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## “Women of the Hired Girl Stratum”: Workingwomen and the Apostolic Faith Mission in Early Twentieth Century Portland, Oregon

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In the fall of 1928, Duncan Aikman chronicled in sensual and sensationalist imagery the world of Pentecostalism. Writing for H.L. Mencken's *American Mercury*, Aikman's portrait emphasized the noise and excitement of Pentecostal meetings. Like others before him he took note of the religious enthusiasm that seemed to sweep through the services, particularly among the women. “Women of the hired girl stratum,” he wrote, filled the pews and gave the meetings a distinct gender and class flair. Seemingly restrained services gave way to a “sanctified bedlam” as attendees, mostly workingwomen, were swept up into religious fervor that bordered on ecstasy. In one of the meetings, a “sallow blonde lady of middle age, with a vaguely lovelorn look” moaned and swayed until her breath gave way “into a hard ecstatic pant.” Stumbling down the aisle, “her hairpins flew, and her short stringy locks quivered down over her shoulders.” Sensational accounts of the faith's women colored early reports of the faith, but also testified to the growing presence of workingwomen in the American city and the appeal of Pentecostalism to those women. This “hired girl stratum,” while plentiful across the growing nation of Pentecostal believers, was particularly visible in Portland, Oregon.<sup>1</sup>

Pentecostalism thrived in the wet climes of the Rose City, Portland, Oregon. Founded in 1907, the Apostolic Faith Mission [AFM] of Portland emphasized a Holiness-inflected version of Pentecostalism that eschewed modern entertainments and modes of dress. Led by Florence Crawford (1872-1936), a native of Coos Bay, Oregon, the Mission embraced the workingmen and women of the region. As the “Workingman's Mission,” a

designation promoted by Crawford, converts encouraged others “to come as you are. This is one place where men are all of one size.” The Mission's newspapers chronicled the redemption of sailors, lumberjacks, bricklayers, storekeepers, and other workingmen from lives of sin. This embrace of the working-class was not simply reserved for the faith's men. Rather, workingwomen figured prominently into the Mission's rhetoric of working-class respectability.<sup>2</sup>

Many Pentecostal women demurred the label of “worker” as traditionally used in American labor history and seem to have rarely engaged explicitly in the world of working-class politics. Nevertheless, these women worked in the nation's factories, commercial establishments, offices, and on behalf of their faith throughout the twentieth-century. The attraction of workingwomen to the faith has not been well understood. Some have seen in Pentecostalism “a religious resolution [to working-class problems] that was almost wholly other-worldly, symbolic, and psycho-therapeutic.” In contrast, I argue that an examination of the women of the Portland AFM elucidates the ways in which the faith enabled workingwomen to mediate the liminal space between submission and oppression as women, workers, and people of faith.<sup>3</sup> In examining the embrace of workingwomen by the Portland AFM, this article seeks to articulate the relationship between workingwomen and the charismatic religion many chose in this period. While all Pentecostal churches welcomed women, indeed some reported upwards of seventy percent female membership by 1930, it was Crawford's Mission alone that provided a welcoming embrace and a place of importance for Anglo workingwomen in this period.<sup>4</sup>

The appeal of Crawford's strand of Pentecostalism for women would prove to be twofold as she promoted male remoralization and championed Mission women and the complexities of their identities as workers whether working for the benefit of family or church. Male remoralization meant the return of working-class men to the folds of faith and family, as they assumed greater leadership of their homes. For working-class wives shouldering the economic and physical burdens of work and caring for a family, an extra set of hands and a steady paycheck were certainly welcome. The redemption of men for family life was but one facet of the Mission's appeal to working-

class women, however. Another essential component of the AFM’s class-based ministry was its wholehearted embrace of women as both workers and women. The labors of Mission women would prove essential to the Mission as it grew in the early twentieth century. Consequently, workingwomen figured prominently into the rhetorical and literal creation of the AFM.<sup>5</sup>

Rich histories of American workingwomen have emerged in the last two decades. The lives of urban department store salesclerks, factory workers, and domestics have come into focus as historians have examined the intersections between their identities as women and workers, workers and consumers, and their expressions of youthful sexuality as members of a growing heterosocial youth culture.<sup>6</sup> Recent works have highlighted the negotiations by which workers, particularly women, have engaged in a self-directed creation and deployment of the “politics of respectability.”<sup>7</sup> In general, insufficient attention has been given to the ways in which working-class faith figured into the lives of workingwomen who navigated the “theatre of cultural conflict”—work, home, shop floor, public amusements, sexuality, fashion—that structured the lives of workingwomen in this period.<sup>8</sup> Historians of the African American experience have proven to be an exception.

Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Victoria Wolcott, and Anthea Butler have chronicled the negotiations of faith, race, community, and work undertaken by working-class African American women during the period of Jim and Jane Crow. In inter-war Detroit, Wolcott has found a rich history of struggle over the meaning of faith and community. For newly arrived workingwomen, storefront Holiness and Pentecostal churches provided a welcome relief from the unsettling hustle of the city as well as relief from the gaze of middle-class reformers. As newcomers established storefront Holiness and Pentecostal churches, they quickly ran afoul of local community elites who fretted over the appearance of rowdy storefront services. Public skirmishes between the established community and the newcomers over various aspects of public and private behavior, including the struggle between “legitimate and illegitimate” religious organizations, reflected the refusal of working-class newcomers to accede to the demands and concerns of those who saw themselves as their social betters. For Mission women,

their membership in the Portland AFM knitted together their identities as women, workers, and as people of faith.<sup>9</sup>

The workingwomen of the Portland AFM followed the patterns of other American workingwomen: married women infrequently engaged in waged work, and single women were routinely employed outside of the home. Portland newlyweds Hazel and John Hazel lived with her parents. While Mrs. Hazel took care of the home, her father, William Gaines, worked as a motorman for a local streetcar company, and her husband, John, painted automobiles. Swiss immigrant Bertha Bohrer worked as a housewife while her Michigan-born husband Joseph worked as a carpenter, as did both his father and brother. Canadian immigrant Henry Morgan ran his own tailor shop, as his wife, Myrtle, cared for their home and children. The lives of a few AFM women were slightly more complicated, however. While George and Charlotte Britton conformed to the pattern—he worked finishing furniture in a factory as his wife stayed home—their neighbor and fellow mission member, Mary Soyster, followed a different pattern. Though marked as married in the 1920 census, she was not enumerated with her husband; instead she was listed as the head of the house that she shared with her sixteen-year-old daughter. Fellow neighbor, Edith Chance, also a mission member, differed still. Though she too was noted as married, she lived separately from her husband with her brother, carpenter DeWitt Myers. While Soyster was an AFM minister, Chance did housework for a nearby hotel. Few of the AFM’s married women worked outside of the home on a consistent basis. Hungarian immigrants Frank and Rose Hein were anomalies. Frank worked as a laborer in a foundry, and Rose performed housework for a local family. Another married woman, Elsie Ott, reported working as a seamstress during the early years of her marriage. Later the couple took on boarders to make ends meet. Clearly the vicissitudes of life sometimes necessitated the gainful employment of these married women. But it was single-workingwomen, young women adrift in the city, that preoccupied Pentecostals and Portland social workers alike.<sup>10</sup>

As West Coast port cities grew in the early twentieth century, they helped to foster local, national, and global trade communities that swelled the ranks of men and women looking

for nonagricultural labor. For an increasing number of working-class women, the growth of these cities enabled them to search for employment beyond the labor-intensive jobs of domestic service. By 1920, 21,028 single women worked in Portland with another 7,423 married women joining them. Its neighbor to the south, Los Angeles, doubled those numbers with 68,290 workingwomen in total. Chicago's 309,089 women employed coupled with New York's 689,261 workingwomen dwarfed the numbers found in both West Coast cities. The boom cycles of Portland and the surrounding region expanded the offices and department stores of the city and local communities, increasing the demand for young women to employ. Indeed by 1913, clerical work and retail sales were the two largest sources of employment for Oregonian women with 2,281 women working in city department stores and another 1,785 were employed as stenographers and clerical workers. While workingwomen in Portland numbered considerably less than those employed in other sections of the country, local concern and consternation over the fate of these women would have an impact far beyond their numbers.<sup>11</sup>

Oregon's importance to the labor and social history of American women was established in the early twentieth century as the efforts of Rose City Progressives to address the problems of single workingwomen refashioned American labor practices and jurisprudence. While perhaps most famous for their part in the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), which prohibited women from working long hours in heavy industry, Portland reformers impacted the lives of workingwomen in other ways as well.<sup>12</sup>

In 1913 Oregon became the first state in the nation to pass a minimum wage law for women. Instrumental to the law's passage was the *Report of the Social Survey Committee of Oregon* that surveyed 8,763 workingwomen in the state; along with 7,603 workingwomen from Portland. The report found that three-fifths of the women in the state's largest city, Portland, received less than \$10 per week, the Committee's estimate of the barest minimum needed for a workingwoman to live "decent but frugal" lives. The Committee, however, doubted the utility of their own minimum wage standard for stenographers and other office workers "on account of the higher standard of living which

an office employee must maintain to hold her position." In the section of personal narratives, the state's workingwomen reported on the material consequences of their low wages. Housing standards were abysmal; some respondents chose better housing outside of the city's downtown, and thus were forced to either walk into the city or come up with the carfare; most walked. Many women disclosed running out of food and money by Friday which meant that they went hungry over the weekend. One department store worker earning \$7.50 per week confessed that "if she didn't have help, she would starve, or what is worse, get her living some other way." The specter of the "charity girl"—"one who pays for her lunches with the loss of her virtue"—stoked local and national concerns about "women adrift." It was these women, those on the verge of 'moral failure' or already deep in 'sin' that the Portland AFM sought to attract and keep with its embrace of workingwomen and rhetoric of working-class respectability.<sup>13</sup>

Mission testimonials from this period highlight the misspent youth of some AFM workingwomen and helped to amplify concerns about women adrift along the West Coast. Like other young women, Mission member, Alta Wingate Bergen, left home at thirteen to work in the city. After work, she spent her evenings in "the dance halls, beer halls, and in the opium dens." Addicted to narcotics, she spent a number of years in and out of West Coast jails. Another Mission woman reported leaving home at 15 to work in the city. She too quickly gave in to the temptations and pleasures of the city; "I lived the life of a fallen woman....I sank to the bottom." Other young workingwomen chronicled lives shaped by alcoholism and debauchery as well. Ellen Rousch confessed to working in a saloon and being "mixed up with white slavery, a keeper of those miserable houses of sin and shame." While the AFM transformed the habits of these and other "fallen women," it did not necessarily take them from their old lives. Street evangelism encouraged Mission women to challenge the emerging moral geography of the city that discouraged women from rooming houses, theatres, and downtown grills. As a result, many of these and other women would return to the Burnside District and other seedy places to work for the salvation of others.<sup>14</sup> In 1908, the Portland Apostolic Faith Mission opened at Front and Burnside in the midst of

Portland’s hardscrabble Burnside District. The 1913 *Report of the Vice Commission* observed that “On the streets of this district, especially during the work hours, innocent working girls are brought into daily contact with sporting women” and other unsavory characters. As Mission women traveled to and from the church, they passed movie theatres, saloons, and the wayward. Sailors, drunks, and prostitutes frequented the area as did others on the social and economic margins. The streets surrounding the Portland AFM teemed with life, and Mission women frequently embraced planned and unplanned opportunities to evangelize and witness in the Burnside District. Mission members later remembered the site as the “ideal location, halfway between the uptown business section and the skid road district, a most desirable site on which to build a soul-saving station.” The Street Work, as such evangelism was labeled, was one of the largest sources of the faith’s outreach through the 1940s.<sup>15</sup>

When the Mission opened in 1908, the AFM promptly purchased a wagon and used it to travel the city to preach. Four years later, they purchased a truck for their work and used open-bed trucks and large cars to proclaim the faith. Standing on street corners, they preached and called to passersby to hear their message of healing and faith. AFM convert Frank Campbell reported being saved by street workers on Burnside as he tried to enter a saloon. Emil Gruber testified, “I thank God that in the extremity of my life, I heard the Apostolic Faith people on the street corner....these people brought the Gospel out to me.” For Mission women, such work required a willingness for them to act as ‘public women,’ to take charge of the city. The Burnside area was a fraught space in this period, navigated openly by some women and with trepidation by others. One female member recalled her first journey to the Mission and her struggle to ask for directions. “Now down there you know you usually would be afraid to go to talk to a man,” but she felt emboldened by her faith to do so. Other Mission women engaged city streets as well. One female street evangelist “got down off of the Gospel wagon” and “wedged her way through the seekers” after the “Spirit spoke to her.” She made her way through the crowd and “rebuke[d] the devil” out of a man on the street. At other times, Crawford and Mission women sang down hooligans intent on disrupting their tabernacle and street meetings. These events

placed Mission women squarely within the rough public culture of places like the Burnside District, the very places some of them had frequented in their former lives. While street evangelism was an important source of women’s work on behalf of the Mission, it was the clerical labor of women that sustained the Mission.<sup>16</sup>

The Portland Apostolic Faith Mission’s street meetings and church services were complemented by an extensive publishing and correspondence ministry that sought to offer guidance and inspiration across the divide of space and time to believers everywhere. Besides their general audience publication, *The Apostolic Faith*, the Mission also published specialty publications aimed at children, *The Children’s Paper*; prisoners, *The Convict’s Hope*; and workers and sailors, *The Morning Star*, along with a hundred or more evangelical tracts. By 1927, the Mission boasted sending out 300,000 pieces of literature a year, in nearly a dozen languages. Mission records amplify those numbers. Extant shipping records reveal a world of incredible productivity as the AFM mailed evangelical tracts and newspapers to churches, tabernacles, missions and individuals across the country. In February of 1920 they mailed 1,800 papers to their branch mission in San Francisco. Later that year they sent another 5,000 tracts in English, 50 in Swedish, 250 in German, and another 400 papers south. The AFM’s ministry grew not only through what they published, but also through their substantial correspondence ministry as well. Through the *Apostolic Faith*, the Mission promised, “Any woman desiring to correspond with a sister about healing may write to the Apostolic Faith Mission, and a sister will answer your questions.” By 1934 they were responding to 500 letters a day sent in by readers from across the nation and beyond. The success of the Mission’s newspaper and correspondence ministry demanded the services of typists, stenographers, and printers—positions increasingly filled by young workingwomen in this period.<sup>17</sup>

Clerical work across the nation underwent dramatic feminization in this period as the pace and nature of the work changed, and as women came to dominate the lower rungs of the profession. The introduction of new equipment resulted in the specialization of tasks, and sped up the exodus of men as they sought more prestigious and better-paid positions. Nevertheless, office work represented socio-economic

advancement for many workingwomen. At the AFM women found not only a faith that embraced them, but also ready employment as well. With the exception of the printing press, which opened in 1919, women largely staffed the AFM. While other Pentecostal missions and organizations utilized the services of its women, it was in Portland alone that the labor of its women came to signify the Mission itself.<sup>18</sup>

In a 1921 newsletter sent to the faithful, Florence Crawford wrote that the enormous work of publishing Mission tracts and “the correspondence with this great company of people brings a constant demand for consecrated workers.” Mission women, married and single, answered the call of their church. Elsie Ott joined the Mission in 1907 and immediately took charge of the mailing department. Under her direction women folded and readied the newspapers for distribution. Her daughters would later take her place. Other married women donated their time as well. May Allen worked at the Mission while fellow member, Ruby Banta, cared for her children. In contrast to their married sisters, single-workingwomen frequently dedicated their lives to the service of the faith. The Wisconsin-born Clara Lum first met Florence Crawford at the Los Angeles Azusa Street Mission where the two worked side-by-side, evangelizing and contributing to that mission’s newspaper. Lum followed Crawford to Portland in 1908. Together the two women started the Mission, with Lum editing the Mission’s newspapers, including *The Children’s Paper* and *The Apostolic Faith*. She would serve the faith until her death in 1946. Alice Perry was another single workingwoman who dedicated herself to the service of her faith. Born in O’Neill, Nebraska, in 1893, like many of the women who served the AFM, Perry spent her life not only evangelizing on behalf of her faith but as an office worker as well. She worked as a secretary in a law firm in Tacoma, Washington, until 1915 when she moved to Portland to be closer to the headquarters. The following year she started working for the office and later became the office manager of the Mission, where she oversaw the daily operation of the church. Working intimately with Crawford, Perry became the “dean of local church employees” according to the *The [Portland] Oregon Tribunal*. At her death in 1959, she had worked for the Mission for 43 years, longer than any other church worker in the city. She had served

as Crawford’s right hand, as office manager for most of those years. The long-term service of Lum, Perry, Ott, and others helped to give the Mission a sense of continuity from one generation to the next as Crawford’s son, Raymond Crawford, took over after her death in 1936. Other Mission workingwomen spent their lives serving their faith as they worked elsewhere in the city and in the region.<sup>19</sup>

Like many workingwomen in the Rose City, Margaret Thornton and her twin sister Beatrice worked as stenographers in the 1920s. At the time of the 1920 census, the twenty-four year old women shared lodgings with six other women, five of whom were office workers. Margaret reported working for a secular business, as did her sister. While her position provided her with a measure of upward mobility, her association with the AFM caused dissension within her family. In 1920 the *Morning Oregonian* reported that the lawsuit brought by Luke Thornton, Margaret’s father, had been dismissed. Luke Thornton had sought damages from Crawford of \$25,000 for the alienation of his daughter’s affection. “Thornton had asserted that the girl had been enticed from his home,” the paper reported, “and her affections alienated by the teachings of a religious sect.” The court did not rule on the merits of the case as the suit had been dismissed “for the reason that his daughter had reached her majority at the time” of the incident. Rejecting her father’s authority and ultimately marriage as well, Thornton used her membership within the Portland AFM to buttress her right to live an independent life as a workingwoman. She spent the rest of her life serving the Mission and working as a secretary in various firms along the Pacific Coast. Like many of the other Mission women, the boundaries between her identity as a worker and person of faith were blurred. She recalled that “one of the sweetest experiences I ever had came while I was doing secretarial work” when she became an advocate for her boss’s blind wife. The experience was both a professional highlight and a spiritual epiphany. While Thornton found both comfort and challenge as an AFM workingwoman, other Mission women encountered substantial resistance from local employers, particularly as they ventured out into the fashion-sensitive world of retail sales.<sup>20</sup>

As Val Marie Johnson argues, “department stores were imagined in ambiguous ways as both respectable and suspect places” in the early twentieth century. The possibility of higher wages and less onerous work attracted young women to downtown shops. Social workers and parents alike, however, feared that poverty wages, access to luxury goods, and the sumptuous, public setting of the department store would lead to the ruin of these young workingwomen. Edwin O’Hara, chairman of the Social Survey Committee of the Consumers’ League of Oregon, ominously wondered, “How long will their resolutions of clean living hold out under the temptation?” In 1913 *The Report of the Social Survey Committee of Oregon* raised the possibility of department store clerks too underpaid to maintain a “decent but frugal” lifestyle and forced to supplement their wages through a casual exchange of sexual favors for money and food. For Pentecostals, anxieties over young women employed in department stores were compounded by their rejection of modern styles of dress.<sup>21</sup>

As the 1910s gave way to the 1920s, movies and its attendant culture of celebrity worked to change American attitudes towards female dress and comportment. Legs and arms began to peek out from under dresses, corsets gave way to “invisible waists,” and women’s hair went from waist-length to short and fashionable “bobs.” For workingwomen across the country, expressions of their fashion sense were reflections of their class and gender consciousness. As Julia Blackwelder suggests, “workingwomen affirmed their ‘gaiety’ through commercial entertainments and the occasional fashionable purchase.” Yet not all women embraced shifting fashion standards as benchmarks of female empowerment.<sup>22</sup>

Pentecostal women, like other workingwomen, expressed their identity through their clothing choices. In the case of Mission women, their clothing reflected their allegiance to an expression of personal rectitude that separated them from other workingwomen. *The Apostolic Faith* bluntly warned readers, “The fashionable dress of today is as indecent as the harlot’s dress was a few years ago; and if it was indecent then, it is indecent now....” From her pulpit in Portland, Florence Crawford lamented the shifting fashions of the period and chronicled the struggle of the Mission’s workingwomen to adhere

to personal standards of modesty and femininity while at work. Crawford’s sermons and writings frequently applauded the resistance of Pentecostal women to what she saw as immodest or ridiculous fashion trends. She warned readers that “Christ today is calling for a people separated from the world, not decorated with gold, feathers, or flowers, not dressed like fashion plates.” In one sermon Crawford inveighed, “Immodest dress is damning thousands of souls today, [it is] the curse of the age.” Clinging to their high necklines and long hair, AFM workingwomen faced criticism and job discrimination and were esteemed by their fellow Mission members for their intransigence. In a sermon on Christian standards and conduct, Crawford applauded the near martyrdom of Pentecostal workingwomen who rejected contemporary standards of fashionability. Praising their example, she preached:

I thought of a couple of women, young people that [sic] work in a certain establishment in the city; and they have gone through all manner of persecution because they wouldn’t have their hair cut, which is contrary to the Word of God.....

Crawford and her Mission helped to fashion a vision of independent Pentecostal womanhood that gave tacit support to women’s waged work outside of the home. In doing so, she carved out a greater share of the city for Pentecostal women as she legitimated the increased activities of these women beyond the boundaries of home and family.<sup>23</sup>

Under the headline, “Stenographic Force of 30 Donates Time to Mission,” the *Oregon Journal* praised the office staff of the Apostolic Faith Mission, which included the labor of stenographers, bookkeepers, and translators. The accompanying picture was a sea of “women from the hired girl stratum,” mission women who had dedicated their lives to their faith. By embracing early Pentecostalism, Portland’s workingwomen had found one way to make whole the various and sometimes-disparate strands of their identities as workers, women, and people of faith. While many women turned and embraced the emerging world of heterosocial entertainment and public amusements, as chronicled by others, many also sought

out alternatives to movie houses, dancing parlors, and the like. Written off as “otherworldly” by some, Pentecostalism, nevertheless, helped these women to address the very real problems of this world: addiction, poverty, job discrimination, and more.<sup>24</sup>

Florence Crawford’s deft interweaving of feminine empowerment and rigid moralism enabled workingwomen to navigate the city as women and workers at a time when social workers fretted over the fate of women adrift in the Rose City. In the process, the AFM created an alternative source of working-class respectability for “women of the hired girl stratum.” Mission women instrumentalized their faith to challenge the emerging moral geography of the city that marked as off limits to ‘respectable women’ large swaths of the city. Thus, some Pentecostal women engaged the city on their terms, as street workers or evangelists, refusing to back down or give in to the dangers of traversing the Burnside District. Working in local department stores and offices, Mission workingwomen relied on their faith to provide respectable forms of entertainment in their off-hours and comfort when they were ill and/or unemployed. In other cases, the Mission challenged the right of employers to dictate the appearance of workingwomen, and applauded women who resisted the pressure of their bosses and society to conform to emerging standards of beauty. In the end, understanding the appeal and the usefulness of Pentecostalism to “women of the hired girl stratum” challenges commonly held assumptions about the relationship between the working-class and religion, and helps to map the process by which Pentecostal women navigated their lives as workers, women, and people of faith in Portland and beyond.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Pentecostalism, or the belief in the spiritual endowment of the believer to speak in known and unknown languages as a manifestation of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit, has been experienced on occasion by individual Christians for the past two thousand years. It was on New Year’s Day 1901 that a small group of Topeka, Kansas bible students were Baptized in the Spirit and that Pentecostalism as a faith practice emerged. They immediately sought to proselytize the region and nation for their new experience and faith. After several false starts in the American mid and southwest, it finally caught on as both a spiritual and social

identity in Los Angeles at the Azusa Street Revival in 1906. Thus, it was in the urban West that Pentecostalism emerged as doctrine and identity. Derisively labeled “Holy Rollers,” Pentecostals have generally rejected the term in favor of Pentecostals, Charismatics, Spirit Baptized, and Saints. For members of the Portland Apostolic Faith Mission, I have also used the term Apostolic Faithful. Duncan Aikman, “The Holy Rollers,” *The American Mercury* 15 (October 1928): 181 and 180.

<sup>2</sup> While Pentecostalism pre-dated Crawford’s arrival to Portland in December of 1906, it was a fledgling community of believers. By the end of the 1910s, her mission would be theologically out of step with most other Pentecostal churches. Mission members refused divorce and remarriage, and they demanded personal accountability for and restoration of past sins and grievances against others, which entailed converts returning stolen money, goods, and services from their victims. For an account of the doctrines of the faith, see *A Historical Account of the Apostolic Faith* (Portland: Apostolic Faith Publishing House, 1965), 48-50. For a general overview of Pentecostal theology, see Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987). For the influence of nineteenth-century Holiness theology and practices upon early twentieth century Pentecostals, see Donald Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2003), 57-98 and Randall Stephens, *The Fire Spreads: Holiness and Pentecostalism in the American South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 56-98.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 121-122 and Dwight Billings, “Religion as Opposition: A Gramscian Analysis,” *American Journal of Sociology* 96 (July 1990): 1-30 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: Volume 1, 1926* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1929), 88-89, 280-281, 284-285, and 338 and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1936, Selected Statistics for the United States by Denomination and Geographic Divisions* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941), 10-11.

<sup>5</sup> I have written elsewhere about the rhetoric and practice of male remoralization and the importance of family life to the ministry and members of the Portland AFM. See Vivian Deno, “God, Authority, and the Home: Gender, Race, and U.S. Pentecostals, 1906-1926,” *Journal of Women’s History* 16 (Fall 2004): 92-104.

<sup>6</sup> Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Joanne J. Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Dorothy Sue Cobble, *Dishing it Out: Waitresses and Their Unions in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Sharon Hartman Strom, *Beyond the Typewriter: Gender, Class, and the Origins of Modern American Office Work, 1900-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Mary E Odem, *Delinquent Daughters Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Julia Blackwelder, *Now Hiring: The Feminization of Work in the United States, 1900-1995* (College Station, Texas: A & M, 1997); Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870-1940*

(New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Sharon E Wood, *The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); and Elizabeth Alice Clement, *Love for Sale: Courting, Treating, and Prostitution in New York City, 1900-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Paul Michael Tailon, "What We Want is Good, Sober Men': Masculinity, Respectability, and Temperance in the Railroads, c. 1870-1910," *Journal of Social History* 36 (Winter 2002): 319-338; and Melissa Walker and Rebecca Sharpless, "'Pretty Near Every Woman Done a Man's Work': Women and Field Work in the Rural South," in *Work, Family, and Faith: Rural Southern Women in the Twentieth Century* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006), 42-63; and Val Marie Johnson, "'The Rest Can Go to the Devil': Macy's Workers Negotiate Gender, Sex, and Class in the Progressive Era," *Journal of Women's History* 19 (Spring 2007): 32-57.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Ewen, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and on Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890-1920* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985), 266; and Deutsch, *Women and the City*, 52.

<sup>9</sup> The literature of the "politics of respectability" among African Americans in the period of Jim Crow is rich. See Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), especially chapter seven, "The Politics of Respectability," 185-230; Stephanie J. Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Kevin Kelly Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 163 and 113-126; Marla Frederick, *Between Sundays Black Women and Everyday Struggles of Faith* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Anthea Butler, *Women in the Church of God in Christ: Making a Sanctified World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> See Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Federal Census 1920*, Multnomah County, Oregon, enumeration districts 78, 110, 111, 123, 124, 135, 205, and 217 and *Polk City Directory, Portland, Oregon* (Portland: R.L. Polk, 1902-1926).

<sup>11</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistics of Women at Work* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1907), 34 and 159; Edwin O'Hara, *Welfare Legislation for Women and Minors* (Portland: Consumer's League of Oregon, 1912), 5; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), 802-804; Blackwelder, *Now Hiring*, 13-22; 63-64; and 192; and Johnson, "'The Rest Can Go to the Devil'," 33.

<sup>12</sup> Justice David Brewer delivered the majority opinion for the Court, arguing that the nation's need for fit mothers made the "physical well-being" of women "an object of public interest and care in order to preserve the strength and vigor of the race." As a result, *Muller v. Oregon* (1908) rejected liberal claims to a gender-neutral reading of rights in favor of protective legislation for women. Robert Johnston's *The Radical Middle Class* offers a nuanced analysis of the *Muller* case as part of Progressive Era Portland's class struggle as well as a compelling

portrait of its protagonist, Curt Muller. Nancy Woloch has admirably laid out the long-term impact of the decision's reification of difference feminism in American jurisprudence. Rose Falls Bres' *Maids, Wives and Widows* provides a good contemporary perspective of the legal status of American women in this period. Bres noted that Oregon was one of the most protective on behalf of workingwomen. See Robert Johnston, *The Radical Middle Class: Populist Democracy and the Question of Capitalism in Progressive Era Portland, Oregon* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 18-28, 2; Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 186-192; Nancy Woloch, *Muller V. Oregon: A Brief History With Documents* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996), 5-6, 20, 28-40 and 132-144; and Rose Falls Bres, *Maids, Wives, and Widows: The Law of the Land and of the Various States as It Affects Women* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1918).

<sup>13</sup> The state's minimum wage law would also be contested before the U.S. Supreme Court in *Stettler v. Industrial Welfare Commission* (1917). Senate Committee on Industrial Relations, *Final Report and Testimony Submitted to Congress by the U.S. Commission of Industrial Relations*, 64th Congress, 1st Session, (Washington D.C.; Government Printing Office, 1916), 4673; Edwin O'Hara and Caroline Gleason, *Report of the Social Survey Committee of the League of Oregon* (Portland: Consumer's League of Oregon, 1913), 20, 25, 27, 37, 61, and 69; Caroline Gleason, *Report of the Industrial Welfare Commission of the State of Oregon on the Power Laundries in Portland* (Salem, OR: State Printing Department, 1914); *Report of the Portland Vice Commission to the Mayor and City Council* (Portland: N.P., 1913), 138-139, 175, 183-186, 200; Claudio Goldin, "The Work and Wages of Single Women, 1870-1920," *The Journal of Economic History* 40 (March 1980): 81-88; *idem.*, *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women* (New York: Oxford Books, 1990); Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift*, 34-41; Clement, *Love for Sale*, 3-10; and Wood, *The Freedom of the Streets*, 14-26.

<sup>14</sup> Alta Wingate Bergen, "An Outcast," typescript, 191? Portland Apostolic Faith Headquarters [hereafter, AFH]; *idem.*, "No More Prison Bars, No More Aching Hearts," 40 *Apostolic Faith* (November 1918); 4; "Saved from Buddhism," *The Convict's Hope* no. 5 (1925): 4; Ellen Rousch, "A Fallen Woman," typescript, 192? AFH; Deutsch, *Women and the City*, 79-82 and Wood, *The Freedom of the Streets*, 23-24.

<sup>15</sup> *Report of the Vice Commission*, 188; Gleason, *Report of the Industrial Welfare Commission*, 51; and *Historical Account*, 99.

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps the AFM's most famous intervention into the public culture of the city was its giant neon sign atop of its Burnside mission. The sign, read "Jesus Light of the World" with a large star on top. The sign beckoned people for miles, and became something of a tourist attraction. *An Historical Account*, 67, 76, and 99; Emil Gruber, "A Frenchman Converted," typescript, 1939, AFH; Frank Campbell, "Saved in Front of a Saloon," typescript, 1910, AFH; Untitled, *Apostolic Faith* 22 (1913?): 1; "Street Meetings," *Apostolic Faith* 26 (Spring 1914?): 1; untitled, *ibid.*, 2; Arthur Boyles, "An Ex-convict Finds God," typescript, 1933, AFH: "Old Timer's File, 'Sister' Norberg," 1979, AFH; Frederick Collins, "Under a Big Star," *Collier's* 22 November 1924, 28; "Brightest Spot in Portland," advertising, *Polk City Directory, Portland, Oregon* (Portland: R.L. Polk, 1937), n.p.; "A Beacon Shines

through the Night,” *Morning Star* no 16 (1939): 1; Frank Sterrett, “When Skid Row Was the Center of Old Portland,” *The (Portland) Oregonian*, 14 December 1969; “The History of Third and Burnside Is the History of the North End,” *Metropolis* (January 1975), 1 and 6; and Fred DeWolfe, “Skid Row,” *Northwest Examiner* (April 1996): 18.

<sup>17</sup> “Apostolic Faith Mission: Wise Men Follow the Star,” advertising, *Portland City Directory, Portland, Oregon*, (Portland: R. L. Polk, 1927), n.p.; “Apostolic Faith Printing Accounting Record Book, 1917-1925,” manuscript, 1917-1925, 128 and 112 AFH; and “Stenographic Force of 30 Donates Time to Mission,” *The Oregon Journal*, 14 June 1934.

<sup>18</sup> Clark Davis in his study of Los Angeles business culture of this period has found that between 1876 and 1930 that women stenographers went from 5% of the national total to 96% in this period. Clark Davis, *Company Men: White-Collar Life and Corporate Cultures in Los Angeles, 1892-1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 8; Strom, *Beyond the Typewriter*, 275; Blackwelder, *Now Hiring*, 63-64; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Statistics of Women at Work*, 99.

<sup>19</sup> Florence Crawford, newsletter, 20 September 1919, 9 AFH; “Old Timer’s File, May Allen,” typescript, 198?, AFH; *Historical Account*, 221; “Old timers file, Clara Lum,” typescript, 193?, AFH; “Old timers file, Alice Perry,” typescript, AFH, 194?; “Obituary: Church Aide Dies,” *[Portland] Oregon Tribunal*, 31 May 1959, 7B; and “Funeral Service for Sister Alice May Perry,” typescript, 1959, AFH.

<sup>20</sup> In a testimonial towards the end of her life she recalled the pains of a heart attack she had suffered and how her faith and work had sustained her. She proudly noted “after a period of recuperation I returned to my work in the church office helping to get the Gospel out to others.” See “Alienation Suit Held Up,” *Morning Oregonian*, 25 February 1920, 10. Margaret Thornton, “How I Found God,” typescript 21 June 1965, AFH; *idem.*, “Grateful for God’s Healing Touch,” typescript, 1967, AFH; *idem.*, “Autobiography,” typescript, 29 March 1972, 1 and 2, AFH; and *Historical Account*, 66.

<sup>21</sup> Johnson, “The Rest Can Go to the Devil,” 34; O’Hara, *Welfare Legislation for Women and Minors*, 5; and O’Hara and Gleason, *Report of the Social Survey Committee*, 27-30 and 68-69.

<sup>22</sup> Robin Kelley has chronicled the transgressive potential of dress in his examination of the micropolitics of daily resistance to Jim Crow. Other studies of World War II Zoot Suit Riots reinforce claims to the centrality of dress for oppressed or marginalized groups, especially for working-class youths, particularly women. Yet for many workingwomen aligned with Pentecostal and Holiness faith traditions, clothing was not just a matter of youthful independence but also a reflection of their adherence to their faith. See Enstad, *Ladies of Labor*, 202; Blackwelder, *Now Hiring*, 12; Robin D.G. Kelley, “We Are Not what We Seem’: Rethinking Black Working-class Opposition in the Jim Crow South,” *The Journal of American History* 80 (June 1993): 75-112; especially 86; Catherine S. Ramirez, “‘Sayin’ Nothin’: Pachucas and the Languages of Resistance,” *Frontiers* 27.3 (2006): 1-33; Benson, *Counter Cultures*, 135-136; Butler, *Making a Sanctified World*, 77-86.

<sup>23</sup> “Modest Apparel,” *Apostolic Faith* no. 14 (1914): 3; “Question and Answer,” “Can a Child of God Dress in Fashion?” *Apostolic Faith* no. 26 (1918): 2; Crawford, sermon, “Christian Standard and Sanctification,” 28 December 1921,

5, AFH; and Crawford, sermon, “Christian Living,” 7 September 1924, 4, AFH.

<sup>24</sup> “Stenographic Force of 30 Donates Time to Mission,” *Oregon Journal*, 14 June 1934.