Canadian Pentecostal Studies
A Retrospectus and Agenda for Post-Pentecostal Research

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Abstract

Canadian Pentecostal studies is a specialized multidisciplinary area of study shaped by a range of disciplinary assumptions including, among many, anthropology, biblical studies, history, religious studies, sociology, and theology. In Canada the development of Pentecostal studies was quite late and largely emerged in the 1990s. Over the past thirty years a significant amount of research has developed through the efforts of the Canadian Pentecostal Research Network, the Canadian Pentecostal Symposium, numerous research projects and publications, and the Canadian Journal of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity. In the past number of years, scholars of Canadian Pentecostalism have engaged main stream scholarly societies and published with major presses, demonstrating a maturing of scholarship. However, there are still some questions to be addressed about the future of Pentecostal studies, most notably, what questions are appropriate for post-Pentecostal research.

Keywords
Pentecostal Studies – Canada – History – Sociology – Post-Pentecostal

Introduction

Canadian Pentecostal studies is a multidisciplinary area of research that focuses on the modern contemporary revival movement that emerged in the early twentieth century. The range of observations, interpretations, analyses, and conclusions are all based in the particular disciplines of each scholar, including my own discipline of sociology. Pentecostalism, it can be argued, originated in a series of worldwide revival events with
a range of origins, most notably, but not limited to, the Methodist-Holiness tradition. Revival events occurred in a range of places including Wales, India, Korea, the United States, and Canada. Some of these revivals were more local in impact, like the prayer meetings in Wales, while others like the Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles had a wider scope. What they all had in common was the evangelical Protestant belief that Christianity was in need of renewal, revival, and reform, to meet the worldwide demand for evangelization and missionary work. They all included an awareness of what was happening as a worldwide sign of God doing something new. This “something new” included the conversion of unbelievers, the activation of spiritual gifts like healing, the empowerment of lay people, evangelists, apostles, teachers, and pastors – young and old, women and men – and signs and wonders to announce the coming of the kingdom of God. This radical form of evangelicalism was not embraced by all Christians and there were many detractors both within Christianity and outside. And yet, the movement took root in Canada and the United States but grew especially in Africa, Asia, Oceania, and Latin America. Pentecostalism represented a major shift in Christianity from the global North to the global South. It was a revival of popular religion and the masses embraced it.¹

**Pentecostalism in Canada**

In Canada, the story is told in the context of a number of story lines about religion. Canadian Pentecostalism begins, if you like, at the Hebden Mission in Toronto in 1905.² The story is told of a young British immigrant and her husband, Ellen and James Hebden, who start a “Healing Home” as a retreat for Christian workers, especially missionaries on furlough, in need of prayer and rest. The Hebdens, influenced by another revival, the Keswick movement in the UK and its views about the higher life, were praying regularly for God to use them.

They attracted Methodists to the mission like Charles Chawner, a middle-aged married man with children who was searching for renewal and a more meaningful faith experience. Chawner and his wife volunteered at the mission and were enamoured with the work, including the revelation that speaking in tongues was an empowering experience. They were part of the mission when Ellen Hebden spoke in tongues in 1906 and shortly after, how it grew to become a centre for renewal attracting other Christians seeking “something more” in Toronto and the surrounding towns and villages. Chawner testified that the Holy Spirit not only personally transformed him but also empowered him to go to Africa through a vision of people in need in 1907. Chawner occasionally came back to Canada but lived out the rest of his life as a missionary. The vision was highly meaningful and consequential for his work.

Pentecostalism in Canada, however, faced a series of tensions and conflicts over theology, leadership, and organization. These debates are well known and discussed in various places. Basically, between 1906 and 1919, the movement grew and spread across the country with key people travelling not only east and west, but also north and south between Canada and the United States. These transnational networks would shape the development of Pentecostalism on the continent with key Americans travelling north like Alice Garrigus Belle to Newfoundland to establish the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador. Canadians also travelled regularly to the United States, like Aimee Semple McPherson, where she held numerous tent meetings and evangelistic campaigns, eventually settling in Los Angeles where she established the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. Pentecostalism was mutually embraced and

reinforced in North America by many other people criss-crossing the border. American and Canadian missionaries travelled worldwide claiming that an empowering Holy Spirit enabled them to share the good news – the “full gospel” – of Jesus as saviour, baptizer, healer, and soon coming King. The “full gospel” was a central cultural repertoire that represented a popular hermeneutic for its many followers.

Pentecostalism in Canada took a number of turns as some people attempted to see it more organized with a strategic plan to develop from coast to coast (to coast). While the Hebdens opposed any new organization, there were two groups of Pentecostals, East and West, that eventually came to live together under the official denominational name, The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. However, this union was not straightforward. While internal theological differences played a role, it was not actually that easy to form a new religious organization according to Canadian Law prior to 1919 when a members bill had to be introduced to Parliament and then pass through the House. When the early PAOC leaders in eastern Canada applied for a Charter in 1919, the law had changed making it far easier to organize. Even still, the theological differences among Pentecostals meant that the 1919 charter was primarily held by Pentecostals in eastern Canada while those in the west were a district of the Assemblies of God, USA. Wanting to demonstrate that they were not holding controversial views about the Trinity or water baptism, the members of the PAOC then became the eastern district of the Assemblies of God, USA in Canada. The two districts in Canada held a series of meetings to discuss a united relationship with autonomy from the Assemblies of God and in 1925, after intense meetings, the two groups left the AG and came under the initial charter granted in 1919.

The year 1925 is an important year in Canadian religious history. While the more radical holiness sector of Methodism was longing for revival and forming new organizations like the Christian and Missionary Alliance Church, the Church of the Nazarene, and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, other Methodists who were less inclined to join these new groups, aligned themselves with the


Congregationalists and a large number of Presbyterians to form the United Church of Canada. In 1925 the United Church of Canada formed with a national vision for Canada to unite Protestants with a view of Canada as God’s Dominion; a church that in many important ways shaped the emerging social and cultural framework of Canadian society. But the United Church of Canada and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada took very different paths, which most scholars would find quite surprising over the next century. The United Church of Canada was unable to sustain its numbers but more importantly, it was not able to influence the social and cultural fabric of a society that increasingly marginalized the role of religion. The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, however, flourished precisely because it represented a more popularized expression of voluntary religion that suited the transition towards a more secular and individualized understanding of the role of religion in Canada.

The PAOC in the middle of the twentieth century reflected the cultural views of Canadians through its programs and new buildings with modern media forms aimed at children and youth, and men’s and women’s programs for the booming population of families. By the 1960s, however, growing numbers of Pentecostals became more concerned about the societal shifts they believed threatened post-world war two families and its conservative way of life. Feminism, environmental movements, debates about divorce and abortion, were unsettling and the PAOC with its large number of members, confidently entered the public arena over the next three decades to voice its concerns about social change. By the end of the 1990s, the PAOC called for a course correction arguing that fighting social issues was not its primary concern, and that clergy needed to return to those matters believed to be of first importance: the baptism of the Holy Spirit, evangelism, and discipleship. This marked an important shift in the PAOC but not the only one. New Immigrants from Africa, Asia, and Latin America were transforming the ethnic, cultural, and organizational patterns of the denomination and would prove to be a challenge. Financial issues also threatened the organization as well as a decline in the rate of growth.


along with the closing down of some congregations. The PAOC responded with a plan to rectify these patterns that culminated with its 100th anniversary in 2019. It is still to be determined what the next story will be, but for now, it is enough to say, not all of its goals were reached. It is also important to recall that the PAOC is not the only Pentecostal denomination in Canada and there is still need for scholarly research on other Pentecostal and charismatic groups.

**Canadian Pentecostal Scholarship**

Scholars of Canadian Pentecostalism are diverse and trained in a range of disciplines including anthropology, history, religious studies, theology, sociology, and many more. Historical studies include those told by the PAOC as popular histories that are important for understanding the self-reflective meaning of origins and development. In some cases those stories are celebratory of what the organization accomplished and in others they are critical, calling Pentecostals to return to the early days of seeking God in the movement. Canadian Pentecostal studies are diverse and have focused on the continuity of Pentecostalism with Methodist-Holiness Christianity, tensions with Reformed tendencies such as that of J.E. Purdie and his influence on education, how Pentecostalism functioned among its early followers, the sectarian qualities of the movement, how Pentecostalism was transformed by its encounter with evangelicalism, the impact of immigration, the culture of Pentecostalism, gender roles, its theological beliefs and practices, among many other topics.

Canadian Pentecostal studies in some ways is also underdeveloped in spite of the burgeoning amount of work, especially when compared to the numbers of monographs, journal articles, and chapters in books on other religious groups in Canada including the

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11 Most of the scholarship on Pentecostalism in Canada is on the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and more recently, the Toronto Blessing (Catch the Fire Ministries). We still know very little about other denominations in Canada that maintained organizational links with the US like the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, the Church of God, Cleveland, TN, the Church of God in Christ, and the Church of God of Prophesy. Many of the new independently networked megachurches like Hillsong and C3 Church are still to be researched.
United Church of Canada. This may be because the study of Christianity has largely occurred in public universities initiated and funded by Mainline denominations, while evangelicalism broadly and Pentecostalism more specifically, are limited to a smaller number of scholars and to those located in private Christian liberal arts universities. What we learn from studies of Christianity in Canada is that the main story lines about contemporary Christianity revolve around the relative stability of Roman Catholicism (42 percent), the massive decline of the historical or mainline Protestants (15 percent), the vitality of evangelical Protestants (10 percent), the expansion of religiously diverse groups (8 percent), and the growth of Canadians who say they have no religion (25 percent). Much scholarly research in Canada has focused on the decline of the historical Protestants and increasingly research is focusing on religious diversity and no religion. Some attention has been given to evangelical Protestantism but often in relation to sectarianism or questions about its political activities and how it is related to the religious right in the United States.

There is still some work to be done, although much has developed since the 1990s, especially the growing number of graduate theses and dissertations on Canadian Pentecostalism. As a graduate student in the 1990s, I became aware of how little scholarly work was done on Canada. Most of it was found in popular histories, some encyclopedia entries, or more general books on Pentecostalism from scholars in the United States. Some of the books on Pentecostalism that

12 These figures are based on the Household survey, 2011. The Canadian census in 2021 will offer a more accurate estimate.
13 The Religion and Diversity project (2010-2017) was a multi-million dollar project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I was a co-applicant for the grant and worked with a team led by Lori Beaman to examine issues around religion and diversity. For example, see Lori G. Beaman, *Deep Equality in an Era of Religious Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). The study of religious nones is being conducted by a Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada funded project led by Paul Bramadat, Sarah Wilkins-Laflamme, and Michael Wilkinson. The project is focusing on the Pacific Northwest where high rates of no religion can be found. Also see Joel Thiessen, *The Meaning of Sunday: The Practice of Belief in a Secular Age* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015).
influenced my own work as a graduate student included those by Harvey Cox and Margaret Poloma. My doctoral research was also shaped by the work of Roland Robertson and Peter Beyer on religion and globalization where I studied the impact of immigration and transnational networks on Pentecostalism in Canada. It was during my PhD studies that I came to learn about the Society for Pentecostal Studies (SPS) and the mostly theological work published in its journal, *Pneuma*. As I started to attend their meetings (the first in 1996 at the University of Toronto) I also met some historians and a small group of social scientists. I attended the meetings sporadically since my main academic community was sociologists of religion who met regularly at the annual meetings of the Association for the Sociology of Religion and the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. Eventually I met people like Allan Anderson at SPS, who impacted my own views about the worldwide movement of Pentecostalism with his postcolonial theoretical assumptions. His friendship and scholarly discussions over the years enriched my work. Upon graduation from the University of Ottawa in 1999, I started teaching in a small private Christian University (Ambrose University) but did not intend to write any further on Canadian Pentecostalism.

It was in January 2005 that I started a new position at Trinity Western University in the sociology department. At Trinity I met a number of scholars in political science, history, nursing, and graduate theological studies, that shared similar research questions about religion in Canada. A small group of us started meeting to discuss our research, eventually leading to the organization of the Religion in Canada Institute where I served as its first director from 2007-2019. I also started the Canadian Pentecostal Research Network to encourage other scholars and graduate students to meet, discuss, write, and develop a research agenda for Canadian Pentecostal studies. The publication of my first book, *The Spirit said Go*, based on my doctoral work completed

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in 1999, was not published until 2006. There was one other important development that shaped my work at the time, and that was the request by some friends at public universities to publish material on Canadian Pentecostalism. In 2005 I spoke with an editor at McGill-Queen’s University Press about a project on Canadian Pentecostalism that was well received. Following that conversation, I started to ask people to write chapters for an edited volume and in October 2006, we met at Trinity Western to discuss our work. The book was published in 2009 and was the first scholarly treatment of Canadian Pentecostalism to be published by a Canadian university press. As James Opp said:

Established in 1991, the McGill-Queen’s Studies in the History of Religion has published close to eighty books. Although the series covers many topics beyond its borders, most of the works to date have centred on Canada and the result has been a rapid expansion and wide-ranging enrichment of Canadian religious history and historiography. Remarkably, Michael Wilkinson’s edited collection, Canadian Pentecostalism: Transition and Transformation is the first book in this august series to focus specifically on pentecostalism, and it is likely the first produced by any university press in Canada. Have pentecostal studies finally come of age in Canada? Or does the appearance of this work simply mark a growing awareness of this major gap in the wider landscape of religious history north of the forty-ninth parallel?

Opp’s questions about whether the book represented the maturing of Canadian Pentecostal studies or simply the awareness of a gap in the history of Pentecostalism in Canada are worth noting. I am not of the view that the book represented any kind of maturing or scholarly transition from previous work on Pentecostalism. The story is generally missed in the wider landscape of Canadian religious history and its

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focus on secularization, sectarianism, church-state relations, and the Protestantism of the historical churches, that in some ways had the effect of displacing Pentecostalism. However, it was always my contention that the study of Pentecostalism in Canada was overshadowed by developments south of the border.

There was much interest and excitement about our work at conferences like SPS, where the book was reviewed and other topics on Pentecostalism were discussed. Peter Althouse and I launched the first Symposium on Canadian Pentecostalism at the SPS meeting in Eugene, Oregon, to discuss the book *Canadian Pentecostalism*. The symposium was well attended and generated much enthusiasm about a range of issues and topics. This led to the development of an ongoing meeting at SPS on Canadian topics and another edited book, *Winds from the North: Canadian Contributions to the Pentecostal Movement* published in 2010.20 Steven Studebaker and I edited another book to deal with questions about the relationship between Pentecostalism and social action.21 There was also a discussion about a journal between Peter Althouse and myself leading to establishing the *Canadian Journal of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity* in 2010. We edited the journal for the first five years, later turning the editorial work over to Linda Ambrose, Pam Holmes, and Marty Mittelstadt. Editorial assistance came from Tom Robinson, Michael Di Giacomo, Randall Holm, and Adam Stewart.

The journal was an important project that allowed for an extensive range of topics and questions to be addressed. Many of these articles not only contributed to the growing body of Canadian Pentecostal studies, but also addressed numerous questions I had about Pentecostalism that would not have been possible to research on my own. For this I owe much to the many reviewers and authors who contributed their work to the journal. My friendship with Peter Althouse turned out to be the impetus for a series of projects aimed at filling in the story of Canadian Pentecostalism. These projects included a Templeton grant where we studied the Toronto Blessing and wrote the

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book *Catch the Fire* as well as numerous journal articles, book chapters, and conference presentations. We also continued to talk about other areas that needed research including Pentecostals, emotions, and the body which brought together people from a variety of disciplines to discuss the topic and a book publication, *Pentecostals and the Body*. Linda Ambrose became a very good friend and colleague as well. We first met in Vancouver at the Canadian Society of Church History meeting in 2008 where we were presenters on a panel. I was happy to meet a Canadian scholar of her calibre that had similar questions about the movement. The following year in Ottawa, Linda Ambroise, Sam Reimer and Robert Choquette were reviewers of *Canadian Pentecostalism* at the Canadian Society for the Study of Religion annual meeting. Sam Riemer and I worked together on our mutual research interests about the broader story of evangelicalism in Canada that resulted in the book *A Culture of Faith: Evangelical Congregations in Canada* which included the PAOC as one of the five denominations we studied. Over the years, Linda Ambrose and I met at SPS meetings and GloPent where we discussed writing a book on the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, a cultural study of the PAOC called *After the Revival: Pentecostalism and the Making of a Canadian Church*. All of these friendships and working relationships have contributed to important projects, each one building together to contribute to the field of Canadian Pentecostal studies.

Each of these projects had a beginning and an end, all of them contributing to a larger research agenda to see Canadian Pentecostal studies develop as a field. The editorial team for the CJPC has discussed for some time now the future of this journal. For the past two years we have pondered the next stage and who could possibly serve as the next editors. We have dealt with technological questions about online journal systems, editing, recruiting authors, peer reviewing, and publishing.

Online journals depend on finances that pay for space on servers that host the publication. Trinity Western University has hosted the journal for ten years and this was generously financed by the University. The activity of the journal and its participants has had an incredibly excellent outcome in publications, conference symposiums, and networking that have all contributed to the goal of developing Canadian Pentecostal studies. So, why now for the journal to end? What purpose has it served? What is the future of Canadian Pentecostal studies? Is there a post-Pentecostal agenda worth pursuing? If so, what is it?

**Post-Pentecostal Studies**

There is no way for me to say what the future of Canadian Pentecostal studies will be but I can assume that it will largely depend on the activities of individual scholars and the questions they ask about religion in Canada generally, and Pentecostalism in particular.26 Placing the Canadian Pentecostal story in a worldwide context is also important and there is some work that can be done to understand its local development and how it parallels what occurred in relation to other commonwealth countries like Australia and New Zealand, the types of cultural interactions between Pentecostals in Canada and the United States, and elsewhere throughout the world.

A post-Pentecostal approach, however, may mean different things to scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds. All research on Pentecostalism is shaped by the broader concerns of our disciplines. Post-Pentecostal studies is also contextualized and shaped by broader questions. Post-Pentecostal approaches in some cases are related to questions about post-Christendom and the view that Canada, for example, is no longer a Christian country and in need of understanding what role Christianity plays. For example, the book *Pentecostal Preaching and Ministry in Multicultural and Post-Christian Canada* is an attempt to make sense of the changing social and cultural context of

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26 Funding research on Pentecostalism is a challenge for individuals not employed in Canadian Universities that are members of Universities Canada and able to receive funds from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. While the PAOC has on occasion contributed to funding some research activities, it is largely up to individuals to apply for private and public funding.
Canada and how Pentecostal ministry interacts in that context. Post-Pentecostal for theological studies means something different and includes a number of issues such as how one approaches theology “after” Pentecost which entails a far more rigorous understanding of pneumatology. Post-Pentecostal studies in some cases refers to the development of historical, theological, sociological, or anthropological understandings of Pentecostalism in those regions that were largely colonized and the need for a post-colonial critical examination of the stories told that do not accurately reflect the local narrative. Post-Pentecostal approaches also represent a move among scholars to understand Christianity that is broader than any single tradition or experience and includes what is held more in common between Pentecostals and evangelicals, Roman Catholics, and Eastern Orthodox Christians, especially topics like ecumenical dialogue.

A post-Pentecostal agenda includes, any and all of the above, but also in my view two further observations. First, over the past twenty years, Canadian Pentecostal studies has grown and matured with a growing number of Canadian scholars presenting their research at a wide range of scholarly conferences. For example, at SPS a broader range of papers has been presented to the various interest groups on Canadian topics including history, philosophy, mission studies, biblical studies, and theology, among others. Canadian research is no longer just presented at the Canadian symposium on a Thursday at the SPS annual meeting. Furthermore, scholars of Canadian Pentecostalism are presenting their research in the various academic societies they are members of including the Association for the Sociology of Religion, Canadian Historical Association, Canadian Society of Church History, Canadian Pentecostal Studies.

27 For example, see Steven M. Studebaker, ed., Pentecostal Preaching and Ministry in Multicultural and Post-Christian Canada (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2019).
29 This is largely what Allan Anderson does in his work on Pentecostal missions where he critically evaluates the role of missionaries and the stories told that largely neglected the work of local indigenous people. See Allan H. Anderson, Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2007). Also see Néstor Medina, Christianity, Empire and the Spirit: (Re)Configuring Faith and the Cultural (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2018).
Canadian Society for the Study of Religion, the American Academy of Religion, GloPent, the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Society for Biblical Literature, and many other scholarly groups. In this sense, Canadian Pentecostal studies has moved from a specialized study and is becoming more integrated into the broader study of Pentecostalism and Canadian religious studies. Scholarship on Canadian topics is also being published in the journals of the different societies and university presses. This represents the movement of Canadian Pentecostal studies from a small network of researchers into the main stream of academic societies. The broadening of Canadian Pentecostal studies refers to the multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary work of scholars but also to the geographic depth of research that extends beyond Canada and the United States so that Canadian scholarship is increasingly connected to worldwide concerns.  

Second, post-Pentecostal studies in Canada may require a more critical evaluation of the very disciplines that organize our scholarly work including an understanding of how those disciplines developed as modern modes of knowledge and organizations linked to colonial patterns between Europe and the rest of the world. In this sense, post-Pentecostal studies ought to consider the ways the particular knowledge of Pentecostalism is shaped and bound by colonialism and in need of a process of decolonization. In other words, post-Pentecostal includes some thinking about the very disciplines that have defined our research on Pentecostalism, the questions they ask, and the way those questions reflect a particular kind of knowledge. If this is the case, can we reimagine the scholarly study of Pentecostalism and the end of sociology, history, anthropology, and theology?

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32 For example, see the following for a discussion about Pentecostalism, development, and decolonization. Philipp Öhlmann, Wilhelm Gräb, and Marie-Luise Frost, eds., *African Initiated Christianity and the Decolonization of Development: Sustainable Development in Pentecostal and Independent Churches* (New York: Routledge, 2020).