel
The Observer
The Pentecostal Evangel
The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix
Toronto Sun
Voice of Healing
Winnipeg Free Press
Winnipeg Tribune
World Pentecost

Secondary Sources

Airhart, Phyllis D. *A Church with the Soul of a Nation: Making and Remaking the United Church of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

Allen, Richard. *The View from Murney Tower: Salem Bland, the Late Victorian Controversies, and the Search for a New Christianity. Bk. 1, Salem Bland: A Canadian Odyssey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914–28 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

- Althouse, Peter and Michael Wilkinson, "The Many Faces of Canadian Pentecostalism", *Canadian Journal of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity*, 2, (2011).
- Ambrose, Linda M. "Zelma and Beulah Argue: Sisters in the Canadian Pentecostal Movement, 1920-1990", *Historical Papers 2008: Canadian Society of Church History*.
- Anderson, Allan. *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Argue, Zelma. *A Vision and a Vow* (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1945).
- Atkins, Steven E. *Encyclopedia of Right-Wing Extremism in Modern American History* (ABC-CLIO, 2011).
- Barfoot, Charles H. and Gerald T. Sheppard, "Prophetic vs. Priestly Religion", *Review of Religious Research* 22 (1980).
- Barkun, Michael. *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
- Barrett, Stanley R. *Is God a Racist? The Right Wing in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).
- Bebbington, David W. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
- Beyer, Peter. "Religious Vitality in Canada: The Complementarity of Religious Market and Secularization Perspectives", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 36, no. 2, (June 1997).
- Bibby, Reginald W. *Restless Churches: How Canada's Churches Can Contribute to the Emerging Religious Renaissance* (Toronto and Kelowna, B.C.: Novalis and Wood Lake Books, 2004).
- Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Irwin Publishers, 1987).
- Block, Tina. "'Families that Pray Together, Stay Together': Religion, Gender, and Family in Postwar Victoria, British Columbia", *BC Studies*, no. 145, Spring 2005.
- Blumhofer, Edith L. "Transatlantic Currents in North American Pentecostalism", in Mark Noll, David Bebbington and George Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond, 1700-1990* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism and American Culture (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

Aimee Semple McPherson: Everybody's Sister (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1993).

The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism, Vol. I - To 1941 (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1989).

Bowen, Kurt. *Christians in a Secular World: The Canadian Experience* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2004)

Boyer, Paul. *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

Bruns, Roger. *Preacher: Billy Sunday and Big-time American Evangelism* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

Buchanan, Colin. *Historical Dictionary of Anglicanism* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006).

Buntain, Daniel Mark. *Why He is a Pentecostal Preacher* (Full Gospel Publishing House, 1944).

Burkinshaw, Robert. *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

“Conservative Protestantism and the Modernist Challenge in Vancouver, 1917-1927”, *BC Studies*, no. 85, Spring 1990.

Butler, Jon. “Jack-in-the-Box Faith: The Religion Problem in Modern American History”, *The Journal of American History*, vol. 90, no.4 (March 2004).

Byrne, Georgina. *Modern Spiritualism and the Church of England, 1850-1939* (Woodbridge and Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2010).

Carpenter, Joel. *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

“Youth for Christ and the New Evangelicals' Place in the Life of the Nation”, in Rowland A. Sherrill, ed., *Religion and the Life of the Nation: American Recoveries* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

“Fundamentalist Institutions and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism, 1929-1942”, *Church History*, vol.49, issue 11, (March 1980).

Cerillo, Augustus. “The Beginnings of American Pentecostalism: A Historiographical Overview” in Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, Grant Wacker, eds., *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

Chappell, Paul. "Healing Movements" in Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee and Patrick H. Alexander, eds., *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Regency Reference Library, 1988).

Christie, Nancy and Michael Gauvreau. *Christian Churches and Their Peoples, 1840-1965: A Social History of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

"The World of the Common Man is Filled with Religious Fervour: The Labouring People of Winnipeg and the Persistence of Revivalism, 1914-1925" in George Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

Clark, Warren and Grant Schellenberg. "Who's Religious?", *Canadian Social Trends* (Summer 2006).

Clarke, Brian. "English-Speaking Canada from 1854" in Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perin, eds., *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Cook, Ramsay. *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

Creech, Joe. "Visions of Glory: The Place of the Azusa Street Revival in Pentecostal History", *Church History*, Vol. 65, No. 3 (September, 1996).

Crouse, Eric. *Revival in the City: The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884-1914* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

Cunningham, Raymond. J. "From Holiness to Healing: The Faith Cure in America, 1872-1892", *Church History*, vol. 43 (1974).

"James Moore Hickson and Spiritual Healing in the American Episcopal Church", *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 39:1(1970).

"The Emmanuel Movement: A Variety of American Religious Experience", *American Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1, (1962).

Dayton, Donald W. *The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Francis Asbury Press, 1987).

"The Rise of the Evangelical Healing Movement in Nineteenth Century America", *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 1982).

"The Search for the Historic Evangelicalism: George Marsden's History of Fuller Seminary as a Case Study", *Christian Scholar's Review* 23 (September 1993).

Deno, Vivian. "God, Authority and the Home: Gender, Race, and U.S. Pentecostals, 1906-1926", *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 16 no. 3, (2004).

Dickin, Janice. ““Take Up Thy Bed and Walk”: Aimee Semple McPherson and Faith-Healing”, *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, Volume 17, 2000.

Di Giacomo, Michael. “Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Canada: Its Origins, Development and Distinct Culture” in Michael Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009).

Douglas, J. D. and Philip Wesley Comfort, *Who's Who in Christian History* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1992).

Dunning, John. *On the Air: the Encyclopedia of Old-Time Radio* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Elliott, David. “Knowing No Borders: Canadian Contributions to American Fundamentalism”, in G. Rawlyk and M. Noll, eds, *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994).

Espinosa, Gastón. “The Pentecostalization of Latin American and U.S. Latino Christianity”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, Volume 26, No. 2, Fall 2004.

Flatt, Kevin. *After Evangelicalism: The Sixties and the United Church of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2013).

Gatehouse, Jonathan. “2004 in Review – The Poll: Sex, Snacks and Grape” *Maclean’s* (December 27, 2004 and January 3, 2005).

Gaustad, Edwin. *A Documentary History of Religion in America Since 1865* (William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1983).

Gauvreau, Michael. *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990).

Grant, John Webster. *The Church in the Canadian Era*. 2nd ed., (Burlington: Welch Publishing, 1988).

Gregory, Ian. “Husbands and Wives Admitted to Mental Hospital”, *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 105, (1959).

Guenther, Bruce “Pentecostal Theological Education”, in Michael Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009).

Handy, R. T. *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

Harrell, Jr., David Edwin. *Oral Roberts: An American Life* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985).

All Things Are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in Modern America (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1975).

Hindmarsh, D. Bruce. "The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940: The Roots of Transdenominational Evangelicalism in Manitoba and Saskatchewan", in G. Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

Holdcroft, L. Thomas. "The New Order of the Latter Rain", *Pneuma: the Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, (Fall 1980).

Holmes, Pamela M.S. "Zelma Argue's Theological Contribution to Early Pentecostalism", in Michael Wilkinson and Peter Althouse, eds., *Winds From the North: Canadian Contributions to the Early Pentecostal Movement*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

"Ministering Women in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada: A Canadian Pentecostal Feminist Exploration" in Michael Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009).

Howison, Jamie A. *Not a Typical or Uncontroversial Fundamentalist: Sydney T. Smith and the Story of Elim Chapel* (Winnipeg, MB: Robinswood, 2010).

Hutchison, Mark. "'Second Founder': A. C. Valdez Sr. and Australian Pentecostalism", <<http://webjournals.ac.edu.au/journals/aps/issue-11/02-second-founder-a-c-valdez-sr-and-australian-pen/>>, accessed January 8, 2013.

Ingram, William. "God and Race: British Israelism and Christian Identity" in Timothy Miller, ed., *America's Alternative Religions* (Binghamton, NY: SUNY Press, 1995).

Irvin, Dale T. "Pentecostal Historiography and Global Christianity: Rethinking the Question of Origins", *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, Volume 27, No. 1, (Spring 2005).

Jones, Alexander ed., *The Jerusalem Bible* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968).

Jones, Charles Edwin. *Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867-1936* (Lanham MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2002).

Katerberg, William. *Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 1880-1950* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

Kay, W. K. "Donald Gee: An Important Voice of the Pentecostal Movement", *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, 16, 1, (2007).

Kee, Kevin. *Revivalists: Marketing the Gospel in English Canada, 1844-1957* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006).

Klassen, Pamela. *Spirits of Protestantism: Medicine, Healing, and Liberal Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

"Radio Mind: Protestant Experimentalists on the Frontiers of Healing", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, (September 2007).

“Textual Healing: Mainstream Protestants and the Therapeutic Text, 1900-1925”, *Church History*, 75:4 (December 2006).

Kulbeck, Gloria Grace. *What God Hath Wrought: A History of Pentecostalism in Canada* (Toronto: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958).

Kydd, Ronald A.N. “Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse”, in G. Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

Marsden, George M. *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

Marshall, David B. “Canadian Historians, Secularization and the Problem of the Nineteenth Century”, *Canadian Church Historical Association, Historical Studies*, 60, (1993-1994).

Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

Martin, Robert Francis. *Hero of the Heartland: Billy Sunday and the Transformation of American Society, 1862-1935* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

Marty, Martin. *The Christian World: A Global History* (New York: Random House, 2009).

“Fundamentalism as a Social Phenomenon” in George Marsden, ed., *Evangelicalism and Modern America*, (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdsman Publishing, 1986).

McKillop, A. B. *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979).

Melton, J. Gordon. *Encyclopedia of Protestantism* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

Miedema, Gary. *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-Making of Canada in the 1960s* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

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

“The Canadian “Azusa”, The Hebden Mission in Toronto”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, 8 (Spring 1986).

“The Significance of A.H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, (Fall 1986).

Ministry of Healing: Report of the Committee Appointed in Accordance with Resolution 63 of the Lambeth Conference, 1920 (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1924).

Noble, E. Myron, ed., *Like as of Fire: Newspapers from the Azusa Street World Wide Revival* (Washington, D.C.: Middle Atlantic Regional Press, 1991)

Noll, Mark A. *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys*, (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2003).

Opp, James. *Lord for the Body: Religion, Medicine, and Protestant Faith Healing in Canada, 1880-1930*, (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

“The Word and the Flesh: Religion, Medicine, and Protestant Faith Healing Narratives in North America, 1880-1910”, *Histoire sociale/Social History*, vol. 36, no.1 (2003), pp.209-210.

Plaxton, David. “‘We Will Evangelize with a Whole Gospel or None’: Evangelicalism and the United Church of Canada”, George Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

Rawlyk, George. George Rawlyk, ed., “Introduction”, *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?: In Search of Canadian Evangelicalism in the 1990s (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996).

Redekop, Bill. *Crime Stories: More of Manitoba's Most Notorious True Crimes* (Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications, 2004).

Reed, David A. “Oneness Seed on Canadian Soil: Early Developments of Oneness Pentecostals” in Michael Wilkinson and Peter Althouse, eds., *Winds From the North: Canadian Contributions to the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

Reimer, Sam. “Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada's Congregations: Vitality, Diversity, Identity and Equity”, *Canadian Journal of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity* 3 (2012).

Evangelicals and the Continental Divide: The Conservative Protestant Subculture in Canada and the United States (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

Reisenauer, Eric. “Between the Eternal City and the Holy City: Rome, Jerusalem, and the Imperial Ideal in Britain”, *Canadian Journal of History*, (Autumn, 2009).

Richards, Graham. *Psychology, Religion, and the Nature of the Soul: A Historical Entanglement*, (New York: Springer-Verlag Inc., 2011).

Riss, Richard. “The Latter Rain Movement of 1948”, *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, (Spring, 1982).

Robeck, Jr., Cecil M. “Pentecostal Origins from a Global Perspective” in *All Together in One Place: Theological Papers from the Brighton Conference on World Evangelization*, Harold D. Hunter and Peter D. Hocken, eds., (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993).

Robinson, Thomas A. “Oneness Pentecostalism”, in Michael Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009).

Sandeen, Ernest R. *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

Schoepflin, Rennie B. *Christian Science on Trial: Religious Healing in America* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003).

Semple, Neil. *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

Setliff, Eric. "Sex Fiends or Swish Kids?: Gay Men in Hush Free Press, 1946-1956" in Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell, eds., *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

Shore, Marlene. *The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

Sloos, William. "The Story of James and Ellen Hebden: The First Family of Pentecost in Canada", *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, 32 (2010).

Stackhouse, John. *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

"The Emergence of a Fellowship: Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century", *Church History*, Volume 60, Issue 02, (June 1991).

Stewart, Adam. "Re-Visioning the Disinherited: Pentecostals and Social Class in North America", in Michael Wilkinson and Steven M. Studebaker, eds., *A Liberating Spirit: Pentecostals and Social Action in North America* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2010).

"A Canadian Azusa? The Implications of the Hebden Mission for Pentecostal Historiography", in Michael Wilkinson and Peter Althouse, eds., *Winds from the North: Canadian Contributions to the Pentecostal Movement* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

Studebaker, Steven M. "The Plausibility of the Independent Origins of Canadian Pentecostalism: Winds From The North", *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, 33 (2011).

"Re-Visioning the Disinherited: Pentecostals and Social Class in North America", in Michael Wilkinson and Steven M. Studebaker, eds., *A Liberating Spirit: Pentecostals and Social Action in North America* (Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2010).

Sunday, William A. *The Sawdust Trail: Billy Sunday in His Own Words* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2005).

Sutton, Matthew Avery. *Aimee Semple Mcpherson and the Resurrection of Christian America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

Swatos Jr., William H. "Church-Sect Theory", in William H. Swatos and Peter Kivisto, eds., *Encyclopedia of Religion and Society*, (Walnut Creek, CA: Rowman Alamira, 1998).

Synan, Vinson. *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1997).

Valdez, A. C. and J. F. Scheer, *Fire on Azusa Street* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Gift Publications, 1980).

Van Die, Marguerite. *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-191*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada: The Colbys of Carrollcroft (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2005).

Van Ginkel, Aileen. "Evangelical Beliefs and Practices: A Summary of the 2003 Ipsos-Reid Survey Results", *Church and Faith Trends* (December 2003).

Wacker, Grant. *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

"Playing for Keeps: The Primitivist Impulse in Early Pentecostalism" in Richard T. Hughes, ed., *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

"Functions of Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism" *Harvard Theological Review*, 77, 1984.

Wilkinson, Michael, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009).

Williams, Joseph W. "A.B. Simpson" in George Thompson Kurian and James D. Smith III, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Christian Literature*, Volume 2, (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2010).

Woodberry, Robert D. and Christian S. Smith, "Fundamentalism et al: Conservative Protestants in America", *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 24 (1998),

Wuthnow, Robert and John Hyde Evans, eds., *The Quiet Hand of God: Faith-based Activism and the Public Role of Mainline Protestantism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

Theses

Chappell, Paul. "The Divine Healing Movement in America", Ph.D. thesis, Drew University, 1983.

Elliott, David Raymond. "Studies of Eight Canadian Fundamentalists", Ph.D. thesis, University of Calgary, 1989.

Flatt, Kevin Neal. "The Survival and Decline of the Evangelical Identity of the United Church of Canada, 1930-1971", Ph.D. thesis, McMaster University, 2008.

Root, Sheryl. "The Healing Touch: Spiritual Healing in England, c. 1870 – 1955", Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 2005.

Stewart, Adam Scott. "Quenching the Spirit: The Transformation of Religious Identity and Experience in Three Canadian Pentecostal Churches", Ph.D. thesis, University of Waterloo, 2012.