

## **Canadian Pentecostalism: A Multicultural Perspective**

MICHAEL WILKINSON  
Trinity Western University

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In the 1960s the Canadian government set out to study the bicultural and bilingual quality of Canadian society. The study was published in seven volumes as the *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*.<sup>1</sup> It was not without controversy, however.<sup>2</sup> While the government intended to enshrine French and English cultures as equal partners and founding peoples, reaction from a significant number of Canadians who were neither French nor English was swift. In volume four, *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups*, it became clear that many other Europeans – and, in particular northern, eastern, and southern Europeans – wanted to be recognized equally as builders of Canada. Pierre Trudeau’s vision of a bilingual and bicultural country soon became a vision of a plural and multicultural country. Canada was to be recognized as a multicultural commonwealth of many nationalities within the framework of two founding peoples.

One would think that the multicultural nature of Canadian society would be reflected in the study of religion. Yet, the dominant religious stories have been shaped by their dependence on French or English-Canadian culture. Religion in Canada was often interpreted through the framework of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec or the United Church and Anglican Church in English-speaking Canada. Relatively little research has examined the ethnic and cultural diversity of Christianity in Canada.<sup>3</sup> This is especially true of Canadian Pentecostalism. Furthermore, the Canadian Pentecostal story was, and continues to be, largely shaped by the American story. In this paper I intend to re-contextualize the Canadian

story.<sup>4</sup> My point is not to discredit the contributions of American holiness religion. Rather, I seek to point to ways in which the voices of the other ethnic groups have largely gone unheard, especially the voices of German, Scandinavian, Italian, aboriginal, and, more recently, new immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. An important and neglected source for the development of Pentecostalism in Canada is the migration of Pentecostals to Canada from outside North America. In conclusion, I will suggest some reasons why the study of Canadian Pentecostalism has not incorporated the voices of these groups into its history and provide a research agenda for Canadian Pentecostal studies.

### ***Multicultural Social Theory***

During the 1990s, debates about multiculturalism and polyethnicity intensified dramatically, so much so that scholars began to question the nature of multiculturalism both conceptually and empirically.<sup>5</sup> For example, Peter Kivisto argues that scholars needed to revisit the early idea of assimilation because it was erroneously understood.<sup>6</sup> More specifically, he argued that assimilation was not antithetical to multiculturalism and had much in common with the latter precisely because both concepts refer to the interaction of social groups. Kivisto conceptualized assimilation in such a way that it incorporates multiculturalism and transnationalism; assimilation, as historically defined, refers to the ways in which people groups interact leading to integration or pluralism.

Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann describe multiculturalism quite differently arguing that it represents the efforts among social groups to maintain some sense of difference.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the effort to maintain some sense of cultural identity represented a shift among early sociologists as they attempted to explain conflict between groups and celebration of identity within groups. Multiculturalism also describes the *insistence* among social groups to recognize differences, which according to the authors, is especially controversial in the late twentieth century, not only in the United States, but also throughout the world. Multiculturalism explains the ways in which social groups are wrestling with questions of identity in different ways including the mixing of identities and attempts to consolidate and create boundaries that serve to protect identities.

In both cases, these authors argue that careful theoretical work needs to be applied to the understanding of cultural interaction as scholars refine a theory of multiculturalism. Steve Fenton, in contrast, states emphatically,

that no theory of ethnicity or multiculturalism is possible.<sup>8</sup> Instead, only a theory of modernity can be explicated that includes how modern societies are structured. A theory of “social context” best explains the relationship between social groups. The implication of Fenton’s work focuses our attention on the way in which modern societies construct multiculturalism in several ways including colonial relations, majority-minority relations, and state policy that politicize and mobilize minority groups for action. The value of Fenton’s work is his emphasis on understanding social context for the various ways in which people construct identities in relation to modern state development.

Multiculturalism in Canada has a number of meanings.<sup>9</sup> Descriptively, multiculturalism recognizes the existence of ethnically diverse groups. It also has a prescriptive meaning pointing to a set of ideals for promoting diversity. Politically it refers to government initiatives including policies about multiculturalism. Finally, multiculturalism has a practical component when it is used by cultural groups to advance their own interests. Thus, one has to pay attention to the way in which multiculturalism is referenced in the multivalent discourse surrounding the concept of multiculturalism. Theories of multiculturalism, increasingly diverse, now focus on a range of variables including ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality. Surprisingly, very little attention is given to religion in the literature.

An exception to this trend is the recent work by Paul Bramadat and David Seljak where ethnicity, multiculturalism, and religion have become a major focus.<sup>10</sup> Bramadat and Seljak argue that a new story needs to be told about religion and ethnicity in Canada.<sup>11</sup> The authors highlight six themes that are important for understanding religious diversity, including the elasticity and persistence of religious identity, the particular and universal quality of diversity, the re-emergence of religion in the public sphere, issues surrounding diaspora and transnationalism, diversity and community building, and the interaction between minority values and majority values. Each of these themes highlights important aspects that demands further examination within a multicultural perspective that incorporates religion as an important variable.

In *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, Bramadat and Seljak explore these themes in the context of Christianity stating: “Surprisingly little has been written on the role of ethnicity in shaping Canada’s Christian churches, although our own experience tells us that it is significant.”<sup>12</sup> Likewise, Bruce Guenther explores ethnicity and the multi-

cultural nature of evangelical Protestant denominations in Canada arguing that “what is missing from both positive and negative public perceptions of evangelical Protestants in Canada is any serious consideration of their cultural and ethnic diversity.”<sup>13</sup> Following an examination of Asian, Black, Francophone, and aboriginal evangelicals, Guenther discusses the contribution each group is making to public life in Canada.

My own view is shaped by Charles Lemert.<sup>14</sup> Lemert points out that multiculturalism is a highly controversial, confusing, and misused word in social theory that requires some specificity. Lemert traces the twentieth-century emergence of the notion of “multicultural” that came to rest on two important principles: the universality of rights and the principle of justice. As a result, Lemert highlights an aspect of multicultural theorizing that must pay attention to issues beyond an increasingly diverse population demographic and to the values and policies of a society whereby power and authority is distributed. Tied up with his view is an understanding that identity, especially the politics of identity, is linked with notions of belonging in a multicultural society. Further, a multicultural perspective highlights issues of authenticity and raises questions about who are the “real” members of any society. Lemert’s conceptualizing of “multicultural” points to an important aspect worthy of attention: the need to recognize the voices of those who have made a contribution without recognition. As he states: “Proponents of the politics of recognition assert that identity politics entail a real political struggle to overcome the effects of injuries inflicted by well structured social (as opposed to interpersonal) insults.”<sup>15</sup>

One consequence of defining multiculturalism in such a way is to include aspects of identity and recognition in a retelling of religious history that incorporates the voices of those at the margins. Scholars need to rethink religious history and ask which voices are missing, ignored, or misplaced. The purpose of this article is to incorporate the stories of those Pentecostals often ignored in their own history. The main characters in this case include the so-called “other” European Pentecostals, aboriginals, and new immigrant Pentecostals.

### *Revisiting the Canadian Story*

Canadian sources on Pentecostalism rely substantially on the works of Gloria Kulbeck, Gordon Atter, Thomas Miller, and Ronald Kydd.<sup>16</sup> Each of these authors reflect different aspects in the development of

Canadian Pentecostalism for which there are several debates over the issue of leadership, American religious influences, the relationship of American Pentecostalism to other renewal events around the world, and the worldwide spread of Pentecostalism. Early accounts in popular histories spoke about spontaneous outpourings of the Holy Spirit throughout the world. For example, the Canadian Gordon Atter notes that “the present-day Pentecostal movement had its beginning in a series of religious revivals that broke out in many parts of the world, almost simultaneously in the beginning of the twentieth century.”<sup>17</sup> Gloria Kulbeck speaks of the Canadian revival as one source of evidence that a spontaneous move of God had occurred throughout the world. Thomas Miller, a noted historian of Canadian Pentecostalism, nuances his view without reference to the spontaneity of revival, but he did highlight how these series of revivals belonged to a larger tradition of evangelical Protestant renewal. By the late twentieth century, the American scholar Grant Wacker had critically evaluated the “suddenly from Heaven” perspective.<sup>18</sup> The focus subsequently shifted to detailed accounts, primarily American ones, on whether Parham or Seymour should be credited as the founder of Pentecostalism, the influence and significance of the Azusa revival, and the role of American missionaries in the global expansion of Pentecostalism.

Ronald Kydd’s account of Canadian Pentecostalism reflects the historiographical issues of this period. But, I would add, they also create more questions than they answer. For example, Kydd writes extensively on the influence of Azusa on Canadian Pentecostalism. He states that “Pentecostalism as a religious tradition arose in the United States in the first decade of the twentieth century. Its primary emphases were the baptism in the Holy Spirit, speaking in tongues, evangelism, and eschatology. The movement *reached* Canada in 1906, becoming established first in Toronto at a mission operated by James and Ellen Hebden. In 1907 it took root in Winnipeg and in the same year made its way to the West Coast. Alice Wood carried the news of Pentecost to Swift Current, Saskatchewan, in 1908, and it broke on the east coast in 1911 through the efforts of Alice Garrigus” (italics mine).<sup>19</sup> Scholars are now critically evaluating this sequence of events and more specifically the role of the Hebden Mission as a separate and distinct Pentecostal ministry from Azusa.<sup>20</sup>

While Kydd focuses his attention on American contributions, he also suggests that American Pentecostal immigrants were central to the development of Pentecostalism especially in the Canadian prairies. He

argues that “When comparisons are made to respective populations, in the early decades of the century the prairie provinces had the largest proportion of Pentecostals. Not coincidentally these provinces also had the largest proportions of American immigrants.”<sup>21</sup> I believe these claims need to be challenged.<sup>22</sup> My intent is not to negate the influence of American sources, but to show that Pentecostalism did emerge among some Canadians without American influences. This is not to suggest that the “spontaneity thesis” is correct. There is evidence that by the late nineteenth century there was a global network among missionaries – especially among Methodists – who prayed, preached, and encouraged revival in anticipation of the new millennium. One of the most influential revivals was in India among the Methodist Mukti Mission where an account of Spirit baptism including tongues was written by Minnie Abrams and published in 1905. Prior to this revival, the director of the mission, Pandita Ramabai, had sent her daughter to Australia and New Zealand in 1903 to observe renewal meetings. These events were widely published in the *Bombay Guardian* and the *Christian Patriot*, two major papers in India, in 1906. Seymour’s newsletter also reported on the event in 1906 as did the *Chicago Daily News* in 1907. There is also evidence to suggest that Canadian Pentecostalism, especially at the Hebden Mission in Toronto developed without American influence.<sup>23</sup> Pentecostal scholars such as Gary McGee and Allan Anderson are now questioning the “central place thesis” including the diffusion of ideas accounting for the spread of Pentecostalism.<sup>24</sup> As I have argued elsewhere, it is probably more accurate to see the various stories of Pentecostalism converging and in interesting ways becoming “Azusa-ized” during this time.<sup>25</sup>

While providing very good work on the American Holiness contribution to Canadian Pentecostalism, American origin stories neglect an important chapter in the evolution of Pentecostalism. No one has dealt with the influences of Pentecostalism from outside of the United States that tends to obfuscate the multicultural development of Canadian Pentecostalism. Likewise, very little attention is paid to the contributions of other Europeans, aboriginals, or new immigrants.

### ***The Contribution of the “Other” Groups***

#### *1. Other European Pentecostals*

An examination of the ethnic origin of Pentecostals in Canada shows

that between 1931 and 1971 most Pentecostals were British in ethnic background followed by other European, French, and various ethnic groups.<sup>26</sup> For example, in 1931 sixty-nine per cent of Pentecostals claimed to have a British ethnic background, 2 per cent French, and 28 per cent “Other European” (see Table 1). The latter category mostly consisted of those claiming a German, Scandinavian, Dutch, and Italian ethnicity (see Table 2). The Scandinavian category included people who were Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Icelandic. Finnish figures were not accounted for until later. For example, in 1971 there were 1,300 Pentecostals with a Finnish ethnic origin that represented approximately 0.6 per cent of the Pentecostal population.

**Table 1: Percentage Distribution for Ethnic Origin of Pentecostals**

	1931	1941	1961	1971
British	69	67	65	67
French	2	3	4	3
Other European	28	28	26	24
Other	1	2	5	6
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Derived from Census Canada, 1931, 1941, 1961, 1971.

The largest Pentecostal denomination in Canada, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC), responded to ethnic diversity in a pragmatic fashion, allowing for accommodation so long as there was no conflict doctrinally or organizationally. In the early twentieth century, the PAOC responded to the migration of Pentecostals from other European countries by allowing them to organize as “Branch Conferences.” Branch Conferences were defined as “A unit in the General Conference organization equivalent to a District Conference in General Executive membership and relationship . . . A Branch is distinguished from a District Conference in that its territory of operation is not geographical, but is confined to ministry among certain races or language groups. Its geographical area of operation may therefore overlap or coincide with that of one or more District Conferences.”<sup>27</sup> Branch Conferences operated independently, like District Conferences, within the general framework of the PAOC. Some ethnic groups, like the Dutch, however, assimilated into the English-speaking congregations even though their numbers were quite substantial compared to some groups like the Finnish Pentecostals who formed a Branch Conference.

**Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Pentecostals  
as “Other European” Ethnic Groups**

	1931	1941	1961	1971
German	11	9	10	10
Scandinavian	7	6	5	4
Finnish	0.1	0.4	nd	0.6
Dutch	3	4	4	2.4
Italian	3	2	1.4	1.6
Ukrainian	0.4	2.1	2.3	2.5

Source: Derived from Census Canada, 1931, 1941, 1961, 1971.

By 1941 three of the four Branch Conferences in the PAOC had been formed. This included the Slavic Conference (1931), the Finnish Conference (1939), the German Conference (1940) and later the French Conference (1949). Miller claims the Branch Conferences formed because of language differences.<sup>28</sup> While this appears to be an obvious reason, it is not entirely accurate. While a common language may draw German-speaking Pentecostals together, there are also constitutional issues, including a level of autonomy for the Branch Conference. Branch Conferences maintained autonomy both financially and organizationally. Likewise, Branch Conferences established their own congregational plans, camps, mission programs, and in some cases leadership training programs. In addition, not all ethnic groups desired to form a Branch Conference. Some, like the Italian Pentecostals, established a separate denomination entitled the Italian Pentecostal Church of Canada (recently renamed The Canadian Assemblies of God), which held close ties to the PAOC.<sup>29</sup> More recently, the PAOC has changed its policy of Branch Conferences in favour of “Language Fellowships” in response to the post-1970s migration

**Table 3: Percentage Distribution of Ethnic Groups as Pentecostals**

	1931	1941	1961	1971
British	0.3	0.7	1.2	1.5
French	0.01	0.04	0.1	0.1
German	0.6	1.0	1.4	1.6
Scandinavian	0.8	1.5	1.7	2.0
Netherlands	0.4	1.0	1.2	1.2
Italian	0.7	1.1	0.4	0.4

Source: Derived from Census Canada, 1931, 1941, 1961, 1971.



from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. I will return to this point later.

German-speaking Pentecostals represent a very good case study for understanding the multicultural quality of Canadian Pentecostalism. The origin of German Pentecostalism in Canada has two important sources. One is the migration of German-speaking Pentecostals such as Julius Schatkowski, August Kowlaski, and Oskar Jeske who played important roles in establishing Pentecostalism in Canada.<sup>30</sup> Many German-speaking Pentecostals migrated to Canada and brought with them a form of Pentecostalism shaped by European events. Some also maintained important networks for prayer, renewal, and education. For example, in the area of education, some important German-speaking pastors such as Wilhelm Kowalkski, Aflons Mittelstaedt, Reinhold Hildebrandt, Matthian Baumgartner, and Christian Green were trained in Europe at the International Bible Institute in Danzig, Poland.<sup>31</sup> Each of these leaders established prominent Pentecostal ministries in Canada. Pentecostal origins in Canada must also take into consideration the impact of revival prayed for by German farmers on the Canadian prairies. For example, in 1919 Rev. George Schneider, a German-speaking pastor from Edmonton, Alberta, began tent meetings where many German Christians were filled with the Spirit. As a result of these meetings, many were persecuted for their new experiences and left their churches to establish their own congregations which later joined the PAOC.<sup>32</sup>

Much of the Pentecostal ministry in Canada among German-speaking peoples developed independently. By 1934 there were ten congregations in Alberta. Feeling the need for closer ties with other Pentecostals, the Germans established their own organization, later joining the PAOC as an official Branch Conference in July 1940. Following both world wars, the Pentecostal movement in Canada grew with the migration of German-speaking Pentecostals from Austria, West Germany, and Poland, experiencing phenomenal growth in the cities of Edmonton and Winnipeg. During the 1950s and 1960s the German Branch Conference expanded by planting new congregations in Ontario and British Columbia. Growth also allowed for organizational changes in the 1970s as the German Pentecostals hired full-time administrators for their new office in Kitchener, Ontario. By the 1980s, however, migration changes from European to non-European sources would also impact the German Pentecostals in Canada. Issues over youth, language, and music, however, were secondary to the changes in migration patterns which had a direct impact on the rate of growth in their congregations.

The point I am making here is that a significant number of Pentecostals in Canada came from European origins for which we know very little about the particular ways in which their practice of Pentecostalism became rooted in Canada. We do know that European Pentecostalism is shaped by a number of events and theological developments globally but we don't know very much about the cross-Atlantic connections. One resource that we do have is from the German Pentecostals. Detailed critical studies of the influence of European Pentecostalism in Canada are sorely needed to fill in the details of the story of Pentecostalism in Canada.

## 2. Aboriginal Pentecostals

In July 2000, Matthew Coon Come was elected as chief of the Assembly of First Nations. What made Coon Come's election surprising to many people was not his ardent defense of Native rights or his political views, but his faith as a Pentecostal. Coon Come's faith was never in doubt.<sup>33</sup> And yet, very little is known about Native rights and religion in Canada, especially regarding the role of Pentecostalism. In fact, in Canada, Pentecostalism among aboriginal peoples did not become significant until the 1950s. By 2001 it was reported that 19,000 or 3.4 per cent of "Registered/Treaty Indians" identified themselves as Pentecostal (see Table 4). Another 35,000 Canadians with some aboriginal ancestry also claimed to be Pentecostal. While the number may not seem large, the rate of Pentecostalism among "Registered/Treaty Indians" is nearly three times that of the rest of the population (1.2 per cent).

**Table 4: Percentage Distribution of Aboriginals as Pentecostals, 1931-1991**

	1931	1941	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Aboriginal	0.08	0.1	1.1	2.1	3.3	4.0	3.4

Source: Derived from Census Canada, 1931, 1941, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001.

Pentecostalism gained strength in native communities all across Canada including the northern regions. In the Far North, Inuit have adopted a charismatic Anglicanism, others have joined the Four Square church, and still others have formed independent Pentecostal congregations. The PAOC claimed over 100 aboriginal congregations by the end of

the 1980s. Despite these significant numbers very little is known about Pentecostalism among aboriginal peoples in Canada.

In an important study on aboriginal Pentecostalism in British Columbia, Robert Burkinshaw argues that Native Pentecostals played a prominent role in the development of Pentecostalism.<sup>34</sup> Even more interesting is the evidence for the prominent role of aboriginal peoples themselves in the establishing of Pentecostalism in British Columbia, despite the organizational efforts of the PAOC. Notwithstanding Burkinshaw's thorough account, there is still very little known about the unique theological expressions in the development of aboriginal Pentecostalism. There is very little known about the social consequences of aboriginal Pentecostalism including its public influence.

In another important study, Clint Westman conducted 14 months of field work among Cree Pentecostals in northern Alberta.<sup>35</sup> His research highlights the origins and development of Cree Pentecostalism from a minority group to its current status as a majority entity. Westman discusses the relationship between the Cree Pentecostals, the community, other evangelical Protestants, the broader network of Pentecostals, and the significance of Cree Pentecostalism both socially and politically. He also points to the lack of scholarly work on aboriginal Pentecostals arguing for ongoing research that examines the unique way in which Pentecostalism is contextualized among aboriginal peoples. Clearly, aboriginal Pentecostalism in Canada is a story yet to be told.

### *3. New Immigrant Pentecostals*

Canadian Pentecostalism continues to change and is influenced by recent developments in migration.<sup>36</sup> Since the 1970s, when immigration policy began to allow for more immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, Pentecostalism in Canada has become increasingly culturally diverse. Research shows that the majority of new immigrants arriving in Canada are coming as Christians, and many of them are Pentecostals.<sup>37</sup> As a consequence, not only is Canadian Pentecostalism increasingly culturally diverse, but there are further changes to Canadian Pentecostalism, theologically, organizationally, and culturally. Yet, most denominational leaders seem to be unaware of the consequences of this new diversity. Furthermore, the contemporary and multicultural story of Pentecostalism is barely heard because of the ongoing debate over origins, especially, American holiness ones.

**Table 5: Visible Minority Population for Pentecostals, 2001**

Minority Group	Total
Chinese	2,595
South Asian	4,310
Black	47,595
Filipino	3,545
Latin American	5,730
Southeast Asian	535
Arab	150
West Asian	125
Korean	685
Japanese	330
Other Visible Minority	3,040
Multiple Responses	1,270
<b>Total</b>	<b>69,910</b>

Source: Derived from Census Canada, 2001.

Recent immigrant Pentecostals in the PAOC have struggled to be recognized as full partners. This struggle is illustrated through many misunderstandings that they are now working toward resolving. For example, in the 1990s denominational leaders did not understand to what extent these new immigrants were already Pentecostal with established viewpoints, theologies, mission practices, organizational polities, theological training, ministry experience, and global networks. Further, denominational leaders were unsure how to incorporate new immigrant Pentecostal leaders into their existing structures. However, in the past several years, some districts such as western Ontario have developed positions in cultural ministry where excellent leadership is given by those in the Korean Pentecostal community.<sup>38</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The development of Pentecostalism in Canada is far more multicultural and global than recognized. Many immigrant Pentecostals who are not of British, French, and American origin have played a significant role in shaping the movement. Yet, researchers have not paid attention to their contributions. Even less so, researchers have not considered the unique cultural ways in which Pentecostalism was adopted by aboriginal peoples.

Today, with increased immigration from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, Pentecostalism in Canada is becoming even more culturally diverse. Yet, very little attention is paid to the role that immigration plays in Pentecostal origins or the contemporary context. This problem exists for a number of reasons. First, there are very few Canadian researchers examining Pentecostalism. Second, few researchers come from “Other European,” aboriginal, Asian, Latin American, or African backgrounds. It is clear that Pentecostal studies in Canada are in need of research and support by academics, universities, and Pentecostal denominations in order to establish funding, collaboration, and a research agenda.

### **Endnotes**

1. See Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, especially *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups*, vol. 4 (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1970).
2. See Leo Driedger, *Multi-Ethnic Canada: Identities & Inequalities* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 106-08; Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliot, *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race and Ethnic Dynamics in Canada* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall, 2003), 291.
3. This point is made most recently by Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, eds., *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
4. My perspective is shaped by the following: Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Peter Beyer, “Defining Religion in Cross-National Perspective: Identity and Difference in Official Conceptions,” in *Defining Religion: Investigating the Boundaries Between the Sacred and Secular*, eds. Arthur Greil and David G. Bromley (New York: Elsevier, 2003), 163-88; and David Daniels, “‘Everybody Bids You Welcome’: A Multicultural Approach to North American Pentecostalism,” in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel*, eds. Murray W. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen (Oxford: Regnum, 1999), 222-52. Also see Michael Wilkinson, “What is ‘Global’ about Global Pentecostalism?” *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 17 (2008): 1-13.
5. Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London, UK: Sage, 1992), 59; and Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 3rd ed. (New York: Guildford Press, 2003).

6. Peter Kivisto, *Incorporating Diversity: Rethinking Assimilation in a Multicultural Age* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2005).
7. Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, 2007).
8. Steve Fenton, *Ethnicity* (London, UK: Polity Press, 2003).
9. Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada*, 2d ed. (Toronto: Nelson Thomson, 2002).
10. Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, eds., *Religion and Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto: Pearson Longman, 2005).
11. Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, "Toward a New Story about Religion and Ethnicity in Canada," in *Religion and Ethnicity in Canada*, 222-34.
12. Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, "Charting the New Terrain: Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada," in *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, 3.
13. Bruce Guenther, "Ethnicity and Evangelical Protestants in Canada," in *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, 378.
14. Charles Lemert, "Multiculturalism" in *Handbook of Social Theory*, ed. George Ritzer and Barry Smart (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2001), 297-307.
15. Lemert, "Multiculturalism," 306.
16. Gloria Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Toronto: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958); Gordon Atter, *Rivers of Blessing* (Toronto: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1960); Gordon Atter, *The Third Force*, 3rd ed. (Caledonia, ON: ACTS Books, 1970); Thomas W. Miller, *Ripe for Revival: The Churches at the Crossroads of Renewal or Decline* (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1984); Thomas W. Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Mississauga, ON: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994); Ronald A.N. Kydd, "Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada" in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), 695-99; Ronald A.N. Kydd, "Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Impulse*, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 289-300, 491-95; Ronald A.N. Kydd, "Canada," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard van der Maas (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 48-51; and Kydd, "Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada," in *New International Dictionary*, 961-64.

17. Atter, *Rivers of Blessing*, 5.
18. Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).
19. Kydd, "Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse," 289.
20. Michael Di Giacomo, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Canada: Its Origins, Development, and Distinct Culture," in *Canadian Pentecostalism: Transition and Transformation*, ed. Michael Wilkinson (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 15-38.
21. Kydd, "Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada," 695.
22. American immigrants shaped Canadian Pentecostalism, but so did the Germans, Ukrainians, Russians, Italians, and Scandinavians. William E. Mann's account of religious culture in Alberta tells us that many groups from the United States were established in Alberta including the Pentecostals; many others were Hutterites, Doukhobors, Jehovah's Witnesses, Baptists, Nazarenes, Free Methodists, and Evangelical Free. There were also many groups with connections to revivals in Europe. Many German, Slavic, Russian, and Scandinavian Pentecostals entered Canada. Canada experienced massive immigration in the early twentieth century. What is not told in the story is that most of the immigrants were from Eastern Europe. Mann states that "in the early depression years it [the PAOC] opened up German-speaking churches in the south of Edmonton and also attracted numbers of Scandinavians and Ukrainians" (see *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955], 19-20).
23. Thomas Miller, "The Canadian Azusa: The Hebden Mission in Toronto," *Pneuma* 8, no. 1 (1986): 5-29.
24. Gary B. McGee, "'Latter Rain' Falling in the East: Early-Twentieth-Century Pentecostalism in India and the Debate over Speaking in Tongues" *Church History* 68, no. 3 (1999) 648-65; Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2007); and Edith L. Blumhofer, "Consuming Fire: Pandita Ramabai and the Global Pentecostal Impulse" in *Interpreting Contemporary Christianity: Global Processes and Local Identities*, eds. Ogbu U. Kalu and Alaine Low (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008).
25. Michael Wilkinson, "Canadian Pentecostalism: An Introduction," in *Canadian Pentecostalism*, 3-12.

26. Ethnic origin refers to the ethnic or cultural group(s) to which the respondents' ancestors belong. Immigrant population refers to persons who are, or have been, landed immigrants in Canada. A landed immigrant is a person who is not a Canadian citizen by birth, but who has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by Canadian immigration authorities.
27. Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, General Constitution, 1968: Article XI.
28. Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 201.
29. See D. Ippolito, *Origin and History of the Italian Pentecostal Church of Canada* (Toronto: IPCC, 1986).
30. See Arthur Drewitz, *History of the German Branch of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Kitchener, ON: German Branch, 1986); Horst Doberstein, ed., *Grace and Glory: The story of the German Branch of the Pentecostals Assemblies of Canada* (Kitchener, ON: German Branch, 1990); Horst Doberstein, *Alberta District: Our Heritage* (Alberta District, German Branch, 1992); and Julius Schatkowski, *Rev. Julius Schatkowski: Autobiography, 1889-1974* (Alberta District, German Branch, nd).
31. Drewitz, *History of the German Branch*, 8.
32. Drewitz, *History of the German Branch*, 2; and Doberstein, *Grace and Glory*.
33. While living in Ottawa in the 1990s, I attended the same congregation as Matthew Coon Come and came to know his deep commitment to his faith.
34. Robert K. Burkinshaw, "Native Pentecostalism in British Columbia," in *Canadian Pentecostalism*, 142-70.
35. Clint Westman, "Understanding Cree Religious Discourse" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 2008).
36. I have written extensively on the implications of new immigrants for Canadian Pentecostalism elsewhere: see Michael Wilkinson, "The Globalization of Pentecostalism: The Role of Asian Immigrant Pentecostals in Canada," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 3 (2000) 219-26; and Michael Wilkinson, *The Spirit Said Go: Pentecostal Immigrants in Canada* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2006).



37. See Reginald Bibby, "Canada's Mythical Religious Mosaic: Some Census Findings," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 39 (2000): 235-39; and Census Canada, 2001 "Religions in Canada."
38. Interview with Jacob Joo by Michael Wilkinson, 2007.

