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THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

A Thesis

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Master of Arts

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Karen Carroll Mundy

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the Pentecostal Movement in America as an indication of the resurgence of the sacred in contemporary society and representing a collective quest for identity and purpose. Pentecostals are distinguished by their belief in the literal operation of the "gifts of the Spirit," particularly glossolalia, or speaking in tongues.

Functioning as a type of Christian religious, expressive movement, Pentecostalism can be divided into two distinct phases: Classical (traditional) Pentecostalism and Neo-Pentecostalism. While both phases of the movement are considered part of the modern Pentecostal movement, significant differences exist which warrant the development of types within the movement. The Catholic charismatic renewal is seen as a special sub-type of the new Pentecostalism, separated by church tradition and cultural heritage from Protestant Pentecostals.

Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism are analyzed in the context of historical influences and ideological and social comparisons. While cultural dissimilarities and church tradition are sources of tension between Classical and Neo-Pentecostals, basic doctrinal emphases function to unify the adherents.

A special chapter is devoted to tentative suggestions concerning the social origins of the new Pentecostalism, centered in non-Pentecostal Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic Church. The influence of counter culture values is seen as having a significant impact on Christians, inclining them toward more expressive, religious movements. The new Pentecostalism is also related to the sensitivity and communitarian

movements which desire to initiate more intimate and wholistic small group relationships.

The increasing legitimation of Pentecostalism as a Christian mode of expression and doctrine is reflected in the expansion of the movement into non-Pentecostal churches. The implications of the growth and acceptance of the movement are explored. The mystical bent of many Christians today and their intensified awareness of their minority status enhances the appeal of religious, expressive movements.

The methods employed in the research include participant observation conducted in a wide variety of settings, and documentary analyses.

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CHAPTER I

THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT: THE REAPPEARANCE OF THE SACRED

A. INTRODUCTION

Religion has been defined by Peter Berger as the "human enterprise by which a sacred cosmos is established" (Berger, 1967:26). The sacred is the alternative to a world permeated with chaos and meaninglessness. Religious movements can be viewed as a collective search for identity and purpose. The individual discovers that the dominant values of society are no longer able to furnish him with ultimate explanations of reality, causing alternative interpretations to be sought. Weber also contends that religion arises to solve the problem of meaning with its characteristics varying according to the position of the group in the social structure. Thus, religion responds to the age-old question of evil: "Why do the just suffer and the unjust prosper?" Religion is part of man's attempt to come to grips with his particular form of reality, shaped significantly by social experience.

Weber conceives of ideas as more than reflections of social reality, attributing to them the ability to independently effect social behavior and events. In accordance with this perspective, an understanding of theological beliefs is necessary to unravel religious and often secular occurrences. Mehl, in The Sociology of Protestantism, recognizes the influence of theology on human action. He notes that "Protestantism undoubtedly is one of the forms of Christianity where sociological inquiry can least dispense with a recourse to theology"

(Sellers, 1973:230). The theological aspects of Pentecostalism, then, are considered a valid area of investigation in this study, particularly since doctrine occupies such a prominent place in the movement. To understand religion the sociologist must not only focus on empirical evidence but also explore the ideational realm. Though Weber concludes that ideas function independently, he does not see them as emergent. Theology then can ultimately be traced to social origins. Religion is at once the initiator and image of social change.

In the last several decades orthodox theologians have pointed with dismay to the so-called demise of the sacred in our society. The sociological consensus, with noticeably less regret, tended to support the contention that religion has become antiquated or at least irrelevant. While the intellectuals hastened to announce the decline of the sacred from within the enclaves of secular institutions, mystical and ecstatic movements were appearing throughout the country. The generation most exposed to secularization, the so-called NOW generation, discovered transcendental meditation, witchcraft, radical Christianity based on the early Christian model, and Satanism among others. Andrew Greeley challenges the implicit assumption of undirectional evolution from the sacred to the secular.

> The eruption of the sacred on campus is merely one manifestation, though admittedly a fascinating one, of the quest for religious or mystical or ecstatic experience that has been a part of the human condition for a long time. It may have disappeared from the secular university campus, but it never disappeared from the human condition (Greeley, 1972b:166).

The growing Pentecostal Movement is but one indication that the sacred is still very much a part of American life. The topic of this paper concerns the modern revival of the "tongues" movement occurring

among Christians. The distinguishing feature is the practice of glossolalia or "speaking in tongues." Pentecostal adherents believe that the tongues phenomenon is the result of total submission of the Christian to the Holy Spirit. The unintelligible utterances are unknown to the speaker and hearer though Pentecostal doctrine asserts that a type of tongues exists (xenoglossia) which can be comprehended by the listener.

B. DELINEATION OF THE PROBLEM

The scope of this investigation is limited to the American Pentecostal Movement, dating from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present. Comparisons between Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism will generally be based on the study of first generation adherents except for the purpose of establishing historical and doctrinal links. Restriction to first generation believers is irrelevant in the Neo-Pentecostal phase of the movement since its recency eliminates the problem of generational differences. Classical Pentecostalism, however, demonstrates considerable variance between the original members and those <u>born</u> with a Pentecostal heritage. The research will dwell on basic Pentecostal patterns of belief and practice rather than sectarian peculiarities or heresies such as the Jesus Only sect or the Snakehandlers. An overview of the movement is used, tracing the historical factors which led to the formation of each phase of Pentecostalism. Classical Pentecostalism, essentially Protestant, is shown to stem from a rather homogeneous heritage of holiness and fundamentalist persuasions. The greatest diversity occurs among Neo-Pentecostals, divided along the lines of Catholic and denominational Protestant.

C. PRESENTATION OF HYPOTHESES

The paper will attempt to support several hypotheses relating to the Pentecostal Movement. The first part of hypothesis one asserts that the modern American Pentecostal Movement can be separated into two distinct phases: Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism. While this is assumed in many theological writings on the subject (Durasoff, 1972; Hughes, 1966; O'Conner, 1971), sociologists have generally neglected to make this important distinction. Notable exceptions include John Kildahl (The Psychology of Speaking in Tongues) and Gerlach and Hine (Movements of Social Transformation). The second part of hypothesis one notes that these two phases belong to the same religious expressive movement, demonstrated by historical and doctrinal links. In this section of the paper the theology of Pentecostalism will be examined with congruencies between the phases especially emphasized. The movement will also be historically documented, indicating the unity and continuity of Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism.

The second hypothesis concentrates on the distinguishing features of each phase of the movement within a social context. It is believed that variances between Classical and Neo-Pentecostals in worship patterns, theology, and social attributes can be traced to the differential locus of membership of the adherents in the socioeconomic structure of society. Though Weber held that the non-economic realm of ideas were significant, nevertheless, he recognized the influence of the position of the follower in the social structure as a key determinant of social action. Thus, Parsons writes in his introduction to Weber's The Sociology of Religion that the author was aware of "the higher degree

to which religious developments are determined by their sociological contexts" (Weber, 1963).

While traditional social causal explanations of Pentecostalism appear to be more applicable to Classical Pentecostalism, a new model is necessary to ascertain the social origins of Neo-Pentecostalism. The dearth of hypotheses to account for this phase is in part attributable to the failure to distinguish between the two types of Pentecostalism and the corresponding divergences. The reification of the theoretical schemes utilized to explain Pentecostalism has not furthered the development of more appropriate models. The third hypothesis is an attempt to locate the antecedents and conditions facilitating Neo-Pentecostalism. The social circumstances which led to the proliferation of Pentecostal sects in the beginning of the twentieth century were not the same as those influencing the spread of Neo-Pentecostalism in the 1950's and 1960's. It is hypothesized that the social origins of Neo-Pentecostalism can be attributed to several trends within contemporary American society: (1) the influence of the general counter-culture on American Christianity, particularly the questioning of values such as rationalism, empiricism, and individualism; (2) a revival of the occult, manifested in Christianity by increased interest and practice of mysticism (Catholic Pentecostals, however, already had a strong mystical tradition which was largely absent in denominational Protestantism); (3) a reaction against mass society with its accompanying depersonalization and bureaucratization, manifested in the initiation of small group worship and a "community" orientation (Gemeinschaft); (4) the impact of the secular sensitivity or human relations movement in the Christian churches.

While these four parts of the hypothesis are cited separately, it should be noted that there is a great deal of overlap among them.

The concluding chapter discusses the legitimation of Pentecostalism as a Christian mode of expression and doctrine due to its increasing social acceptability as members become more middle-class and established. The expension of Pentecostalism into the denominational Protestant and the Roman Catholic churches reflects the legitimacy now granted the movement.

D. METHODOLOGY

The two basic methods employed include historical documentation and participant observation. Within the Pentecostal Movement are distinct historical phases which correspond to the analytical classifications of Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism. Because of the nature of the hypotheses, an historical sociological approach is essential. Since a single method is seldom adequate, impressionistic data have been supplied through participant observation. Participant observation involves "a commitment to adopt the perspective of those studied by sharing in their day-to-day experiences" (Denzin, 1970:185). The writer's participant observation included a variety of exposures to both types of Pentecostalism. During the summer of 1973 she regularly attended Catholic charismatic prayer meetings held at the Catholic Student Center on campus and the Church of the Holy Ghost in Knoxville. Since the spring of 1973 to the present, she has gone at least once a week to services held at a Church of God, a Classical Pentecostal organization. Other Pentecostal meetings include several of the miracle services of Kathyrn

Kuhlman. The writer's personal experience with the Pentecostal Movement extends back several years. She attended an Oral Roberts' University seminar during the spring of 1970. Last year the writer was able to gain admittance to a Full Gospel Businessmen's Convention in Washington, D.C. The most recent exposure to the movement occurred at the yearly meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies held at Lee College in Cleveland, Tennessee.

The impressionistic data arrived at through participant observation of Pentecostal groups has been an invaluable supplement to the documentary method. There is, however, the problem of internal validity in this type of research due to subjective bias and the resultant distortion of facts. This possibility is lessened to a great extent by the reliance on the historical sociological approach. The writer was perhaps too sensitive to the issue of involvement or "going native" at the beginning of her observation of Catholic charismatic groups. Because of her religious background she felt inclined to withdraw from the group in order to achieve a high degree of objectivity. Unfortunately this attitude hindered the acceptance of the investigator by the members. One incident especially dramatized the difficulties inherent in a situation of this sort. An active Pentecostal participant approached the writer after a particularly lengthy prayer meeting and suggested that they pray together for her thesis. The writer, somewhat embarrassed, was caught unprepared for the request and declined. After discussing the incident with her professor and reading other studies dealing with similar groups, it was decided that involvement was the only effective way to gain rapport with the adherents. She subsequently participated in all group

worship activities with the exception of speaking in tongues and taking communion. Several masses were attended. The writer was Protestant, which could have posed more problems if the group had been exclusively Catholic. There were, however, a few denominational Protestants who came to the prayer services frequently. The group's receptivity to potential converts of whatever Christian affiliation facilitated the acceptance of the observer. Another potential difficulty was the commonly held view that the visitors to the group were candidates for the movement or, more specifically, the tongues experience. Several Pentecostals expressed the desire for the writer to seek the Holy Spirit since she had already acknowledged her belief in Christianity. Failure to speak in tongues probably aroused the suspicions of some of the members, especially those inclined to distrust social scientists. Participant observation of these prayer groups was especially rewarding, sensitizing the writer to various facets of Neo-Pentecostalism which may have been neglected.

E. SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

Through the analysis of the Pentecostal Movement, it is hoped that social scientists will be better able to ascertain the social conditions which give rise to expressive religious movements. The research is an effort to discover the sequence of events which facilitate certain types of collective behavior. Max Heirich's sociological historical investigation of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement is similar to the approach used in this study (Heirich, 1971). The Pentecostal Movement, frequently referred to as the third force in Christianity, is an

especially significant religious movement because of its magnitude and the implications for the Christian Church. It is seen as a reassertion of the importance of the sacred in a modern secular society. Pentecostalism also attests to the presence of irrational, emotional, and sometimes bizarre religious behavior which has generally been unobserved by social scientists. The glossolalia experience is one which functions dramatically as a "bridge-burning" act, separating the believer from the dominant society.

This paper alludes to the overextension and application of accepted theories which have traditionally been used to explain religious movements of the expressive religious type. Sociologists have dwelled on economic deprivation, escapist, and deviant theories to explain Pentecostalism in general. While the model presented will most likely present some significant weaknesses, nevertheless, it is an attempt to eliminate stereotypic images of Pentecostalism. Even when the models for lower-class Pentecostalism may have been applicable, bias on the part of middle-class researchers often led to superficial and downgrading analyses. Keeping in mind that authenticity of the experience is irrelevant for the purposes of this research, Samarin accurately expresses the writer's attitude.

> Glossolalia is normal, not supernatural as the Pentecostal believes; it is normal, not abnormal as the man-in-the-street believes. Two sets of beliefs are thus exposed for what they are--bias on the one hand and prejudice on the other. Of these two errors, the greater, in my opinion, is the latter. Both beliefs prevented us from understanding what glossolalia really was, and this was never merely an academic interest. Some would blame the tongue speakers themselves for this attitude, because they insisted that this meaningless speech of theirs was from God. But prejudice is worse, because it never gave them a chance. Christians should at least have been kinder, and social

scientists more open-minded. Both groups of people were prevented from prejudice from being what we expected them to be. Now with the understanding that we have of tongues we can hope we shall begin to know glossolalists better (Samarin, 1970:229).

CHAPTER II

THE TWO PHASES OF THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT: NEO-PENTECOSTALISM AND CLASSICAL PENTECOSTALISM

The purpose of this section is to delineate the two distinct phases within the Pentecostal Movement, referred to as Classical (traditional) and Neo-Pentecostalism. Classical Pentecostalism, emerging at the beginning of the present century, has been the focus of several studies. Cutten probably wrote the most widely read of the early interpretations of the movement in 1927. Neo-Pentecostalism, however, is just beginning to come under the scrutiny of sociologists such as Harrison, Maniha, and Fichter among others. Neo-Pentecostalism can be traced to the Van Nuys Revival in California during the late 1950's. Social science literature has generally failed to make the distinction of the two phases of the movement even in recent research such as that conducted by Elinson (1965) and Schwartz (1970). This neglect has led to the possible invalidity of some of the findings since the new developments in Pentecostalism were neglected. The Pentecostal model used in Elinson's research was not representative of modern Pentecostalism, either of the Neo-Pentecostal or second generational variety. There is, however, an increasing awareness that the new Pentecostalism cannot be as easily categorized as previously anticipated. The tendency among social scientists has not been to disavow the intimate relationship between Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism but rather to ignore the variations in the movement.

Though Neo-Pentecostals recognize the historical and doctrinal continuity of the movement and their subsequent close affinity to traditional Pentecostalism, there is a great deal of reluctance to become identified with fundamentalist and holiness cultural traditions. Traditional Pentecostals also appear less than eager to wholeheartedly embrace their liberal[1] brethren who, in the past, were counted among their adversaries. Issues such as these should not obscure the bond of commonality of experience and basic doctrinal assumptions which all Pentecostals share. The fragility of the alliance, however, becomes particularly evident when questions of church tradition and Biblical literalness arise. The difficulty of social scientists lies in the lack of awareness that the nature of Pentecostalism, especially among the new Pentecostals, is changing dramatically. The sociologist may only recognize the verity of this assertion when he alarmingly discovers that Pentecostals exist within his own congregation, perhaps even the pastor.

The contention that modern Pentecostalism can be divided into two phases will be supported by an examination of the pertinent literature, historical documentation, and an analysis of ideology. The implications of the advocated distinction within the Pentecostal Movement may necessitate the abandonment of long-held cherished assumptions in the Sociology of Religion. The New Pentacostalism, with its middle-class socioeconomic

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[1]Liberal is used in this context to refer to the historic Protestant churches in contrast to fundamentalist and Pentecostal denominations. Fundamentalists share with Classical Pentecostals a literal interpretation of the Bible but generally reject the idea that the gifts of the Spirit are operating today.

basis, represents a challenge to traditional descriptive and explanatory schemes of religious expressive movements.

A. REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

This section of the chapter is concerned with two aspects of the Pentecostal Movement: (1) the validity of classifying the Pentecostal Movement into two phases according to recent literature; and (2) literary evidence of the unity and continuity of the movement. The contention that modern Pentecostalism can be divided into separate stages is implicitly supported in much of the contemporary research in the area, especially in historical-cultural terms. Doctrinal division is not a particularly salient variable among Protestant Pentecostals of the traditional or liberal variety but Catholic participants take an especially strong stand against fundamentalist theology. Cultural differences and the historical time dimension provide a basis for the separation of Pentecostalism into Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism. Two currents of Pentecostalism exist, perhaps even three when Catholic charismatics are considered a separate category. The "first wind" originated during the early century holiness revivals, with the "second wind" or "Pentecost outside Pentecost" beginning during the late 1950's (Harper, 1971; Hollenwegar, 1972; O'Conner, 1971). Harper includes the liberal Protestant and Catholic Pentecostals as part of the "second wind."

Literature dealing specifically with the Catholic aspect of the movement tends to emphasize the distinctiveness of Catholic Pentecostalism. Michael Harrison (1971) includes Catholic Pentecostals as part of

the general Neo-Pentecostal phase, though observing the significant differences between Catholic participants as compared to traditional Pentecostals. Catholic Pentecostals display more progressive social attitudes and less overt emotional forms of worship than their traditional Pentecostal counterparts. Fichter (1973a) also contends that "personal involvement in Catholic Pentecostalism is clearly compatible with 'progressive' social attitudes, especially in the matter of interracial justice." On the basis of the socioeconomic differences between Catholic and Classical Pentecostals, Fichter supports the distinction of the two phases of the movement. Other studies affirm that most of the sectarian characteristics of traditional Pentecostalism are absent in the Neo-Pentecostal segment of the movement (Harrison, 1971; Maniha, 1973). There is, however, the question of whether even traditional Pentecostals display the sectarian traits they are presumed to have. Nichol believes that second generation Pentecostals have become more affluent and middle-class, thus diminishing their sectarian orientation. Worship has become more restrained as liturgical forms have emerged to replace spontaneous worship (Nichol, 1966).

Gerlach and Hine divide Pentecostalism into three types: (1) the established Pentecostal sects, (2) the independent churches, and (3) "hidden" Pentecostal groups within non-Pentecostal churches, referred to as Neo-Pentecostal. They observe with interest that the institutionalized Pentecostal sects have the most formal worship services and the lowest level of socioeconomic status. The independent congregations are intermediate on the organizational and socioeconomic dimensions. The Neo-Pentecostal groups, however, are the least formalized and yet

demonstrate the highest socioeconomic status and the most liberal attitudes. Gerlach and Hine conclude that the groups characterized as the most church-like in the Pentecostal Movement represent the lower socioeconomic strata with the Neo-Pentecostal branch assuming many of the sectarian patterns of worship and organization (Gerlach and Hine, 1970). Gerlach and Hine's conclusion supports Brian Wilson's research in the area of Pentecostalism. "This development of Neo-Pentecostalism . . . transcends (at least for the present) the specifically sectarian forms to which the earlier manifestations of Pentecostal utterance gave rise" (Wilson, 1970:92). Gerlach and Hine view sectarianism in ecological terms rather than as a particular constellation of social attitudes. Fichter and Harrison consider sectarian qualities in the context of a world view. It must also be remembered that Neo-Pentecostals engage in two types of religious patterns: that of their traditional church in which the "gifts of the Spirit" are not operable and their informal Pentecostal prayer meetings. Gerlach and Hine confine their analysis of Neo-Pentecostalism to the prayer meetings and yet use the regular church services of Classical Pentecostals as the basis for comparison of sectarian attributes.

There is a special concern among Neo-Pentecostals to avoid imitation of the traditional Pentecostal culture which is indicative of the distinctiveness of the two types of Pentecostalism. Neo-Pentecostals note that traditional Pentecostalism was rooted in the American revivalistic culture and heavily influenced by rural and frontier life. The holiness and revivalistic culture is still an essential part of denominational Pentecostalism. Thus, the theology of the Holy Spirit has been

shaped in the context of this pre-existing cultural pattern. The emotionalism and anti-intellectualism of many traditional Pentecostals is representative of the "cultural baggage" of Classical Pentecostalism which Neo-Pentecostals question (Ranaghan, 1971). Cultural baggage, viewed by the new Pentecostals as one of the greatest points of conflict between them and their traditional brethren, includes speech and prayer customs and socially and culturally induced beliefs. Neo-Pentecostals, through their disassociation from this socioeconomic influence, attest to their distinctiveness. The Catholic Pentecostals, who prefer to be called charismatic, affirmed their different perspectives from traditional Pentecostalism in a report presented at the meeting of U.S. Catholic Bishops.[2] The new Pentecostals are cautious to remain within their specific church tradition, advocating the Pentecostal experience as consistent with their religious heritage (McDonnell, 1971; Ranaghan, 1971).

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[2]The following report was presented at the semi-annual meeting of the United States Catholic Bishops in Washington, D.C., entitled "The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church in the United States of America."

> . . . Many would prefer to speak of it as a charismatic renewal. In calling it a Pentecostal Movement we must be careful to dissociate it from classic Pentecostalism as it appears in Protestant denominations, such as the Assemblies of God, The United Pentecostal Church, and others. The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church is not the acceptance of the ideology or practices of any denomination, but likes to consider itself a renewal in the spirit of the first Pentecost. It would be an error to suppose that the emotional, demonstrative style of Protestant denominations [has] been accepted by Catholic Pentecostals. The Catholic prayer groups tend to be quiet and somewhat reserved. . . (Durasoff, p. 2).

The Pentecostal experience and a non-Pentecostal heritage is reconciled by viewing Spirit Baptism as a type of Christian renewal promoting increased church dedication. Thus, Hollenweger (1972) asserts that the determining characteristic of Pentecostalism is not verbal agreement but the "correspondence of sentiments" as a form of communication. While Catholic participants have stressed the importance of Pentecostalism within their own church doctrine, Hollenweger criticizes the Protestant Neo-Pentecostals for perpetuating some of the ethnocentric errors of early Pentecostalism. He is particularly concerned with the tendency of the new Pentecostals to arbitrarily divide Christians into "only" converted and Spirit-filled (Hollenweger, 1972).

Hoekema (1966) and Durasoff (1972) support the division of Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism as representative of the two stages of the movement. Durasoff compares Pentecostals to the early Christians who attempted to follow the original practices of the early Christian Church. He describes Classical Pentecostals as "those Christians active in churches readily identified as Pentecostal, most of which came into existence early in the twentieth century." These groups include The Assemblies of God (the largest), The Churches of God, and The Church in Christ, among others. In addition he notes that "there are the Protestant Neo-Pentecostals, members of historic Protestant denominations who have recently experienced speaking in tongues." Durasoff considers the Catholic charismatics as a separate category since they have developed out of a different church tradition.

George Atter, obviously a writer of the Classical Pentecostal tradition, warns his readers not to confuse the new Pentecostal revival

with traditional Pentecostalism since the former are not convincingly charismatic (Atter, no date). Francis Schaeffer recognizes the two divisions of the movement through his characterization of the "old" Pentecostalism as compared with the "new" type. Traditional Pentecostalism, while perhaps too externally conscious, emphasized fundamental Christian beliefs based on a literal acceptance of the gospel. The Neo-Pentecostals, however, are placed in the liberal theological camp. Schaeffer cautions Christians to realize that these charismatics focus on the experiential aspect of religion rather than doctrinal verity (Schaeffer, 1973).

The failure of the new Pentecostals to impress several hardline traditional Pentecostals should come as little surprise. The Assemblies of God neglected to even mention the charismatic renewal among Catholics until 1969 in its periodicals though it was widely publicized and obviously should have been of immense interest. The revoking of David DuPlessis' ministerial license by the Assemblies of God was further evidence of the cleavages within the modern Pentecostal Movement. DuPlessis' specific errors included unauthorized evangelism among liberal Protestants and Catholics and frequent attendance at The World Council of Churches (Hollenweger, 1972). Ray Hughes, the General Overseer of the Classical Pentecostal Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), has been quite skeptical of the validity of the Pentecostal revival among Roman Catholics since there had been little evidence of corresponding doctrinal changes. The basis of Hughes' concern regarding the new Pentecostals is related to their seeming lack of "holiness," indicating that the life style of Catholic participants was deemed inappropriate (Hughes, 1974).

The issues being debated by Pentecostals are a reflection of the differences between the various segments of the movement, attributable to historical and social influences. The writer has attempted to demonstrate that the two phases of the movement are distinctive and correspond to varying religious heritages and historical-cultural conditions.

Two explanations of the movement are commonly cited by Pentecostals. The new Pentecostalism is seen by some adherents as emerging spontaneously and independently under the influence and direction of the Holy Spirit. While the purpose of this paper is not to verify these contentions, we can examine the connection of Classical Pentecostalism to Neo-Pentecostalism in the sense of historical continuity. The issue of an existential origin as opposed to historical causation was debated among Pentecostals at the 1973 meeting of The Society for Pentecostal Studies. Menzies, a prominent Assemblies of God historian, supported the historical linkage between both types of Pentecostalism, though without negating the independent influence of the Holy Spirit. Nichol, also writing from a Classical Pentecostal tradition, notes that the new Pentecostalism has been attributed to the moving of the Holy Spirit but believes association with other Pentecostals has been a stimulus to Neo-Pentecostalism (1966).

The Ranaghans imply that Classical Pentecostals deserve significant credit for the Catholic charismatic awakening. They remark, "One could not accurately relate the story of the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit among Roman Catholics in the last four years without repeatedly pointing out the outstanding contributions of Protestant Pentecostals

. . . (1971:118).[3] Under the guidance of traditional and mainline Protestant Pentecostals, the Catholics started to seek the Pentecostal experience. It should be noted, however, that the Catholics became involved in charismatic renewal in the late 1960's, about a decade later than the mainline Protestants. Prayer meetings, conducted throughout the 1960's, served as an impetus for the spread of the movement. Ecumenical in nature, with Pentecostals of diverse traditions participating, the prayer meetings symbolized the unity of the movement as the realization of shared faith became apparent. Christian understanding and acceptance was promoted in the unusual atmosphere of Pentecostal fellowship meetings, generally considered quite devisive. This "correspondence of sentiments" between traditional Pentecostals and the new Pentecostals supports the interconnection of the two phases of the movement.

Samarin agrees with the contention that the Pentecostal Movement, while divided into two stages, encompasses the diverse strands of Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism. Previously Pentecostals were considered "unrespectable and almost exclusively lower-class" but now are counted among those of the highest status church congregations. Though traditional and Neo-Pentecostals are not organizationally united, their religious rhetoric

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[3]The Ranaghans, among the first Pentecostal Catholics, became interested in the movement by reading Dave Wilkerson's book (The Cross and the Switchblade) and John Sherrill's account (They Speak With Other Tongues). Significantly, the works of a Classical Pentecostal (Wilkinson) and a Neo-Pentecostal were influential in the Catholic charismatic renewal (Ranaghan, 1969).

and behavioral similarities betray their intimate relationship (Samarin, 1970). Michael Harper (1971) and John Sherrill (1965) also view the new Pentecostalism as an integral part of the general Pentecostal Movement in the twentieth century. Kildahl attests to the unity of the movement, premised on his observations of basic doctrinal agreements, particularly in relation to the Holy Spirit.

> The neo-Pentecostal movement is at present quite widespread; its basic tenets seem to be identical with those of older Pentecostal sects. They are that glossolalia is a true gift of the Holy Spirit, and that it is "the necessary evidence that one has received the baptism of the Spirit." The major difference lies in the emotional approach, in that neo-Pentecostalism maintains a separation between their usual church services and the meetings in which tongue-speaking is practiced (1972:22).

Ray Hughes, though critical of the new Pentecostals, asserts that "for Pentecostals (Neo-Pentecostals) it is but an added surge of what they (Classical Pentecostals) have enjoyed since the turn of the century." The Neo-Pentecostal revival is seen as one aspect of the total move of the Holy Spirit in the end times, a continuance of historic Pentecostalism. Hughes attributes the Van Nuys Revival, generally credited with being the first significant outbreak of the new Pentecostalism, as occurring under the influence of traditional Pentecostals who advanced the renewal through prayer meetings conducted at their homes (Hughes, 1966).

The similarities between the Anglican Pentecostals and the Classical Pentecostals in doctrinal tenets is surprising, especially considering the average social and theological distance between these groups. Jane Stone, a wealthy Anglican Pentecostal married to a millionaire industrialist, has been an active promoter of charismatic

renewal and contributed to the doctrinal developments within the new Pentecostalism. She has referred to herself as an "Anglican fundamentalist," relating this new perspective to the direction of the Holy Spirit and also greater spiritual awareness (Hollenweger, 1972). The tendency toward literalistic interpretations of the Bible was also evident in the services that the writer attended, often resulting in the subtle questioning of other church doctrines not congruent with a fundamentalist approach.

Durasoff agrees with Hughes that Classical Pentecostals have frequently introduced Pentecost to the liberal churches. Acording to Durasoff, a faculty member at Oral Roberts University, the assumption of Methodist membership by Oral Roberts is indicative of the new direction of Pentecostalism into the historic Protestant denominations. Durasoff recognizes the diversity of Pentecostalism when he remarks,

> Voluminous congregational prayer is enjoyed without apology by many Classic Pentecostals because they are confident that "God is not nervous," while Neo-Pentecostals and Catholics prefer quiet prayer, confident that "neither is he deaf" (1972:208).

Hoekema describes the historical relationship of Classical Pentecostalism to Neo-Pentecostalism as receiving its "initial impetus from the Pentecostals" with many of the new Pentecostal leaders first speaking in tongues either in traditional charismatic prayer meetings or under the guidance of traditional Pentecostals (1966).

The material presented in this section of the paper has supported the hypothesis that (1) Pentecostalism in America can be divided into two separate phases, each representative of certain historical and cultural influences, and (2) Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism are part

of the same religious expressive movement. This contention will be further examined in the context of historical analysis.

B. THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism are linked through historical, personal, and ideological ties. The following discussion will focus on historical and personal links between the two phases of the movement, establishing the unity of the movement. Each stage will be documented, demonstrating the need for differentiating between Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism.

Origins of Classical Pentecostalism

Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism came into existence under significantly different social conditions. The historical antecedents of each phase selectively shaped their particular approach to the Pentecostal experience. Each type varies also according to socioeconomic correlates of membership, discussed in the next chapter. Traditional Pentecostalism emerged at the dawn of the twentieth century, tracing its heritage to fundamentalist and holiness thought. Neo-Pentecostalism did not appear until after the Second World War, with the locus of membership in the liberal Protestant denominations and later broadening into the Catholic Church. The religious traditions of the new Pentecostals represented a radical departure from orthodox Pentecostalism. Cultural dissimilarities impeded the acceptance of the new Pentecostals among their more traditional counterparts. Classical Pentecostals were sometimes incensed at the suggestion that some of the new Pentecostals

smoked and drank at prayer meetings, disavowing holiness norms.

The Holiness Movement, which was to exert such a profound influence on traditional Pentecostalism, originated in the South. It especially appealed to lower class and status groups who felt estranged from the rising Protestant denominations that had formerly welcomed them. Holiness people advocated a return to less formal and ritualized modes of worship. Holiness became synonymous with battling the changes occurring within Protestantism, including the heretical "higher criticism" which was believed to challenge the authority of the Scriptures. "Creeping" secularization was another cause of concern to these fundamentalist Christians. Holiness theology displayed a strong perfectionist orientation which identified it with early Methodism. The Wesleyan concept of a second blessing, sanctification, subsequent to conversion was an important predecessor of Pentecostal doctrine. Early Pentecostalism advocated a third blessing, that of being Baptized by the Holy Spirit and evidenced by speaking in tongues. The holiness tradition also gave more emphasis to the Holy Spirit and the "power" aspect of the Christian witness. Holiness writers, such as the Palmers, even mentioned the Baptism of Fire which was symbolic of Spirit Baptism.[4]

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[4]In most incidents of glossolalia in the Bible, fire and wind do not accompany the experience. The root word for "spirit" in Hebrew is "ruah," interpreted as wind and breath. Ruah is also characterized by movement and creativity, represented by the fire and wind associated with the first Pentecost (Sherrill, p. 105). Mel Tari gives an interesting account of the Pentecostal revival in Indonesia where fire and wind also appeared with speaking in tongues among the members of a Presbyterian congregation.

> That night as we were praying together, suddenly the Holy Spirit came just as he did on the day of Pentecost. In Acts, chapter 2, we read that He came from heaven like a mighty

The strong affinity between holiness and Pentecostalism is indicated by the massive transition of holiness groups to Pentecostalism. Pietism, revivalism, and premillennialism were part of a common heritage (Dieter, 1973).

During the post-Civil War period mainstream Methodism no longer retained its perfectionist orientation, focusing instead on the social gospel. The revivalistic Holiness Movement, with its idealization of past Protestantism, sought to initiate a more austere and fundamentalist Christianity. Divisions became frequent within Protestantism as the holiness advocates and the liberals clashed (Synan, 1966).

The Sectarian Appeal of Early Pentecostalism

As the Protestant churches became more institutionalized and established, they forfeited their appeal to the deprived segments of the population. This process is typified in the church-sect analogy.

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rushing wind. And that night, as I was sitting next to my sister, I heard this mighty rushing sound. It sounded like a small tornado in the church. I looked around and saw nothing.

Then I heard the fire bell ringing loud and fast. Across the street from the church was the police station and the fire bell. The man in the police station saw that our church was on fire, so he rang the bell to tell the people to come quick, there was a fire . . .

When they got to the church they saw the flames, but the church was not burning. Instead of a natural fire, it was the fire of God. Because of this, many people received Jesus Christ as their Savior and also the Baptism of the Holy Ghost (Like a Mighty Wind (Illinois: Creation House, 1971), pp. 20-21).

Revitalization movements such as Pentecostalism were frequently ignored by social scientists with the emphasis being placed on denominational perspectives.[5] The classical characteristics attributed to sect members applied to holiness and early Pentecostal advocates. The conflictual relationship of the sect to the dominant society was also evident in the hostile dialogue between Pentecostals and denominational Protestants. The denominations reacted much more vehemently against proselytization by Classical Pentecostals than by middle-class Neo-Pentecostals. Perhaps this recent tolerance is attributable to the desire not to repeat the schisms that occurred at the beginning of the movement. During the formative years of Pentecostalism even sympathizers were frequently dismissed from church membership. A motion passed in a session of a Los Angeles Presbyterian Church is illustrative of the animosity between early Pentecostals and liberal Christians (no date cited).

> The session most emphatically declares that our confession of Faith gives no room for holding, teaching, or expressing sympathy for those participating in, or attending the so-called "Pentacostal" or tongues meetings. . . . From this moment onward, no man or woman will be allowed to hold membership in this church who is sympathetic with, has part in, or attempts to send members of this church to places where this so-called Pentecostal movement holds sway (Nichol, 1966:72).

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[5] David Harrell, in White Sects and Black Men (Vanderbilt Press, 1971), cites three reasons for the lack of studies dealing with sectarian influences on Christianity. These include: (1) educated and influential people have rarely appeared as sectarian adherents and researchers typically have dealt with movements which included them; (2) leaders of sects are less visible to the public due to limited access to mass communications; and (3) materials concerning sects are more difficult to locate than those of upper and middle-class groups.

Several reasons account for the hostility between the Classical Pentecostals and the denominational churches. The movement was identified with the lower class and the marginal groups of society which made it more undesirable to middle-class Protestants. The extreme behavior of some Pentecostal groups was publicized by the press, further tainting the image of the members. The emotionalism which characterized the movement was alien to most denominational Protestants as was the mode of religious expression. Excesses were permitted by the early Pentecostals for fear of "quenching the Spirit." Neo-Pentecostals, having benefited from the lessons learned by the Classical Pentecostals, avoid the disorderliness of the early adherents. The self-righteous exclusivist attitude of some Pentecostals, typical of sectarian members, did little to facilitate Christian communication and understanding. Evidence of this ethnocentrism was found in a phrase of a popular Pentecostal song.

> Out of the rubbish heap the Lord lifted me;
> Out of the rubbish heap the Lord lifted me;

The Baptists were not pleased to discover that, according to local charismatics, they were the rubbish heap (Nichol, 1966:79).

The non-Pentecostal fundamentalists became the arch-enemies of the early Classical Pentecostals, functioning in this capacity to some extent to the present. Stolee and Cutten were representative of denominational perspectives concerning the early tongues movement. Cutten exemplifies the position of fundamentalists when he asserted that

> the church as a whole views glossolalia as a miracle performed to meet the exigencies of a special situation,

> and, which in a less important way, was continued to meet other peculiar problems, but was soon discontinued (Cutten, 1927:1).

Thus tongues were believed to decrease in the Christian Church as knowledge increased. Cutten explained the reoccurrence of glossalalia throughout church history as being an abnormal and irregular phenomenon, facilitated by ignorance and illiteracy (1927). Stolee became especially dramatic in his description of the early Pentacostal Movement, asserting "the enthusiasm soon went from confusion to mania. The lasting fruits were licentiousness, wrecked family life, and incurable insanity" (Stolee, 1963:64). Pentecostalism was considered pathological and induced by mass hysteria (Gerlach and Hire, 1970). Stolee implored ministers to be vigilant concerning infiltration of Pentecostalism in their ranks, commenting that "disgust and dismay will grip almost anyone who traces this movement in our land" (p. 65). The conflict between the Pentecostals and the dominant society was inevitable since the movement represented a social protest against the society which excluded them. Thus, Liston Pope wrote that a sect "represents a reaction, cloaked at first, against both religion and economic institutions. Overtly, it is a protest against the failure of religious institutions to come to grips with the needs of marginal groups, existing unnoticed on the fringe of cultural and social organizations" (Harrell, 1971:129). Religious status for the early Pentecostal became a substitute for economic and social deprivation. Pentecostals viewed themselves as a privileged religious group with sole possession of Biblical truth. The early persecution the group endured probably only strengthened their sense of mission and distinctiveness (John Wilson, 1973).

Structural Conditions Encouraging the Growth of Classical Pentecostalism

In addition to the declining effectiveness of organized Christianity in reaching marginal groups, the rapid changes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century facilitated the spread of the tongues movement. Applying a structuralist perspective, in times of rapid social transformation social institutions encounter a credibility problem. They are perceived to be irrelevant, with their traditional problem-solving operations inapplicable to the new emerging reality. Structural strain becomes intense, precipitating the formation of innovative types of social adaptations. Transformations in society affect some groups of people more significantly than others, increasing their vulnerability to social movements. The social movement, in this case Pentecostalism, functions to bring a closer correspondence between human needs and institutions. Thus, institutional religion was replaced by the tongues movement which emphasized emotional expression and informality. Pentecostalism was a reaction to value upheavals in society such as secularization, empiricism, and rationalism which are discussed in Chapter IV. Endogenous changes in the environment were responsible for the success of the movement among lower class segments of the population. Technological developments, mass migration, industrialization, and urbanization, created a situation conducive to Pentecostalism (Flora, 1973; Holt, 1940). Noting the effect of environment on behavior, Brian Wilson attributed the high incidence of working class and immigrant participation in the Pentecostal Movement to social transformations (Wilson, 1970).

The "Tongues" Movement Begins in Topeka, Kansas

The Pentecostal Movement originated in 1900 when a young Methodist minister, Charles Parham, initiated a Bible study in Topeka, Kansas. The interdenominational Bible school, referred to locally as Stone's Folly, became a haven for those who desired to dedicate themselves to Biblical studies. Parham was called upon to evangelize in another town but before leaving he admonished the students to search the book of Acts to discover the secret of the early Christian Church. When Parham returned the group had concluded that speaking in tongues was the key to the power and persuasion of the first century Christians. Together the band of believers sought the "gift" of tongues for several days and nights. One student, Agnes Ozman, recalled that the "laying on of hands" often accompanied glossolalia in the Scriptures. Following this procedure, which subsequently became a Pentecostal ritual, Parham prayed for Miss Ozman. Though there had been previous outbreaks of glossolalia, the Pentecostal revival at Parham's school is generally conceded to be the beginning of modern Pentecostalism as a movement (Sherrill, 1965; Bloch-Hoell, 1964; Synan, 1971). A significant doctrinal development of the Pentecostal Movement was that the Holy Spirit became associated with the outward manifestation of speaking in tongues and other "evidences" and these charisms were facilitated by the laying on of hands. Pentecostalism remained a more localized movement until the Azusa Street revival, beginning in 1906.

Parham, due to extreme financial difficulties, was reduced to preaching on street corners for three years. His circumstances improved in the small town of El Dorado Springs, Missouri. Under Parham's

ministry, a Mrs. Arthur testified to her divine healing and invited the Parhams to conduct their services in her home at Galena, Kansas. His success in the town enabled him to collect sufficient funds to establish a second Bible school in Houston. W. J. Seymour, who was destined to become the major catalyst of early Pentecostalism, came under the influence of Parham during his attendance at the school (Sherrill, 1965).

The Representation of Marginal Groups in Early Pentecostalism

From its inception blacks and women played a prominent role in the Pentecostal Movement. The interracial nature of Pentecostalism was obvious from the beginning as the black minister, Seymour, became the spokesman for the movement, conducting integrated services throughout the country. Early Pentecostalism broke with several of the accepted customs of the day, not only by its interracial orientation but also through the prominence women were able to attain (Synan, 1971). Aimee Semple McPherson, founder of the Four-Square Gospel Church and best known of the early female Pentecostals, held huge revival services where glossolalia and prayer for the sick were common occurrences (Durasoff, 1972). Since Classical Pentecostalism was essentially a religion of the deprived and marginal groups, it should not be surprising that blacks and other ethnic groups were well represented. Synan also attributes the more emotional and free form of worship, characteristic of early Pentecostalism, as conducive to black participation (Synan, 1966).

The role of blacks in the formative stages of the movement has become quite a controversial issue among Classical Pentecostals. This

aspect of Pentecostal history was recently debated at the meeting of The Society for Pentecostal Studies. The second largest Pentecostal denomination, The Churches of God in Christ, trace their heritage to Seymour and proclaim him the founding father of the whole movement (Lovett, 1973). Parham is rejected by the black members because of his failure to assume a strong leadership position and his conformity to racial segregation in his meetings. Seymour's followers generally attribute Spirit Possession to be part of their African heritage. It is also emphasized that Seymour was particularly close to the African religious tradition since he was the son of an American slave. Tinney supports this assertion, noting that the most charismatic congregations in America can trace their origins to a black church (Tinney, 1971). Nevertheless, it is probably an exaggeration to conclude that Pentecostalism began as a black movement. Synan's characterization of Parham as founder and Seymour as popularizer (1966) represents the most accurate assessment of the influence of the two men on the early formative years according to the material available. The fact remains that Seymour became Pentecostal under the tutorship of Parham. The type of exuberant worship displayed in Pentecostalism was not unique to the movement but had been in existence during the revivals of the previous century among white participants. It is a valid accusation, however, that the influence of blacks has been neglected because of the reluctance of many Pentecostals to become identified with black religion. For example, it is rarely acknowledged that the first leaders of the largest white Pentecostal denomination, The Assemblies of God, received their ordination from the all black Churches of God in Christ (Tinney, 1971; Lovett, 1973).

Seymour's leadership in the Classical phase of the Pentecostal Movement is especially symbolic in that he was black and of lower socio-economic status. His church at Azusa Street became a Pentecostal mecca with constant revival occurring over a period of three years. Seymour was described by one follower as being ". . . meek and plain spoken and no orator. He spoke the common language of the uneducated class. He might preach for three quarters of an hour with no more emotionalism than that there post" (Nichol, 1966:33).

Pentecostalism Expands to National Proportions

In 1906 a magazine named The Apostolic Faith was established to serve as the spokesman for the expanding movement. It was nondenominational, preaching the three works of grace which included conversion, sanctification, and Spirit Baptism. During this period of growth the adherents were not attempting to begin new churches but rather to create "a movement which would flow through all churches" (Block-Hoell, 1964:46). According to Brian Wilson, "It is common for sects to begin with a strong affirmation of their hostility to sectarianism. They frequently arise to unite all Christians, and there is a strong expression of indifference to denominational boundaries" (1970:29). During the "incipient" stages of the movement, the doctrinal and practical implications are not apparent. Opposition, however, creates polarization which often leads to schism. This renewal emphasis is also evident in the new Pentecostalism (Ranaghan, 1969). The historical paradox of Pentecostalism has been the coexistence of ecumenism and exclusivism inherent in the same doctrinal premises. The subjectivity of the Pentecostal experience and the ideal of Christian brotherhood facilited the growth of

Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism since a nondenominational approach was possible.

During the same year The Apostolic Faith came into existence, several members of the Azusa Street church went to Chicago and New York to evangelize. Barratt, who eventually brought Pentecost to Norway, was baptized in the Spirit at this time. Azusa Street was the unofficial headquarters of the Pentecostal missionary endeavors which met with amazing success. G. B. Cashwell and Charles Mason became Pentecostal through the missionary campaign and carried the message to the Southwest. After 1908 the importance of Azusa Street declined and leadership in the movement became very diffuse as small church organizations proliferated.

The following several decades were ones of rapid growth and the consolidation of the gains of the Pentecostal churches. Menzies refers to the period of 1916 to 1927 as "stabilizing years" for the movement when doctrinal precepts were developed and outreach programs expanded. Several Pentecostal publications and educational institutions were initiated during these formative years. Whereas the years from 1916 to 1927 were troubled by doctrinal controversies (Synan, 1971), the period from 1930 to the Second World War was basically peaceful within the movement. Pentecostal groups were isolated from mainstream Christianity by choice and circumstances. The 1930's saw the proliferation of Pentecostal store-front churches, evidences of the evangelistic efforts of the members (Menzies, 1971). After the Second World War, Pentecostals and the mainline Protestant churches made tentative efforts at rapprochement. This new spirit of cooperation can be attributed to

the realization by Protestants that Pentecostalism was not a fad and the more accepting attitudes of Pentecostals toward other Christians (Gee, 1949). Classical Pentecostalism, though still characterized by its zealous witnesses and emotional worship, became institutionalized and more middle-class.

Pentecostalism Becomes "Respectable"

Following World War II a reconciliation occurred between the rising middle-class Pentecostal denominations and the mainline Protestant churches. Though there was still a great deal of mutual suspicion, leaders were more inclined to cooperate on broad Christian policies. During the post-war period the Classical Pentecostals gained a greater degree of acceptability among the established denominations as their members rose on the social scale and became less aloof from other branches of Christianity. An increasing number of clergymen from non-Pentecostal churches were recipients of the Pentecostal experience but were still afraid to acknowledge their involvement.

The new Pentecostalism emerged as a movement in the late 1950's in California. Hollenweger cites four sources of the Neo-Pentecostal revival: (1) the Van Nuys awakening; (2) the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship; (3) the influence of David DuPlessis; and (4) the Roman Catholic renewal (1972:4).

Traditionally, Neo-Pentecostals trace the commencement of the "second wind" to the publicized revival at the Episcopalian Church in Van Nuys, California in the late 1950's. The pastor, Dennis Bennett, noticed the unusual religiosity of two of his parishoners. Upon investigation he discovered that they were among a small group in his

church that worshiped with Classical Pentecostals. Reverend Bennett became involved with the charismatic group and received the gift of speaking in tongues. As Pentecostalism flourished within his congregation, an intense division was created between those advocating tongues and their opponents. Bennett brought the movement out into the open by preaching on Holy Spirit Baptism and justifying his experience. Other liberal Protestant clergymen followed Bennett's example, making their involvement public. Immediately after Bennett's sermon, he was pressured to resign by members of the church and sent to an obscure parish in Seattle (Sherrill, p. 62). He subsequently brought the Pentecostal message to his new church and other non-Pentecostal congregations. Presently, the Seattle parish serves as the model for organizing Neo-Pentecostal churches.[6]

Since the Van Nuys revival, Pentecostal prayer groups have multiplied in mainline Protestant denominations and the Catholic Church. The Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship has had a decisive role in reaching liberal Protestants and Catholics through its acceptance of diverse Christian heritages and support of the Neo-Pentecostal movement. The organization has sponsored Neo-Pentecostals in conferences and sought to expand their influence among Classical Pentecostals, serving as an intermediary (Hollenweger, 1972).

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[6]Dennis Bennett's account of the events which led him to accept Pentecostalism are related in his book, Nine O'Clock in the Morning (Plainfield, N.J.: Logos Press, 1970). Subsequently, he and his wife authored The Holy Spirit and You (1971) to provide theological guidelines for Pentecostals from a non-Pentecostal background.

In a somewhat belated attempt to understand the movement, religious groups have initiated commissions of investigation. The Episcopalian and Lutheran Churches were among the first to recognize the significance of the movement within their own churches. The Presbyterians, however, conducted the most thorough and extensive research on Pentecostalism. In 1968 at the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States a special committee was appointed to study the role of the Holy Spirit in the Church. A position of openness" was advocated by the convention with the purpose of eliminating glossolalia as a divisive issue. The Catholic Church adopted a wait-and-see attitude. Though most major denominations have not rejected the new Pentecostalism overtly as at the beginning of the century, prominent leaders have issued strong disapproving statements. In 1963 Bishop Pike distributed a letter to his diocese referring to speaking in tongues as "heresy in embryo" and forbidding clergymen to participate in or encourage the practice (Nichol, 1966:242).

The Catholic Charismatic Renewal

One of the most astonishing aspects of the new Pentecostalism is the extent to which Catholics are becoming involved. Pentecostalism first appeared among Catholics at Duquesne University in 1966 and subsequently spread to Notre Dame and other Catholic schools. The first annual conference in 1968 of Catholic charismatics was convened at Notre Dame with 100 people in attendance. By 1972 the number attending had reached over 12,000 (New Covenant, February, 1973:17). This past year the conference broadened its scope to international, drawing a crowd of 21,000. Recent estimates of the number of Catholic charismatics are

placed at 300,000 (Oakland Tribune, 1973). In June, 1973 there were at least 1,250 Catholic Pentecostal prayer groups in America, with over 75,000 Catholics participating (Harrison, 1974a). According to Logos, the 1974 International Conference on Charismatic Renewal in the Catholic Church is expected to have 60,000 in attendance (May-June, 1974:68).

This renewal in the Catholic Church is intellectually based with a strong representation from the universities where the movement originated. From its inception the Catholic Pentecostals, as with the mainline Protestant Pentecostals, have attempted to remain within their church tradition. Thus, a Catholic Pentecostal comments, "We are not Pentecostals . . . we are Catholics who have had a Pentecostal experience . . . a deepened experience of the Holy Spirit" (Ranaghan, 1969:107). Neo-Pentecostalism, then, represents a revitalization movement in the church rather than a schismatic one. Pentecostalism, because of its experiential and subjective nature, is believed to be compatible with other church heritages which are often far removed from that of the Classical Pentecostals. This emphasis on renewal rather than separation can be attributed, in part, to the involvement of Catholic lay and religious leaders, bringing charismatic practices in line with the tenets of the church (Ranaghan, 1971). The loyalty of the Catholic participants to the church hierarchy was forcefully demonstrated at the 1973 charismatic conference when a statement of loyalty and devotion to the pope and bishops drew a standing ovation (Oakland Tribune, 1973; Jarnagin, 1973). The personal contacts of the writer with Catholic Pentecostals supports the contention that the renewal movement is operating within church boundaries.

Personal Ties Between Classical and Neo-Pentecostals

In the previous section the historical events associated with the emergence of the two phases of Pentecostalism were examined. In this part of the chapter the focus will be on personal links among Pentecostals which demonstrate the continuity and unity of the movement. The discussion will necessarily be selective because of time and space limitations. The relationship of Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism can be established through an analysis of personal patterns of interaction and influence. Prominent Pentecostal personalities such as David DePlessis, Oral Roberts, Kathyrn Kuhlman, and several others minister to a diverse audience of Pentecostals.

DuPlessis, a South African by birth, is one of the most effective Pentecostal spokesman who comes from a Classical Pentecostal background. His Pentecostal heritage can be traced to the Azusa Street revival. In 1908 two American missionaries traveled to Jonassesburg from the revival to proclaim Pentecostalism. David's father was Spirit Baptized and consequently forsook his carpentry trade to minister to the natives in the African bush. During DuPlessis' youth there was intense opposition to Pentecostalism from denominational churches. His parents were expelled from their Dutch Reformed congregation. This event had a profound influence on the young man's life, causing his enemies to become "sin, the devil, and liberal churchmen." He attributes his change of attitude toward mainline Protestants to an experience incurred in Tennessee where he was seriously injured in an automobile accident. DuPlessis asserts that the effect it had on his ministry was comparable to the influence the Damascus incident exerted on Saint Paul's life. The crisis allowed

DuPlessis to find time to examine his own motives and attitudes toward non-Pentecostal Christians. He later became convinced that the Lord wanted him to carry the Pentecostal message to all Christians, regardless of denominational affiliation (DuPlessis, 1970). To the amazement of non-Pentecostal Christians and the reproach of many Classical Pentecostals, DuPlessis presented Pentecost to the World Council of Churches in 1951. DuPlessis and other Pentecostals were astonished at the warm reception they received at the council. When queried by a council member whether the liberal clergymen or the Pentecostals had the truth, DuPlessis characteristically replied, "You have yours on ice, we have ours on fire" (Sherrill, p. 59). DuPlessis, referred to as the "roving ambassador" of Pentecost among liberal churches, advocates an ecumenical approach in "Spirit," though not in organization.

Oral Roberts is another well known Pentecostal whose ministry is reflective of the changes occurring within the Pentecostal Movement. Roberts, the grandson of a Methodist minister, exemplified the Classical Pentecostal tradition early in his ministry. He joined the small Pentecostal sect, The Pentecostal Holiness Church. During the 1940's and 1950's Roberts conducted hugh revivalistic tent campaigns, representative of early Pentecostal style. With the advent of the 1960's his form of presentation became recast in a more middle-class mold, appealing to Neo-Pentecostals and mainline Protestants. His tent meetings were discontinued as he focused on reaching a broader audience through the media. The format and techniques employed in his television ministry were among the most sophisticated and innovative types in religious programming. While the Pentecostal message remained essentially the

same, the packaging was radically different. In accordance with the new approach of his ministry, Roberts became affiliated with the Methodist Church. This move was received with indignation by many Classical Pentecostals who felt he had betrayed his heritage and beliefs (Roberts, 1971).

Harald Bredeson, a Spirit-filled Dutch Reformed minister, has also influenced the expansion of Pentecostalism into the mainline churches. He led the charismatic revival services at Yale and other universities, playing a prominent role in the conversion and Spirit-Baptism of Pat Robertson, the son of a senator from Virginia. Robertson later became the owner and operator of the first chain of charismatic television networks (Robertson, 1972).[7]

The healing ministry of Kathyrn Kuhlman, expanding over several decades, has had a strong interdenominational flavor, bringing together Christians from a wide variety of backgrounds.[8] Her ecumenical

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[7]Pat Robertson's Pentecostal narrative in Shout It From the Housetops is an example of the strong belief in the sacrificial aspect of Christian commitment. The "leading" of the Holy Spirit, as an indicator of God's will, determines the Pentecostal's destiny. Pat relinquished his privileged position as son of a wealthy senator and Ivy League law student to enter a charismatic ministry. Pat Boone, who authors the introduction of the book, compares Robertson to the rich young ruler in the New Testament who Jesus asked to give up his worldly possessions and follow him. The exception to the story, Pat Boone asserts, is that Robertson chose to follow Jesus.

[8]Hollenweger distinguishes three basic types of Pentecostal women in leadership positions: (1) the prophetess, (2) the pastor's wife, and (3) the woman with theatrical talents (pp. 486-488). Kathyrn Kuhlman fits the description of the theatrical prophetess of the Pentecostal Movement at the present. Her personal appearance, tall and slender, is stunning with long flowing pastel dresses dramatizing her bright red hair and pale complexion. The slow and precise speech she uses enhances the stage effect, especially when she speaks in breathless, barely audible tones.

tendencies were recently evident as she visited Pope Paul in Rome (New Covenant, June, 1973:25). Though the focus of her services is on divine healing, she constantly refers to the Holy Spirit and his gifts. At one meeting the writer attended, her sermon topic was the theology of the Holy Spirit and she appeared to take a more liberal Neo-Pentecostal doctrinal perspective. Though Miss Kuhlman avoids identification with any particular Pentecostal group, her influence is significant in Neo-Pentecostal circles. Her meetings do not fit the stereotyped image of faith healing or Pentecostal services. Strong emotionalism is usually absent and worship is conducted in a quiet, subdued manner. The writer has also noticed that most of the claimants of divine healing in her services are not nominally Pentecostal. Miss Kuhlman readily acknowledges that God works in diverse ways, thus broadening the appeal of her message. In accordance with her openness regarding other Christian belief systems, Miss Kuhlman states,

> God gave the gift of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost and at the household of Cornelius, without any human agency of "laying on of hands," but at the samaritan revival (Acts 8.17) and at the Ephesus revival (Acts 19:6), the believers were filled with the Spirit by the "laying on of hands" (Kuhlman, 1972:17).

The significance of Pentecostal leaders such as those mentioned above has been notable in bringing together Pentecostals into a semblance of unity. These people have influenced the direction of the movement into traditionally antagonistic churches through their tolerance and flexibility, often absent in Classical Pentecostal circles. Pentecostal distinctives such as glossolalia and divine healing, in addition to the belief in the literal and present-day operation of the other gifts of the Spirit, have not been sacrificed in the expansion of the movement

though other cultural baggage has often been eliminated. A casual reading of the Neo-Pentecostal magazine, Logos, or New Covenant (Catholic charismatic) will testify to the strength of basic Pentecostal beliefs.

C. THE IDEOLOGY OF THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT

Doctrine is of paramount importance in the Pentecostal Movement and should, therefore, be an essential part of any analysis dealing with the movement. The objective of this section is to identify the common bonds of doctrine that unite all Pentecostals into one social movement. Areas of contention will also be discussed stemming from varying church heritages and often corresponding to the distinctions of Classical and Neo-Pentecostal. Catholic charismatic theological perspectives will be examined in a sub-section due to its separate church tradition.

Pentecostals view the world in religious terms so it is inevitable that their social discontent will be manifested in a religious context, in this case the tongues movement. Participants demonstrate unusual religiosity even prior to entrance into the movement (Harrison, 1974a). The strong belief in a transcendental authority is characteristic of all Pentecostals (Wilkinson, 1971). Through Pentecostalism the believer develops a deeper and more genuine commitment to Christianity. Sills has referred to the ideology of a movement as a "paradigm of experience" which seems especially appropriate to the Pentecostal Movement (1968: 446).

The Pentecostal Interpretation of the Scriptures

Pentecostals base their experience and doctrine on the Bible which is considered the divine and infallible word of God. Traditional

Pentecostals staunchly defend a fundamentalist position in regard to the interpretation of the Bible. Protestant Neo-Pentecostals also appear to be leaning in this tradition though there is greater concern with establishing an intellectual Biblical tradition (Hollenweger, 1972). Catholic adherents, however, pose a special problem because of their insistence on accepting church tradition in addition to the Scriptures as divinely inspired. While Classical Pentecostals generally assume a hard posture toward other sources of authority, there is more acceptance of other traditions among Protestant Neo-Pentecostals.

The theological conservatism among traditional Pentecostals disavows almost any form of Biblical criticism. Passages of Scripture are accepted at face value, all too often without regard for social and historical contexts. Many Pentecostals, especially those of a more liberal tradition, have questioned the unreflecting fundamentalism that pervades the movement. The literal acceptance of the charisma, however, inclines Pentecostals toward a fundamentalist theology. Hollenweger brings up the interesting speculation that Pentecostal fundamentalism is more a ritual than a belief, perhaps evidenced in the selective attention given certain chapters in the Bible. The Bible is a sacred point of reference, a visual symbol of God. The type of fundamentalism Hollenweger alludes to is shaped by the sociocultural traditions of the holiness and early Pentecostal adherents. The holiness movement influenced Classical Pentecostal theology in several ways: (1) the idea that there are distinct blessings available to the believer subsequent to conversion; (2) the Holy Spirit should be a part of the entire existence of the Christian; (3) Christians should anticipate the imminent return of Christ, preparing

themselves for this event; (4) believers should remain separated from the world and the evils which characterize it; and (5) revival and camp meetings are viable Christian techniques for converting people and renewing the spiritual lives of the believers (Nichol, 1966).

Pentecostals do not see their fundamentalist perspective as original but assert that they are preaching the "full gospel" which the early Christians advocated. Pentecostals desire a return to apostolic simplicity in worship and belief. Religious piety, encompassing a wide range of proscriptions and admonitions according to local Pentecostal belief, is an important part of Pentecostal doctrine. Many of the Scriptures accepted literally are employed to support religious beliefs termed "nonessentials" by Hollenweger. The practice of footwashing by the Church of God is an example of a distinctive characteristic of one Pentecostal group which does not apply to all Classical Pentecostal churches. Scriptural passages which receive undue emphases by some branches of Pentecostals create devisive issues within the movement.

Pentecostals subscribe to basic Christian tenets, believing in "the Trinity, the authority of the Scriptures, the fall and natural sinfulness of man, eternal condemnation of the unrepentant, the atonement of Jesus for the sins of men, and the necessity of regeneration and conversion" (Bloch-Hoell, 1964:95). Bloch-Hoell describes Pentecostal theology as biblical empiricism, stressing personal experience and its physical manifestations as assurances of various Christian truths such as salvation. The experiential aspect of Pentecostalism is also obvious in Neo-Pentecostalism though the legalistic tendencies of Classical Pentecostalism are often rejected. Thus, DuPlessis declares that

> there was a Pentecostal experience of the baptism of the Holy Ghost in the lives of the apostles before they ever developed or framed the doctrine and the theology. They had experience and no doctrine. Today most people have doctrine and no experience (1970:12).

Because of the subjective focus of Pentecostalism, a systematic development of its theology has been neglected. Total reliance on the Bible, perhaps a "cult of the Bible," has impeded the intellectual tradition.

The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit

The third person of the Trinity has a central place in Pentecostal theology. This aspect of the doctrine is one of the most distinguishing features of the movement. The role of the Holy Spirit is stressed by Pentecostals of all religious affiliations, serving as a strong unifying force. Pentecostals accept all of the gifts or "charisms" of the Spirit literally and believe that they are operable in the church today. This last point of doctrine separates fundamentalist Pentecostals from other fundamentalist groups since the latter deny the working of the gifts today (Hillis, 1972). The gifts of the Spirit include the word of knowledge and wisdom, divine healing, faith, the working of miracles, discernment, "divers kinds of tongues," the interpretation of tongues, and prophecy (I Corinthians 12). Tongues, the least of the charisms, enables the Christian to pray in an unfamiliar language. Speaking in tongues is considered a gift of prayer or communication with God (I Corinthians 14:22). Paul comments that "one who speaks in a tongue speaks not to men but to angels." Sherrill refers to glossolalia as non-conceptual prayer which "releases us from our dependence on specifics and step by step thought processes into a direct

awareness of God" (p. 82). Acts 2 is the Biblical passage most frequently cited by Pentecostals to validate their experience.

> And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place and suddenly there came a sound as of a mighty rushing wind, and it filled the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like of as fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and they began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance (Act 2:1-4).[9]

Pentecostals believe there are at least 30 known references to the Baptism of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament alone.[10] Tongues is considered to be evidence of the Baptism of the Spirit, though this point is not conceded by all Pentecostals. The in-filling of the Holy Spirit at the time of conversion is distinguished from the Baptism of the Spirit, the latter being more a form of possession.

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[9]References to tongues also appear in the New Testament in Acts when Paul is traveling to Samaria. Acts 9 and 10 are sources that Pentecostals frequently mention, in addition to Act 19:6 when the believers "spake with tongues and prophesized."

> While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all of them which heard the word. And they of circumcision were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gifts of the Holy Ghost. For they heard them speak with tongues and magnify God. Then answered Peter, can any man forbid water, that there should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? (Act 10:44-47.)

One cannot help but notice the parallels between the attitudes of the early Jewish Christians and many Classical Pentecostals who are amazed that the Lord is not required to operate within their boundaries.

[10]John Sherrill discusses the Scriptural support for glossolalia in his book, They Speak With Other Tongues.

The use of tongues can be divided into two categories. First, tongues are external evidence that the Holy Spirit has control over the life of the Christian. Glossolalia is valued more as a sign of the presence of the Holy Spirit than as an experience in itself. Tongues is the identification mark of the Pentecostal, binding him to the community of believers and severing ties with the outside world. A second use of tongues centers on the experiential benefits. It is a transforming experience which has a profound effect on the believer. Hine suggests that speaking in tongues is such an intense experience that the participant may undergo cognitive reorganization. The belief system of the individual is brought into conformity with the experience, causing the Pentecostal to view reality in "before" and "after" terms (Hine, 1969).

The church is also the beneficiary of tongues, not only through the renewal of its members but also by the interpretation of tongues which is considered a message from God. In determining the proper use of tongues, Pentecostals rely on Paul's directives. Tongues are valuable to the Christian when used in private prayer, enabling him to praise God more expressively and deeply. This praise function of glossolalia is emphasized by Neo-Pentecostals. The language of the Spirit facilitates communication between the petitioner and God. The Spirit serves as the Christian's intercessor before God, aiding the person particularly in times of crisis. When glossolalia is used in conjunction with the other charisms of prophecy and interpretation, it assumes added importance and is appropriate for congregational meetings. This aspect of Pentecostal doctrine is not emphasized by most Neo-Pentecostals since glossolalia is rarely accepted in their churches and

would be offensive in regular congregational worship. Generally, it is conceded that the interpretation of tongues should always accompany public utterances of glossolalia so that the church is edified. Only two or three messages in tongues should be given at a public service with one person interpreting. The worship ideally is to be conducted "decently and in order," according to I Corinthians 14.[11] Modern Pentecost is seen as the fulfillment of the prophecy of Joel, reiterated on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:16-18).[12]

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[11]Some Pentecostal ministers are quite skillful at handling disruptions concerning the use of charisms in the services. In the traditional Pentecostal meetings that the writer attended there were a few incidents where people in the congregation stood up and spoke in tongues at inappropriate times. The minister in charge firmly chided the member for "being out of order" and requested the person to be seated. The congregation seemed to concur with the pastor. In another instance, a certain well dressed woman was shouting too loudly and her protestations were interfering with the service. After praising God and speaking in tongues for a few minutes, she testified to the church that she had been healed of a growth during the service. The minister, who at first had been perturbed by the outbreak, commented that the woman had ample right to praise God considering the miracle that had occurred.

Bryan Wilson discusses the sensitive role of the Pentecostal minister in the article, "The Pentecostal Minister: Role Conflicts and Status Contradictions," in Studies in Social Movements, Barry McLaughlin (New York: The Free Press, 1969).

[12]The prophecy given by Joel and repeated on the Day of Pentecost is considered fulfilled in the modern Pentecostal Movement.

> What you see this morning was predicted centuries ago by the prophet Joel--"in the last days" God said, "I will pour out my Holy Spirit upon all mankind, and your sons and daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions and your old men dream dreams. Yes, the Holy Spirit shall come upon all my servants, men and women alike, and they shall prophesy" (Acts 2:16-18).

Though Pentecostal theology accepts the entire Bible as the authoritative word of God, the New Testament and particularly Acts are emphasized. Pentecostals consider the Holy Spirit to be God's representative on earth during this period of history. Adherents recognize that the Holy Spirit's operations cannot be predicted and each person may respond differently to his presence. John Sherrill describes his Pentecostal experience:

> It was the floodgate opened. From deep inside me, deeper than I knew the voice would go, came a torrent of joyful sound. It was not beautiful like the tongues around me. I had the impression that it was ugly, explosive, and grunting. I didn't care. It was healing and it was forgiveness, it was too deep for words and it burst forth from me in wordless sound. After that one shattering effort of will, my will was released to soar into union with him (p. 123).

Pentecostals stress the personal surrender associated with speaking in tongues. For many it is difficult to seek the experience since it has such an obviously irrational basis. The theme of personal submission explains the dilemma of choice confronting the seeker. Pentecostals quote Paul as saying, "The unspiritual man does not receive the things of the Spirit of God, for they are folly to him and he is not able to understand them because they are spiritually discerned" (I Corinthians 2:15). According to Pentecostal belief, then, the spiritually sensitive recognize the significance of the gifts of the Spirit.

In the early years of Pentecostalism external emotional reactions were often confused with the gifts of the Spirit as formulated in the Bible (Synan, 1971). The majority of Pentecostals, now more educated and theologically sophisticated, make a clear distinction between the actual manifestations of the Holy Spirit and human responses (DuPlessis,

1970).[13] Pentecostals are focusing more on the "order" aspect of the experience. In the Pentecostal Movement, Spirit Baptism is sought within different settings and various methods of tarrying (seeking the Baptism) are utilized but the underlying ideology is shared.

Pentecostalism and Miracles

Divine healing and other types of miracles are an essential part of the Pentecostal "full gospel" perspective. The popularity of such ministers as Oral Roberts and Kathyrn Kuhlman attest to this emphasis. Healing is frequently sought with the sacramental "laying on of hands" in a similar way to prayers for glossolalia. "They will lay their hands on the sick; they will recover" is accepted literally (Mark 16:18). This aspect of Pentecostalism, as with the focus on the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues, is shared by Classical and Neo-Pentecostals alike. With the acceptance of the Pentecostal experience, the glossolaliac commits himself to a literalistic perspective of the charisms such as miracles. Pentecostal literature abounds with references to divine intervention and advice in seeking the Lord's mediation. Well known sources include The Miracle Book (Oral Roberts), I Believe in Miracles and God Can Do It Again (both by Kathyrn Kuhlman).[14]

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[13]DuPlessis asserts that it is "heresy to speak of trembling, shaking, falling, dancing, clapping, shouting, and such action as manifestations of the Holy Spirit. These are purely human reactions to the power of the Holy Spirit and frequently hinder more than help bring forth genuine manifestations" (p. 93).

[14]Kathyrn Kuhlman comments that "Any truth no matter how valid, if emphasized to the exclusion of other truths of equal importance, is practical error" (1972:15). Thus, her emphasis on healing is to be balanced in accordance with the most important Christian event--salvation or healing of the spiritual man.

The Holy Spirit is considered the originator of divine healing, physical and spiritual. His power extends to all realms of life. The miracle aspect of Pentecostal belief reflects the centrality of the charisms in Pentecostal doctrine. Though the phrases may be different among Pentecostal writers, the message remains the same: "God is the source of your total supply" (Roberts, 1973).

The Ranaghans, Catholic charismatic leaders, note that while Christians should not "seek a sign," nevertheless physical healing can be a reality for the believer.

> Healing, total personal healing of the spiritual, psychological, and physical man, is a gift the Lord pours upon his believing communities today. The weight and memory of our whole tradition and past training rose up to object most strenuously when we first realized that we had to accept this, too, as a present day reality. And now we cannot object, for like doubting Thomas we have seen, touched, and experienced the power of the Lord to heal--today (1969:168).

This passage is especially significant in that it demonstrates the acceptance of miracles by Neo-Pentecostals by virtue of their experience within the movement. Pentecostal involvement subtly changes perspectives until the believer reaches the point where "the healing of the whole man" is accepted.

Demonology in Pentecostal Belief

In accordance with the literal interpretation of the Scriptures, Pentecostals view Satan as a distinct evil personality who is the Christian's adversary, "a roaring lion, who walks about, seeking whom he may devour" (I Peter 5:8, paraphrased). Disease is frequently attributed to Satan by virtue of his power to afflict the Christian. Thus, Oral Roberts views illness as an unnatural state which may be overcome through

the principles of Seed-Faith,[15] if the miracle is in accordance with God's will (Roberts, 1970). The more active and dedicated a Christian is, and Spirit-filled Christians believe themselves to be especially committed, the greater likelihood they will face the onslaughts of the enemy. People who fail to encounter the ploys of the devil are often categorized as "lukewarm" Christians or perhaps sinners since the devil, of course, does not bother those who already belong to him (Hollenweger, 1972). Neo-Pentecostals also take the presence of evil as seriously as Classical Pentecostals with exorcism an accepted practice even among Catholic charismatics (O'Conner, 1971). Pat Robertson, a Protestant Neo-Pentecostal leader, discusses demon possession frequently on his television programs and claims to have had a personal encounter with a possessed girl.[16]

The Pentecostal attitude toward evil is expressed in Ephesians 6:12.

> We are not contending against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.

It is only through the power of the Holy Spirit that the Christian is able to combat the evil that engulfs him, often "deceiving the very

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[15]Oral Roberts' three principles of "seeding" for a miracle include: (1) God is your total sources; (2) give that it may be given unto you; and (3) expect a miracle (Roberts, 1970).

[16]Pentecostals are divided on the issue of whether a demon can possess or influence a Christian. Hollenweger discusses this aspect of demonology (pp. 377-384) and it is also the subject of an article in the January-February issue of Logos (1974).

elect." DuPlessis warns, "When people tell me they do not know much about the devil and demonism, I must conclude that they do not know the Holy Spirit either" (p. 37).

The Catholic Pentecostal Perspective

Catholic Pentecostals validate their experience of speaking in tongues on the basis of the Scripture and a mystical church tradition in which, they claim, the use of the "charisms" was not uncommon. The charismatic renewal is closely affiliated with a biblical movement within the Catholic Church which has emphasized the study of the Bible. O'Conner acknowledges the reinforcing effect of biblical rapprochement and charismatic renewal. Since the Reformation Catholics have been cautious concerning the study of the Bible lest they fall into "Protestant" error. Thus, O'Conner recognizes the need to guard against "false literalism" (1973). While the Holy Spirit is believed to operate through the church, he also promotes personal renewal and commitment to Christ, and in some cases Mary. Pentecostalism represents a "renewal of faith." Charismatic renewal extends to worship, sacramental life, Christian zeal in an ecumenical spirit, new religious perspectives based on the Scriptures, and the revival of the charisms (Ranaghan, 1971:24-5).

These trends within the charismatic community toward a more literal approach to the Bible and a re-examination of the previously held conceptions are conducive to greater Pentecostal harmony. O'Conner, in a speech at the 1973 conference of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, asserted that the chief hope of ecumenism in the Catholic Church existed through charismatic renewal. Thus, the Classical Pentecostal, DuPlessis, and O'Conner agree that Christian unity lies not in theoretical

convergence but through the love of the Holy Spirit demonstrated in his people. Dennis Bennett remarks that the problems of the Pentecostal Movement are "problems of life, not death." Recognizing the potential of the movement, he asserts, "The wonderful thing happening among the charismatic Christians today is that an alabaster vase is being broken and the beauty of Jesus is being released in his people" (Murphy, 1972: 955). This spirit of ecumenism spans the movement.

D. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has attempted to identify the two phases of the Pentecostal Movement, classified as Classical and Neo-Pentecostal. Three areas have been examined: (1) the literature supporting the distinction of the movement into two phases; (2) historical documentation of each stage; and (3) a doctrinal evaluation and description of basic Pentecostal tenets. The unity of the movement has also been stressed in these sections, especially in the area of personal and doctrinal links. The shared Pentecostal experience and its doctrinal implications are the greatest area of agreement within the movement and serve to identify the Pentecostal. This commonality should not imply complete tolerance of diversity, especially among Classical Pentecostals who adhere to a fundamentalist-holiness tradition alien to the new Pentecostals. It is this culturally and historically induced division that separates Classical Pentecostals from the new Pentecostals. The experiential orientation to religion based on a supernaturalist world view, and the reliance on the Bible as the basis for legitimation and authority characterizes all Pentecostals.

Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism Contrasted[17]

CLASSICAL PENTECOSTALISM	NEO-PENTECOSTALISM
A. Doctrine:	
1. Tongues initial evidence of Holy Spirit Baptism.	1. Tongues does not always accompany Spirit Baptism.
2. Extreme literalistic interpretation of Bible.	2. Acceptance of scholarly research and criticism.
3. Reliance on Bible as sole authoritative source.	3. Church tradition often seen as supplementary to Biblical authority and guidance.
4. Crisis experience orientation.	4. Gradual, nurturing approach to salvation and Christian perfection.
5. Pre-millennial and apocalyptic emphasis. Conspiracy theory.	5. Focus on devotional or more personal benefits of Pentecostalism, often bypassing divisive fundamentalist concerns and issues.
6. Sanctification prerequisite for Spirit Baptism.	6. Spirit Baptism available to all Christians. Sanctification not an issue.
B. Worship	
1. Glossolalia regular part of congregational service.	1. Tongues and other charisms restricted to informal, small group prayer meetings since they are not condoned in ordinary services.

[17]The comparison of Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism is an ideal type analysis and therefore should not be assumed to correspond exactly to all such groups, especially considering the diversity within each category.

CLASSICAL PENTECOSTALISM	NEO-PENTECOSTALISM
2. Worship more exuberant and emotional.	2. Worship conducted in subdued and quiet manner.
3. Participants usually homogeneous group.	3. Ecumenical atmosphere in prayer meetings with diverse Christian traditions represented, necessitating non-denominational approach.
C. Life Style	
1. "Holiness living" necessitates an austere, circumscribed life style. Avoidance of drinking, smoking, dancing, etc.	1. Life style is not an issue due to absence of holiness tradition. Belief in moderation, however, and avoidance of controversial behavior.
2. Emphasis on external appearance as indication of one's spirituality. Often prohibitions against ornamentation, short dresses, slacks, shorts on women, etc.	2. Acceptability of various modes of dress with overall middle-class standard of modesty which is not very restrictive.
3. Tendency toward social conservatism and anti-intellectualism.	3. Social attitudes generally reflective of church tradition of Neo-Pentecostal. Tendency to be progressive except where church doctrine requires conservative stand (such as the abortion policy of the Catholic Church).

CLASSICAL PENTECOSTALISM	NEO-PENTECOSTALISM
4. Revivalistic and camp meeting tradition.	4. Disavowal of revivalistic tradition as part of "cultural baggage" of Classical Pentecostalism.

Similarities of Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism

A. Doctrine.

1. Religious world view characterizes all Pentecostals.
2. Literal acceptance of the charisms as operable today.
3. Centrality of the Scriptures as legitimation of the experience.
4. Belief in personalized, supernatural forces of good and evil, typified in devils, demons, and angels.
5. Rejection of demythologizing tendencies in Christianity.
6. Mystical and other-worldly orientation.
7. Emphasis on the Holy Spirit and a "renewal of Pentecost."
8. The individual is seen as the locus of change in the movement.
9. Evangelical emphasis and tendency to distinguish between ordinary Christians and Spirit-filled ones.
10. The imitation and emulation of primitive Christianity.
11. Charismatic renewal is seen as the spontaneous outpouring of the Holy Spirit on his people in the last days.

B. Worship.

1. Lay leadership and active participation of all members encouraged.
2. Practice of sacramental "laying on of hands."
3. Literal operation of the charisms.
4. Expressive and experiential nature of worship or "correspondence of sentiments."
5. Approval of personal contact in socially condoned ways.

C. Social Characteristics.

1. Desire to achieve small, close-knit communities of believers in secular, non-believing world.
2. Tendency toward exclusivism and insulation from dominant society.
3. Promotion of intense commitment and dedication to movement, resolving problem of role fragmentation and loss of identity characteristic of modern society.
4. Apolitical and counter culture orientation.
5. Acceptance of minority group and female leadership, though often limitations are imposed.
6. Emphasis on expressive and emotional components of religion.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF PENTECOSTALISM

Chapter III proposes to contrast the social characteristics of Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism within their respective societal contexts. Two aspects will be emphasized: (1) the relationship of the two types of Pentecostalism to the social milieu and social trends; and (2) the effect of socioeconomic attributes of the believers on Pentecostal belief and practice.

A. CLASSICAL PENTECOSTALISM: A RELIGION OF COMMON FOLKS

Boisen observed in 1939 that Pentecostalism recruited generally from among the lower ranks of society. Cutten (1927) characterized the early members as "almost without exception devout, but ignorant and illiterate people" who were prone to suggestion or "psychic contagion." Hollenweger presents data from the 1936 Census study affirming the predominately lower-class nature of the movement. Most of the early Pentecostals were geographically located in the poorer regions of the country, especially the South. Yinger notes that status differences in America often correspond to geographical location, exemplified in the contrast between bourgeoisie, intellectual Eastern religion and revivalistic, frontier religion (1957). The proportion of females to males greatly exceeded that of the traditional Christian churches.[18] Blacks were

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[18] J. M. Lewis (Ecstatic Religion (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1971)) explains the prominence of women in expressive religious

also over-represented in Classical Pentecostalism. The average income of Pentecostals was significantly lower than that of other American Christians.

Average Church in U.S.	78.5 men per 100 women
Pentecostal Churches:	52.14 men per 100 women
Percentage of Population Black in U.S.:	9.7%
Percentage Black in Pentecostal Movement:	14.5%
Average Income of Church Members in U.S.:	$2,749.00
Average Income of Pentecostal Members:	$ 735.00
Average Income of Black Pentecostals:	$ 749.00

(Hollenweger, 1972)[19]

Menzies has acknowledged the lower-class heritage of the largest Classical Pentecostal organization, The Assemblies of God. The original leaders of the Assemblies emerged from the ranks of the working classes (1971). Parham, the founder of the American Pentecostal movement, was a college-educated, Methodist preacher. His followers were comprised of the lower-middle and lower class. The popularizer of the movement, Seymour, was a black, uneducated preacher (Nichol, 1966). Seymour and Spurling, the latter being one of the founders of the Church of God, received a great deal of support from the working-class Baptist churches. Members of other lower or lower-middle class churches were also attracted to the Pentecostal message. These included fundamentalist groups such as

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movements as an attempt to compensate for their sense of powerlessness and frustration in a male-dominated society.

[19]The statistics for the percent of men to women Pentecostals and blacks to whites in the movement were taken from the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census in 1936. The second set of statistics are from the Department of Commerce (1936), I, pp. 27 and 85.

Salvation Army and Holiness advocates (Menzies, 1971).

Most of the early leaders of the Pentecostal Movement were sectarian in orientation, displaying little formal training and an extensive amount of zeal.

> Very few notable personalities were connected with the movement in its beginning, and one looked in vain for any influential name that might have swayed multitudes among the masses of church members and pulpit admirers (Menzies, 1971:80).

The appeal of Pentecostalism to the common people has been supported by several cross-cultural studies. LaRuffa recognized the important function of the movement in bestowing social honor and prestige within the working-class Puerto Rican community of believers (1969). West Indian Pentecostals in England also were characterized by social and economic deprivation as a black, foreign, immigrant group. It is significant that the West Indian Pentecostals are an overseas extension of American Classical Pentecostalism since this demonstrates the cross-cultural appeal of the movement to deprived groups.[20] Hill attributes the success of Pentecostalism among West Indians to their social isolation, imposed by the dominant society. West Indian adherents are not drawn exclusively from the lower classes but include many skilled workers. While the "economic distress" of the Indians is the prime predisposing factor, status deprivation also has an important influence

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[20]The majority of West Indian Pentecostal churches are affiliated with the Church of God and the Church of God of Prophecy (both located in Cleveland, Tennessee). The New Testament Church of God, the overseas branch of the Church of God, has experienced rapid growth among the West Indian immigrants in the last decade. There were 10,500 members in 1966. By 1968 membership had increased to 15,800 with the number of adherents reaching 20,000 two years later (Hill, 1971).

(Hill, 1971). Calley uses the deprivation model also in his analysis of Pentecostalism. The need for security and withdrawal from a threatening society, as in the case of the Indians, encourages the acceptance of expressive, religious movements which provide community and identity. While acknowledging the role of poverty, Calley agrees with Hill that status and power dimensions are salient variables. Significantly, he compares the status and economic deprivation among the lower-classes in the American South to those of the Indians in England and finds broad similarities, creating conditions for Pentecostal growth (Calley, 1965). Thus, Weber comments that "Every need for salvation is an expression of some distress. Social or economic oppression is an effective source of salvation beliefs, though by no means the exclusive source" (1963:107).

The well-known British Pentecostal, Smith Wigglesworth, represents a typical portrait of the working-class Pentecostal who suffered from the economic and social consequences of his class position. At the age of six Wigglesworth started working with his father at a cotton mill. In his memoirs, written by his followers since Wigglesworth was almost totally illiterate, he refers to his early childhood.

> I cannot forget those long winter nights and mornings, having to get out of bed at five o'clock to snatch a quick meal and then walk two miles to be at work at six. We had to work twelve hours each day, and I often said to my father, "It is a long time from six to six in the mill." I can remember the tears in his eyes as he said, "Well six o'clock will always come." Sometimes it seemed like a month coming (Hollenweger, 1972:478).

Though born a Methodist, Wigglesworth was not able to identify and relate meaningfully to his home church. In addition to his poverty, Wigglesworth was afflicted with a speech impediment which, according to his testimony, was subsequently healed. Short and concise in speech, he effectively

communicated with the impoverished masses of his day and was a major impetus for the spread of Pentecostalism in Europe. Classical Pentecostalism, then, can be seen as a type of lower-class response to objective deprivations and institutional forms which fail to meet their particular needs.

> The workers saw themselves faced by an anonymous set of circumstances which they had to suffer in silence. The Pentecostal Movement made it possible for them to articulate their suffering and so overcome it. The ministers suffered because the church they belonged to had ceased to command a living faith, and they hoped to find in the Pentecostal Movement a more lively and missionary-minded group, closer to other people and closer to the Bible, of Christians whose talents were both intellectual and intuitive, both rational and emotional (Hollenweger, 1962:480).

The Influence of Social Structure on Classical Pentecostal Perspectives

Mizruchi, in the tradition of Demerath,[21] attributes social class differences in behavior and perception to social structural location. In accordance with this position, Almquist concluded in her study that social class was the most predictive factor of religious attitudes in comparison with religious affiliation and involvement (1969).

The influence of social class can be determined by comparing variations of Pentecostalism across class boundaries and the study of different dominant themes among classes. The working-class, with economic and social problems of paramount importance, seek a particular type of reassurance and security from their religion that is not prevalent

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[21]Demerath is in agreement with the proposition that the social composition of religious groups is an important determinant of Protestant doctrinal development.

in the middle-class. Qualitative religious differences among the lower and middle-class indicate varying life experiences which correspond to social positions. Weber contends that "Insofar as the modern proletariat has a distinctive religious position, it is characterized by indifference to or rejection of religions common to large groups of modern bourgeoisie" (1963:100). This poses the interesting question of whether the characteristics imputed to proletariat religious movements are indeed creative responses to particular need patterns as Troeltsch implied or rather reactions against "establishment" religious systems of legitimacy. Yinger supports Weber's position that socioeconomic groups have "different kinds of anxieties and different preparations, by experience and culture, for various proposed solutions" (1966:25).

There is a tendency for different aspects of status to cluster around one dimension so that the lower-class person will most likely be characterized as low on all relevant stratification measures. The Biblical statement "to him that hath shall be given" finds support in this pattern of "cumulative disadvantage." The leveling tendency, reflected in restricted educational and occupational opportunities for the poor, exerted an important influence on Classical Pentecostals as a lower socioeconomic group. Economic underprivilege facilitated psychological underprivilege as the impoverished classes developed such traits as resignation, negativism, and submission, further perpetuating the vicious cycle of deprivation (Knufter, 1953). The limitations imposed on Classical Pentecostals as a result of objective social position accounted for their low verbal skills and ignorance of outside social events. The poverty of early Pentecostal theological literature can be attributed to

a restricted opportunity structure to which only the affluent members of society had access.

The circumscribed life experiences of Classical Pentecostals obviously inclined them to direct their attention to issues which were more relevant to the needs of daily existence. Theological systematization and abstract theologizing were not among the immediate concerns of the working-class who struggled for the bare necessities of life (Pope, 1942). The symbolic system of the believers reflected this class position and its corresponding needs (Schroeder, 1970).[22] The lower-class Pentecostal viewed reality in concrete terms, relating his religion to the trials of everyday life. Lipset notes that patterns associated with the lower-class position predisposed the group toward religious movements and authoritarianism. Limited education, little participation in formal organizations, isolated occupations, poor reading ability, economic insecurity, and reinforcing family patterns contributed to lower-class vulnerability to mass appeals (Lipset, 1963). The lack of sophistication of the early Pentecostals increased their proclivity toward expressive, emotional appeals which advocated simplistic approaches to the world's problems. Society was polarized into "us" and

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[22]The communication limitations of Classical Pentecostals are congruent with the level of skills associated with the lower-class. In a study of tornado victims conducted in the 1960's the thought and communication contrasts between lower and middle-class respondents were considered significant. These included: (1) the number and types of perspectives utilized in the subject's response, (2) the ability to assume the listener's role, (3) the skill of dealing with classifications, and (4) frameworks of analysis and stylistic devices. Lower-class subjects did not view reality in abstract terms and were unable to consider events from another perspective (McNall, 1968).

"them," "saved" and "sinner."

In accordance with the concrete orientation, the working-class value "material-economic" symbols of success. Home ownership, job security, and money are more important than intangible rewards (Mizruchi, 1964). This approach toward materialistic benefits of religion as compared with more mystical and abstract emphases identified with the middle-class, is evident in Classical Pentecostal literature. According to a Pentecostal newsletter:

> It actually pays to give to the Lord . . . it pays in terms of money. It is an actual fact that one may prosper financially by the right kind of giving. . . . This is God's PACT OF PLENTY as revealed in the Scriptures, and it cannot fail! Your act of obedience in DOING God's will in reaching lost souls by means of your money, IS THE KEY TO YOUR PROSPERITY. . . . (Osborn, 1974:12.)

The effectiveness of the "Pact of Plenty" is testified to in an article entitled "Christ Proves Himself Alive by Miracles of Answered Prayer," representative of the concrete conception of religion. Fifteen of the 17 testimonies deal with material blessings such as "New Job with Higher Wages," "Pays Cash for 32,000 Home," "Receives $997.20 Unexpectedly," and other examples of God's direct approach to problem-solving. This extreme literalism is also characteristic of Pentecostal evangelists such as A. A. Allen. Elinson investigated the belief system advocated in his meetings and noted the absolute conviction of the existence of physical demons and devils. Serving the Lord was also expected to result in tangible rewards (Elinson, 1965). This intense acceptance of personal forces of good and evil is still very much a part of Classical Pentecostal ideology as the devil's influence is seen in

television,[23] Women's Lib,[24] and other Christian Churches.[25]

Anomie and Classical Pentecostalism

In periods of rapid social change and institutional transformation, the old order loses its sacredness and integrative abilities. Anomic conditions such as Durkheim postulated may emerge with social movements filling the vacuum, performing therapeutic functions and acting as an "agent of change" (John Wilson, 1973). Social upheavals, such as those occurring in rapidly industrializing and urbanizing America of the early twentieth century, are not evenly distributed throughout the social structure (Bell, 1957). Some groups are affected more severely than others and therefore more susceptible to mass appeals. The greater vulnerability to social movements of immigrants and the working class, especially at the beginning of the century, attest to the strain placed on groups in the center of social change and stress.

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[23]Barbara Rhodes, in an article for Pentecostal Herald titled "Seeking Whom He May Devour," asserts that "Over twenty years ago there came into existence a force more powerful than anything you realized. Overnight, Satan had created a weapon with which he could destroy millions of souls. His plan was cunning and deceptive. He came as an angel of light. Even many Christians did not recognize the instrument of spiritual destruction: TELEVISION. . ." (March, 1974:7).

[24]Anne Reynolds ("Women's Lib--Fact or Fib?" Pentecostal Herald 49 Missouri: United Pentecostal Church, April, 1974) refers to Women's Lib as a "Devil-inspired movement, which is only another weapon being used to completely destroy the sanctity of marriage, family and home. . . . Women's Lib has brought womanhood from the pedestal of honour to the muck of dishonour, stripped her of her respect, and changed her delicate garments of femininity to the coarse clothing of manhood" (p. 14).

[25]In another article in Pentecostal Herald, dated February, 1974, the author announces that "Satan has, through human instrumentality, launched an all-out attack upon Christ and His claims. Some of those whom he is using are not even aware of their part in the diabolic

Congruent with the idea that the structural strain varies according to class and the socio-historical milieu, the concepts of deprivation and anomie must be viewed dynamically. Deprivation can be divided into several sub-types which correspond to social position and the tensions inherent in that position. These pressures are not static but can intensify over time or diminish. Economic and social deprivations are most characteristic of the working class which comprised the majority of Classical Pentecostal recruits. Traditionally, social scientists have emphasized the extensiveness of alienation and anomie in the lower-classes, though it has been conceded that anomie is a pervasive feature of contemporary American life. It is possible that anomie may vary in types according to social position and conditions within the society which maximize the stress of certain groups. Mizruchi comments that "the lower-class and the middle-classes are exposed to different kinds of anomie resulting from different sources of strain that affect the various sectors of the class structure" (1964:108). Economic and social deprivations endured by the lower-class in the form of blocked aspirations and frustrated ambitions increase anomic responses. As expectations rise and perceived opportunity declines, normlessness becomes more intense (Rushing, 1971). For the lower-class who view achievement in materialistic terms, anomie is linked to the absence of prosperity and objective possessions. For the middle-class, however, anomie is more a function of such abstract dilemmas as meaninglessness.

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plot" (p. 2). Groups being manipulated by Satan include Catholics, Unitarian Protestants, Modernists, Christian Scientists, and Jehovah's Witnesses.

Related to the mounting middle-class anomie is the revolution of rising expectations as people desire more of themselves, interpersonal relationships, and society in general.

Though the lower-class recognize their isolation from mainstream American society, they feel powerless to alter their position. The alienation of this class inclines them to seek gratification and refuge in religious movements. Revivals have historically appealed to those segments of the population which were economically and socially disadvantaged. Holt (1940) describes revivalistic movements as "spontaneous attempts of the common people to deal constructively with the stresses and trials which fall with peculiar severity upon them," representing "nature's power to heal" (p. 746) and providing a means to grasp "religious victory from earthly defeat" (Yinger, 1957). Holt, applying a structural perspective, notes that the social disorganization of the 1920's affected the poor people disproportionately, creating personal isolation and instability. Thus, the social structure not only imposed limitations on the life experiences of the group, but also had objective ramifications. These anomic conditions at the beginning of the century, intensified by the displacement of the working class, facilitated the spread of Pentecostalism (Brian Wilson, 1970).

The anomic situation is rectified or alleviated through the espousal of religious beliefs, restructuring cognitive systems. Poblete and O'Dea apply an anomic framework in their analysis of the rapid expansion of Pentecostalism among Spanish-speaking New Yorkers. These marginal and generally lower-class members are characterized by the disintegration of traditional supportive structures which had previously

provided economic and psychological security. Anomie is a reaction to migration and socio-cultural changes, identified by some writers as "cultural shock," which is cushioned by admittance into the charismatic fellowship (Poblete, 1960). Willems also observes in his research on Protestantism in Latin America that it is most successful in areas undergoing far-reaching socio-cultural change, typically the processes of industrialization and urbanization. The breakdown of traditional institutional structures in Latin America corresponds with the growth of Protestantism which poses a sectarian threat to the dominant Catholic religion (Willems, 1967). Protestantism in Latin America bears many similarities to Pentecostalism in the United States since both represent an alternative form of religious expression for the impoverished masses and the transitional elements of society.

Israel describes anomic societal conditions as a lack of integration, the prevalence of economic crises and extensive social change which weakens institutional and normative control (1971). Durkheim and Merton emphasized the economic aspects of anomie, varying according to socio-economic status. The real question to answer regarding anomie is "Which strata are the most 'displaced' in each country?" (Lipset, 1963:136). The hypothesized relationship developed in this chapter suggests that the working-class were the most displaced at the turn of the century. Lipset notes that societies displaying the greatest change also have the most working-class extremism and vulnerability to mass appeals. Since religion provides an integrating and normative system, "Adherence to a religion or a body of religious beliefs would therefore appear to be the antithesis of personal normlessness or anomie" (Lee, 1974:37).

Religiosity may, in fact, negate the effect of other predisposing influences such as socioeconomic position which incline people toward anomie. Pentecostalism is, then, functional in that it reduces the personal disorganization and anomie of individuals, possibly overcoming the adverse effects of other factors. The adjustment and comfort function of Pentecostalism could be viewed as an indicator that religion indeed serves as the opiate of the people.

Holiness Living: A Guide to a Sanctified Life

The Classical Pentecostal way of life is closely tied to class and status configurations. Perry recognizes the importance of "life situation" as a predisposing factor of the life style advocated by fundamentalists and ultimately enhancing its relevance as a type of religious expression (Perry, 1959). Shared social and economic statuses are conducive to the development of common life styles among the community of believers. Often the particular cultural patterns which emerge from group interaction become endowed with sacred connotations as in the Classical Pentecostal concept of "holiness." Classical Pentecostals, identified by their distinctive ways of dressing, living, and eating are separated from the rest of "worldly" society. External appearance, symbolic of the values of the group, immediately establishes Pentecostal membership. Since this emphasis on external holiness has frequently led to an extreme type of legalism, Pentecostal leaders often warn their congregations of this tendency to equate appearance or outward manifestations with salvation. The prevalence of "holiness" concerns is evident in much of the Classical Pentecostal literature. Fauss, responding to inquiries of readers in a 1974 issue of

Pentecostal Herald, deals with several topics involved with external appearance. He is asked about such things as jewelry, slacks on women, and miniskirts. Fauss acknowledges that dress was once a major issue at the beginning of the Pentecostal Movement but that the real secret of holiness "lies in one's heart and soul. When hearts are right and clean, little effort is needed to get people to obey the Scriptures, such as those concerning long hair and modest apparel for women" (1974:14). Fauss emphatically rejects the wearing of ornamentation by men, advising simplicity in all matters of dress. He concludes his column by giving a characteristically Pentecostal admonition:

> Don't let the fashions and fads of this world swallow up your children. Modern styles are bordering upon those of Sodom. It is still possible for our women to dress "as women professing godliness." It does not take the wearing of men's clothes by women to be an abomination in God's sight. Many of today's fashions for women alone are an abomination to Him, and are designed to inflame the lust of the opposite sex (1974:20).

Classic Pentecostals view remaining separate from the world as not only an inward aloofness from the "things of the world" but also as a type of conformity to normative holiness standards. While the specific injunctions may vary from group to group, smoking, drinking, dancing, and drugs are standard holiness prohibitions (Goodman, 1972). Churches of God also look askance at movie and theater attendance, mixed bathing between the sexes, the wearing of slacks by women, makeup, and "worldly" ornamentation. Membership in Classical Pentecostal organizations is often premised on obedience to specified holiness standards.

Menzies relates the stringent standards of Classical Pentecostals not only to a Wesleyan heritage but also economic deprivation. The poverty of the early adherents necessitated an austere and simple

existence which later became justified and even exalted in Pentecostal doctrine. As the Pentecostals moved up the class ladder, their economic situation no longer supported holiness injunctions. Thus,

> With more money for fashionable clothing and participation in leisure-time recreation in the years after World War Two, Assemblies of God people tended to lose their image of separatedness from the prevailing norms of society (1971:340).

John Wesley's admonition concerning the influence of riches on religion seems appropriate to mention at this point, especially since Classical Pentecostals consider him a holiness proponent.

> I fear, whenever riches have increased, the essence of religion has decreased in the same proportion. . . . For religion must necessarily produce both industry and frugality, and these cannot but produce riches, but as riches increase so will pride, anger, and love of the world in all its branches. . . . Is there no way to prevent this continual decay of pure religion? (Weber, 1958:175).

Anne Parsons, in her study of Italian Pentecostals, noted the strict standards of behavior and conduct of the members. The taboos against smoking and drinking were clearly in conflict with the dominant cultural patterns, establishing a separate identity for the ascetic members. The consequences of these holiness modes of belief were analyzed in the context of Weber's treatment concerning the effects of austere Calvinism on economic prosperity (Parsons, 1965).

Liston Pope supported the contention that Classical Pentecostals are characterized by a distinctive life style, exemplified in their styles of life. The lower-class Pentecostals, comprised of mill workers and their families in his study of Millhands and Preachers, abstained from liquor, tobacco, movie attendance, and dancing. Their rejection of the world and its luxuries was an adaptation to their objective social position (Pope, 1942). Thus "Worldly" social functions and trimmings,

beyond the means of Classical Pentecostals, were rejected even as the Pentecostals were rejected by society (Durasoff, 1972).

The extensive social sin list of the Classical Pentecostals, testifying to their disdain of worldly pleasure, was premised on Biblical interpretations. Smoking and drinking were condemned on the basis that the body was the temple of God and, therefore, should not be abused (Calley, 1971). Second Corinthians 7:1 was frequently quoted as scriptural support: "Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." This holiness theme played an integral part in the development of Classical Pentecostal doctrine.

B. NEO-PENTECOSTALISM: AN INDICATION OF MIDDLE-CLASS DISPLACEMENT

This section will examine the relationship of Neo-Pentecostalism to: (1) the social conditions in contemporary American society which fostered the sense of crisis and disillusionment of the middle-classes; (2) the perceived minority status of Christians in a secular society; and (3) middle-class religion as a type of mysticism.

A Sense of Crisis in Middle America

Since World War II there has been growing concern among the middle-classes, reflected in literature, that America is in the midst of an institutional crisis which extends to the personal realm. A thorough study by Newsweek, documented in The Troubled American (Lemon, 1969), demonstrated the pervasiveness of middle-class discontent. The middle-class displayed a feeling of powerlessness and loss of faith as they viewed their cherished values falling into disrepute. Lemon concluded

from the data that

> these answers reveal a sizable degree of alienation from American society. They think the country has lost its way morally and religiously, they do not trust their prime sources of information, and they do not trust each other (Lemon, 1969:57).

Whether or not objective institutional threats do exist, the persistence of this perception is significant in terms of the attractiveness of mass appeals and social movements which provide solutions to these problems. Cantril warns, "When the customary social framework can apparently no longer satisfy his needs, then a serious discrepancy emerges between the standards of society and the personal standards of the individual. Then the individual is susceptible to new leadership, to conversion, to revolution" (Cantril, 1941:16). Related to the crisis mentality is the belief that traditional values and institutional structures, upon which middle-class life is premised, are declining and a new, more alien, order is emerging. This sense of seige and alienation is representative of middle America.

The anomic circumstances of American society are facilitated by the almost unlimited aspirations of the middle-class as they strive not only for material affluence but also an ideal type of personal fulfillment. Whereas the lower-class focus on occupational success and its material benefits, middle-class expectations include such intangibles as personal happiness, professional esteem, and educational achievement. Mizruchi describes this potentially anomic situation as "boundlessness" or "the myth of infinite elevation." The author suggests that this form of anomie is endemic in a mature, industrial order as the middle-classes become increasingly vulnerable to cross-pressures and the strains inherent in their structural position. C. Wright Mills also recognized

the greater susceptibility of the middle-class, especially the white collar worker, to a feeling of powerlessness and dissatisfaction in proportion to the advancements of automation and the technological state (Mills, 1951). In the technocratic society middle Americans, "instrumentalized" in their daily relationships, may be economically affluent but nevertheless suffer from cultural impoverishment. The potential for alienation and anomie among the bourgeoisie in modern society has failed to receive the attention it warrants. Mizruchi comments:

> Too many problems of deviant behavior and social pathology have been viewed in terms of poverty. The time is ripe for studies of deviant and pathological concomitants of prosperity. . . .
>
> Since our data suggest that it is the middle-classes who suffer most from circumscribed aspirations and since they have been in the vanguard of revolutions from both the right and left, we may well be sitting atop a potential powder keg. Disillusionment and despair are a fertile base for extreme political movements, and it is clear that they are not in short supply in contemporary American society (1964:158-159).

Lipset is in agreement with Mizruchi concerning the increasing strain on the middle-class as the upper-class and lower-class advance at the expense of middle Americans. With the position and power of this class diminishing, it becomes a reactionary force rather than an impetus for revolutionary change. This potential for middle-class extremism, inherent in the industrial order, is magnified as the attempt is made to recapture waning dominance (Lipset, 1963).

The concept of cultural lag which the middle-classes so acutely feel is characteristic of the present age. Traditional values have failed to keep pace with the accelerating changes in American society, creating personal and institutional maladjustments. Middle-class anomie, reflecting these discrepancies, can be compared to ethical and

psychic deprivation types as developed by Glock. Ethical deprivation occurs when the dominant values of a society are no longer meaningful, similar to the situation of the middle-class alienated from its own society. Individuals experience a loss of purpose and significance in their lives as their belief systems lose social support and thus plausibility. Alternative solutions to the problem of meaning are sought to provide an integrative framework for ordering reality. Psychic deprivation is described as the absence of philosophical and transcendental answers to the problem of existence but not merely as a reaction to other types of deprivation (Lee, 1964). Both these categories of deprivation refer to inner needs in contrast to such objective forms of disprivilege associated with economic and status inequities.

Religious institutions, continuing to support a declining value system, face a crisis of plausibility and relevance. Daniel Bell, in agreement with Greeley, asserts that the present religious crisis is not one of unbelief but of institutional forms. This problem is identified by "the dissatisfaction of leading sectors of the ministry with the character of the church,[26] and the search of many young people, particularly the young culture-bearing elite, for new primordial religious forms" (Bell, 1971:457). The challenge to religious institutions is related to the advance of secularism, pluralism, and deobjectivation. Secularization implies the loss of religious

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[26]For an analysis of the frustrations and problems of the clergy, see Jeffrey Hadden's book, The Gathering Storm in the Churches: A Sociologist Looks at the Widening Gap Between Clergy and Laymen (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1969).

institutional and symbolic dominance as religion loses plausibility, intensifying meaninglessness and normlessness. Secular explanations, while adequate for everyday existence, are not applicable to super-ordinary occurrences or problems of ultimate meaning. Ahlstrom notes that in the last decade "a credibility gap had opened up between the dominant forms of traditional theology and the secularized mind of a rapidly increasing number of educated Americans" (1970:7). Secularism, though liberating modern man from the constraints of the kinship group and an arbitrary sacred cosmos, imposes a psychological burden of loneliness and meaninglessness. Thus, contemporary man finds himself in the plight of Fromm's character in Escape From Freedom.

> The discovery of a wholly secularized world is the dubious achievement of modern society. The withdrawal of gods from the rhythm of everyday life has left modern man without a story of ultimate consequence into which he can integrate his biography. Under the horizon of secular consciousness no language or tools are left for the transformation of fate into meaningful destiny. The inability to find and use religious symbols in the expansion of self-understanding has actually precipitated an identity crisis in modern society (Winquist, 1974:182).

The pluralistic situation in America also serves to undermine the influence and credibility of religious institutions as denominations compete for a share of the consumer market. The alternatives available on the religious market place today offer a bewildering choice for those searching for ultimate meaning and purpose. O'Dea remarks:

> Religion today often interests the searching youth, but as a possible call, not a commanding authority, and indeed as one possible call among many. In this condition the young are not only emancipated, they are confused. For many of them the problem of meaning whose solution is necessary for the achievement of the "courage to be," the problem of ultimate meaning and its implication for human goals, arises as a poignant, existential experience (1969:132).

In the process of de-objectivation religious beliefs are no longer assumed to be part of objective reality so that they become untenable as more secular interpretations gain social support (McGuire, 1972). With the decline of religious influence, religion no longer is able to perform its integrating task as in the past. This change in the presuppositions of Americans has created a deeper suspicion of the supernatural.

The current stress on the external reality, to the neglect of internal states, has caused an artificial dichotomy between the inner and outer spheres of existence. This alienation is manifested in the divorcement of feeling from objective reality. The failure of the church, adapting to a "world come of age," to meet the expressive needs of modern man is indicated by the popularity of movements such as Pentecostalism, especially among the young. The lack of concern with the internal consciousness of man is a reflection of contemporary disdain for inner needs such as emotion and expression. The de-objectivation of religion intensifies the "crisis of the spirit," characteristic of secular society which robs man of transcendental beliefs so that he is engulfed in a world without meaning. Laing, in The Politics of Experience, criticizes the disregard in our society for the inner needs of man.

> We live in a secular world. To adapt to this world the child abdicates his ecstacy. . . . Having lost our experience of the spirit, we are expected to have faith. But this faith comes to be a belief in a reality which is not evident. There is a prophecy in Amos that a time will come when there will be a famine in the land, "not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord." This time has now come to pass. It is the present age (1967:101).

The concern of writers such as Laing is focused not on materialistic distresses but on existential, inward problems. The themes of meaninglessness, normlessness, and estrangement are recurrent as the middle-class

engage in the quest of an allusive identity and fulfillment in a disenchanted society. Martin Marty refers to the widespread lack of faith, ironically coupled with the frantic search for a transcendental referent, as the "search for a spiritual style" in modern America (1967). The crisis, then, in religion is to determine its very reason for existence. The lack of plausibility of religious institutions, aggravating the personal crises of middle-class Americans, creates the dilemma of "how to keep going in a milieu that no longer takes for granted their definitions of reality" (Berger, 1967:155).

During the decade of the sixties, the church, as part of the scorned institutional structure, faced mounting criticism for its failure to alleviate such problems as poverty and racism. The counter culture and the New Left represented the most obvious rebellions against a bureaucratic, institutional structure and technological society which did not respond to human needs. Symptomatic of the times, an author wrote, "We are left as machines without souls; we are condemned to a life of meaningless consumption so that our technological society can continue to function" (Hauerwas, 1972:71). The concentration on external manipulation resulted in the interior deterioration of man, causing alienation to become the normal state of society as "the problem of living in America" became "that there literally seems nothing worth dying for" (Hauerwas, p. 90). This crisis of spirit which began as a quest for autonomy and achievement bred instead loneliness, estrangement, and disillusionment. Hauerwas forcefully describes the current malaise of American society.

> Undoubtedly many Americans do feel profoundly alienated. But this alienation is not necessarily due to an oppressive

> technological culture. Nor is the estrangement due to a fundamental denial of the original promise of America. Rather the alienation is rooted precisely in the fulfillment of that promise, ironic as it seems. The current malaise of our people stems not from the failure of the American dream, but from the fact that we are now closer than ever to realizing it. And we are beginning to suspect that dream may be a nightmare. In America we sought to create a society of individuals--autonomous, self-sufficient, and stable--and the criterion of our success was taken to be the progressive emancipation of the individual from the "irrational" social constraints of the past. . . . But to our dismay, we now discover that this "freedom" is accompanied not by the sense of creative release but by the sense of disenchantment and alienation. The alienation of man from historic moral certitudes has been followed by the sense of man's alienation from fellow man (1972:83).

The dilemma of the church in a society undergoing such extensive social transformations as our centers on the task of establishing appropriate aims and an identity in a secular, non-believing milieu. Christian churches reflect the institutional problems of society as the growth rates of denominations decline, financial difficulties proliferate, and the clergy experience a high attrition rate. While the religious professionals question their effectiveness and credibility, churches display symptoms of "institutional malaise," accompanied by a loss of morale and basic purpose. The changing value systems have undermined Judeo-Christian presuppositions which were previously unquestioned. With the heralded "coming of age of the world," secular theologians announced the death of God and a demythologized Christianity as the devout laity tenaciously clung to a threatened faith. Unfortunately, radical theology did not restore Christianity to its former prominence and influence. The declining influence of religion was indicated in a National Gallup Poll of six surveys taken over a 12-year period. The respondents were asked if "At the present time, do you

think religion as a whole is increasing its influence on American life or losing its influence?"

	Increasing	Losing
1957	69%	14%
1962	45%	31%
1965	33%	45%
1967	23%	57%
1968	18%	67%
1969	14%	70%

(Braden, 1970)

In all likelihood the respondents of the survey answered the question in institutional terms, referring to organized religion rather than sacred feelings. Nevertheless, the picture of increasingly powerless and ineffectual religious establishments emerges as over two-thirds of the sample believe religion is losing its influence in 1969 in contrast to only 14 percent in 1957. The implications of this narrowed support base will be examined in the following section which discusses Christians as a minority group.

Though the new liberalized theological statements, advocating the improved psychological benefits of religion, attempted to enlarge the consumer base, secular alternatives offered the same wares. Thus Berger remarked,

> The theological surrender to the alleged demise of the supernatural defeats itself in precisely the measure of its success. Ultimately, it represents the self-liquidation of theology and of the institutions in which theological tradition is embodied (1969:26).

Speaking from a Christian perspective an Anglican mourns the demise of the Christian mind through the in-roads made by secularism. This "deprivation of any orientation towards the supernatural" is comparable to

the effects of ethical and psychic deprivations. The tragedy is enhanced, however, by the inadvertent cooperation of Christians who have removed the sacred from their religious system. Thus Novak states that

> The Christian mind has succumbed to the secular drift with a degree of weakness and nervelessness unmatched in Christian history. It is difficult to do justice in words to the complete loss of intellectual morale in the twentieth century Church (1967:238).

The trend toward "worldly Christianity"which orthodox Christians so despair indicates not only the deteriorating esprit de corps among believers but also the encroachment of a world view characterized by technological and pragmatic considerations.

The Catholic Church, once thought the bulwark of religious stability, was not immune to the institutional challenges facing America in post World War II society. Bryne writes that "The structures which formerly supported American Catholic life are collapsing about us" creating the need for "new strategies and survival" in the form of charismatic renewal (1971). New strategies of survival were also investigated during Vatican II as the Catholic Church debated her place in contemporary society. A struggle ensued between the conservatives and progressives. The direction of the church was significantly altered during the sixties, evidenced by the emergence of new, more democratic liturgical forms and the acceptance of the charismatic movement. The transition for American Catholics was fraught with difficulties as many experienced a sense of confusion and disorientation as the church searched for a more relevant role in society. Thus, "the movement from a codebook morality to the more relative and precarious morality of the personal search has created new strains for Catholic confessional practice" (Bianchi, 1970:38).

Traditional and conservative Christian perspectives, symbolized in Roman Catholicism, came under greater scrutiny in the sixties, reflected in the "antipathy for the past, distaste for traditional obligations and norms, and emphasis on a self-centered judgement of morality which obeys no voice other than its own" (Bell, 1971:454). Bell also noted that the Catholic Church was the locus of the most intense institutional challenges, especially in the authority and bureaucratic realms.

The profound transformations in the Catholic Church, assimilation into the middle class, and the general tensions endemic in American society imposed severe pressures on Catholics. The sixties were aptly described by one author as

> a decade of frenzied agitation, whose intensity was heightened for Catholics by the merging together of the religious crisis and the society-wide political and cultural crises. Not all Catholics were equally affected, however. The conjunction of forces struck with greatest impact on young people and religious professionals (Gleason, 1972:98).

A title caption in the Protestant Christian Reader dramatically, and with some pleasure, surveyed the Catholic Church's precarious position, announcing that "Rome's 'Changeless Church' is Bending Under Swirling Hurricane Pressure." Observing the raging controversies within the church, it concluded that it is no longer possible to discuss a unified Catholic Church (Boillat, 1974).

The chaotic conditions within Christianity created a ripe situation for the appearance of charismatic leaders and renewal movements, fulfilled in the rapid expansion of Neo-Pentecostalism. The erosion of religious institutions and theology opened the way for the Pentecostal experience which advocated a direct encounter with the supernatural and a consequent reaffirmation of religious belief and validity. The

religious trend of the sixties, then, centered on the quest for discovering a "lost innocence" by encountering religion and finding a previously sacrificed sense of wholeness in a segmented, technological age.

Neo-Pentecostalism provided one alternative to orthodox Christians who needed an answer to the ills of the church and personal problems. Catholics, vulnerable in more respects than Protestants, turned in astonishing numbers to charismatic renewal as a cure for the malaise of the institutionalized church and individual spiritual revitalization. Charismatic renewal, focusing on the Holy Spirit, solved the apocalyptic question posed by Father O'Conner, "Who will save us from this hour?" It represented a reassertion of traditional Christian dogmas and a rejection of the demythologization of Christianity, characteristic of modern theology. In a time of "unprecedented change," evidenced by what Pope Paul referred to as a "crisis of faith," charismatic renewal offered hope and community for beseiged Christians. Thus, Neo-Pentecostalism has been functional in that it dispelled the pervasive sense of despair and alienation of the devout middle-class. While initiating the adherent into a supportive prayer community and "communion with God," charismatic renewal did not claim to "make a man immune to the abrasiveness and disappointments of a world disrupted by sin. Nevertheless, it does bring into one's life a note of integration, collaboration, and communion that is distinctive" (O'Conner, 1972:17).

The conditions facilitating charismatic renewal have historical precedents in the American revivalistic tradition. The Great Awakening in New England and Neo-Pentecostalism represent a socio-cultural response to inherent social strain within Christianity and society in general.

The manifest function of the Great Awakening was to reassert the old religious, moral order but its latent function opened the way for a new, more appropriate religious system. Rossel (1970) labeled the prophets of doom during that period "Jeremiads" who proclaimed the demise of Christianity and the institutionalized church. Contemporary counterparts of prophets of doom abound. Thus, a theologian writes in Ecumenical Review that the human race is in "moral peril" and the church, to survive, must meet the present needs of mankind.

> Today we are probably confronted by the need for the greatest structural change ever experienced by the Church. Unless the Church makes these changes, it cannot exercise any influence on the structures of modern society. The world is waiting for the Church to go after it, as Christ went after the sheep that were lost. In many countries the Church is already imprisoned in the ghetto of the local parish. We do not know yet whether that means the end of the Church in those countries, just as Mohammedanism brought it to an end in many lands. We only know that we have a unique opportunity to recall the spheres of life which have escaped from God's control, and thus save our nations from destruction. This opportunity may not last long. We can only pray, as Christ prayed, that God will send laborers into His vineyard, and encourage one another daily to labour while there is still time (Muller, 1959:162).

The Great Awakening occurred when there was strong concern that the social order was disintegrating or losing its mechanical solidarity. The warning that "the Devil (gave) up his familiar guides . . . (and) crouched in the very heart of the Puritan community" (Rossel, 1970:918) is comparable to the more subtle attitudes of devout Christians today that the new guises may include secularism, pluralism, and scientism. The Great Awakening, born of the failure of the religious establishment to meet the exigencies of the situation, was an "agent of transformation," encouraging "a new basis for solidarity."

The Ghost Dance also was a type of revitalization movement which

aimed at socio-cultural reorganization, thus providing a solution to the tensions of daily existence (John Wilson, 1973). LeBarre extended the analogy of the Ghost Dance to include all religions which inevitably originate as crisis cults or "the response of society to problems contemporary culture failed to resolve. . . . Each new religion is the Ghost Dance of a traumatized society" (1970:44). In conclusion, Neo-Pentecostalism, in the tradition of revitalization movements, is a reaction to perceived institutional inadequacy, structural strain evidenced by the appearance of "Jeremiads" in the religious and secular sphere, and the pervasive anomic conditions of modern society. These circumstances have supported religious, expressive movements which often display the potential to initiate functional adaptations to contemporary society.

Neo-Pentecostalism as a Middle-class Christian Response to Minority Status

In a secularized, pluralistic, non-believing society, Christians have two options: "hanging on to or surrendering cognitive deviance" (Berger, 1969:21). Radical, demythologized theology represents an attempt at accommodation and compromise to the demands of a disenchanted society (McGuire, 1972). This paper is concerned, however, with those Christians who resist these trends and maintain their Christian identity, choosing to be a "cognitive minority," defined as "a group of people whose view of the world differs significantly from the one generally taken for granted in society" (Berger, 1969:7). This possession of "deviant knowledge" imposes a minority status on the believing groups which has structural and social-psychological consequences.

Mizruchi found that the middle-class value status and prestige and the absence of these imputed attributes, exemplified in status incongruency, results in alienation (Israel, 1971). With the decline of religion as a status-giving agency, devout Christians face a loss of power and esteem and consequently begin to perceive themselves as a disadvantaged minority group. In accordance with this perspective, Yinger views Christianity as a minority movement today and as such is characterized by minority status (1957).

Since general social support is lacking for Christianity, it no longer exists as an integrating symbolic force in America. Christians who select deviance rather than accommodation to the prevailing cultural pattern must socially engineer their supportive network through the establishment of a counter community or, in Berger's terms, a "ghetto." This community orientation which will be discussed in the next chapter is an integral part of charismatic renewal and is one structural development ensuing from the minority status of Christians. Christianity becomes relegated to sub-cultures and counter-cultures where it still retains meaning and influence (John Wilson, 1973). The pattern of voluntary segregation is characteristic of sectarian forms of Christianity, representing a functional reaction to a repressive and hostile social system. Festinger comments that "the existence of dissonance will lead to seeking out others who already agree with a cognition that one wants to establish or maintain and will also lead to the initiating of community and influence processes in an effort to obtain more social support" (McGuire, 1972:45). The sect is the ideal type of social support for the religious minority group. Berger considers

the resurgence of sectarianism in Christianity a distinct possibility.

> The reaffirmation of orthodox objectivities in the secularizing, pluralizing situation, then, entails the maintenance of sectarian forms of socio-religious organization. The sect, in its classical Sociology-of-Religion conception, serves as the model for organizing a cognitive minority against a hostile or at least non-believing milieu (1967:163).

Macquarirre, in "A Theology of Alienation" (1973), also recognizes the possible sectarian consequences of the decline of Christianity and the resultant minority status of its members.

> There is general agreement that Christiandom has been breaking up for more than a century. The days when Christianity, as a majority faith, identified with the Establishment, are almost past. Does this mean that the Church will return to a sect-like type of existence, alienated from the mainstream of secular society, in a situation resembling the one which the Christians knew in the Roman Empire in the first three centuries of the Christian era? (Johnson, 1973:319).

Troeltsch, while not advocating the return of the church to the sect-type, characteristic of early Christianity, admitted that the changing conditions of society would no longer allow the church to retain its universal status as in the Medieval Ages. Thus a Christian writer remarks,

> When the Son of Man returns, Jesus asked, will he find one in ten thousand faithful to his word? Now that the illusion of Judaeo-Christian culture is passing away, Christians will again become accustomed to being a few, a tiny remnant, among the multitudes of men (Novak, 1967).

Karl Rahner, a Jesuit Theologian, views contemporary Christianity as a "Diaspora Church," characterized by a lack of institutional support in an alien culture. Personal commitment has become of paramount importance since popular opinion remains largely indifferent to religion. The religious minority must encounter a variety of institutions which operate on different premises outside of a Christian context if they are to remain in society. The Diaspora Church relies heavily upon its laity,

again pointing to the sectarian nature of the modern church. Corresponding to the diminishing appeal of the church, the clergy no longer are revered and decline in prestige. Few objective conflicts exist, however, between the state and the church since the church is in no position to exert any influence and is thus powerless to impose its will. The basic conflict is not in the external realm but exists on a cognitive level as the believer tries to reconcile his world view to a non-religious social order (Cogley, 1968). The church's marginal position in modern America results in the emergence of sectarian patterns of social organization and the perception of minority status among Christians. Thus, Christians begin to view themselves in a new light as a minority group, accompanied by all the ambiguities and problems inherent in that status.

Sects, as a protest movement, express the discontent of an alienated minority group within the society. Sects are comprised of outcasts which may come from the relatively higher classes but who are dissatisfied with an humiliating social order (Stark, 1967). Countervailing influences may exist, however, against sectarian development such as mobility trends and the historical antipathy of the church toward sectarianism. Nevertheless, the strengthening of sectarian tendencies within the Christian remnant, evidenced by the expansion of Neo-Pentecostalism, appears inevitable considering the position of religion in our society.

As Christians increase in their awareness of minority status, this perception can be expected to alter many of their behavioral patterns and future projections. Thus, a writer in Ecumenical Review criticizes

traditional missionary methods because they are premised on the assumption that we live in a Christian society and urges a re-evaluation of the approaches of the church (Hoekendik, 1950). Wickham contrasts the previous age of Christian supremacy to the present era.

> In the ages of faith, of religious conformity, men did not have to undergo a radical and personal conversion to Christian religion. They were nurtured into, rather than converted to, the Christian faith (1967:292).

One of the new aspects, then, of modern Christianity is the need for conscious commitment which is reminiscent of sectarian dedication. Through the conversion process the person is forced to choose between the secular world and the religious world. This sectarian focus on conversion is functional to minority Christianity in that it assures a high level of commitment among those selecting cognitive deviance. The degree of commitment of contemporary Christians required to exist in a non-believing milieu can be compared to the announcement of Ken Kesey's Merry Prankster's that "you're either on the bus or off the bus." People "on the bus" are separate from those of the dominant culture.

The Christian search for a "spiritual style" in a naturalistic society is similar to the counter-culture quest for transcendental experience. The parallels between these two pursuits are obvious and are recognized by the young.

> The Christian example is one that many of the hip young are quick to invoke, perhaps with more appropriateness than many of their critics may recognize. Hopelessly estranged by ethos and social class from the official culture, the primitive Christian community awkwardly fashioned of Judaism and the mystery cults a minority culture that could not but seem an absurdity to Greco-Roman orthodoxy. But the absurdity, far from being felt as a disgrace, became a banner of the community (Roszak, 1969:51).

The Neo-Pentecostals, following the patterns of the primitive Christians in letter and spirit, have also been able to transform their liabilities into strengths. Significantly, a passage from Paul is quoted frequently to underscore this point.

> For it is written I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent. . . . For the Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom. . . . But God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty (I Corinthians I:19, 22, 27).

What could be more "foolish" to contemporary American society than speaking in tongues and divine healing, yet Pentecostals claim this is from God--a God which is not even supposed to exist to modern man. Charismatic renewal appeals to the cognitive minority of Christians as one method to revitalize a beseiged belief system, offering intense experiential evidence and a renunciation of the dominant values of the non-believing society. Its overt sectarianism meets the pressing need of social and psychological support.

Charismatic Renewal as a Form of Mysticism

Middle-class religion is frequently characterized by a world-renouncing mysticism. The primacy of "inner needs" in shaping middle-class religion has been noted by Weber (1963). The concept of "inner needs" can be related to ethical and psychic deprivation which occur when these needs are frustrated and unfulfilled. The crisis of the bourgeoisie centers on these types of deprivations and is a reflection of the prevailing value systems of our society which neglect the inward man and his quest for ultimate meaning.

> There seems to be a crisis in what Marx called "the epoch of the bourgeoisie." With that crisis, there is also a crisis

> in its smug Enlightenment ideology. Today's dissenting youth do not assume on the authority of an absurd society that religion has been proven obsolete for all time by the mockers of the Enlightenment or their more prosaic bourgeoisie descendents. These young people, on the whole, do not understand religion. But they suspect on the basis of their own life experience that there is somewhere a realm that transcends the sphere of everydayness--of work, of huckstering, of war. They seek contact with such a realm. . . . They wish more than anything else for what we have called an ontologically grounded sense of direction (O'Dea, 1969:173).

Kildahl has observed that "Preoccupation with internal psychological factors seemed to create the necessary atmosphere in which a person was ready to speak in tongues and subsequently found some answer to his problem" (1962:58). This would seem to indicate that the need patterns associated with charismatic renewal were subjective. Borchert, in an article written for Christian Century, commented on the serious craving for inner satisfaction and renewal. A return to ecstatic religious expression and mysticism which reunites man with God was urged (Borchert, 1972). Klapp recognized that

> some social systems deprive people of psychological payoffs, the lack of which, expressed by such terms as alienation, meaninglessness, and identity problems, motivates a mass groping for activities and symbols with which to restore or find new identity (Carroll, 1973:368).

Neo-Pentecostalism is a form of Christian response which fulfills this experiential, esoteric need for cognitive reorganization and an integrated identity and belief system.

Middle-class mysticism, exemplified in charismatic renewal, is characterized by a remoteness from life, made possible by the relative affluence of the class since essential physical needs are not problematic. The mystical disregard for logic and rationality is demonstrated in their emphasis on "wonder" at the expense of control. The desire to

find a higher state of consciousness implied rejection of the surrounding social order and a search for alternatives. The shift to the irrational, inherent in the act of glossolalia, implies a protest against a rational, technological society. The Biblical injunction to "Taste and see that the Lord is good" points to the intrinsic nature of mystical experience. Mysticism provides a new sense of wholeness, alleviating the fragmentation of the modern society. Since mysticism is a counter belief system it is congruent with the minority status of Christians and those among the middle-class who have "culture insecurity" (Greeley, 1973).

The intense subjectivism, irrationality, and experiental nature of Neo-Pentecostalism attests to its mystical orientation. Kildahl (1972) acknowledges the irrationality and magical quality of Pentecostal experience. Middle-class Christians are especially susceptible to this type of appeal. In addition to the general anomic conditions of American society, the increasing marginality of Christians imposes greater psychological burdens. As theology and institutionalized religion fall into disrepute, Christian mysticism is an attractive alternative to the believer who needs assurance. The orthodoxy and Biblical orientation of Neo-Pentecostalism draws devout Christians seeking experiential validation of their faith. The impulsiveness and intensity of Pentecostalism enhances the mystical aura surrounding the movement (Bell, 1971). This appeal is recognized by many Christians and viewed with apprehension in some quarters, especially among non-Pentecostal fundamentalists whose overriding concern is with the "letter." The founding of the magazine, Present Truth, is evidence of the awareness among Christians that the

religious trend is toward subjectivism. The purpose of the magazine is to

> uphold the objective gospel amid the present deluge of religious subjectivism. Multitudes are being caught up in the popular and frantic effort to find satisfaction in some sort of religious experience. Present Truth is a voice in this barren wilderness of groveling internalism. . . . (1974:2.)

Christian mysticism is one of the three forms of Christian development analyzed by Troeltsch (1956). Neo-Pentecostalism does not represent a unique incident of mysticism in the Christian tradition since the primitive church contained the seeds for mystical movements which have emerged throughout the history of the church. Martin Marty recognizes charismatic renewal as a resurgence of the mystical tradition in Christianity, "cultivated by historical recall and past mysticism" (Greeley, 1973:40). This return to mysticism appears to be occurring in other sectors of the population as part of a general reassertion of the spiritual dimension of man. A rabbi says, "Especially among the youth, the emphasis is on inspiration rather than information, exaltation rather than rationality, authenticity rather than apologetics" (Greeley, 1973:40). The mystical orientation is also apparent in the youth counter culture which strives to recover a "sense of mystery" or the transcendental through an experiential and expressive approach to religion (Carroll, 1973). This mysticism emerging among the young is indicative of the new value systems which they hold in contrast to the dominant society. Experience replaces dogma as the basis for religious belief. Shepherd asserts, "We are watching, then, the unfolding among the young of a new religious culture in which religious experience is truly analogous to the aesthetic experience generated by music for

those able to 'hear'" (1972:8). The strong youth representation in the charismatic movement is indicative of their mystical approach to reality.

A personal salvation that is "felt" and the lay orientation of Neo-Pentecostalism are particularly congenial to the trends occurring in religion. The radical individualism and perfection of the mystic is shared by those who speak in tongues "as the Spirit gives utterance." Haring (1973) has observed that middle-class religion does indeed tend to concentrate on the individual in contrast to the lower-class emphasis on the group. The Christian mystic views the "invisible church" as more essential and fulfilling than religious institutions since his first priority is spiritual experience. Thus, Fichter describes Catholic Pentecostals as "orthodox Catholics who want spiritual regeneration in their daily lives" (1973:114). The intense aversion to restrictive institutional forms is also characteristic of Pentecostal ideology which stresses total submission to the "leading of the Spirit." The subjectivism of mysticism and Neo-Pentecostalism is further evidence that not only do they share common traits but both are compatible as a response to inner needs. This desire to discover spiritual principles and a sense of unity is manifested in the mystical experience of "speaking in an unknown language" to God (Gleason, 1967).

CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-CULTURAL TRENDS AND THE EMERGENCE OF NEO-PENTECOSTALISM

The relationship of Neo-Pentecostalism to specific social trends of post-World War II America is examined in this chapter. Five socio-cultural developments, frequently overlapping, are identified as enhancing the appeal of the movement to middle-class Christians. These include: (1) the influence of the counter culture on American Christianity, especially the questioning of values such as rationalism, empiricism, and materialism; (2) a revival of interest in the mysteries and the occult, manifested in Christianity through a more pronounced mysticism; (3) a reaction against an impersonal and bureaucratized mass society demonstrated in the desire to return to small, supportive Christian communities and prayer groups which focus on developing the "whole" person; and (4) the impact of the secular sensitivity or human relations movement on the established churches, initiating a more intimate, informal climate among members.

A. COUNTER CULTURE THOUGHT AND CHARISMATIC RENEWAL

Significant parallels exist in the value systems of counter culture members and the new Pentecostals. Both movements represent a revolt against the dominant cultural ethos of rationality, materialism, and instrumental relationships.

The Dionysian Orientation

Sam Keen, in Apology for Wonder, views America as moving from a cosmic orientation to a more restricted technical world view with mathematical reasoning and formal logic providing the models for contemporary conceptualization and action. This development creates credibility crises in the areas of theology, metaphysics, and ethics as they lose respectability and prominence. Essentially, Keen regards the basic conflict in our culture as existing between the Apollonian and Dionysian styles of life. The Apollonian model, with its emphasis on moderation and control of emotion, is the dominant cultural pattern in society. Within the social system, however, Dionysian sub-cultures or counter cultures continue to exert influence. According to Keen, primitive Christianity represented a Dionysian protest against the "stifling domination of Apollo" (1969:155), evidenced in religious legalism, formalism, and determinism which crushed ecstasy, freedom, and spontaneity. Unfortunately, as the Church became established, it sacrificed its original Dionysian heritage. It is significant in this context that both Neo-Pentecostals and the Jesus Freaks trace their heritage to primitive Christianity.

The Dionysian focus on the youth counter culture and the new religious movements is indicated in the renewed interest in man as a player rather than a worker and accumulator of goods. This playful aspect of the modern religious revival has been noted by Truzzi in his analysis of the occult (1972). The stereotypic image of the hippie living off of an affluent society demonstrates the anti-materialistic and casual attitudes of the youth movement. Kenneth Westhues (1972),

in his study of the hippie value system, characterizes the hippie as basically "pleasure-affirming," desiring to establish a sectarian community apart from the dominant society.

The recent popularity of "a theology of joy" or celebration, and in more Pentecostal terms, "praise," affirms the greater acceptance of Dionysian perspectives in contrast to stern, Calvinistic admonitions. The centrality of joy and praise in Neo-Pentecostalism is part of the trend toward spontaneity, informality, and ecstatic religious release. Thus, Philip Streeter (1973) remarks in Logos, a Neo-Pentecostal journal, that laughter and happiness are an essential dimension of Christian experience. In another article the author urges the clapping of hands and other exuberant expressions as part of regular Christian worship. This attitude toward celebration is illustrated in a passage from a popular song of the Jesus Movement.

> Preacher isn't talkin, 'bout religion no more;
> He just wants to praise the Lord.
> People aren't as stuffy as they were before;
> They just want to praise the Lord.
> (Enroth, 1972)

Greeley (1971) views this desire for expression and emotional commitment as part of the appeal of Pentecostalism to Catholics, especially when the church neglects these needs.

The Dionysian consciousness is not only manifested in the youth culture and Neo-Pentecostalism but also in the encounter movement. Unstructured situations and the resultant liberation is sought as an alternative to an oppressive order. Ellul (1972) refers to the "explosion of the irrational" as a protest against a rigid technological and dehumanizing system. According to Baum, "The conversion to the

irrational is in the first and foremost place a protest against the schizophrenic split, characteristic of Western culture, between the intellect and the emotions" (1970:187). Keniston (1960) mourns the "human toll of technological society," evidenced in human fragmentation and uprootedness with the experiential and affective components of the personality denied expression. Neo-Pentecostalism and other expressive movements represent a subjective quest for a unity of the self and a re-assertion of the importance of the emotional, non-rational nature of man. This romantic search is extensive among today's youth.

> The outer world merges into the inner world. The rational comes face to face with the intuitional. In our search for meaning, therefore we find justification in asserting that there is a valid inner world worthy of study; a significant, nonobjective field demanding exploration. Perhaps we are moving out of the eclipse which science has thrown across the nonobjective (Exman, 1962:276).

Oral Roberts has been preaching this message of ministering to the needs of the whole man for years but counter culture prophets have only recently tuned in to its significance.

Neo-romanticism

The resurgence of the Dionysian consciousness is congruent with the contemporary revival of Romanticism. A nostalgic yearning for a far simpler and more integrated life is apparent in the counter culture and the new Pentecostalism. The unreflecting fundamentalism and polarization of the world into good and evil forces, characteristic of the Children of God, attests to this trend. The religious nature of the new Romanticism has been observed by Greeley (1971), Gleason (1972), and Shea (1973). The hippies and the Beats were influential in shaping the religiously tinged romanticism of the 1960's. The mystical leanings of

the counter culture have been evident since the Beat era, illustrated in Roszak's description of Allen Ginsberg as a type of Old Testament prophet or visionary (1969). The romanticism of the present, similar to its nineteenth century counterpart, is concerned with spiritual renewal, community, emotional expression, and imagination (Gleason, 1967).

Romanticism has historically emerged during a revolutionary period, proclaiming the superiority of instinct and vision over reason. Romantics have viewed discipline, routine, social institutions, and individual restraints with suspicion (Gleason, 1972). Neo-romanticism, in the same tradition of the new Pentecostalism, emphasizes feeling at the expense of dogma. Francis Schaeffer criticizes the new Pentecostals for their experiential orientation and disregard for doctrinal development (1973). The frequently heard Neo-Pentecostal contention that Spirit Baptism can precede theological truth is an indication of this tendency.

The emergence of Romanticism in a disenchanted society is intimately related to the disillusionment and subsequent decline of the scientific and rational world view. Thus, the intellectuals discovered in the 1960's that "man does not live by reason alone." Accompanying the ascendancy of Neo-romanticism, the sacred was rediscovered, especially in an expressive, experiential sense.

The Religious Nature of the Counter Culture

The neo-sacralists, a term employed by Greeley, and the hippies share an experiential and person-centered approach to life. The rejection of middle-class society and the advocacy of a mystical way of "seeing" the world identifies counter culture members and the new religious enthusiasts. The psychedelia of the youth movement is a type

of other-worldliness, distinguished by ecstasy, transcendentalism, and non-rationality.

The religious implications of the counter culture are especially ironic when the attempts of the church to achieve relevance and appeal, through the espousal of a demythologized "worldly Christianity," are considered. Thus, as youth are searching for myths, the church is disavowing its mythical heritage. The explicit religious nature of the counter culture and similar movements indicate the failure of the church to respond to man's needs for transcending everydayness.

> The Church once again did not have the courage to believe in itself or the best of its own traditions. It thought that there was no room for the mystical in an age of science or for the sacred in an age of reason. . . . Now, when the mystical and sacred reappear, and with a vengeance, the Church is caught off guard. It has always argued that not by cold reason alone does man live, and now finds itself surprised to learn that it was right (Greeley, 1971:161).

Bellah (1972) supports Greeley's contention that experience has played a vital role in the Christian tradition and is, in fact, the basis for religious belief. The rejection of the expressive and experiential in Christianity has led to the development of alternative religious styles such as the counter culture. The instrumental values of society, and the established church to the extent that it conforms to the cultural ethos, are challenged by expressive movements such as Neo-Pentecostalism. Laing's comment that "we do not need theories as much as the experience that is the source of the theory" aptly describes the contemporary religious quest. The assertion that "we are not satisfied with faith, in the sense of an implausible hypothesis irrationally held; we demand to experience the evidence" (Laing, 1967), depicts the new Pentecostals and the counter culture.

The charismatic call for revival now is comparable to the counter culture search for transcendental experience through meditation, drugs, or "turning on the Jesus." Whether the experience occurs through the "gifts of the Spirit" or drug-induced revelations, the need for religious expression and answers to the problem of ultimate meaning is the motivational factor. The new religious style of the counter culture, with an emphasis on shared group experience, advocates the ritual and almost sacramental use of drugs as a substitution for more traditional religious orientations (O'Neill, 1969). Drugs represent a symbol of social solidarity and deviance, inducing a mystical state or euphoria (Shepherd, 1972). The function of drugs in the counter culture is similar to glossolalia as they both are a method for expanding one's awareness or consciousness, reminiscent of Don Juan's use of drugs as a requisite for "seeing" or being initiated into the Yaqui way of knowledge (Casteneda, 1971). Changes in consciousness, either through Spirit Baptism or drugs, is considered revolutionary in its implications by practitioners.

In Pentecostal and counter culture ideology, transformation occurs "inside" the individual through a "nonordinary state of consciousness" (Farren, 1972). According to Leary, this new state of consciousness emerged in a supportive group atmosphere with drug-oriented rituals. Drugs facilitate the quest for mystical, ecstatic experience. Some members of the counter culture, however, have found they can achieve the same inner state that was associated with drug use through more acceptable and conventional types of activity, such as Pentecostalism (Feigelson, 1970; Enroth, 1972).

Drugs and glossolalia also both act as bridge burning experiences and symbols of renewal. While the Neo-Pentecostals emphasize a "Christ-against-culture" approach, the counter culture also self-consciously stresses its deviance from the dominant society, particularly symbolized in the illegal use of drugs (Enroth, 1972). Classical Pentecostals, before their ascendancy into middle-class status and consequent establishment mentality, also advocated a "love not the world" attitude, reminiscent of the anti-materialistic slogans of the youth movement.

Recently Harrison noted the similarities in attitudes toward materialism by counter culture and Pentecostal youth. The young Neo-Pentecostals associated "life in the Spirit with rejection of the middle-class emohasis on economic achievement and security. Their communalism, like that of the non-religious counterparts found on most college campuses, represents an effort to transcend materialism" (1971:150). The Pentecostal conception of "living on faith," or relying on God to supply one's needs rather than accumulating wealth, is an indication of the questioning of materialistic values (Gerlach and Hine, 1970). Frequent admonitions are heard in Pentecostal gatherings not to follow the example of the rich man who "gained the world but lost his soul."

The resurgence of the sacred has assumed sectarian forms which operate outside of, and often in opposition to, institutionalized Christianity (McClellan, 1972). Noting the counter culture elements of the Pentecostal Movement, Gerlach and Hine remark, "Pentecostal commitment sometimes leads to a more subtle type of departure from cultural patterns, one that still involves a certain degree of risk" (1970:103). The counter culture movement and Neo-Pentecostalism are more

anti-scientific than anti-organized religion. Antipathy exists toward religion to the extent that it has assumed the dominant perspectives of the culture (Braden, 1967). The expressive movements call not only for transcendental encounter but also for a new life style based on affection and intimacy. The personalist orientation of the counter culture is evident in a reply by a respondent to the question about her interest in initiating social change. "Yes, but in a deeper sense than social mechanics. By beginning with the reality of man, his spirit, we can indirectly cause social change" (Westhues, 1972:87). The counter culture and the new Pentecostals see the locus of social change as residing in the transformation of individual consciousness or, in Reich's terms, a conversion to Consciousness III. Thus, Roszak asserts, "Truth must have a biographical, not merely ideological context" (1969:63).

Capouya, commenting on Reich's Greening of America, noted the religious nature of Reich's remarks. "His [Reich's] language and images are often those of religious enthusiasm and it is clear that the substance of his prophecy is little short of salvation in the religious sense" (1971:86).

Reich's announcement of the emergence of a new consciousness, characterized by "transcendent reason," is cloaked in religious language.[27] The conversion from Consciousness II to the counter culture

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[27]Gilkey has described religious language as "(1) . . . multivalent or doubly intentional, referring both to the finite world and to the sacred or ultimate that is manifested in and through the finite. (2) It is concerned with existential or ultimate issues of life, the questions that involve us because they center around the security, meanings, frustrations, and hopes of our existence both individual and social. (3) It provides crucial models or norms by which culture as a whole is itself guided and assessed" (1969:295).

perspective liberates the individual so that he is "free to build his own philosophy and values, his own life-style, and his own culture from a new beginning" (Reich, 1970:225). Whereas Consciousness II was, in Reisman's terms other-directed, Consciousness III originates within the self. Reich describes the individualistic search for ultimate values as "radical subjectivity designed to find genuine values in a world whose official values are false and distorted" (p. 226). Reich's transcendental vision of a new world based on a personal transformation of its people, resulting in love and community, supports the contention that the new movements are responding to subjective deprivations rather than economic or social ones. Thus, Reich attributes the failure of the Left to lie in its exclusive focus on material injustics when the real deprivation has been "in terms of a deadened mind, a loss of feeling, a life that excludes all new experience" (p. 290). The consistent degradation of experience and expression in our culture is the recurrent theme of the counter culture, the new Pentecostals, and the encounter advocates. George Leonard, writing in Education and Ecstasy (1968), recognizes the incessant efforts of society, apparent in the educational process, to repress joy and spontaneity in the learning process. The arrival of Consciousness III overcomes the restraints of the dominant culture.

> One of the most important means employed by the new generation in seeking to transcend technology is to pay attention to the great non-machine elements that are always with us--to respect and obey the body, to pay heed to the instincts, to obey the rhythms and music of nature, to be guided by the irrational, by folklore, the spiritual, and by the imagination (Reich, 1972:381).

Jeff Nuttall, author of Bomb Culture, describes this search for a spiritual dimension as the attempt to "reestablish that contact with the cosmic self, or revive one's faculty for wonder" (1968:267). The

hippies, often finding outside their culture support for their deviant belief systems, represent a new generation of religious enthusiasts and ecstatics who proclaim the virtues of a "turned on life," perhaps representing a prophetic minority.

The analysis of the counter culture is relevant to the study of social trends facilitating the expansion of Neo-Pentecostalism in that both movements are a type of Dionysian consciousness, approaching life in an experiential and expressive manner. The romantic orientation also is shared. Finally, it is significant that the "visionaries" of the counter culture express themselves in religious language, though not in a traditional context.

B. THE NEW PENTECOSTALISM AND THE REVIVAL OF MYSTICISM AND THE OCCULT

The new Pentecostalism represents one aspect of a trend toward a renewal of wonder and mystery in a culture which systematically attempts to stifle these qualities. The resurgence of the occult and the popularity of Eastern religions attest to the contemporary pursuit of the sacred. The expansion of Pentecostalism, then, can be related to this trend in society for experiential religion.

Greeley refers to the new religious movements as the "expansion of Thomas Luckmann's 'marketplace of interpretive schemes'" (1970b:204), indicating a situation of pluralism and tolerance. The demand for more relevant religious forms is a reflection of the decline in prestige of science and technology and institutionalized religion. People are seeking subjective gratification even within the established churches. The emphasis on the self, inherent in Eastern religion, is congruent

with the introspective mood of today. Keniston (1973) describes the current emphasis as a "cult of experience," resulting from the "psychological numbness" and narrow cognitive pursuits of modern society. Laing characterizes the inward quest for experience and wholeness as "ego loss." Reminiscent of Pentecostal assertions, Laing declares that the people of the Bible not only believed in God they also intensely felt his presence (1973). Bridges notes this two-fold nature of mysticism, evident in the early Christians, to have an inner transcendental experience that is manifested in an "outward vision" (1970).

Austere fundamentalists recognize the trend toward internal rather than objective, dogmatic approaches to salvation. The receptivity of Roman Catholicism to the Pentecostal experience is seen as further evidence of the mystical inclination among many Christians. Thus, an author warns that Catholicism, Neo-evangelicalism, and Neo-Pentecostalism all share similar experiential orientations. "The message of each overwhelmingly centers on the inward, mystical experience of the believer. This pursuit after some dramatic, empirically satisfying experience is the burning passion of the current religious scene" (Brinsmead, 1974:10).

Mysticism is an integral aspect of the new religious movements, apparent in the Pentecostal desire for a direct awareness of God as a spirit dwelling within man and yet distinct from him. Evelyn Underhill, a prominent mystic, defined mysticism as

> that organic process which . . . is the art of [man's] establishing his correct relation to the Absolute. The movement of the mystic consciousness towards this consummation is not merely the sudden admission to an overwhelming vision of truth: though such dazzling glimpses may from time to time be vouchsafed to the soul. It is rather an ordered movement towards higher levels of reality, ever closer identification with the Infinite (Marty, 1973:41).

The prevalence of mysticism, especially among youth, is supported by a recent study which found that 32 percent of American teenagers acknowledged a mystical experience (Keen, 1974). The persistence of mysticism in our culture can be attributed to several factors. First, the desire exists to achieve a "higher state of consciousness," obvious in the counter culture, encounter groups, and religious movements. This quest implies the rejection of the dominant cultural ethos as unsatisfying. The empathetic and broadening nature of mystical experience creates a sense of belongingness and community aften absent in institutionalized religion. Finally, mysticism establishes a more unified self and also a closeness to nature as the ordinary is seen through new eyes (Marty, 1973). Thus, mysticism is essentially the acceptance of a new consciousness and way of life, alien to the dominant culture.

Reiterating a general mystical theme, Pentecostals and the Jesus People attribute their new dimension of spirituality to a direct, personal encounter with God. Enroth describes the Jesus People as engaging in a "quest for spiritual stimulation, the great desire for direct perception and experience of the supernatural" (1972:201). The need for transcendental experience is also the basis for the attraction of the drug scene and Eastern mysticism. Enroth remarks that the new Pentecostals

> have sought to go beyond the structures of organized religion, young Catholics are seeking to reach behind the formalities and rituals of a church embedded in time and tradition in order to recapture a sense of reality and immediacy in their religious experience. In this context the Jesus People, the Catholic charismatics, and the other Neo-Pentecostals are all a manifestation of the contemporary quest for transcendence, a quest with both religious and secular dimensions (Enroth, 1972:204).

Thus, Reich asserts that the new consciousness is an attempt to rediscover transcendence as "it seeks restoration of the non-material elements of man's existence, the elements like natural environment and the spiritual that were passed by in the rush of material development" (1970:352).

The return to magic in modern society is evidence of the decline of traditional modes of thought. Magic, emphasizing the person, feeling, and imagination, is one aspect of the religious revival. Jacques Ellul (1972) refers to the present as an "age of Magic." The similarities between some segments of Christianity and magical cities have been noted by several writers. Farren, a Jesuit priest, discusses the parallels of the Jesuit induction service and a magician's practices. Loyola's Spiritual Exercises, an essential part of Jesuit training, includes three aspects: (1) rhythmic recital or repetition of specified prayers; (2) meditation; (3) contemplation (Farren, 1972). Satanism also employs the same techniques. The increasing mystical bent of Satanism and the desire for "total immersion of the self into deity" has been noted by Lyons (1970). The loss of ego associated with these mystical movements is accomplished through ritualistic use of rhythm and repetition. The appeal of magic and other mystical cults to Christians is a response in part to the church's denial of the role of fantasy and mystery which is clearly part of its heritage (Warnke, 1972). Thus, Greeley sees Catholic Pentecostalism as a Christian alternative to such magical cults as witchcraft and astrology (1971).

The Christian disavowal of the apocalyptic myth, formulated particularly in Revelation, has resulted in a loss of meaning and order in

the attempt to explain the persistence of evil and fear. Jung recognized the power of such explanatory symbols in contrast with rational proscriptions for action.

> The apocalyptic myth provides cosmic images of time and space, and archtypal grasp of the interplay between illusion and reality, and a symbolic pattern that can integrate our imagination for evil within a vision of cosmic struggle and triumph (Dudley, 1967:41).

This restoration of awe and wonder, manifested in myth, characterizes the current religious trend.

The occult revival, representing one dimension of the return of the supernatural, is also a reassertion of power to control one's destiny. Tiryakian views the populatity of occultism as a significant indication of the cultural mood.

> As a spiritual reaction against the rationalistic-industrial-bureaucratic ethos of modern society, it is part of the counter culture. Similarly, it may also be seen as part of a new religious culture revitalization, having an affinity with both the exuberant neo-evangelical movement crossing denominational lines and the equally vigorous political movement of the new left in developed societies (1972:496).

The renewed focus on esoteric dimensions of existence is apparent in the new Pentecostalism and the magic explosion as new states of consciousness are sought. The middle-class base of occultism, as in Neo-Pentecostalism, enhances the potential of these movements to function as change agents. Baum, however, views the significance of the occult as negligible, being more a symptom of the times than an influential movement (Greeley, 1973). Truzzi (1972), while documenting the wide receptivity of occultism, fails to take the movement seriously. Truzzi's concentration on Anton LaVey's First Church of Satan has probably contributed to his characterization of the occult as playful. The playfulness of members of the occult can

be attributed to the "demystification" of fearful and threatening religious symbols, particularly Satan.

Pentecostals view the occult revival with apprehension. Their literalistic interpretation of the Bible, discussed in the ideology section of Chapter II, inclines them to define the world as the battleground between the forces of good and evil (Gerlach and Hine, 1970). Satan, the adversary, is considered the source of occultism and other "pagan" practices. Loren Cunningham, a prominent Pentecostal evangelist, regards Satan as the spirit behind religious trends such as occultism and Eastern mysticism which consider man as God and reject doctrinal absolutes (1974). Morris Cerullo, in the Protestant evangelical tradition, also views the occult revival with suspicion and is actively engaged in a crusade to warn people of the dangers of the occult (Cerullo, no date). Recent issues of Logos have dealt extensively with the risks of the occult and quite a few books published by Logos dwell on the theme of the occult.

The syncretic tendencies of Eastern mysticism and occultism are evident in the potpourri of beliefs of practicing groups, widening the potential appeal of the movement to the consternation of orthodox Pentecostals. Satanism, then, extends its outreach to drug users since it has no sanctions against drugs. Various forms of Spiritualism also exhibit a diversity of belief and ritual, assuming a basically tolerant stance. The chaos and complexity of modern society enhances the desirability of magical movements which offer techniques for control and manipulation (Warnke, 1972).

The devout Christian is exposed to the same conditions as the general population but his avenues of relief are more limited due to the restrictions of his belief system. Occultism and Eastern mysticism are usually considered unacceptable alternatives.[28] Pentecostalism, however, is in accordance with the Christian tradition and offers many of the same benefits of its secular counterparts.

C. THE CONTEMPORARY SEARCH FOR COMMUNITY

Nisbet has defined community as:

> . . . something that goes far beyond mere local community. The word, as we find it in much nineteenth- and twentieth-century thought encompasses all forms of relationships which are characterized by a high degree of personal intimacy, emotional depth, moral commitment, social cohesion, and continuity in time. Community is founded on man conceived in his wholeness rather than in one or another of the roles, taken separately, that he may hold in a social order. It draws its psychological strength from levels of motivation deeper than those of mere volition or interest, and it achieves its fulfillment in a submergence of individual will that is not possible in unions of mere convenience or rational assent. Community is a fusion of feeling and thought, of tradition and commitment, of membership and volition. It may be found in, or given symbolic expression by, locality, religion, nation, race, occupation, or crusade (1966:47-8).

The contrast between the Gemeinschaft and the Gesellschaft is representative of the distinction of the communal and the non-communal.

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[28] Bishop Pike's involvement with the occult dramatically reveals the influence of these religious trends within Christianity. Merrill Unger, author of The Haunting of Bishop Pike: A Christian View of the Other Side (Illinois: Tyndale Publishers, 1971), documents the bishop's search for the supernatural realm. Bishop Pike's occult activities are especially ironic since he was among some of the strongest critics of the Neo-Pentecostal Movement, referring to speaking in tongues as "heresy in embryo." Pike was later himself brought before the Episcopal Council on heresy charges.

Our society has moved from the Gemeinschaft to the Gesellschaft, sacrificing in the process the sense of belongingness and intimacy characteristic of the close-knit community. The American passion for individualism and total freedom has heightened the estrangement and isolation of the population.

The contemporary communitarian movement gives credence to the claims of the counter culture that Americans suffer from "psychic" deprivations. Nisbet's discussion of the needs of man is in the tradition of Maslow's want hierarchy (Krech, 1962:76). Nisbet remarks that:

> . . . it has become obvious, surely, that technological progress and the relative satisfaction of material needs in a population offer no guarantee of the resolution of all deprivations and frustrations. Human needs seem to form a kind of hierarchy, ranging from those of a purely physical and self-preservative nature at the bottom to needs of a social and spiritual nature at the top. . . . But with the satisfaction of the prime, material needs, those of a social and spiritual nature become ever more pressing and ever more decisive in the total scheme of things (1953:21).

Greeley views the satisfaction of basic needs and the concentration on a higher level of more abstract needs to be a major cause of the current fascination with community. The desire for community is part of the leisure time search for interpersonal intimacy and fulfillment. The affluent middle-classes have more time to devote to affiliative concerns. The rising expectations regarding interpersonal relationships, promoted by modern psychology, intensifies the quest for community. An almost infinite range of clubs and groups are available in our pluralistic and tolerant society, ranging from encounter marathons to Pentecostal prayer meetings. Thus,

Affiliation is now a matter of choice, and hence, a burden

> and responsibility. One does not necessarily inherit one's primary belonging group as did one's predecessors. Hence, the search for something to belong to becomes more important, and for those who lack security in their own personal worth, also more agonized (Greeley, 1973:28).

Choice, affluence, and increased expectations all operate to facilitate the search for community.

The objective conditions of modern, mass society increase the alienation and isolation of its members. Casteel comments,

> Critics of our culture warn us of the peril to our society that arises from this situation of the lonely individual surrounded by impersonal masses of human beings. If our society is to be restored to health, and to humane living, ways must be found to re-create first hand personal relations between men that we are rapidly losing (1957:24).

The small groups movement in the social sciences and religion demonstrates the widespread efforts to achieve identity and intimacy through community.

While the interest in traditional methods of acquiring community, such as monastery living, is waning new experiments are being explored. Recent attempts at community, particularly in the secular sphere, often have been vague in purpose and meaning, advocating unstructured group situations. The antipathy toward authority in communitarian movements has often led to leadership crises and the rejection of responsibility, resulting in the demise of the community. Thus, a Neo-Pentecostal complains that one of the problems in the renewal groups is the acceptance of authority, especially by young people and women (Sulley, 1972). Regardless of the difficulties inherent in communalism, the underlying reasons for the attraction of the communes as a way of restoring wholeness and intimacy continues to exist. Community satisfies the craving for a "way of life that fulfills both the rational and the mystical

needs of men, a way that includes the additional need to come together as part of the other functions and activities of society" (Kagan, 1973: 55).

It is significant that communes place a great deal of emphasis on experience as a learning process, McKinney writes,

> Gemeinschaft always has a powerful expressive or affective component. The bonds of solidarity, intimacy, sympathy, and the spontaneity of the action indicate a common emotional sphere where there is a pooling of sentiment (1966:126).

Whereas the Gesellschaft is affectively neutral, the Gemeinschaft stresses feeling and sentiment. The Gemeinschaft society represents the first side of Parsons' pattern variables, including ascription, particularism, diffuseness, and collective orientation.

The present nostalgic search for community, then, ideally conceives of the world as a type of peasant community in which harmony and integration are basic characteristics. The continuity and heightened sense of belongingness of community alleviates any feelings of insecurity and isolation, endemic in modern man. "Unquestioned solidarity," akin to family, and a universal belief system provides meaning to members. The alienation of man from man and from himself is removed, replaced by bliss and contentment. This romantic and idyllic portrait of communal life stands in vivid contrast to the conception of modern, mass society where anomie and estrangement are widespread, the family and kinship system disintegrated, and interaction is impersonal and anonymous (Mizruchi, 1973). The communal emphasis of the counter culture is a reassertion of the importance of community (Kelly, 1972). The encounter movement and new Pentecostalism also stress the recovery of the Gemeinschaft association.

Religious Community

According to Greeley (1973), the communitarian search for intimacy and meaning through small groups is essentially religious in that the participants share a common faith and are seeking ultimate answers. Drakeford has found that communes with the deepest ideological bond have been the most successful (1972). Throughout the last two decades, the church has recognized the significance of the small group movement and its religious connotations, seeing it as a mechanism for enhancing commitment and performing therapeutic functions (Schmidt, 1970; Casteel, 1957; Grierson, 1970). The cell movement, the underground church, and the new Pentecostalism all demonstrate a concern with the restoration of Christian community.

In 1954 Theodore Wedel, writing in Theology Today, acknowledged the need to initiate a more intimate, informal type of community in the church. Contrasting the church of the 1950's to the church at the time of St. Paul, Wedel was predictably distressed.

> For us the problem consists in recreating, within and alongside the church's institutional activities, the Christian community which formerly could be taken for granted and which once was the soil in which Christian charity and Christian neighborliness could bring men and women to the gift of "the glorious liberty of the children of God" (Romans 8:21)--one in which there appears the "forbearing of one another in love" and earnestly desire the spiritual gifts, especially that we may prophecy (I Corinthians 14:1, paraphrased) (1954: 511).

The early Christian church of which Wedel wrote was, in fact, communally oriented, thus enhancing its appeal to the distressed and rootless members of the population (Nisbet, 1973). This aspect of the primitive church has served as a model for Neo-Pentecostals and the Jesus People.

Whereas Wedel urged the formation of small bands of fellowship within the church as a goal to be sought, Greeley, writing a decade later, saw the communitarian movement as an inevitable influence on the church.

> As the Catholic Church completes its transition from the gemeinschaft to gesellschaft there will emerge inevitably within it the smaller subparochial, or transparochial fellowships of believers which will give new depth and meaning to the collegial and functional church resulting from Vatican Council. Whether the new functional church really is able to appeal to the profound longings in the heart of modern man depends on the success or the failures of these informal communities and fellowships of believers (1966: 126).

Several years later Greeley credits the communitarian movement with initiating subtle changes within the church, usually operating within the church structure but refusing to be subservient to its authority (1971). The influence of the small group movement has in fact been so extensive in some segments of the church that official efforts have been made to establish Christian communities (Grierson, 1971).

The underground church, though more socially conscious than Neo-Pentecostals and Jesus Freaks, also views Christian community as an ideal in its attempt to be "a community of servanthood in the midst of the world's concerns" (Boyd, 1968:4). The underground church is a reaction to the impersonality and apathy of traditional Christianity towards pressing social problems. It is structured along the same lines as the cell groups of the 1950's and charismatic communities. The desire for active participation of all members, smaller and more personal worship groups, and an intimate setting appropriate for experiential encounter, characterizes the underground movement (Boyd, 1968). McGuire describes the underground church as a "search for a new

style of Christian life and a new form of Christian presence in the world," with an ecumenical approach and yet a reluctance to disavow the church as an institution (1972). Though this reluctance is not shared by the Jesus People, they also consider their religious commitment a total way of life rather than a belief system that operates only on Sunday. To the new Pentecostals, the Jesus Freaks, and the members of the underground church Christianity is a religion with revolutionary implications.

The communitarian emphasis usually is more literal among those of the Jesus Movement, often having almost mystical connotations. Jesus People communities resemble extended family networks where an intimate relationship with others and nature is prized. Religion to the Jesus People, who are often Pentecostal, is sensual and fervent with intense commitment. The counter culture influence on the members, many of whom are converts from the drug culture, surfaces in the disdain shown for organized religion and other social institutions which represent the middle-class way of life (Drakeford, 1972).

The survival of the Christian Church as a viable social institution may depend, in part at least, on the success of these Christian renewal movements which are attempting to achieve a Gemeinschaft community within a secular society. Thus, Nisbet remarks,

> The successes of a given religion in proselytizing and converting have been overwhelmingly correlated with the sense of community it may have been able to instill in the minds of the lonely, estranged, alienated, and socially or spiritually disinherited (1972:162).

The unsettling consequences of failing to achieve Christian community is apparent in Nisbet's comment that "the loss of visible community in Christ

will be followed by the loss of the sense of the invisible" (1953:14).

The Charismatic Community

The emphasis in the Neo-Pentecostal Movement on fellowship and prayer meetings indicates the centrality of the concept of community in the movement. Michael Harrison describes the Catholic charismatic renewal as a "post-conciliar search for new forms of religious community and worship" and increased lay involvement. His data imply that lonely people who need religious fellowship are especially attracted to the movement (Harrison, 1974a). Ouradnik's research also documents the pervasive quest for community and identity in our culture (1974). In Poblete's study of Puerto Rican Pentecostals in New York, it was found that the desire for supportive community was a major aspect of the appeal of the movement. Even the large Pentecostal churches managed to retain the Gemeinschaft characteristics usually attributed to smaller congregations (Poblete, 1960). Gerlach and Hine (1970) have also noted the strong community ties of Pentecostal groups, demonstrated by in-group and out-group perceptions.

Kevin Ranaghan, a leader of the Catholic charismatic renewal, considers the goal of the movement to be the formation of small, spiritual prayer groups and "full Christian communities" which offer a marked contrast to the impersonal, formal parish situations (1971). Enroth writes that "The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church means nothing unless it's related to community" (1972:204). The establishment of a charismatic community insulates its members from the non-believing society and facilitates intimacy, informality, and the operation of "the gifts of the Spirit."

The prayer meeting occupies an important place in the Neo-Pentecostal Movement (Ross, 1974; Sulley, 1973; O'Conner, 1971). These prayer meetings are described by O'Conner as informal, regular sessions where small groups of believers join to pray together, share experiences and insights, and fellowship. A unity in the Spirit is sought on the Lord's promise that "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them" (Mathew 18:20). Efforts are centered on following the "leading of the Spirit," expedited by the spontaneous and informal atmosphere. As the prayer groups continue to meet on a regular basis casual patterns develop though the "freedom of the Spirit" retains its priority. This practice of small group worship has not been a part of the Catholic Church on a broad scale for several decades (O'Conner, 1971).

Neo-Pentecostal prayer meetings follow rather predictable patterns and show a great deal of similarities to the more conservative types of encounter sessions, though the ideology is quite different. Hymn singing, often accompanied by instruments, testimonials or sharing sessions, sermonettes, periods of silence and meditation, and the operation of the charisms characterize the meetings. The element of spontaneity and expression, though not to the disruptive point, is valued. Toward the end of the meeting, people who have special needs or request prayer come forward and members of the group lay hands on them and pray, usually in tongues (Massingberd, 1972). The personal contact within the group, in socially condoned ways, denotes the intimate and accepting atmosphere of the group.

The following account, given by a Neo-Pentecostal of a prayer meeting, is significant in that it shows not only the community aspect of charismatic renewal but also parallels many methods employed in encounter sessions.

> Gradually, our meetings have developed a relaxed pattern. Those arriving at 8:00 P.M. step into a house filled with friendly people, happily chatting with each other. The first half-hour or so serves as a social get-together, Even newcomers seem to sense the spirit of love and fellowship and find themselves leaving the cares of the world behind. Here there are no rich or poor, no old or young. For all are one in the Spirit. And underlying it all is a sense of expectancy for each one knows that the Lord is here also, and wondrous things will happen.
>
> Then, people begin taking their place in chairs placed informally around the room, usually in a half-circle. Some of the young people sit on the floor.
>
> Now the fellowship expresses itself in gospel singing, full and spirited.
>
> Then we introduce the speaker, who, it seems, has always been given something pertinent to the needs of those attending.
>
> After his message comes the ministry. We have been led to place a chair in the middle of the room. Those who particularly desire the Lord's help or have special needs are invited to sit in it and to be ministered to by Spirit-filled members through prayer and the laying on of hands as in Mark 16:18, "They shall lay hands on the sick; and they shall recover."
>
> One by one, people go forward to the chair and return with faces aglow. Meanwhile, the room fills with surging melodies of praise through singing in the Spirit and spontaneous choruses and hymns.
>
> Then, as needs are met, people reluctantly leave. And sometimes it is 1:00 A.M. before the last car drives away (Sulley, 1972).

D. THE SENSITIVITY MOVEMENT

The sensitivity or human relations movement represented a response to socio-cultural conditions rather than a development within any particular discipline. The social climate of the 1960's was conducive to the expansion of the movement as people became more concerned with interpersonal relations and social problems. Resulting from the

environment of the decade, "almost all prophets and wisemen agreed, something was dreadfully wrong with the state of the nation" (Gustaitus, 1969). Originally sensitivity training had started as an effort to study small groups processes but now has broadened its scope and appeal. The history of the movement has been significantly affected by social events such as the Vietnam War, civil rights, and theological movements. As the institutional fabric of society came under increasing scrutiny, particularly by young people, the sensitivity movement developed a type of almost religious appeal to those seeking solutions to the perplexing questions of the decade.

The conditions that Back (1972) cites as facilitating the growth of the movement parallel Greeley's (1971) analysis of the trends associated with the communitarian and religious revival. The mobility of the population led to feelings of rootlessness and a loss of identity. Sensitivity training promised to restore group adjustment and increase one's ability to cope with new situations. Sensitivity sessions were proclaimed as an "excellent synthetic community experience for a population that has lost the meaning of 'community' but not its sentimental appeal" (Back, 1972:35). Unfortunately, encounter sessions operated under time limitations so that the sense of community that was instilled was necessarily brief. Reidy writes that,

> Unlike the early attempts at communal living in this country, it [encounter groups] is a community without commitment and therefore without the possibility of enduring personal relationships (1972:117).

Some sensitivity enthusiasts become addicted to the euphoria and temporary intimacy found in the sessions and engage in an endless pursuit of marathons, especially in California where a multitude of

such opportunities exist. Another condition accounting for the receptivity of the movement is the general affluence of a population which can afford to pay the fees for self-renewal and transitory community. This concern with the quality of life is also an integral part of the communitarian and counter culture movement. The secularization of religion and the accompanying disavowal of the sacred has compelled many people to look for religious alternatives. Finally, the trend in America during recent years has been toward personal change through so-called scientific formulas rather than traditional religious approaches (Back, 1972). The culture has legitimated certain avenues of personal exploration and conversion so that the regeneration experience is acceptable in a T-group setting. A Billy Graham crusade commitment is received with less indulgence among the sophisticated middle-class.

The specialization of the encounter culture in "particularistic resources" such as love and community is attractive to people who live in a Gesellschaft society (Foa, 1972). The psychic deprivations of our culture, or in Foa's terms "love poverty," have promoted the movements discussed in this chapter. The encounter movement reflects this hunger in society for community, experience, a wholistic identity and is essentially a religiously colored quest.

The Religious Nature of the Encounter Movement

The religious context of the encounter movement is recognized by Back as being due to "its drifting away from strictly scientific procedures" and assuming "the religious function of providing a consistent world view and some of the emotional aspects and controls of religious rituals" (1972:19). The religious nature of the movement has been one

of the contributing factors for its slow acceptance in scientific circles. The encounter movement's anti-rational, anti-cognitive, and emotional orientation is in marked contrast to the general standards of the scientific community. Back refers to the encounter movement as an "anti-intellectual movement in the name of science" which

> basically aims at the regeneration of man through a deep, almost spiritual, experience, the kind of effort that has traditionally been part of the field of religion. It uses, however, the methods, the language, and some of the ritual of scientific work. One could almost say that, here, science is used to overcome the scientific view of man (1972:202).

Sensitivity leaders have, in fact, often been compared to itinerant preachers, gurus, and crusaders.

The practice of giving personal testimonies to "what the encounter movement has done for me" is suggestive of the techniques employed by evangelical Protestantism. The testimony of Rasa Gustaitus' personal transformation is especially revealing regarding the religious nature of the movement. Rasa remarks in the beginning of her book that all her life she had been living with a sense of expectancy, searching for something unknown and allusive. It should be noted that the previous passage describing a Pentecostal prayer meeting also emphasized the "sense of expectancy." Rasa concedes, "life was passing me by" (1969:viii). Encounter became a means in her life of getting high without drugs. Experientially bombarded at Esalen Institute, Rasa discovered that fulfillment "came through a transcendence of the self and the capacity to go with changes" (p. xi). She was impressed with the spiritual encounter leader, Michael Murphy, who predicted an emerging Western "sadhara" or new way of life. His desire to "combine Eastern Mysticism and Western pragmatism" lent a special mystical flavor to his sessions at

Esalen (Howard, 1970). Murphy's theme was the denouncement of the spiritual impoverishment of the West which denied men ecstasy, true knowledge, and meaning. The new sadhara was comprised of three emphases: "(1) the inner state, (2) sensory and kinesthetic development, and (3) human relationships as something mysterious and ecstatic" (Gustaitus, 1969:xii). The affluence of the West, Murphy believed, enhanced the potential of the new sadhara since more money and time was available for its development. The compatibility of the Encounter movement with the psychedelic experience and Eastern mysticism centered on the advocacy of a "turned-on style of life."

The valuation of transcendental experience by sensitivity adherents indicates the spiritual quest of the movement, though the exact form of experiential encounter varies. Thus, a woman remarked that she gets the same kind of "high" from a Synanon week-end as a cursillo (Howard, 1970). Greeley has skeptically noted the similarities of the encounter movement and the cursillo retreat, describing the latter as "an emotion-filled weekend retreat movement begun in Spain, combining traditional piety with the emotional kicks of a 'marathon' weekend" (1971:84). Catholic Pentecostals, however, defend the Cursillo movement and consider it an antecedent to the charismatic renewal movement. "The Cursillo offered the evangelical focus, communitarian emphasis, and carefully structured techniques necessary for fundamental renewal" (Manney, 1973:14). The founders of the Cursillo believed that men "had no choice except either to abandon Christianity or to live fully as a militant and conquering Christianity." The primitive Christian church was the model for the type of intense Christian commitment necessary. The Cursillo

movement focused on extended week-end retreats which offered to strengthen zeal and commitment through encounter type sessions. Group dynamic methods were employed. This strategy of Christian renewal, also, aimed at establishing follow-up Christian communities which were later inclined toward Catholic Pentecostalism (Manney, 1973).

Maslow's conceptualization of "peak experiences" and "self-actualization" belies a transcendental orientation. Peak experiences are defined as "a generalization for the best moments of human being, for the happiest moments of life, for experiences of ecstasy, rapture, bliss, of the greatest joy" (Reidy, 1972:51). The process of self-actualization also involves a distinct spiritual dimension. Peak experiences, or in Maslow's words a "revelation of the sacred," are accessible only to the privileged few.

The goal of sensitivity sessions, then, is to discover a religious and ecstatic quality of life or to transcend the ordinary through emotional encounter which facilitates this search. When the valued transformation occurs and the participant is ushered into a new dimension of living, the event is often given a miraculous connotation (Reidy, 1972).

The methods employed in encounter groups to achieve its aim are not new and are, in fact, part of the Protestant and utopian tradition. Oden characterizes the encounter group as

> a demythologized and secularized form of a style of personal encounter and community that is familiar to historians of Protestant pietism. . . . It emphasizes "here and now" experiencing, intensive small-group encounter, honest confession amid a trusting community, experiential mysticism, mutual pastoral care, and the operation of the Spirit at the level of non-verbal communication (1972:13).

Drakeford's account of the Shaker's "confession of sins to the elders" and an Oneida "self-disclosure and criticism" meeting clearly indicates the historical tradition of the techniques adopted in encounter sessions. Below is a description of an Oneida "criticism" meeting.

> When Charles Nordhoff visited the Oneida community, he attended a criticism meeting at which a young man whom he called Charles was the subject of an experience of criticism. About fifteen people gathered in a room and sat on benches while Noyes relaxed in a rocking chair. In the middle of it all stood Charles, the young man who had volunteered for the experience. After Charles made a brief statement of his desire to know more about himself, members of the group took turns to tell Charles how they saw him . . . (Drakeford, 1972:40).

In a revealing passage, Howard remarks, "Behavioral Science notwithstanding, their [encounter trainers] rituals seem mysterious and primitive. They are engaged, sometimes quite literally, in the laying on of hands and the exorcism of devils" (1970:41). Non-verbal communication has an important role in both the Pentecostal Movement (Hollenweger, 1972) and the encounter movement, demonstrating the need for personal contact. Oden refers to encounter as a "new secular religion," concerned with altering consciousness, creating mystical experiences, and "resacralizing" intimate relationships (1972:20).

The social conditions which have facilitated the encounter movement also existed during the Protestant and Jewish pietistic revivals in America. The pietistic tradition protested depersonalization, the disregard of experience and emotion in American culture, and a loss of community. The centrality of the conversion experience also characterizes both the encounter movement and pietism. Thus, Oden states that "A prominent feature of all forms of pietism, as well as in the encounter culture, is the concept of a spiritual breakthrough of intense emotional

depth that changes behavior radically" (1972:62). The encounter culture may especially be compared to Wesleyan bands, operating in the tradition of pietism, on the basis of a small group orientation, focus on honesty and directness, "here and now" experiencing, quest for intimacy, and "revival as marathon" (Oden, 1972).

The Church and the Sensitivity Movement

The church has noticed the value of the small groups movement in the context of church renewal for several decades and has applied some of its concepts. The exposure of Christians to the Sensitivity phenomenon created a greater openness toward movements such as Neo-Pentecolism (Harrison, 1974:6). Clark (1972) and Greeley (1971) have commented on the impact of the encounter movement on the Catholic Church. Episcopalian and Roman Catholic members have been especially attracted to the movement. Liturgical changes and modification of ritual practices can be traced to the influence of the encounter movement (Reidy, 1972).

Greeley views the Catholic fascination with the encounter and charismatic movement to be a reaction against the church's formality, and impersonality. Catholicism, Greeley acknowledges, is in a "revolt against reason." The inroads made by the sensitivity movement in the church are alarming many religious leaders. "The 'sensitivity' cult is a marvelous symbol of the superficial, shallow, anti-intellectual romanticism that presently besets the American Church and seems likely to cause religious impotence" (Greeley, 1971:207). Though Greeley characteristically over-states the case, other leaders also recognize the significance of the movement's message for the Christian church.

In contrast to Greeley, Wedel discusses the positive influence of the group dynamics movement on the church, advocating its acceptance by religious leaders.

> When, accordingly, all tribute is paid by the fellowship evangelism of the churches to our human relations scientists for their help in discovering the therapeutic power of even a purely secular group, Christian fellowship can lay claim to a possession of such power. "If you who are only social scientists," a paraphrase of a similiar verse of the New Testament (Mathew 7:11) might read, "know how to explore and then give guidance for utilizing the dynamics of a group for the humanization of relationships between man and man in our common life, how much more can the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, when truly manifested, exhibit this power of social grace (1968:47).

Another advocate of Christian approval of the encounter movement asks, "Can the soft music of the cinema organ or even the formal and dignified service of morning worship in the church provide the soul-food that was once furnished by the disciplinary fellowship of small groups in the church's life?" (Smith, 1957:349.)

The counter culture Jesus Movement has applied many of the techniques of the encounter movement. Enroth observes,

> They have no hang-ups about touching each other. To some critics, this type of emotional response smacks of an evangelical encounter group for lonely people. That observation may not be altogether incorrect, for the participants say that they have found a community to which they can belong. They have encountered the person of Christ and are no longer lonely (1972:89).

The group sessions of the Jesus Freaks and the Pentecostals often resemble T-group sessions with confession and testimony an integral part of worship (Jorstad, 1972; Nolan, 1973). The prayer communities of the new Pentecostals show obvious similarities to encounter meetings, particularly in the sharing sessions and the physical contact.

The influence of the encounter movement on the Christian church and the subsequent openness to more experimental religious forms has been a key factor in the receptivity of charismatic renewal (Harrison, 1974b).

CHAPTER V

THE LEGITIMATION OF PENTECOSTALISM AS A CHRISTIAN MODE OF EXPRESSION

Pentecostalism is increasingly becoming a legitimate mode of Christian experience and doctrinal orientation. The mobility of Classical Pentecostals has had a significant influence regarding the greater tolerance of the movement in middle-class circles. Harrison notes, "The tendency for social cleavages to heighten religious conflict is most clear in the case of movements appealing to economically or politically disadvantaged sectors within a religious order" (1974b:10). Classical Pentecostals, generally considered the step-children of Christianity, now represent a vital "third force" (Van Dusen, 1968), especially when the rapid growth of the movement is taken into account. McLoughlin remarks that Pentecostals "may be an annoyance and a scandal to the traditional churches in the United States, but they are not competitors. Few middle-class Americans need or want what the fringe sects have to offer" (1967:56). The statistics of mainline denominational Christians who speak in tongues seem to suggest that McLoughlin's contentions are not completely supported (Gerlach and Hine, 1970; Nichol, 1966; Harrison, 1974a). The continuity of the movement and its reception in other churches, particularly since the 1950's, has increased its acceptability among Christians. The changes occurring in the church, evidenced in the interest in the encounter and communitarian movements, have opened the way for broader charismatic renewal. Neo-Pentecostalism has provided a more legitimized Christian equivalent to the sensitivity

movement. The rapprochement of the Pentecostals and the other denominations, then, is based on the imputed legitimacy of the movement and the enhanced receptivity of the churches to its message resulting from the social trends discussed in the previous chapter.

The importance of legitimacy is recognized by Greeley in his comparison of the drug culture and the neo-sacralists, including the new Pentecostals.

> But many of the new religious enthusiasts are not hippies in the ordinary sense of the word, and most of them are not willing to go the "drug route" with the hippies. Some say quite frankly that they view religion as a substitute for drugs, and one that is much less dangerous. One hesitates to say it, but the neo-sacralists appear to be much more " "respectable than the hippies"(1971:37).

The conversion from drugs to Pentecostal mysticism is functional in the sense of achieving a re-entry into conventional society. It is much more appropriate in our culture to get "high" on God than high on drugs or Eastern meditation.

The promises of charismatic renewal are in great demand in our society, apparent in the similarity of wares offered in secular movements. Pentecostalism generally has little overt opposition except in rigidly non-Pentecostal fundamentalist churches and often enjoys explicit approval. The new Pentecostalism is a viable middle-class Christian alternative to those seeking community and many of the other benefits of an encounter session and yet also possesses an intriguing deviant image, reminiscent of counter culture protest.

As the new Pentecostals purge the movement of perceived excesses which have always been a source of embarrassment to members and achieve greater acceptance within mainstream Christianity, the question remains

concerning the future of the movement. Charismatic renewal is now a movement whose time has come in Christianity. Many people, especially wary Classical Pentecostals, see ominous signs in its increased popularity. John Wilson (1973) has noted the important function of opposition in shaping the nature of a movement and insuring commitment. Gerlach and Hine note, ". . . lack of opposition reduces the risk of participation, obviating the need for deep commitment, thus robbing the movement of its strength" (1970:188). Will the death toll of a vital Pentecostalism be its acceptance and respectability? The essential deviance of the Pentecostal Movement, manifested in the operation of the charisms--especially glossolalia--may become commonplace as is already happening among many second generation Classical Pentecostals. The restraints imposed by a self-consciously "respectable" middle-class membership, who have more to lose by eccentric behavior than the original lower-class Pentecostals, may lessen the zeal and commitment so characteristic of the movement.

The new Pentecostalism is indicative of the legitimacy of the Pentecostal Movement as middle-class Christians in greater numbers embrace charismatic renewal. Classical Pentecostalism has demonstrated unusual vitality and growth over the years, thus achieving eventual recognition as a significant branch of Christianity. Neo-Pentecostalism may follow in this tradition, revitalizing the religion, or actually signifying the demise of the Christian consciousness in America, representing a last ditch effort to reassert a dying religion. Perhaps the new Pentecostalism is to Christianity what the Ghost Dance was to the Indians, an indication of "the final catastrophe of the Indian cultures

in the United States" (LaBarre, 1970). Disregarding for the moment the attempt toward objectivity, the writer, acknowledging a definite Christian bias, would hope the latter option is not the case.

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