

CHARISMATIC CULTURE IN ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND
A CROSSDENOMINATIONAL STUDY OF
RELIGIOUS FOLKLIFE IN THREE GROUPS

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CHARISMATIC CULTURE IN ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND:
A CROSSDENOMINATIONAL STUDY OF RELIGIOUS FOLKLIFE
IN THREE GROUPS

by



Christine A. Cartwright, M.A.

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
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Department of Folklore
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ABSTRACT

This is an ethnoscientific study of three charismatic Christian prayer groups in St. John's, Newfoundland (Roman Catholic, Neopentecostal, and interdenominational), focusing upon the culture which provides the basis for their frequent interactions and sense of unity. It places the groups in diachronic and synchronic context, discussing their development and relations to continental patterns of religious and cultural change, as well as to local religious traditions. Its ultimate purpose is to provide detailed ethnographic data toward the definition of charismatics as a religio-cultural group, usefully analysed across denominational and demographic classifications.

The study focuses especially upon relations between belief, language, and *experience in everyday life*. Chapters focus upon the experiential nature of charismatic ritual; of conversion, baptism in the Holy Spirit, and divine inspiration; the administration and reception of the nine charismata or spiritual gifts; religious thought in everyday life; and the symbolic system and its functions. Community discussions, analytic theorizing, and experimentation are shown to play crucial roles in the formation and revision of religious beliefs and customs and in the interpretation of mystical experiences. Dialectical thought, using experiences to interpret biblical metaphor and metaphor to interpret experiences, is also typical of local charismatics. Formal logic, biblical metaphor, sensory data, and community consensus are shown to form a coherent system through which customs and beliefs develop and change.

Previous categorizations of Pentecostal and charismatic groups as forms of cathartic or compensatory religion, allied with Haitian Voodoo, espiritismo, and shamanistic systems, are challenged on the basis of the St. John's data. It is argued that these categorizations have largely ignored the structure and phenomenology of native thought, and that glossolalia, spirit possession, trance, and ecstasy are etic concepts, not necessarily indicative of cultural or phenomenological similarity. The absence of trance, of pathology, and of obvious demographic commonalities between local charismatics argue for the analysis of their religious culture as culture, and not as cult.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AURNSC Archives of Undergraduate Research in Newfoundland Society
and Culture, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University
of Newfoundland.

MUNFLA Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language
Archive.

JSSR Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion.

INTRODUCTION

For the past two years, I have been attending prayer meetings, Sunday services, concerts, interdenominational events, and informal gatherings involving members of six religious denominations who share the belief that tongues of fire still fall on ordinary people. I have listened to vivid and powerful religious visions recounted by Catholics in their sixties in small communities on Newfoundland's Southern Shore, and to the reflections of urban intellectuals on their traditional Pentecostal upbringings. I have listened to young, uniformed Salvation Army members testify in evangelistic services, and talked with equally young, uniformed members who now do their testifying in the United Church--speaking not of the Army, but of the Holy Spirit. I have spent hours with people who have just been baptised in the Spirit, and with others in the throes of losing faith in the reality of spiritual baptism. I have stood at a dozen different altars, listening to people praying and being prayed for, crying and rejoicing, silent and receiving the gift of tongues. Out of it all I have attempted to discern the essential cultural unities and diversities that make up charismatic Christianity in eastern Newfoundland.

My fieldwork has taken me to several communities on the Avalon Peninsula, and I have interviewed people from communities and congregations all over the province, but this study is focused upon three groups in St. John's. As an American with only three years' residence in Newfoundland behind me, I am ill qualified to perceive and explain the intricate social dynamics of any one--let alone all--of

the smaller communities to which my fieldwork has taken me, and I wish to do as much justice as possible to the community context of religious folklife. St. John's is a city, and its social networks and kinship ties, though far more closely woven than those in the American cities I have known, are nowhere near as powerful and complex as those of communities in which virtually everyone knows everyone else. Within St. John's, I then chose the three groups I felt best represented the cultural spectrum present among local believers.

The sort of "believer" I am talking about is the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Baptist, Salvation Army member, United Church member, or Pentecostal who believes in and actively seeks both an initial and an ongoing experience of the third Person of the Christian Trinity, the Holy Spirit. Normally, this involves belief in and an active search for a "personal relationship" with Christ as well; a sense of being a child of the Father; the expectation of divine care and guidance; and an attitude of love--often of being in love--toward God. It also involves belief in and some experience with the nine charismata, or "gifts" of the Holy Spirit, listed in the apostle Paul's first letter to the Corinthians: the gift of prayer in unknown languages ("tongues"); the interpretation of utterances made in tongues by others; supernatural knowledge, wisdom, and faith; the perception of "spirits"; the ability to bring about miracles; the ability to heal supernaturally; and the ability to prophesy, or to speak under the direction of God. "Charismatics," as they are often called after Paul's term for these gifts, first appeared in North America during the first decade of the twentieth century, when they began to band together and form new denominations of their own, such as the

3.

Assemblies of God, the Church of the Foursquare Gospel, the Pentecostal Assemblies, and the Pentecostal Holiness Church. Since the early 1960's, however, members of the "mainline" denominations who experienced baptism in the Holy Spirit (which will be described in greater detail in Chapter III) did not always leave their churches, but remained where they were. Today there are extensive differences in cultural stylistics and ethos between "classical Pentecostals," who belong to the denominations whose official theology explicitly stresses charismatic doctrines, and charismatics who do not.

The Field Data for the Study

This study takes the charismatic cultural spectrum from the borders of classical Pentecostalism to the most deeply Roman Catholic forms of charismatic folk religion in St. John's. The Worship Centre, one of the study's three focal groups, belongs to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, but is frequently attended by members of all the charismatic prayer groups I know of in the area, for its style and atmosphere are congenial to them and quite different from those of other Pentecostal churches here. The Catholic Charismatic Renewal involves individuals whose way of conceiving and practicing Catholicism ranges from very traditional to very modern--though this is a gross simplification of a complex range of attitudes and religious styles. The interdenominational prayer group which meets at Don and Linda Cuff's home attracts individuals from both of these groups, and from numerous local churches: Central Baptist, Salvation Army, United, Anglican, and Pentecostal. Each group, though it has largely developed without conscious reference to models elsewhere, resembles groups I have observed in other parts of North America. The Worship

Centre is similar in self-concept and aims, ethos, musical repertoire, and demographic factors to at least three other churches I know of whose founding members come from Pentecostal backgrounds, but whose style and membership have developed along middle-class charismatic lines (I here reserve the term "Neopentecostal" to refer to this pattern, though some writers use it interchangeably with the term "charismatic").¹ The Marian Community is in numerous ways closely allied to the rest of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in North America, using literature, following guidelines, attending conferences, and accepting official leadership from the American national headquarters at Notre Dame, Indiana. The Cuffs' group uses some of the ideas and theological perspectives characteristic of Pentecostal-charismatic evangelist Kenneth Hagin, whose Rhema Bible College in Oklahoma has trained a large number of independent ministers, and whose books and television programs influence the attitudes and beliefs of quite a cross section of the North American population, but primarily rural working-class people. At the same time, each group has qualities specific to local culture: the Worship Centre displays the urban, educated, middle-class rationalism one finds at Memorial University; the Marian Community displays a great deal of traditional Catholic ethos; the Cuffs' group is simply a cultural mulligatawny of "townie" and "baysman," denominational and socioeconomic, styles.

The three groups also exhibit some of the pervasive patterns of change which are at work in local charismatic culture. The Cuffs' group has been meeting for only two years, but news of its existence has been communicated by word of mouth to members of, as far as I know, all the charismatic groups in the metropolitan area, and to some

elsewhere; in addition to its core of regulars, it has a constantly-shifting stream of curious and occasional visitors. The number of individuals actively involved in the exercise of the charismata has risen from three or four to about fifteen, through the teaching, discussion, and encouragement available there, and these individuals then exercise the gifts at other meetings and congregations. The Marian Community, after dividing into three groups in 1979 because its attendance was often over three hundred, has recombined in the past eighteen months, and now attracts only thirty to forty people at an average meeting. Some of these have joined other prayer groups (several are at the Cuffs'), complaining that the Marian Community is "spiritually dead," but most have simply ceased to attend charismatic meetings of any kind, and become involved in other forms of Catholic renewal, such as the Genesis II Bible study cell groups or the Cursillo program of adult Catholic education.² The Worship Centre is in its fifth year, and is growing steadily, attracting both new converts who have not considered themselves Christians before, and churchgoers of many kinds. In particular, it is attracting charismatics who divide their church attendance between it and their denominational affiliation, and people who have had intensely mystical experiences of conversion and second birth.³ This is having a rather threatening, but exciting and liberating, effect upon its Pentecostal members. Here as at the Cuffs', participation in various charismata is increasing, as well as attendance.

Consequently, one of the originating purposes of the study, which was the identification and demonstration of common cultural features between the groups which give meaning to their common use of

the terms "charismatic" or "Spirit-filled" in self-description, has had to be reformulated: what they have a great deal in common has become self-evident. Far from being chagrined by this turn of events, I am as delighted as a biologist who, having placed members of what he was certain were the same species in an enclosure together, finds his laboratory proofs of genetic compatibility rendered passé by the appearance of offspring. As a social scientist, I am now free to concentrate more fully upon the actual operation of charismatic culture, in three samples from its local spectrum, without spending vast amounts of time arguing for the existence of the cultural species christianus charismati.

The decision to retain focus upon the three groups, in spite of the changing nature of their relationships to one another and to local charismatic culture in general, is based upon both professional and personal factors. First, it is my conviction as a social scientist that we have had enough studies describing belief systems as integrated, static, self-supporting, ideational constructs, which overarch cultural life like domes studded with constellations of unquestioned truths about life. As Lauri Honko complained:

Works concerning primitive religion are filled with statements which begin, "The Voguls believe . . ." just as though the belief were the possession of a broad society. The differences between individual and collective tradition are generally given no heed.⁴

I felt that it was vital to maintain clear distinctions between those beliefs which are widespread in and characteristic of local charismatics, and those which are found only in particular prayer groups, stem from single denominational traditions, or belong to only a few individuals. I decided to avoid generalization about the charismatic

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community as a whole, but to discuss specific groups and individuals as examples of that community's possibilities. Second, as Honko went on to argue, belief systems are not made solely of unquestioned givens, but often include important experimental and experiential components.⁵ In the interest of reporting the actual, daily operation of folk belief, I have chosen to keep the ethnographic focus small enough to allow concreteness, specificity, and a fair degree of holism. This is not a study of what "the charismatics believe" but of what particular charismatic individuals and groups do, say, feel, think, and experience in and out of religious contexts; what kinds of evidence support, challenge, and change beliefs; and what kinds of reasoning, testing, and use occur as belief shapes and is shaped by folklife. That is where the personal reasons for the decision come in. Though I do not think I understand any two groups in the same ways or to exactly the same degrees, I understand these three, and individuals within them, in greater depth than I do other groups in the area with whom I have spent less time.

The Disciplinary Context of the Study

This study's approaches to the ethnography of religiously-defined groups have been formed by recent developments in the study of folk religion within the field of folkloristics. Twenty years ago, folk religion often connoted survivalistic or syncretic beliefs found in peasant cultures, and among ethnic minorities or relatively un-integrated social groups within pluralistic societies. Like much that fell under the rubric of folklore, it was often associated with the old-fashioned, the marginal, and the fragmentary in culture. Religion was dichotomized (following Redfield's distinction between the Great

Tradition and the Little Tradition)⁶ into official and folk forms, or trichotomized into folk, official, and popular. While these tendencies still characterize a certain amount of the work being done today, the subject has undergone considerable redefinition and reorientation.

The work of Scandinavian researchers such as Lauri Honko, Åke Hultkrantz, and Juha Penttinen, who incorporate methods and perspectives from the psychology and phenomenology of religion in the analysis of folk beliefs, and do not divide "religious" and "superstitious" elements of belief into separate scholarly categories, has had increasing impact upon North American folkloristics.⁷ Perhaps the most fundamental change to which their work has contributed has been the shift from defining folk religion through comparison with official orthodoxy to defining it through examination of ethnographic contexts: folk religion is coming to refer to the cosmological, moral, and causational beliefs and practices, attitudes and values, which characterize a given group or community. A second important change, encouraged especially by Honko, has been the recognition of the role of reason and personal experience in the formation and maintenance of both individual and shared beliefs regarding the supernatural, whether it is the supernatural posited by a local official religious system or not. This important shift in scholarly perspective has reduced a tenacious and, I think, lamentable tendency to treat "folk" religious beliefs as inherently unreasonable and unrealistic.

In North America, Don Yoder initiated rethinking of folk religion in a 1974 special issue of Western Folklore, providing a survey of definitions and an international bibliography of scholarship on the subject. He argued that development of the field within North

American folkloristics had lagged behind the European largely because of conceptual problems:

Most American definitions of folklore provide no categories in which to include religious phenomena, unless it includes them in that impossible survival from the Enlightenment, the word "superstition," which blocks any sympathetic understanding of the belief elements in folk religion. "Religion" is obviously not a "genre," and cannot therefore be included in the old-fashioned genre-oriented definitions. With the newer culture-oriented definitions obviously religion can be included as it has been in Europe.⁸

Yoder's conclusions regarding the definition of the field in a manner appropriate for the North American context included these comments:

Folk religion is "the folk-cultural dimension of religion," or "the religious dimension of folk culture." This can include active/creative as well as passive/survivalist elements; it also certainly can suggest the element of tension which exists between folk and official levels of religion in the complex society. Therefore we can phrase this practical definition in another way: folk religion is the totality of all those views and practices of religion that exist among the people apart from and alongside the strictly theological and liturgical forms of the official religion. . . . Finally this definition can be applied as Richard Weiss and others have done with folk-culture in general, to the components of the individual mind, where rationalistic attitudes, orthodox religious opinions, and folk-religious reactions can coexist within the same person. (pp. 14-15)

Other North American folklorists, rather than explicitly adopting or debating this definition, have simply begun to include a range of religious phenomena in their investigations. David Hufford has refined and extended Scandinavian directions in the study of supernatural belief, arguing for thorough phenomenological description of the experiences upon which they are often based, and assessment of the kind and degree of belief actually held by particular informants, before cultural interpretation is attempted.⁹ Hufford and others have also given attention to the role of rhetoric in communication about the supernatural, examining the role of descriptions of experience, and

the narration of memorates and legends, in the development of both cultural and scholarly beliefs.¹⁰ Rhetoric and performance in congregational worship have been examined (primarily among Protestant fundamentalists) by Burns and Smith, Clements, Goa, Mullen, Rosenberg, and Titon.¹¹ Roman Catholic legend, pilgrimage, and household art have been documented and analyzed in North America by a number of folklorists and cultural anthropologists, including Brown, Fish, Grimes, Lange, Pocius, Posen, Smith, Kay-Turner, and Victor and Edith Turner.¹²

Some pervasive paradigmatic changes characterize much of this work. Many folklorists have ceased to isolate religion as a cultural and conceptual domain, so that ethnographically comprehensive studies of folklife and thought include religious aspects of both as integrated parts of the "weave."¹³ Similarly, studies of particular events or domains of experience have begun to discuss religious meanings, purposes, imagery, and emotions without treating them as somehow noncultural or nonfolk, or analytically separating them from other aspects with which they are intertwined.¹⁴ In this folkloristics and symbolic anthropology are of the same mind. Religious belief and practice are being approached less in terms of their survivalist or syncretic origins; less in terms of their support or reflection of social structures; more in terms of their cultural roles as sources and expressions of powerful cultural metaphors, methods, and materials for thinking about death, sickness, celebration, and everyday life.

Under older definitions of folk religion, it might have been argued that charismatic Christianity is a popular rather than a folk phenomenon because of its relatively short life so far. Under the

culture-oriented definitions sketched above, its legitimacy as a subject of folkloristic investigation seems clear. As a folk group, charismatics are bound together by religious rather than ethnic, regional, or occupational ties, as are the participants in a pilgrimage or a religious festival, and as such fall into a fairly large class of groups recently studied by folklorists. As a system of religious belief and practice, charismatic Christianity in St. John's owes very little to direct input from print or the media: local people cite well-known speakers or authors not a hundredth part as often as they cite each other. Customs evolve according to local preferences; folk speech and aesthetics in religious contexts owe far more to Newfoundland patterns than to official or popular religious models, as will be illustrated in Chapter II. Charismatic culture tends to draw materials for thought from, and extend its influence to, domains of cultural life ranging from the decoration of house interiors to the tacit definition of time, as will be shown in the course of this study. It is far too independent of imposed concepts and customs, and too deeply woven in the complex lives of people in St. John's complex society, to be considered "nonfolk" in any meaningful sense.

In terms of its methodology as well as its subject, this study finds its models and companions (as well as some of its provocations) in current folkloristics and cultural anthropology. Respect for the powers of reason and observation often involved in belief, and for the creativity and artistic skill often involved in religious ritual and performance, characterize most of the studies mentioned above, and have guided every stage of this study from the design of interviewing, photographing, and recording procedures to

that of the final written presentation. I have not presented an idealized version of cultural reality, nor shrunk from offering interpretations which may differ from those of some group members, but I have proceeded on the basic premise, well borne out by my field experience, that my informants are by and large people of intelligence and integrity, whose beliefs are neither silly nor strange, nor mere disguises for social-psychological cathartic, redressive, or compensatory processes. Pentecostal and charismatic groups have suffered scholarly interpretations which assumed quite the opposite¹⁵ -- a few of which have been done by Folklorists--and I regard my discipline's current norms of empathy and respect in ethnographic work as among its most fruitful qualities.

In my own case, these qualities have been my glory and my saving grace. Had I been expected by the conventions of my discipline to lack respect for my informants' powers of reason and observation, I could hardly have coped, personally or professionally, with the realities of field experience. When several informants, defining the "anointing" of the Holy Spirit, explained that it is for them tangible, transmissible, and even measurable, what would have become of my assumption that anointing is a part of "belief"? Worse, what would I have done as, in the course of fieldwork, it became perceptible to, and was transmitted to and from, my own mind and body, in a way far more accurately described as a presence than a force?

Had I been expected to maintain an objectivity modeled on the study of physical objects and phenomena rather than the disciplined intersubjectivity suited to social and cultural phenomena, I would have been perceived as abnormal and untrustworthy by my informants.¹⁶

Participant observation at charismatic prayer meetings means that one's eyes are smiled into; one is hugged and confided in; one is asked, "Are you comfortable with this kind of worship?" or "Did you think that prophecy was really from the Lord?" by people who wait attentively for an answer. Some of the participants are profoundly sensitive to the thoughts and feelings of others; some have intuitive capacities (called discernment or the word of knowledge) which are decidedly beyond the normal range. Under such conditions, a traditional scientific objective stance would have ruined rapport, and biased both participant observation and interview data by making me into the sort of intruder one has to convert, avoid, or banish. (Once at the Marian Community, once at the Cuffs', and once at an inter-group event, individuals encountering me for the first time told me that, had I been what they thought social scientists usually were, they would have banished me immediately.)

In addition, had the study of folk religion remained tacitly defined as the study of backward, irrational, or unsanctioned elements of belief, I would have found myself in the position of a Native American trained in anthropology in the days when Indians were considered "savages," for I have been a charismatic Christian for the past five years. Though my own cultural religious roots are five thousand miles from Newfoundland, in a regional ethos and worldview which do not exist here, I could still have been accused of being incapable of scholarly perspective. Given the current attitudes prevalent among North American folklorists toward their own discipline, I feel confident in taking Dell Hymes' characterization of the field seriously, and using it to characterize my own professional analysis

of what are in many ways my own people, and the beliefs and practices in which I share:

When asked to describe folklore to others, I have often found myself singling out several distinctive features: concern with the aesthetic and expressive aspects of culture; concern with traditions and traditional life of one's own society; enjoyment of, and caring for, what one studies; often, craftsmanlike participation in the tradition studied; concern for accuracy and objectivity, insight and explanation, that manages by and large not to contort what one studies with procrustean methodology, or to conceal it behind a mask of theoretics.¹⁷

Research Methodology

While my participation in the tradition studied has often provided me with an immediate grasp of important cultural topics and categories or of common areas of conflict between ideal and real culture, and fluency in some aspects of native rules of appropriateness for speech and behaviour, I have been wary--from my informants' point of view sometimes too wary--of assuming that my own beliefs, attitudes, modes of reasoning, or experiences with religious phenomena were comparable to theirs. In addition to my geographic and cultural distance from my informants, my professional horror of a priori assumptions' power to screen out certain kinds of data and to "pre-sort" the rest kept me consistently suspending my personal religious ethos and worldview. This is no more difficult, though it is certainly no less, than learning to shed one's ethnocentrism in order to do cross-cultural research; it was made easier (and more acceptable to my perceptive informants, to whom I sometimes explained that I was doing so and why) by the existence of common ground. As I verified it through interview questions (on the felt significance of religious gestures, for example), I became more certain of the rules for

appropriate behaviour within local culture and the criteria used by culture members in the organization of experience.

This concern with methodological controls upon my dual status as ethnographer and culture member has led me to test my comprehension of cultural perspectives by rephrasing believers' comments, asking them to tell me if I had properly grasped their perceptions and feelings. Following Spradley and McCurdy's methods in the use of categorical and taxonomical questions, a great deal of interviewing time was spent in eliciting believers' definitions of terms: examples of their use, comparison and contrast with related terms, and explanations of their relationships to various contexts and concepts.¹⁸ It also led me to combine questions introducing new topics or following preconceived directions with questions based directly upon informants' comments, using their terminology and following their trains of thought.¹⁹ I have included sample interview schedules in Appendix I, so that the reader may examine that aspect of my methodology at first hand. Recorded interviews have been placed on file in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, and may also be consulted.

It is, however, my discipline, not my cultural status, which has determined the manner in which the culture is presented here. My reading of ethnographic literature has convinced me that the communication of ethnographer bias to readers is an insidiously easy process. The simple recasting of informants' indicative statements ("I saw . . .") into subjunctive ones ("he thought he saw . . .") accomplishes the severance of the informants' beliefs from the "real world" known by ethnographer and reader. I have discovered that many

good ethnographers leave indicative statements in the indicative, and present religious and paranormal data as neutrally as material culture. Robert Lowie, for example, gives this account of a memorate (a narrative of personal experience connected with the supernatural²⁰) told to him by a Shoshone informant:

... Red-shirt, the Shoshone medicine man, . . . told me about his own death and resurrection. He had died, he said, because he had eaten salmon contrary to his familiar's orders and thus forever lost that spirit's protection. Fortunately, the Sun appeared to him in a dream, telling him he would die but promising resuscitation. This happened about 1880, and Red-shirt pointed out to me the spot where his tribesmen had built a special mortuary shelter for him. And now comes an illuminating detail. After his soul had stepped out of his thigh and taken a few steps forward, something suddenly descended clear through it, and it began to go downwards—not upwards, according to the general Shoshone belief. Red-shirt mistrusted the other Shoshone shamans . . . Did he not have the direct evidence of his senses that the soul descended after death instead of rising? They were only guessing, but he knew.²¹

This type of presentation is in keeping with Lowie's concern that religion's meaning "from the worshipper's point of view" (p. 535) be available through ethnographic writing.

Anthropologists and folklorists working with religion in complex societies often strive to present its affects and meanings for participants with the same sensitivity and accuracy with which Lowie presented Native American religion. Studies sharing this goal have been done by ethnographers who participate in the tradition studied, as well as by others who do not. Victor and Edith Turner state, in their preface to Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives, that they are Roman Catholic.²² Their vivid descriptions of pilgrimage as an experience, though focused upon the significance of each shrine for Roman Catholics of the country in which it is found, convey something of their participation as well.

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's study of Ashkenazic rites of circumcision are the more insightful, as are her studies of narration in Jewish North American traditions, for her membership in Jewish culture.²³

In emulation of my colleagues and teachers, and out of respect for their ability to accept the ethnographic encounter, as well as out of respect for my informants, I have presented charismatic culture as fully, as coherently, and as directly as possible. If my informants have told me that they can pick up a demon in their hands, I have written that they can do so. If they have told me that the anointing of the Holy Spirit is tangible, measurable, and transmissible, I have not discussed as theoretical what is for them empirical. I would do the same if I were writing about Naskapi encounters with Animal Masters, or Inuit shaman's journeys through bedrock. The question of whether I personally believe in, or experience, the "real world" as my informants do, or as my readers do (and I suspect the readers are more diverse than some of them think), is irrelevant, for I am not writing about my beliefs. I am writing about the culture with which I have worked, and hoping to do so in a manner acceptable to its members, and useful to my colleagues.

In actuality, my dual status has not greatly altered many aspects of the ethnographic process. In the field, trust had still to be earned, and understanding of the specific beliefs and attitudes of particular groups had to be built slowly. Participant observation in these three and in other local forms of charismatic culture has worked some of the same transformations upon me as have befallen other ethnographers who have entered deeply into native life.²⁴ Even the

paradoxical blend of empathy and alienation which fieldworkers may experience as they become "marginal natives" is often felt by charismatics when visiting other prayer groups which are culturally different in some way from their own--or even in attending their own during periods of depression or doubt. In the analytic aspect of the process, I was spared some of the pain which the critical examination of beliefs one shares might be expected to bring by the normality of such critical examination among charismatics. For example, it is culturally common for individuals to entertain more than one possible interpretation of, or explanation for, a particular event. In addition, there are two medical doctors trained in anthropology, and several individuals holding graduate degrees in the humanities and social sciences, among my informants. It is difficult to say how much of the ease with which I was accepted into local charismatic culture, and have been able to work back and forth between its worldview and that normally associated with western social science, is due to my native status. Much is probably due to the amount of common cultural ground shared between the two.

In some ways, my native status actually increased my capacity for social scientific neutrality by removing the unwillingness, or inability, to entertain the possibility that native beliefs might in fact have empirical validity, which plagues a great deal of belief research--medical and social as well as religious. As David Hufford has pointed out, the researcher who "knows" that there are no angels often is unwilling or unable to obtain a careful description of the informant's "knowledge" that there are.²⁵ As a charismatic, I have been trained in skepticism and in openminded inquiry into such

questions; it is not threatening to me if informants' beliefs are validated or invalidated by perceptual, circumstantial, or empirical evidence. Charismatics often regard the development of sensitivity and good judgement in spiritual matters as a process of trial and error, and learn through experience to accept both validation and invalidation with relative equanimity. Words of knowledge, for example, are subject to confirmation or contradiction by the individuals to whom they refer. If someone says, "I sense that there is someone here with a bad case of arthritis," and there isn't, both the speaker and the listeners accept invalidation, though they may ask further questions about the episode to find out what kind of mistake was made. My native training therefore enhanced my professional training in the kind of objectivity which allows one to look dispassionately at belief-related data.

The one area of research most affected by my native status, and by the openness to and relaxation about experiential knowledge which it gave me, is one highly prized and often sought in symbolic and cognitive anthropology: access to what Geertz calls "natives' inner lives."²⁶ He compares the grasping of the natives' point of view to reading a poem or catching an allusion, or seeing a joke (pp. 236-237); naturally, it is a good deal easier to accomplish such feats when working with texts in one's native tongue than it is to work in translation. The illustration is particularly apt for this case, because a great deal of charismatic expressive culture refers to specific experiential states which have no names in standard English. Familiarity with the states themselves makes the interpretation of metaphoric descriptions less susceptible to culturally inappropriate

readings.²⁷ Because metaphors used in such descriptions—gestural, pictorial, or verbal—tend to be created individually, though correlation with others' metaphors is noted, enjoyed, and used in the development of shared state-definitions, catching the allusions and seeing the jokes is not a matter of simply learning native idioms, but of grasping their generative principles. If the reader will think of the vast range of metaphors he might use to describe sleep or hunger to one who had never experienced them, and of his own grasp of others' metaphors for such familiar states, he will gain some sense of the value of experiential knowledge for the understanding of communication about such matters.

Barbara Myerhoff has recently observed that "the failure of anthropology to deal with the experiences of ritual participants—private, subjective, psychological, conscious and unconscious—is an enormous barrier to our understanding. . . ."²⁸ Charismatics will say that on occasion A the prayer meeting was filled with the presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit, while on occasion B it was simply, and empty, human. The order of events in both meetings, and most of the observable behaviour of participants (with the exception of subtle elements such as vocal tones and facial expressions), may well have been the same. On the other hand, two occasions on which the events and observable behaviour were vastly different may be described by participants as equally Spirit-filled and Spirit-led. In cases like this, failure to deal with the experiential side of ritual renders one incapable of relating to crucial native cognitive categories like "empty" and "filled."

Learning to tell the difference between a Spirit-led prayer meeting and an empty prayer meeting, between an "anointed" sermon or prophecy and an "unanointed" one, or between a spoken prayer that feels as if it is "getting through" and one that seems to bounce off the ceiling, are instances of what Geertz calls sorting winks from twitches, practice-winks, and parodied winks,²⁹ and in that sense they are examples of problems common to all ethnography. However, they belong to that difficult class of ethnographic problems in which not only native categories, but the perceptual capacities required for using them, are not present in all cultures, and certainly lie outside the range of perceptions normally used in western rationalism. That I have direct access to the kinds of perceptual data used in making such distinctions has been of immeasurable help, not only in the interpretation of the dynamics of ritual on specific occasions, but in the understanding of the content, construction, relations, and uses of the cognitive categories into which that perceptual data is sorted by culture members. I have been as wary of assuming shared understandings in this as in other areas, but I regularly used my internal data concerning the fullness or emptiness of meetings, or the anointedness of individual ministrations, to frame questions after the event was over. Sometimes I simply asked, "What did you think of X?" At other times, I described my own impressions and asked, "Is that anything like what you felt was going on, or was it just me?" On many occasions, informants commented spontaneously on their own readings of events, asking similar questions of one another or of me.

Access to the perceptual data used to make such evaluations certainly helps, but it does not automatically tell one how others sort it into cultural categories. This aspect of fieldwork would probably have been more difficult, had the process of learning what to do with new kinds of perceptual data been less common than it currently is among St. John's charismatics. There are, for example, very few second-generation charismatics here: almost everyone used to believe something else, even if prior beliefs differed only in that they were theoretical while present belief is increasingly practical and experiential, as some of my Pentecostal-born informants put it in discussing their own spiritual biographies. Not only is it normal for individuals to go through complex and prolonged learning processes (usually lifelong) in the interpretation of much religious experiential data, but St. John's charismatic culture as a whole is going through a period of intense collective learning at present. Several members of the three prayer groups have, in the past year, begun to experience phenomena and exercise spiritual gifts previously unknown to the local community, and virtually everyone present on occasions when these are in evidence has had whole new kinds of winks and twitches to sort and discuss, experiment with and compare. People have begun to be "slain in the Spirit" at meetings and events all over the city; individuals have seen angels, and begun to perceive the appearances and specific intentions or effects of demons in far greater detail than was current in the community before. Whole groups have smelled a strange, sweet fragrance waft through prayer meetings on a few occasions. New concepts, new categories, and vast amounts of anomalous perceptual data are presenting themselves. Under such conditions, the categorical and

taxonomic questions of an ethnographer become welcome, comprehensible, useful, and quite normal.

Fieldwork: Relations Between Ethnographer and Informants

Naturally, being accepted as a dyed-in-the-wool insider did not solve all problems of rapport, and at times raised a few of its own. While it meant that I was often considered nonthreatening because I could be trusted not to distort the experiences and motivations of charismatic culture by attempting to force them into terms acceptable to a rationalist frame of reference, it did not exempt me from the denominational divisions important to some charismatics. Some members of the Roman Catholic group occasionally expressed awareness that I was not one of "their own." While this was not a serious barrier for most, it was in a few cases. "Neutral" belief status in fieldwork with charismatics is virtually impossible, and any researcher in a multid denominational project such as mine would have been affected by informant responses to his personal stance. I kept as quiet about mine as possible, and when asked what "religion" I belonged to, often answered truthfully that, where I come from, the concept of denomination is virtually absent and that I was comfortable with both Catholics and Protestants. Nevertheless, when individuals asked about my recent absence from Marian Community prayer meetings, the explanation given (as I was told by a Roman Catholic friend) was not that I had finished my fieldwork, but that I had "gone Pentecostal."

I found that individual reactions to my religious status varied considerably--and unpredictably. On many occasions, someone would comment on the depth and sincerity of my Christianity, and

express love or even admiration for me as a Christian. Sometimes, after services or prayer meetings in which I had been more participant than observer, someone who had not met me personally before would come over saying that they had seen me praying and thought that I must love God deeply, and that therefore they had wanted to meet me. These positive reactions to me as a believer always nonplussed me, as I am neither particularly demonstrative nor particularly good, though it is true that I love God deeply. On other occasions--especially after meetings or services during which I had been taking notes, watching faces, tape recording, or photographing--individuals seemed to smile less at me when I smiled at them, and sometimes made comments which suggested to me that they were a bit uncertain of my "real" reasons for attending. On the whole, I found that the more personally secure and articulate members of all three groups seemed comfortable with me, asking and answering questions easily, while those who were less certain of themselves in the context of the group, more reticent in general toward other groups members, were also reticent with me. I have had the delight of seeing several--young businessmen, older widows, small children, university students--who were originally shy with me and with others develop trust and security enough to voice their enthusiasms, confusions, frustrations, and hopes in after-meeting conversations. Some, of course, have also withdrawn from meetings, but few that I know of have withdrawn specifically from me.

In addition, my native status has laid me open to confusions and griefs which a more detached researcher probably would not have suffered. While previous experience in fieldwork with religious groups vastly different from myself had developed my capacities for suspension

and control of my personal reactions to religious statements and activities, it had not prepared me for the constant pressure of my own foreignness in some Newfoundland contexts. My lack of familiarity with the cultural dynamics involved in being a charismatic Newfoundlander in various denominations and areas kept me constantly questioning the validity of my own understandings of individual and group perspectives. While this was professionally necessary, it was personally exhausting: such detachment from groups with whom I shared beliefs, activities, values, and interpersonal processes at the very base and core of my own life meant detaching myself from what would otherwise have been my primary source of relaxation, recuperation and reassurance during the lonely years of graduate school and fieldwork in a foreign country. It also meant the critical suspension of beliefs and values far more central to my identity than my American-ness could ever be. Native traditions of verification and skepticism helped; reflective and self-critical informants helped; but there were times when the perspectives demanded by my task and the perspectives required for my own wellbeing seemed to cleave most painfully.

In spite of my efforts to reduce my ignorance and increase my empathy, the Roman Catholic group seemed the least comfortable of the three groups with my ethnographic activities. I tape recorded only three meetings there, in addition to the conference and individual speakers. Group leaders whom I had approached about taping meetings were dubious about the membership's comfort with it, explaining that there was too much routine sharing of personal and sensitive information for taping to be acceptable to them. In fact, individuals did speak about personal problems at home and at work, but never gave

specific details or names, and certainly shared information no more sensitive than is common in other prayer groups in the city, though a proportionately larger amount of meeting time is devoted to such personal narratives. I think the actual reasons for their greater discomfort with taping (and with note-taking, which sometimes brought me anxious glances) were sociocultural. There were many older women in the Catholic group--in fact, in the last few months it has become about 70% women over fifty. My youth therefore made me somewhat unusual there, whereas in the other two groups I fall into the age range of the majority (25-45). The average income of group members seems lower, though this is a rather impressionistic conclusion on my part, based upon clothing worn and comments made about the jobs held by various individuals. Economically, educationally, and attitudinally, a doctoral student in the social sciences was a more unusual creature there than at the Worship Centre or the Cuffs'. There was also a higher percentage of people whose vocabulary and pronunciation were noticeably different from mine, though most members of the other two groups have lived in Newfoundland all their lives.

Ultimately, however, two central causes seem to underlie my comparative difficulty in feeling I was interacting appropriately and fitting in well at the Catholic group. The first is that I worked intensively with this group during the early stages of fieldwork, when I was nervous and fumbling, still finding my feet and establishing my familiarity with local cultural norms, and very shy about my own personal and professional identity. The chances that my problems there were in part imaginary and in part my own fault seem to me to be excellent. Certainly I have been welcomed enthusiastically on recent

visits. The second cause is that a high number of people attending the Catholic prayer group were of the opinion, voiced to me spontaneously on several occasions, that the group had a higher percentage of people needing emotional support and spiritual teaching than it had of people able to meet such needs, and that its atmosphere suffered accordingly. There were qualities in the group which often caused staunch members to comment that it lacked leadership, or that so-and-so had "quenched" the Holy Spirit, or that something important but hard to define was simply wrong. I was often uncomfortable, not because of theological conflicts with the Hall Mary, but because I shared such reactions. Professional ethics, and a strong sense of my own ignorance of the deep reasons for the groups' dynamics, kept me from expressing such reactions, however freely others might express them to me; much of my awkwardness in the group was probably the product of my tight controls on my own discomfort.

I had uncomfortable moments in the other two groups as well. Disagreement with theological premises or stylistic tendencies usually leaves me unruffled, but at times personal problems or simple exhaustion made me susceptible to culture shock as I went from one group or community event to another. I sometimes felt rather like a chameleon, and looked forward to having my personal religious life disentangled from my long months of effort to grasp other people's points of view, to gauge group processes, to take notes when I would have liked to use the time to reorient my own mind. There were days when going from the Litany of the Saints to "God's Got an Army" left me feeling like a warfaring stranger, marginal everywhere and at home nowhere.

It is to my informants' credit that they allowed me to negotiate my complicated and often unhappy role among them with the understanding and good grace they almost always showed. On the whole, I have been deeply touched by the warmth and acceptance given me in all three groups, as well as by other local charismatic of many kinds. This acceptance was largely due, not to my native status, nor to my professional efforts to learn and use group norms for appropriate and sensitive behaviour, but to the affectionate and welcoming stance of the groups toward newcomers and members in general. People in all three groups have invited me over for meals, prayed for me during periods of academic pressure, come to me with confusions and griefs, and shown interest in my personal and professional life. Of the two hundred or so whom I have come to know fairly well, I have respect for all and deep love for many.

It has now been four months since I stopped doing formal, steady fieldwork. I have continued to attend all three groups periodically, though I have increased attendance at the Worship Centre and decreased it at the other two. I have found, somewhat to my surprise, that I am a better fieldworker and a better analyst of cultural dynamics now than I was while I was conscientiously suspending my own beliefs, concealing my tensions and confusions, and maintaining a carefully neutral mode of participant observation. The pang of guilt I used to experience when surreptitiously observing groups during corporate worship no longer bothers me, and if someone wants to be prayed with, I no longer refrain out of a sense of obligation to avoid affecting the course of the prayer meeting or the beliefs of individuals. I no longer experience conflicting emotions when I confront ambivalencies, inconsistencies,

and contradictions in cultural belief, for I am no longer attempting to juggle two roles with incompatible loyalties. In some manner I do not fully comprehend, they have resolved themselves into a single role, and, as two eyes focused on a single subject yield perspectival vision, so native and ethnographic sources of insight have cohered into a depth and clarity which I hope will provide an accurate picture for both charismatic and social scientific readers.

Outline of the Study

The study begins with cultural background and oral history, designed to place the three groups in their developmental and current folk religious contexts. The second chapter is devoted to ritual life: its variations, its meanings, its affects, and its significance in local charismatic culture. This chapter contains sample meetings from each of the three groups, condensed from transcripts of tape recordings and augmented with visual detail, and placed with a general discussion of the cultural definitions of a "good" prayer meeting. My aim is to allow the reader to grasp, as clearly as possible, both the underlying unities and the variations which exist between groups, by combining analysis of the central dynamics involved with what Clifford Geertz has called thick description.³⁰

Chapters III, IV and V concern the interaction of folk belief, reason, and experience in some of the areas most frequently discussed in social scientific studies of charismatic and Pentecostal groups. Attention has focused largely upon religious conversion, some of the charismatic gifts (speaking in tongues, in particular), and the beliefs and practices involved in religious healing. These three chapters are

designed to present how people think about these areas, and what kinds of experiential data and cultural concepts they use in formulating their beliefs. This approach is taken for three reasons: one, it makes available the type of data most lacking in the literature; two, it is in keeping with the overall ethnoscientific approach of the thesis; three, it offers an accurate picture of the way in which belief and practice actually develop and operate in local culture. This last reason is the most important: specific beliefs, and the ethos and worldview of which they are a part, are not entirely "given" for many individuals here; they are hammered out slowly as people work with logic and evidence to formulate new religious beliefs and styles. Differences between the groups, and between individual and shared processes and conclusions, will be discussed as well as general community patterns.

Chapter III deals with conversion (being "born again"), with baptism in or release of the Holy Spirit, and with the phenomenon locally known as anointing, which can form an important part of the sensory experience included in conversion and baptism, and often recurs from time to time in the lives of charismatics. It is one of the paradoxes of the social scientific study of religion that these topics are rarely, if ever, discussed in experiential detail: one would think that researchers would wish to explore what is going on, within and between people, when radical transformations of an individual's sense of relationship to the universe take place. Charismatic literature supports the evidence of my own fieldwork that the problem does not lie in informant reticence: these are not clan secrets, to be protected from the eyes and ears of outsiders. The difficulty is to get people

to stop talking about them: caught up in vivid recollections as the experiences are narrated, I have known people to go on describing them, in minute and specific detail, for an hour or two. Whatever may be the reasons for the paucity of this kind of data, the fact remains that one can read a good many studies of religious cults, movements, and revivals without ever getting a glimpse of what convinced people that something had radically and permanently changed their relationships to that in which they live and move and have their being.

Chapter IV takes the charismata one by one, discussing their definitions and roles in the lives of various groups and individuals. The degree of involvement varies from one gift to another, and from one individual or group to another; the portrait of each gift as a cultural category of events and experiences is more or less detailed depending on the amount of data I could obtain about it. I doubt very much if the nine charismata are of equal importance in the ethos and worldview of any religious folk group which believes in them: their relative simplicity or elaboration, vagueness or specificity, in local belief and practice are important variables in comparative studies, and have not yet been used as such. Here, only variations between individuals and groups within St. John's are discussed, but some comparative data is provided in the notes.

Chapter V discusses the various methods of religious healing used by local charismatics, and their place within cultural worldview. Much of the information presented in Chapters III and IV is of relevance here, for charismatic healing is usually accomplished through the anointing and the charismata, used to the afflicted person's benefit by someone praying with him, or forming key features of his private

experience. It is therefore an important cultural context for studying the ways in which these experiences occur, and what functions they play in the lives of individuals and the folklife of the community.

These three chapters deal centrally with experiential and perceptual data interpreted (and possibly constituted) in culture-specific ways. For too long, social scientists interested in altered states of consciousness have used terms such as "trance," "ecstasy," and "spirit possession" with such a vague and variable range of meanings that they have become worse than useless for the furtherance of cross-cultural understanding. As they are often applied on a rather impressionistic basis and not through analysis of the experiential descriptions of culture members, the social scientific community has been led to posit similarity between cultural activities where little or no experiential similarity exists, and to form analytic categories for cultural phenomena which are wildly incompatible with their emic definitions. Victor Turner is perhaps the only ethnographer to have observed, defined, described, and named as "communitas" a specific experiential state which is often associated with religious activity, and brings with it particular affects and interactional modes.³¹

Seminal as the concept of communitas is proving, it by no means exhausts the field of religious experiential states; Turner's research has provided a model for further investigation. In the cultural group presented here, the experience and interpretation of a range of specific describable states, including but not limited to communitas, is crucial in the formation of ethos and worldview, and of specific religious beliefs. When the processes taking place within and between individuals have been "thickly" described, along with their cultural

interpretations, uses, and means of evaluation, religious experience and religious healing among urban westerners may be discussed with the same objectivity and attention to "the native's point of view" as is often accorded to tribal modes of traditional ritual and medicine.

The sixth chapter deals with the lives of charismatics outside of prayer meetings and church services. Too many studies of religion in various cultural contexts neglect its everyday fields of application and expression, apparently assuming that a Maori's religious beliefs outside ritual contexts, or a Muslim's between his five daily prayers, are merely a "pale, remembered reflection"³² of his beliefs during explicitly and obviously religious activities. This deprives the reader of the opportunity to observe the members of a folk religious group making decisions, raising their children, attending parties, coping with sickness and interpreting disasters, and generally getting along in the world. I would argue that folk religion is most usefully studied in interaction with the world of experience which it is supposed to explain and make manageable. The insights presented here draw heavily upon the lives of the ten or fifteen households in the community which I know well, augmented by the "sharings" of prayer group members about events they experienced during the week; their conversations with me about their jobs, children, neighbours, parents, health, and finances; and their discussions and jokes about matters of common concern.

The chapter has, however, theoretical purposes beyond the desire for ethnographic fullness and balance. The first deals with the basic premises and approaches of belief scholarship. To present charismatic culture only as it exists in meetings is like presenting

beliefs about death and the dead only as they exist in fireside ghost-story sessions. In fact, because in many cultures and communities ghost beliefs are either not fully believed, or kept as a sort of emergency knowledge, like cardio-pulmonary resuscitation skills, while charismatic beliefs are serious and many are in daily use, such presentation is even more of a scientific travesty than it is in the case of less serious and practical knowledge. It hopelessly distorts the cultural context and "texture" of belief, giving it a framed, contained-within-ritual quality which it does not possess. To be understood, charismatic culture must be viewed as comprehensively as possible: as will become clear, there is no firm line of demarcation between the world of ritual and the world of the everyday.

The second theoretical purpose addressed in this chapter has to do with gaps in ethnographic literature which ethnosemiotic thinkers have recently sought to correct. Cultures have often been presented as stable, self-contained units: the processes which take place in borderlands and interregnae have too often been left out. Dean MacCannell has called for increased and better attention to "the production of culture as interpretation motivated by social differences," and to "the aesthetic, moral, and other interpretive codes which are necessary for communication between cultures in multi-cultural systems . . ." ³³—both obvious concerns in the cultural analysis of a cognitive minority in a complex society. Charismatic worldview is often in conflict or negotiation with rationalistic and noncharismatic religious thought-styles, as individuals work with the complexities of their own past interpretive and responsive habits and those current in the social networks around them.

Chapter VII offers a reading of the symbol system used in local charismatic culture. With descriptions of meetings, performance texts and contexts, key concepts and experiences, and the interpretations and responses which shape everyday life laid before him, the reader will, I hope, be equipped to evaluate and perhaps to challenge this presentation of a somewhat subterranean level of cultural thought and emotion. One must study cultural tropes--the metaphors, metonymies, and synecdoches which are formed of shared images and ideas, and recur in the expressive culture of a folk group--somewhat indirectly, through diverse enactments of and responses to them. This chapter owes much (as does the entire thesis) to Clifford Geertz's definition of religion as:

- (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.³⁴

Geertz's definition seems appropriate to me, both to ethnographic reality in this particular instance, and to Yoder's formulation of religion as a field of folkloristic study. It also owes much to the new field of symbolic anthropology, in which anthropologists and folklorists are collaborating with unusual harmony of perspectives and interests.³⁵

Chapter VIII discusses several of the concepts used, approaches taken, and questions raised by folklorists and anthropologists who have worked with Pentecostal or charismatic groups elsewhere. Is the cross-denominational charismatic community a revitalization movement? Does tongue-speaking indicate an altered state of consciousness? How well do social and psychological explanations for charismatic ethos and

worldview correlate with what charismatics here actually do and say? Does the rapid growth of the belief group worldwide indicate a global swing of the pendulum toward communitas and religious antistructure, a return to "the spring of pure possibility"³⁶ which can send meaning flowing once more through old forms, or generate new forms to hold the new wine of meaningful religion? Methodologies as well as theories are examined here, and the results compared for phenomenological and nonphenomenological investigations of glossolalia and altered states of consciousness, and for etic and emic studies of religious dynamics and motivations.

I have been guided and reassured in the daunting task of gathering, analyzing, and presenting the ways in which belief actually works among St. John's charismatics by a passage written, and an example set, by David Hufford. In the introductory section of a study which partook, like this one, of both belief and experience, and attended to their complex relations, Hufford noted:

Practically all studies of belief begin with quite a heavy load of assumptions, often implicit, which act to filter out certain kinds of data. Three such assumptions are especially distorting: (1) that statements which do not appear to allow for materialistic interpretation may be rejected out of hand; (2) that "the folk" are always poor observers and consistently confuse subjective with objective reality--a confusion which the scholar can unravel rather easily at second hand; and (3) that informants therefore cannot maintain memories separate from legends. . . . All of these positions have something to recommend them for use at some point in research, but when used in the field, they completely spoil objectivity. It is such assumptions that have often prevented fieldworkers from gathering such essential information as the actual success and failure rates of folk healers. . . . What is needed is a more rigorously empirical approach to the collection of data. We should suspend our disbelief and not start wondering immediately what really happened--that is, what would be an explanation that we would accept. When an informant relates a bizarre but believed experience, we should try to ask some of the questions that his friends and neighbors might, as well as those that occur to a university professor.³⁷

This argument—which applies to belief we term religious just as fully as to that we term medical or superstitious or ideological—is an important step toward the fulfillment of a task Clifford Geertz has set the social sciences. It has been recognized for some time that a people's worldview makes their way of life seem uniquely reasonable and well-suited to the actual conditions of human life, while their ethos lends a feeling of validity to worldview. What has not been recognized is how this particular miracle, as Geertz says, is accomplished.³⁸ This study attempts that task, orienting itself as Hufford suggests. It has not made the task easy, nor do I think it has made charismatics fully comprehensible. But it has reassured me that my colleagues are interested in how the miracle is accomplished, and helped me to find what I think are some valid answers.

A Note on the Text

All of the names of individuals in the charismatic community which appear in the following pages are real, and are used by permission. Only those individuals who are mentioned very briefly, stating that they are pastoral leaders or important lay members in various groups, have not had an opportunity to approve the specific content. Those who are named in quotations, recorded interviews or informal conversations have given the verbal permission to do so, and any passages which might be considered sensitive have been brought to the relevant individuals for approval of their written form. A great deal more of the material herein may strike other readers as sensitive, for I found my informants willing to be known to a degree that far surpasses the ordinary norms of self-presentation.

I have opted for truth, not social acceptability, in presenting both positive and negative aspects of local culture. In general, such negative statements and interpretations as are given come from the members of the groups discussed, and are thus esoteric rather than exoteric (insiders' rather than outsiders') views, as is made clear in the text. Where my own analyses are concerned, some readers may find me too laudatory for their taste, while others will find me too skeptical. I have considered it a point of scholarly integrity and responsibility to give my honest opinions, based upon data weighed and discussed in the thesis. Most of these have been verbally discussed with group members prior to the actual writing. The "truth" presented here is concerned primarily with the recording of group members' experiences and observations, faith and skepticism, but also includes my own, tested and trained by the methods of my discipline.

Paraphrases and quotations from my field notes are identified in the text by the abbreviation f.n. and the date recorded. Readers wishing to verify details or obtain further information on points of interest are welcome to contact me. The names and addresses of most informants are on file in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, and they should be contacted by readers wishing to quote their statements or learn more about their particular experiences and points of view, for they are in a sense coauthors of the study and retain final authority over their own contributions. Where questions of interpretation and analysis are concerned, I assume that scholars will wish to go to the original source for oral material, just as they would for written material. Neither native status nor ethnoscience make one omniscient or infallible.

CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARISMATIC CULTURE IN ST. JOHN'S

Introduction: A Sketch of Charismatic Identity

It is eight-thirty on a Wednesday evening. In Don and Linda Cuff's small townhouse off Thorburn Road in St. John's, some thirty people are crowded into the living room. Some are in jeans and sports shirts, some in business clothes; some of the women are fashionably dressed while others are in handmade or inexpensive clothes. Most are in their twenties and thirties. A guitar and a banjo move in the unrehearsed synchrony of long practice at simple melodies; heads lean together, sharing song sheets. The music is country Gospel: "Amazing Grace," "I Saw the Light," "Sweet Honey in the Rock." It moves, shifts into slower rhythms and more complex harmonies; eyes close. The song sheets are set down, and hands clasped or raised open-palmed toward the ceiling, for whenever the words are known, the attention of the singers shifts to their meaning. Using the act of singing as a gateway to the peace, the joy, and most of all the sense of Presence described in lyrics, they are doing what their songs say to do, paying attention to that of which the songs speak:

We have come into this house
And gathered in His name
To worship Him;
We have come into this house
And gathered in His name
To worship Him;
We have come into this house
And gathered in His name
To worship Him:
Worship Him, Christ our Lord.

So forget about yourself,
 Concentrate on Him,
 And worship Him;
 So forget about yourself,
 Concentrate on Him,
 And worship Him;
 So forget about yourself,
 Concentrate on Him,
 And worship Him:
 Worship Him, Christ our Lord.¹

The frail, elderly man in the armchair murmurs the words of the Mass:
 "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit." The
 young man kneeling on the carpet near him murmurs, "Thankyou, Lord. I
 needed Your love and the way You have shown it to me this week. Thanks
 for loving me so faithfully in spite of my unfaithfulness. I'm so glad
 You saved me." The slim, middle-aged woman in another armchair murmurs
 "Halleluia," in the low-pitched, musical vibrato traditional in New-
 foundland Pentecostal churches. The young, longhaired man in faded
 denim, from the West End Baptist Church, is silent, praying peacefully.
 Laying his banjo aside, the young man in business clothes, from George
 Street United Church, prays in soft, lilting glossolalia. They will be
 there, singing and praying, discussing Biblical passages, laughing and
 exchanging news over tea and muffins, until midnight or one in the
 morning.

In the Salvation Army Temple near the shipyards in downtown St.
 John's, homeless men in donated clothes; ample matrons in black Army
 uniforms; teenagers in jeans, the eyes of the girls heavy with mascara,
 crowd their chairs into a tiny room in the basement. Their eyes too
 are closed, their hands raised or clasped, and murmurs of "Praise You,
 Jesus," "Alleluia," "Thankyou, Lord," rise and fall as the Captain prays
 aloud, thanking God for sending the Holy Spirit upon them. In the
 cafeteria of Presentation School in the older part of town, up the hill

from the Salvation Army Temple, another circle of chairs is set. Several nuns, a priest or two, some young Christian Brothers, five or six lay men, and fifty or more lay women are singing in English or in tongues, their individual melodies and rhythms blending easily into a complex, classical western harmony. Hands are raised, some stretched high over the head; others, palms up, at waist or chest height. Eyes are closed and faces peaceful; many are smiling as they sing. The harmony softens into silence. Seconds pass, a long minute, without restlessness, before participants begin to open their eyes and take their seats to go on to the next phase of the Marian Community prayer meeting.

Above a shop on LeMarchant Road, in another small living room, six or seven friends have gathered more or less by chance, and are also praying in tongues and praising God. Some are troubled about marital conflicts or health problems, and have come hoping to be cheered up by the firm, joyful faith of the others. Later they will discuss their problems and ask that the others lay hands upon them and pray for them, binding the destructive influences of Satan and asking for wisdom, peace, and strength from God. In three more homes scattered around the city, members of the Worship Centre are also singing and praising God in English and in tongues, discussing Biblical themes and sharing personal problems. Similar gatherings take place on most nights of the week, in ten to fifteen other homes in the city.

Charismatics in St. John's today tend to view themselves, and are viewed by noncharismatics, as unified by their common belief in and experiences related to the baptism in or release of the Holy Spirit. Exoterically, this associates charismatics with the Pentecostal

Assemblies of Newfoundland: Catholic, Baptist, Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Church charismatics, even if they never go near a Pentecostal church, are frequently considered to have "gone Pentecostal." Pentecostals themselves may view charismatics with full acceptance, ambivalence, or suspicion (suspicion seems to predominate among the individuals I have encountered); for stylistic and theological differences between the two groups are far more obvious from the Pentecostal perspective than they are to many members of other denominations. Charismatics are allied with Pentecostals in that they define conversion as an invitation to Christ to live inside one, and an acceptance of His invitation, given through the Crucifixion, to live in Him. This double union of God and man is held to be made experientially real through the third Person of the Trinity, when He descends upon or fills the believer. Further, they accept the Pentecostal belief that Christianity is an interactive relationship with the Trinity which can include any of the divine abilities, miracles, or types of guidance described in the New Testament. Charismatics differ from the classical Pentecostal churches in St. John's and other areas of Newfoundland in that they tend to accept the validity of other denominations; to place less emphasis on modes of dress, speech, and social taboos such as the avoidance of theatres and dancing than is traditional in Pentecostal definitions of holiness; and that their religious behaviour, both personal and congregational, tends toward spontaneity, informality, and individuality. Charismatic music, religious art, folk speech, and interpersonal relationships also reflect these qualities. They are noticeably distinct from Pentecostal culture in the area, and noticeably unified across charismatic groups of various stylistic and

denominational kinds--from demonstrative to reserved; from prayer-oriented to discussion-oriented; from the Catholic Charismatic Renewal to the United Church Renewal Fellowship and the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship.

The numbers involved in charismatic religious folklife are difficult to assess, for its distinctive patterns of religious ethos and worldview are not always visible through overt religious behaviour or participation in specifically charismatic gatherings. On the other hand, events such as the monthly breakfast meetings held by the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship are often attended by people who do not share charismatic beliefs or experiences, or who are in transition between stable states of religious identity. Attendance at local prayer groups fluctuates a good deal, though each has a "core" of regular participants. Even regulars sometimes view themselves as semi-outsiders for months, as they slowly internalize the values and perspectives they admire in other members, and undergo various personal rites of passage such as baptism in the Holy Spirit and the shedding of traits or habits they consider sinful. Many people have told me that they are as deeply convinced of the indwelling, active Presence of the Holy Spirit as any weekly attendee at a prayer group, but have conflicting demands upon their time or criticisms of particular groups which keep them from participating in charismatic gatherings. Many do not know of local groups or are too shy to approach them, and exercise their charismatic faith with the sole input and support of television programs, magazines, sermon tapes, records, and books. Another type of "borderline" believer considers charismatic acquaintances holy, and asks for prayer by charismatic groups when in trouble, or calls the

volunteer counselors at 100 Huntly Street's local office,² but is not interested in meeting with them--or, again, feels he is too busy, too lowly, or too shy. Yet another may have experiences of spiritual communion with God, or of divine guidance or inspiration, or think and feel about his overall religious life in ways very similar to those of local charismatics, yet be unaware of the resemblance because he has encountered only individuals whose style made him uncomfortable. There are people who used to be charismatics and aren't now, people who are becoming charismatics but aren't yet, people who attend the meetings but do not fully hold the cultural ethos and worldview, and people who hold the ethos and worldview but do not attend the meetings.

Local charismatics often express recognition of these complexities. The native definition of "charismatic," used here as the basis for the analytic delineation of the folk group, is perhaps best thought of as a field of focus, clear in the centre, but growing blurred at its perimeter. At the centre are those individuals who both participate in charismatic meetings and events, and think and feel in the ways characteristic of charismatic culture as it will be described in the succeeding chapters. Toward the edges are those whose inner or interpersonal lives in some way separate them, in their own estimation or in that of other charismatics, from full membership. Essentially this definition rests upon the assumption that culture exists both within men and between them; in the private realm of the mind and the public realm of speech and action. In evaluating the status of particular individuals, charismatics often give some precedence to mind, acknowledging as culture members individuals who consider themselves so in spite of their nonparticipation (for whatever reasons) in

cultural activities. In evaluating groups, local people tend to take participation as evidence of agreement with charismatic belief and practice. A good deal of leeway is generally given for personal ups and downs, doubts, conflicts, and confusions: charismatics feel that the Holy Spirit is patient and understanding and, once one has received Him, one will not be abandoned for temporary lapses or rebellions. Similarly, the need to think through the issues and principles involved before asking for baptism in the Holy Spirit from God, for healing, or for various charismata is understood and respected, and therefore individuals who attend charismatic groups or events for a while before taking such steps themselves are not viewed as outsiders, and may not even be considered peripheral. The native definition tends toward inclusion rather than exclusion.

Using the native definition, with its combination of public and private features, charismatics in the metropolitan area number about seven hundred. This estimate includes only those who regularly attend charismatic groups and events at present. A more complete picture of charismatic participation in various denominations is given in Table 1 below. It must be remembered, however, that the adoption of charismatic beliefs can result in a change of church membership. One charismatic Catholic couple, for example, recently decided they would be happier in the Salvation Army; the Worship Centre, which is a Pentecostal Assembly, attracts charismatics of all denominations. Such transfers affect the denominational membership figures below. On the basis of my experience in the community, I would guess that approximately 30% of the charismatics now attending the Worship Centre or the Salvation Army Temple have converted from other denominations within the last five to ten years.

Table 1

Newfoundland Charismatic Prayer Groups Known to St. John's Informants

Community	Population	Charismatic Groups	Starting Date	Average Attendance
Appleton	420	Anglican	1983	5
Baie Verte	24,091	Anglican	1982	5
Bay Roberts	45,012	United Church	1975	35
		UCRF	1981	40-80
Bishop's Falls	43,095	UCRF	1978	70 +
Bonavista	44,060	XD	1973	20
Brigus, C.B.	898	RC		20
Carbonear	53,035	RC		20
		WA	1980	60
Corner Brook	24,339	Anglican	1983	5
		RC		50
		UCRF	1979	60
Gander	10,404	RC		
Grand Falls	8,765	FCBMFI	1982	80
		WA	1983	100
		RC		25
Freshwater, P.B.	1,276	RC	1974	40
Hampden	838	SA	1982	15
King's Point	825	UCRF	1981	30
Lewisporte	3,963	FCBMFI	1982	100
New Harbour	777	XD	1983	50
New World Island	5,004	UCRF	1983	30
Northern Arm	298	Anglican	1979	25
St. John's	83,770	Anglican	1982	12
		FCBMFI	1976	175
		Neopentecostal	1976	60
		XD: Brophys'	1982	12
		XD: Cuffs'	1979	25
		XD: Dawes'	1983	12
		XD: Rostotakis'	1978	40
		RC	1974	60
		SA	1979	12
		UCRF	1981	30
		WA	1977	100
Springdale	3,501	Anglican	1981	10
Stephenville	8,876	FCBMFI	1982	65
		RC		25
Stephenville Crossing	2,172	RC		25
Tor's Cove	355	RC	1981	20
Twillingate	1,506	XD	1973	50
		UCRF	1979	80
Windsor	5,747	RC		

FCBMFI = Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International;
 RC = Roman Catholic; SA = Salvation Army; UC = United Church;
 UCRF = United Church Renewal Fellowship; WA = Women's Aglow;
 XD = Crossdenominational (see Map, p. 67).

Folk Religion and Religious Folklife:
The Study's Definitions

For the purposes of describing what is believed and done for religious reasons, by whom, and why, in the St. John's charismatic community, I have tailored a definition of folk religion and religious folklife to fit the realities of this particular field situation. This choice relates directly to the overall orientation of the thesis, which is ethnoscientific: in Henry Glassie's phrase, its aim is "to construct the culture as its people do."³ Interpretations and analyses of reasons for belief, motives for action, and structures or dynamics in ritual and performance which conflict with, or are foreign to, the social actor's definition of beliefs, acts, and situations are presented alongside the native perspective. I have attempted throughout to provide the reader with direct reporting of what people say and do and think, as well as with crosscultural frameworks and theoretical perspectives which seem to be applicable to this culture. Because the definition of folk religion and religious folklife is basic to the reader's conception of the entire study, the synthesis which has emerged from dialectics between scholarly definitions and native definitions is explained here.

To begin with, the concept of "folk" presents some interesting puzzles when one is dealing with a population like this one: upper-, middle-, and lower-class incomes, urban and small-community backgrounds, educational levels ranging from Grade Six to M.D. and Ph.D. make it impossible to apply the older, social-class-based definitions of the term in discussing the religious beliefs and affiliations of St. John's charismatics. The only pattern that exists with any consistency among them, even within single prayer groups, is heterogeneity: there is no generalizing about social class, political affiliation, modes of dress,

or other demographic factors. In addition, these class-based definitions of "folk" tend to classify people as much as, or more than, they do beliefs, practices, and oral or material traditions, and do not mix well with the "culture-oriented" definitions of folklore now current in the discipline, as discussed by Yoder.⁴ In Weston La Barre's words, to "distinguish a 'people' from a 'folk' serves only to defend a useless and stultifying ethnocentrism. . . ."⁵ For the purposes of this study, a definition of "folk" is used which does not exclude anyone on the basis of social class.

My working definition of "folk" is based upon Alan Dundes's "Who are the Folk?"⁶ Dundes argues that a "folk group" may be united by ethnic, regional, occupational, religious, or other kinds of bonds. Whatever type of common ground its members share, they view one another as "insiders" and others as "outsiders" in terms of that specific common ground. Of course, people may belong to a number of different folk groups, sharing ethnic elements with one, religious elements with another, and so forth, so the lines of demarcation between insiders and outsiders do not necessarily stand between the same individuals on all occasions. (For example, a man may consider his wife an outsider when he is engaged in group activities with fellow soccer players, or businessmen, or Theosophists, yet an insider when they are attending a neighbourhood annual barbecue or trimming their Christmas tree in a style brought by their families from a common country of origin.) Under this definition, "folk" is not a descriptor for types of persons within a society, but for types of social bonds between persons.⁷

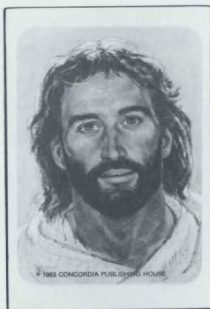
Charismatics in St. John's are unified by their religious ethos and worldview, which are distinctive and quite consistent across

denominational lines, though of course there are variations on its themes. The diverse observable elements which are shared between charismatics of different denominations, classes, and prayer groups have important bases in this ethos and worldview. Technically speaking, they are unified, not by the songs they find inspiring, the metaphors they find apt, the jokes they find funny. Rather, they are unified by the way they think and feel about religion--and that unity shows up in shared features of expressive culture. That the unity is deep and psychologically pervasive, rather than being composed of the visible elements which signal its presence, is shown by the frequency with which charismatics spontaneously respond to the same materials, in the same ways, for the same reasons, without knowing that other charismatics have done so. For example, local composer Anne Devine introduced a new song to the Worship Centre one Sunday evening by explaining that it was based upon a particular Bible verse. She had left her Bible open on a table for a few minutes, and had returned to find it opened at Lamentations, chapter three--a book she had not read and was certain she had not turned to. Seeing this verse, she was much attracted to its ideas and its phrasing, and felt that God had perhaps "given" her this verse from which to develop a song. It was only later that she discovered that it is used in a hymn and a "scripture chorus," as short lyric songs are sometimes called, in her own congregation. (Anne had been attending the Worship Centre for a year or so at this time, but its repertoire is large and she is often away, singing in other churches, and therefore had apparently not been present at services when these were sung.) The verse was Lamentations 3:22-23, used by Anne and in the "scripture chorus" in the Revised Standard Version:

The steadfast love of the Lord never ceases; His mercies never come to an end. They are new every morning: great is Thy faithfulness.

Not only did the same verse move her as it had moved fellow charismatics, but the emotional response to this verse is part of a larger cultural concentration upon biblical promises, over biblical prohibitions, eschatological prophecies, and commands. Promises appear on posters and plaques on the walls of local charismatic homes. Some people write them on small cards, and carry them in their wallets to memorize, a few at a time. They are often quoted in discussions of personal problems, where they may be used as axioms upon which reasoning can be based. The occurrence of parallel creations in expressive culture, such as Anne's use of a verse that had been used before, spring from such shared tendencies in religious thought.

To take a visual example of the same kinds of common ground, portraits of Christ in charismatic homes have certain broad characteristics in common: they tend to be closeups, showing only the head and shoulders; the eyes look directly into the eyes of the viewer; and Christ tends to have Semitic features. These qualities stand in marked contrast to some of the other local portrayals of Christ. As shown in Fig. 1, bottom, Christ is often shown looking away from the viewer; at full length, and therefore at a greater distance from the viewer, and with light skin, blue eyes, and fair hair. When I photographed the painting shown in Fig. 3, I commented to the young Roman Catholic couple who own it (who had been telling me for several minutes how much it meant to them, and how much more "like Jesus" it seemed to them than other pictures locally available) that I had seen it in a number of charismatic Protestant households in the United States and here. They were quite



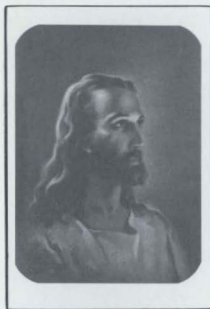
GOD'S GIFT IS JESUS

God so loved the world,
that He gave His only-begotten Son,
that whosoever believeth in Him
should not perish
but have everlasting life.

John 3:16

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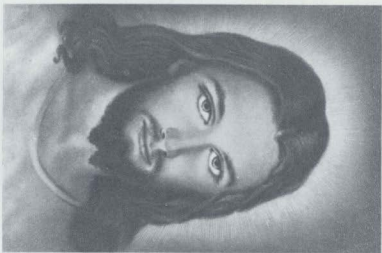
The Beatitudes

Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is
the kingdom of heaven.
Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall
be comforted.
Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit
the earth.
Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst
after righteousness: for they shall be filled.
Blessed are the merciful: for they shall
obtain mercy.
Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall
see God.
Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall
be called the children of God.
Blessed are they which are persecuted for
righteousness' sake: for theirs is the king-
dom of heaven.
Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you,
and persecute you, and shall say all man-
ner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.
Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is
your reward in heaven. . . .

—Matthew 5:3-12

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Fig. 1. Top: A portrayal of Christ popular among local charismatics.
Bottom: A portrayal of Christ seen in some classical Pente-
costal and United Church of Canada homes and churches in St.
John's.



Jesus, trust in Thee!

J + M

Merciful Jesus, we believe in Thee
and we trust in Thee.

Come to the aid of our weakness
and our incapacity.

Grant that we may be able to make Thee known
and loved by all men,
and that, confident in the immensity of Thy love
we may be able to combat the evil
which is in us and in the world,
for Thy Glory and our Salvation.

Amen.

NIHL ORSTAT — † PIETRO SANTORO — BISHOP OF TERNOLI
This beautiful message was translated by
MERCIFUL JESUS HIMSELF TO HIS INSTRUMENT
on 22 April 1969 in Milan.



Fig. 3. Master bedroom in a Roman Catholic charismatic home, St. John's.

surprised and interested to find that their feelings about this picture were not unique.

The symbol system which underlies much of charismatic expressive culture, forming bonds of common imagery and common meanings across diverse genres and across the repertoire of different prayer groups, is presented in Chapter VII. Bonds of common religious experiences and specific beliefs are presented in Chapters II through VI. For the moment, the purpose of these illustrations is simply to clarify the bases upon which charismatics may be called a folk group.

The concept of "folk religion" as used in this study is consistent with the definition of the folk group. Beginning with the definitional foundation established by Yoder, in which folk religion is "the religious dimension of folk culture" or "the folk-cultural dimension of religion",⁸ I am here using the term to describe that religious ethos and worldview, with the specific beliefs and practices which are part of them, which are shared by a religious folk group. To sum up what this is in a sentence or two is like trying to sum up what is ethnicity, Balinese style, or what is Theosophy, middle-class-New England style. Charismatics share culture. It is specifically religious culture, and does not preclude membership in all sorts of other folk groups with other kinds of common ground. However, there are dimensions as complex and as subtle to that culture as there are in ethnicity. Johannes Fabian has suggested that it may be useful to conceive of movements or groups whose common ground tends to be extensive and pervasive, yet who remain part of the larger society around them and do not adopt a separatist lifestyle, as "part-societies."⁹ This may be a useful concept to keep in mind, though "folk group" is the term used here. It helps to express

the idea that what is shared by the folk group is culture, rather than an ideology or a limited and numerable set of beliefs and practices, though that shared culture does not imply cognitive isolation from the larger society.

"Religious folklife" is used here more frequently than "folk religion" because of their connotations rather than their denotations. I hold the definition of "folklore" which is identified with the folk-life studies movement in scholarship (again, as defined by Yoder), which describes folklore as that part of folklife which has to do with verbal materials: things made at least partially of words, such as traditional songs, narratives, jokes, proverbs, graffiti, taunts, and figures of speech.¹⁰ "Folk religion" often seems to be interpreted by scholars as referring to "things made of belief": dites, superstitions, divination methods, magicoreligious cures, and other elements of culture which, though they may involve the use of objects, verbal formulae, customs, or performances of various kinds, are thought of as existing primarily as beliefs.¹¹ This is precisely the concept I want to avoid. Charismatics hold many beliefs in common, but it would be a gross simplification to describe that which unifies them as a folk group in terms of belief only. They are unified by attitudes, values, aesthetics, rhetoric, modes of logic and metaphorical thought, and even by subtle elements such as proxemics and kinesics. Some charismatics I know maintain that they can recognize other charismatics by their smiles--and they are often right in identifying strangers by this method. Others say they just "pick up" something about others which signals their membership in the folk group. Actually, these types of unity can often override differences in belief—for example, between Roman Catholic and

Neopentecostal charismatics. I have on numerous occasions heard people discuss issues of disagreement, such as the doctrine of transubstantiation ("They don't really think they're drinking blood, do they?" vs. "They don't really think it's just a symbol, do they?"), by contextualizing them within a framework of felt unity. This "feeling" is usually based on common values, common religious experiences, common aesthetics, and other elements. Belief is important, but it is one aspect of a complex whole. The term "religious folklife" seems to me better suited to the expression of that whole than the term "folk religion."

In addition, I use "religious folklife" in order to avoid the implication of conflict or differentiation with official religion, or with official and popular religion.¹² While either the dichotomy or the trichotomy may work well in other field situations, they are both unwieldy in this particular one. First, a television evangelist considered a representative of popular religion by one person may well be considered a representative of an official denominational system by another. The Roman Catholic abstention from meat on Fridays, which has not been part of the official teaching of the Church since the Second Vatican Council, is maintained by some of the older local people, and I have heard those who maintain it speak of the practice as something that has become part of a local way of life for them. Here an official teaching is being retained for reasons commonly associated with folk practices: people do it because they have always done it; because it seems to them to be an important part of their traditional way of life with which they are unwilling to part. Many specific charismatic beliefs, such as the idea that the Spirit of God dwells in, or inhabits, verbal expressions of praise to God, are variously thought of as folk.

popular, or official beliefs by various individuals, all of whom can back up their definitions with discussions of origin and transmission. (This sounds like the kind of thing that only folklorists talk about, but it is not. "Where did that idea come from" is a common query when such beliefs are under discussion in the community, and the answers to it include biblical sources, other written sources, mass-media sources, and oral sources.) For these and other reasons, it is almost impossible to define specific bodies of belief which could be placed in the three categories which would hold any validity in charismatic culture. One could, perhaps, say that charismatic view as official any belief which is explicitly based upon one or more Bible passages, unless there are disagreements about translation or interpretation; that they view as popular any belief which stems primarily from currents of thought in the secular society around them, such as humanistic psychology; and as folk any belief which they feel is regional or local in origin and dissemination. However, this tells one very little about what they believe, and, in practice, very little about why they believe it. The term "religious folklife," since it has not been made a part of dichotomic or trichotomic schemes, is less likely to evoke questions about its relation to other forms or aspects of religion—questions which are in this case largely unproductive of insight or explanation.

On this conceptual basis, then, this chapter presents first a diachronic, then a synchronic portrait of the two folk groups in the St. John's area which share belief in the baptism of the Holy Spirit: classical Pentecostals and charismatics. I begin with the history of Pentecostalism in North America, for this style of religious folklife reached Newfoundland with a rich and complicated ethos and worldview

already developed: a style which has in some ways retained more of its early-twentieth-century qualities here than it has in some other areas. Change that affected much of the Pentecostal population of the continent during the 1950's, '60's, and '70's had less impact here than in some mainland urban areas, and therefore the Newfoundland Pentecostal present is usefully viewed in terms of the general continental past. The development of the Charismatic Renewal outside the Pentecostal denominations follows the discussion of continental and Newfoundland Pentecostalism. Lastly, the three groups which form the focus of the thesis will be discussed in the context of the local charismatic community as it now exists.

Numerous cultural and social processes have contributed, and continue to contribute, to the development of local charismatic folklife. Overlapping and interdependent as these processes are, a chronological discussion may prove to be the clearest and most helpful for the understanding of that development. It is as well to stress at the outset, however, that charismatics tend to view religious history with an achronic and ecumenical eye. The cloud of glory which rested on the tabernacle during Israel's forty years in the wilderness is as likely to be cited as an historical precedent for current belief and practice as are events within the speaker's own lifetime; Catholic charismatics may point to the Holiness Movement among nineteenth-century Methodists, or Neopentecostals to the spirituality of the early Franciscans, in explaining the relation of their own beliefs and practices to the history of Christianity. These examples from my fieldnotes are reinforced by the books I have seen for sale at Catholic Charismatic Renewal meetings, which include numerous works by Pentecostals and dealing with Pentecostal

history, the content of widely-watched television programs such as 100 Huntly Street, and the books owned and comments made by charismatics in the prayer groups and community events I have attended.¹³ It must therefore be remembered that Pentecostal history does not affect only those charismatics who grew up in Pentecostal homes, and the international Charismatic Renewal in the Catholic Church was of importance for many Protestants and agnostics in their adoption of charismatic belief and their consequent contributions to local charismatic folklife.

Oral and Documentary History: The Origins and Development of Newfoundland Classical Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism as a religious denomination reached Newfoundland in 1910, brought by a single lay woman from New England. Its beginnings in mainland North America go back, however, to the Holiness Movement within American and British Methodism in the mid-nineteenth century. Because much of the cultural ethos and rhetorical style, basic religious assumptions and modes of worship, and the sense of historic identity still present in Newfoundland Pentecostal churches hark back to that period, it is important that cultural study of Newfoundland Pentecostalism begin there. I here present a brief outline of the cultural events and factors which appear in Newfoundland Pentecostal oral and written accounts of the Movement's early development. In order to strike the best possible balance between ethnohistory and folk history--or factual data and beliefs about the past--I follow the account given by Burton K. Janes, a local Pentecostal pastor and historian, in his The Lady Who Came: the Biography of Alice Bell Garrigus, Newfoundland's First Pentecostal Pioneer.¹⁴ This is the work to which I was inevitably referred by local Pentecostals when enquiring about historical questions, so it is in

itself a kind of "folk history," but in a stricter sense of the terms it combines extensive use of local sources (especially articles from early Pentecostal periodicals) and works by Pentecostals with relatively careful consideration for historical accuracy.

The Origins of North American Pentecostalism

The first widely-known source of the term "pentecostal" associated with belief in modern-day, personal baptism in the Holy Spirit, was the Methodist periodical Guide to Holiness (1870-), edited by Phoebe Palmer, who had close ties with the theological faculty at Oberlin, where Congregationalist and Presbyterian leaders joined Methodists in formulating a doctrine of Christian perfectionism. The problem of how individuals can become holy was resolved for Oberlin theologians Asa Mahan, John Morgan, Henry Cowles, and eventually for Palmer through the concept of spiritual baptism and the internal, "sanctifying" power of the Holy Spirit.¹⁵ Palmer became convinced of "the endowment of power, the full baptism of the Holy Ghost, as the indispensable, absolute necessity of the disciples of Jesus"¹⁶ while in England in 1857-58, where a "layman's revival" was taking place. Her published letters, along with pamphlets and books by Oberlin and British Methodist writers, helped to spread interest in "ardent pursuit of the gifts, graces and power of the Holy Spirit" among lay Methodists in small communities on both continents, for the Guide to Holiness had wide circulation. As Donald Dayton writes:

By the turn of the century, everything from camp meetings to choirs is described in the Guide as "pentecostal." Sermons are published under the heading "Pentecostal Pulpit"; women's reports under "Pentecostal Womanhood"; personal experiences are reported as "Pentecostal Testimonies," and so on. Even devotional periods take place in the "pentecostal closet." What took place in the

pages of the Guide to Holiness was typical of what happened in most holiness traditions in the 1880s and 1890s. By 1900, the shift from Christian perfection to the Baptism of the Holy Spirit was nearly universal.¹⁷

Local Pentecostals have commented to me that they trace the origins of their own form of religion to this period in the Holiness Movement. One man mentioned that at Methodist camp meetings, people had occasionally been "slain in the Spirit" (that is, had fallen to the floor), to the puzzlement and consternation of religious leaders, and that instances of divine healing, prophetic utterance, glossolalia, and intense congregational response to the sensed presence of God had marked the Holiness Movement during this time period in the United States.¹⁹ However, the Pentecostal Movement is also said to have begun in Topeka, Kansas, in the first weeks of 1901, when a group of forty students at a nondenominational Bible study centre, led by an ex-Methodist layman, Charles Fox Parham, decided that the New Testament indicator of baptism in the Holy Spirit was the ability to speak in unknown languages. One student, Agnes Ozman, asked Parham to lay hands on her and pray that she might receive spiritual baptism from God in this manner. When prayed for during a New Year's Eve "watch night" service at the centre, she began to speak in tongues. Soon afterward, the entire forty-member student body, including Parham himself, received the same ability and began to travel, holding religious services in various towns in the prairies of the Midwest. Response was minimal until they reached Houston in May of 1905, where crowds gathered and interest was strong enough that Parham opened a second school. One student there, W.J. Seymour, later began holding religious meetings in homes in Los Angeles, where the kinds of experiences and atmosphere still cherished in many Pentecostal and charismatic groups first appeared.

One day at a house meeting, according to contemporary accounts, the entire praying group was knocked to the floor by an unseen force and began to speak in tongues.¹⁹ As news of the event spread through the community, more people began to attend, and the meetings were moved to an abandoned Methodist church on Azusa Street, in a working class Black neighbourhood of Los Angeles.

Stanley H. Frodsham, a member of the Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Gospel Mission, as it was called, described a typical service there in his 1948 account, With Signs Following:

No instruments of music are used. None are needed. No choir. Bands of angels have been heard by some in the Spirit and there is heavenly singing that is inspired by the Holy Ghost. No collections are taken. No bills have been posted to advertise the meetings. No church organization is back of it. . . . As soon as it is announced that the altar is open for seekers for pardon, sanctification, the baptism in the Holy Ghost, and healing for the body, people rise and flock to the altar. There is no urging. . . . There is such power in the preaching of the Word in the Spirit that people are shaken in the benches. Coming to the altar many fall prostrate under the power of God and often come out speaking in tongues. Sometimes the power falls on people and they are wrought upon by the Spirit during the giving of testimonies, or the preaching, and they receive the Holy Spirit.²⁰

The spread of Pentecostal concepts and of services like this to Newfoundland took place through predominantly oral channels. Alice B. Garrigus, a devout Connecticut Congregationalist then forty-eight years old, heard about the Azusa Street Mission from a Methodist minister, Frank Bartleman, who had been present there, and Minnie Draper, a member of the Christian and Missionary Alliance who declared that she too had received the baptism and the gift of tongues. Both were present at a Christian and Missionary Alliance camp meeting in Old Orchard, Maine, in 1906, where Garrigus and a number of other people, in spite of condemnation of these ideas by the camp meeting preachers, insisted that they wanted the same experience. Those so convinced continued to meet

in a local barn after the camp meeting had ended. Garrigus later wrote for Newfoundland readers that the meetings seemed to glow, and the singing struck participants as having a supernatural quality. When the baptism of the Holy Spirit occurred, it apparently happened to all present at the same time. People were speaking in what seemed to her to be many different languages, interpreting these utterances in English, laughing and shouting victoriously, "all blending in one harmonious song of praise." Describing the subsequent pattern of the barn meetings, she wrote:

What heart-searchings! What confessions! What separations! What humblings seekers passed through; till one being asked what the new experience was, replied: "It is the new death." The Shekinah glory burned as a flame, in the heart of the baptized one, and holiness was the atmosphere in which he lived.²¹

She also wrote of various evidences of the "power" with which the Holy Spirit "endued" baptised believers. When a small congregation in Jefferson, Massachusetts, attempting to open a church, faced a group of angry townspeople determined to dissuade them by force, Garrigus wrote, an eleven-year-old girl stepped out in front of the church members and preached "judgement and mercy in the . . . burning, fiery message of God . . ." with such effect that the crowd left, allowing the service to begin.²² Individuals were divinely guided and inspired in congruent directions.²³ Her own decision to go to Newfoundland was among those she described in these terms. She was having dinner with friends one evening when Maude Griffith, a fellow Pentecostal, walked in and, telling her that she was looking too far afield in thinking that she ought to go as a missionary to China, began speaking to her in tongues. (Garrigus does not say whether the woman had been told of her thoughts of going to China or not; it would be in keeping with similar accounts

of her experiences that she had not.) Catching the word "Newfoundland" in the glossolalic utterance, Garrigus was elated and felt certain that that was where God wanted her to go. She apparently did not know where it was, however, and when she located it on a map, she thought it was "a land of snow and ice, Eskimos and Indians."²⁴ Some months later, however, a stranger at another camp meeting approached and asked where she was "called to." Pastor Burton K. Jones of St. John's describes the ensuing scene in his biography of Garrigus, The Lady Who Came:

Breaking into unrestrained praises, the woman said, "This morning I was praying for my people, and the Lord said to me, 'Thy prayer is granted; I have prepared my messenger'."

"Who are your people?" Alice asked.

"I am from St. John's, Newfoundland," the woman responded.

At this admission the two were so excited, they "staggered around the field, filled with the new wine, and praising God--literally drunk in the Spirit." . . . Laughing, Mrs. White proceeded, much to Alice's surprise and relief, to describe St. John's . . . as a city with all the conveniences of modern living, such as street cars and electric lights.²⁵

Garrigus arrived in St. John's on December 1, 1910, and opened the Bethesda Mission on New Gower Street on Easter Sunday, 1911, bringing with her the concepts, legends, memorates, songs, and modes of religious thought and activity which became the basis and pattern for Newfoundland Pentecostalism.

She had been preceded by earlier advocates of disciplined and enthusiastic Protestantism, such as Lawrence Coughlan, a Methodist, and representatives of the Salvation Army. Both had met with some success in St. John's and the Conception Bay area. She was followed in 1918 by Victoria Booth Clibborn-Demarest, daughter of General William Booth who had founded the Salvation Army. Mrs. Demarest differed with her father's military style of religious life, and held a series of evangelistic services in Gower Street Methodist Church. She later wrote of the results:

For a week I preached to rapt audiences. At the end of the services, the people would go out quietly, showing that they were impressed, . . . but there was no move on their part, no response to the appeal. . . . [But soon] The response became an avalanche. Sometimes people could not wait to get to the seekers' room; they fell on their knees right in the aisles.²⁰

Myrtle Eddy, a Newfoundland Pentecostal, wrote in 1975 that thirteen hundred people experienced religious conversion during these meetings, many of whom subsequently joined Bethesda.²⁷ Another recent writer, Memorial University student Harvey Rice, commented that "They believed approximately the same things, and began to experience the same things."²⁸

In 1922, Garrigus and a group from Bethesda held a series of ten meetings on successive nights in the Fishermen's Hall in Clarke's Beach, Conception Bay. On the tenth night, local people began to experience spiritual baptism, and a second Pentecostal group was started. In 1924, some loggers in North Harbour, Placentia Bay, contacted Bethesda. They had received some religious tracts from the United States (how, local Pentecostals are uncertain), and were interested in hearing more about Pentecostalism. A St. John's jeweler, Robert C. English, who had held meetings for Clibborn-Demarest's converts in his store until the group had joined Bethesda, along with several others, went to North Harbour and began a third church there.

In 1924 Eugene Waters, a Methodist minister from Victoria, Conception Bay, had returned from Elm Bible College in New York State. Unaware that anyone else had brought belief in Holy Spirit baptism to the region, he began to hold meetings in Victoria, where he soon heard of and joined with the existing Pentecostal groups. He opened a fourth church there in 1925. The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland were officially incorporated that year, with Robert C. English as General

Superintendent. Vaters took over in 1926, and continued in office for thirty-five years. According to his grandson, Keith King of St. John's, he was responsible for starting Camp Emmanuel, a religious retreat centre in Conception Bay where Pentecostal gatherings are still held regularly (Tape 39-3, side B); Good Tidings, the PACT's periodical, carrying sermons, articles, letters, obituaries, and local news from various Newfoundland churches; and the Religious Book and Bible House, which supplies numerous Pentecostal households and churches around the province with religious literature from mainland Canada by mail order.

Pentecostalism was spread primarily, for the first three to four decades, by enthusiastic laymen, who were ordained on the basis of what they and existing Pentecostal leaders believed were divine callings, rather than on the basis of formal training for ministry. They were most successful in central and western areas of the island: the South Coast, the Great Northern Peninsula, and the southern Avalon Peninsula have only a few scattered Pentecostal churches today (see Fig. 4). Areas undergoing social change, such as the founding of new communities around mills or other industries, were often receptive. Today there are approximately twenty-nine thousand members of Pentecostal churches in the province: 5.5% of the population, which is higher than any other Canadian province, but only about eighteen hundred live in the St. John's metropolitan area (see Table 1). In spite of its urban origins, its numerical strength lies in smaller towns and in outposts.²⁹

Newfoundland Pentecostal Folklife, 1950-83

In the seven decades of its existence, Newfoundland Pentecostalism has developed a high stable, distinctive style of religious folklife. While denominational distinctions are traditionally strong and clear in

many areas of the province, Pentecostals have told me with pride--and non-Pentecostals with resentment--that they carry the principle of social differentiation to unmatched lengths.

Religious differences are made explicit through denominationally-run schools, separate graveyards in many communities, and, of course, by customs. A Placentia Protestant man recalled that in the 1950's and early 1960's, he was always aware of the difference between himself and Roman Catholic children:

You could be good friends, but there was always a point when they had to do something else that you weren't included in. Maybe it was only going to church. Maybe it was going in to say the family rosary every night. Maybe it was blessing themselves when they passed the church. There was always something that you didn't belong to . . . those times when something would happen, you know, and they'd be sort of looking at you with that sort of little half-smile.

. . . I've heard the Sisters say, well, non-Catholics . . . weren't really married, for instance. They were living in sin. And you know, I mean, when you were thirteen or fourteen, or fifteen years old and you think highly of your parents and someone is saying they're living in sin, you know, and more or less they're saying you were conceived in sin and you're never going to see the face of God or get into heaven and you're going to burn in Purgatory. You know, I mean, it's embarrassing, eh? And they say for non-Catholics to go to Holy Communion and take the bread and wine . . . well, it's not very good, it's not even nourishing to their bodies. They'd be better off if they took a candy bar. You know, and when you hear this taught and you just can't turn, you can't ignore it. . . .³⁰

A Catholic from Gull Island, Conception Bay, recalls that Catholics often went to Mass on Saturday evening, and would work on Sunday, which shocked and angered Protestant neighbours. Animosity ran so high in his community that Catholic residents he knew, when buying a farm animal from a Protestant, sprinkled the animal with holy water before admitting it to their barn, saying, "Now you're a Catholic calf", or whatever.³¹ A St. John's woman in her early thirties, raised in a Salvation Army family but now attending the United Church, believed that even today, if she

were to ask the United Church for help when there is no food in the house, she would be turned away and told to "go to her own," for whole families are frequently associated with particular denominational identities, which may be retained as part of local perceptions of individuals even long after conversion to another persuasion (f.n. 1/27/81). One Anglican girl who grew up in an all-Protestant community told me that at ten years old she thought Roman Catholics must have skin of a different colour, because they were spoken of as outsiders whom it would be shocking to marry (f.n. 3/3/83). Two United Church members from Bonaville have heard Catholics spoken of as not Christians at all; two Catholics from Placentia were told the same thing about Protestants.

Though for many these attitudes have softened in the past ten years, many are still highly conscious of all denominations as folk groups. Catholic folk speech may include unique items: one is "crucified with the pain" of arthritis, Christ is "Our Lord" and Mary "His blessed Mother" or "the blessed Virgin." "Jesus, Mary and Joseph!" is a common exclamation among some of my older Roman Catholic acquaintances on the Avalon, as distinctive as the Pentecostal, "Praise God!" Salvationists occasionally refer to a neighbour as a "poor sinner" or a "lost soul," however faithfully he may attend his own church. Catholics, Anglicans, and United Church members often express awareness that the Salvation Army does not believe in water baptism, and some feel that this excludes them from heaven. Catholic abstention from meat on Fridays before the Second Vatican Council (which some still continue on their own), the Salvationists' uniforms, Protestant Orangemen's Day parades, and numerous other religious markers were significant aspects of social identity in everyday community relations for many people.

Pentecostals, however, seem, both deliberately and inadvertently, to have underlined their distinctiveness in red. Two Pentecostal women, one from Conception Bay and one from Windsor, recalled that well into the 1960's (and in some communities today), Pentecostal women left their hair uncut--presumably because of concern with the directive in 1 Corinthians 11:15, "if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her: for her hair is given her for a covering." In some communities it was worn loose, while in other areas it was pinned in a roll at the nape of her neck. (Salvation Army women wore theirs in a bun. Both wished to indicate their holiness of life, but neither wanted to be mistaken for the other.) Dark colours were worn, including dark stockings, and no makeup, except perhaps a light dusting of face powder. Wedding rings were the only jewelry usual. Women always wore dresses or skirts of modest length, though local pastors varied in their definition of "modest," causing confusion for some who remember being considered respectable at one church and shameless at another. Slacks have recently become acceptable in many communities. One woman commented that the Pentecostal standard for women's attire was simply twenty years behind the styles. If she is right, slacks may be a case in point. Standards for men's clothing were not discussed much, probably because dark, modest clothes were generally worn by local men anyway; possibly because the concept of modesty was associated with women; and possibly because the New Testament comments only on appropriate women's dress (1 Timothy 2:9). Nevertheless, several people, both Pentecostal and of other denominations, have told me that they can identify Pentecostals of either sex on sight, though they were not fully able to explain how.

Patterns of social activity form, along with dress, a strong part of traditional Pentecostal identity. Smoking, drinking, dancing, "mixed bathing," and watching movies were all taboo, as was spending time in places, or with people, associated with any of these practices. One St. John's man commented that, in his own childhood, Pentecostals were expected to spend "all their free time, when they weren't working" in church; certainly services are traditionally frequent and long. Janice Brown of St. John's said that, in the late fifties and early sixties, many Pentecostal children were forbidden to participate in physical education classes, because the uniforms worn were considered immodest; educational filmstrips and slides were "movies," and Pentecostal children often left the classroom while they were being shown. Several people who grew up in Pentecostal families in various communities around the province have commented that smoking, or staying away from church, would usually cause an individual to be regarded as "backslidden." Some felt that "you could lose your salvation" by doing such things, and would not fully accept the culprit as a member of the Pentecostal fold until he had repented publicly by going to the altar during a church service (Tape 3-1, sides A and B; Tape 21, side A).

Equally shunned were a number of religious practices associated with other denominations. Several people who have attended Pentecostal churches in various communities around Conception Bay and in central Newfoundland during the past fifteen years have commented that, when testifying in church (of which more will be said shortly), congregation members often "testified against" church customs they had "come out of," as the Israelites came out of Babylon. Drinking tea in church after evening meetings, pronouncing "amen" with an "ah" instead of a long A,

"praying out of a book," or reciting memorized prayers were all likely to be cited as aspects of worldly or futile religion, in contrast with the purity, sincerity, and "fulness of the Gospel message" they had found in Pentecostal Christianity.³² So strong are these attitudes toward other denominations that converts to Pentecostalism are not spoken of as having converted, but as having been saved--unless, perhaps, they had converted from the Salvation Army, which shares Pentecostalism's evangelical views on the necessity of personal, explicit repentance and acceptance of Christ as one's own Saviour.

Holy behaviour in church services is not simply a matter of being present and attentive. Individuals are expected to clap and to sing loudly during hymns to express their enthusiasm. Psalm 47.1, "Clap your hands, all ye people; shout unto God with a voice of triumph," may be either sung or quoted in support of the belief that this is important if one wishes to please and glorify God. Though some churches allow for a certain amount of reticence, individuals are often expected to testify from time to time during the period set aside for this in each service. Testifying is something of a verbal art in Newfoundland Pentecostal churches, with a vocabulary, structure, and often a cadence and tonal pattern all its own. It is closely related to the art of preaching, but focuses upon the expression of personal joy, strength, and gratitude as a result of one's relationship with God. Testifying may also include prayers for sinners in general or for specific people, and thanksgiving for particular experiences may be expanded to include details, as in this example recorded in another Newfoundland church by Robert C. Ness in 1973. (I often found my tape recordings of Pentecostal testimonies difficult to hear, either because of encouraging comments

made by other members which drowned out sections of the testimony, or because the testifier faced the pastor while speaking, and, while usually audible to most of the congregation, they were often inaudible to the recorder.)

Precious Jesus, precious Jesus. I'm glad to stand tonight and say I'm under the blood! Praise God for savin' my soul six years ago. I was enjoyin' the world, livin' in sin and God lifted me up, praise Jesus. I remember bein' sick the last year, praise God, I asked for healin' and I felt the heat from his hand, my friends. I stand here whole, praise the Lord. Oh Jesus, precious Jesus I pray you'll move in this meetin' tonight, that your spirit will fill this place and save these sinners before it's too late! You're comin' soon oh Lord and we wants to be ready. Bless my boy oh Lord and bring 'in into the fold. He's goin' on in sin Lord, so much, he won't listen to me. Goin' to the club with a hard crowd and drinkin'. Oh God I pray you'll move on him before it's too late, oh God! Precious Jesus, precious Jesus, precious Jesus.³³

In addition to testifying, individuals are expected to participate in other demonstrations of religious sincerity, such as kneeling at the altar to pray before the service begins (often accompanied by loud "groaning in the Spirit" as they "travail in prayer," pleading for God's blessing upon the service), and the Jericho March, a collective circumambulation of the church interior, done in a single file, walking at a normal pace, clapping and singing. Other demonstrations of full participation in Pentecostal definitions of holiness include "tarrying" at the altar in individual prayer, "seeking God for the baptism" if the individual has not yet experienced speaking in tongues, or praying on other topics; raising the arms or trembling during congregational worship; or saying "Halleluia," "Amen," "Glory," or short phrases in tongues when others are testifying, prophesying, preaching, or singing solos. Members also frequently approach those kneeling or

standing to pray at the altar, placing a hand on the shoulder, back, or head of the one praying, and supporting them by praying in English or in tongues, asking what they are at the altar for, and sometimes giving advice (see Tapes 3-2, side A; and 21, side A).³⁴

Social taboos and dress codes are, according to one devout Pentecostal man, intended to help Pentecostals to lead holy lives, not "trying to be like the world," for biblical passages about how different--even "peculiar," in the King James Version--Christians are to be are significant in the religious thought of many Newfoundland Pentecostals (f.n. 1/8/83). Even the estrangement between family members and neighbours which people often comment on as a result of Pentecostal entry into small communities are often almost a source of rejoicing, being interpreted with reference to passages such as Luke 13:31-32:

Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you,
Nay; but rather division:
*For from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided,
three against two, and two against three.*³⁵

One Pentecostal woman in Shearstown, Conception Bay, had been slandered by a neighbour who owned a large flock of chickens. When his chickens suddenly and inexplicably died, he stammered an apology to her: others in the community who considered her a godly woman had warned him not to "say anything more against her," lest further divine retribution strike him. She received his apology by commenting that she was glad when he spoke ill of her, because she was "hardly worthy to suffer that for Jesus." She said if people praised her, she would be worried, because the Sermon on the Mount says, "Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you"; but "Blessed are you when men shall hate you . . . for the Son of Man's sake" (Luke 6:26, 22) (f.n. 4/5/83). Resentment from

other members of the community therefore sometimes increases, rather than decreases, Pentecostals' certainty that they are behaving as true Christians should.

The unique qualities of their church services, however, are not designed to estrange others, though they very often do. On rare occasions the old stereotype about Pentecostals rolling on the floor is in fact justified, but the fear engendered by it and by more realistic impressions, such as the occurrence of shouting, speaking in tongues, fainting or trance states, and the high volume and emotional intensity to which preaching often rises, is often a source of confusion to Pentecostals, or is not recognized at all. Many are aware that they are considered "crazy"--I have heard preachers joke about it from the pulpit, and congregations laugh--but they expect their enthusiasm to be interpreted by sincere seekers of God as heavenly joy, not certifiable insanity. Many seem to conclude that those who do not see it in these terms simply do not have "ears to hear," as Christ said of those who did not understand the Parables. Predictably, such discrepancies between esoteric and exoteric perceptions complicate their relations with other denominational folk groups. Pentecostals often interpret rejection of their customs and attitudes as rejection of Christ, while others often view it as rejection of religious hysteria and the sanctioning of abnormal psychological states. Non-Pentecostals may also be hurt and insulted by what they perceive as unjustified lack of respect for the Christian faith of other churches (or at least for their own).

Both the pressure to conform to Pentecostal folklife and the degree of specificity and restriction it involved seem to have often been higher in small communities than in St. John's. Janice Brown

mentioned that she has heard several conversations between Pentecostals from small communities and from St. John's, in which the smaller communities always seemed to have been much stricter. This was apparently due, not to urban worldliness, so much as to independent developments of thought in the outports: the daughter of General Superintendent Eugene Vaters, present at one conversation she recalled, had expressed astonishment at some of the restrictions experienced by others. Stories of the early days of Newfoundland Pentecostalism, passed down in her own family from her grandmother, Lucy Raines, who had worked closely with Sister Garrigus, supported her feeling that beliefs regarding dress and social taboos had become stricter in "folk" Pentecostalism than the "official" founders had intended. She commented:

I think what you got was in a lot of the real small communities, things were applied in a much more narrow, rigid way. And it was the individual pastors that went in the outports that imposed a lot of don'ts on the people that were never from Sister Garrigus's thinking. And even from Eugene Vaters and a lot of them coming down, it was never as narrow as the impression that was given in a lot of the outports. (Tape 3-1, side A)

A woman from a smaller community in central Newfoundland explained the development of strict and elaborate "do's and don'ts"--a common phrase among Neopentecostals--in this way:

I think these things came about because of fear. People did want to please the Lord, and they wanted to live their life right. And I think they did these things out of their own imaginations; really not anything they found in Scripture. (Tape 21, side A)

She remembered being shocked one day, as a devout teenager who had recently sought and received her own spiritual baptism, when her mother was told that she was "not in very good spiritual condition," because she had been seen turning her head to look at the billboard in front of the local theatre as she walked past (Tape 21, side A).

However, in spite of the high number and intensity of marked features in traditional Newfoundland Pentecostal folklife, there are also a number of unmarked features. Certain features of church life, such as the existence of separate group meetings for men, women, and teenagers during the week and the observance of major civic and religious holidays, such as Christmas and Easter, follow the same general pattern as exists in the United, Anglican, and Baptist churches. There are, as far as I know, no uniquely Pentecostal graces to be spoken at mealtime; either a formulaic grace (such as "For what we are about to receive, may the Lord make us truly thankful") or a spontaneously-composed prayer may be used, and the mannerisms of grace, such as folding the hands and bowing the head, follow a widespread pattern as well. Neopentecostals sometimes point out that some actions they think ought to be marked as "don'ts" were not: for example, gossip was not considered wrong, and premarital pregnancy was not unusual in some communities. (Obviously, these are the observations of individuals who grew up in Pentecostal homes and have since changed their own style of religious folklife somewhat, and are not necessarily representative of insiders' perspectives.)

Pentecostals are not, and very likely never were, the only Newfoundlanders to speak of divine guidance, healing, visions, providences, and profound experiences of spiritual communion. Such experiences are part of deathbed scenes, life crises, and visits to places of religious significance in Catholic and Methodist tradition, as numerous examples from my own field notes, as well as international legends and religious literature, show.³⁶ However, as long as they were the only Newfoundlanders to believe in individual reenactments of the Day of

Pentecost as part of normal Christian experience, the costume and social taboos, religious folk speech, and ritual developed by Pentecostals could easily be perceived by insiders as intrinsic, necessary, even divinely inspired concomitants of Holy Spirit baptism. In the last ten years, this perception has gradually become open to question in a number of communities. Particularly in St. John's, Twillingate, Grand Falls, Bay Roberts, Placentia, and Stephenville, people of other denominations have adopted the beliefs, claimed the experiences, and rejected the cultural style which once went together in an unquestionably unified "Pentecostal package."

This is starting to change the nature of Pentecostal folklife in a number of ways, both for its members and for those who view it from the outside. Some insiders are retaining the perspective that the "package" should be accepted whole, regarding those who do not do so as recalcitrant "babes in Christ" who lack the sense to see that they should join the Pentecostal Assemblies and receive teaching; as "lukewarm," uncommitted Christians who lack real holiness, though they may have been granted a divine experience by a gracious God; or even as victims of demonic "counterfeit baptism" (f.n. 7/30/82; 8/12/82; 1/12/83). Some outsiders lump all who share Pentecostal beliefs and experiences together as lunatics or religious fanatics, regardless of cultural style or other differences between them. Others, however, both Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal, are beginning to think of religious folklife in terms of style and tradition, and to separate them cognitively from belief and experience. For Pentecostals, this means that one may depart from the traditional taboos and requirements without feeling that one is leaving Christ. For non-Pentecostals, it means

that one may abandon dispensational theology (that is, the argument that the baptism and charismata ceased when the New Testament writings were completed, and were intended only as an interim source of evidence for the truth of Christianity until written sources took over that function) without becoming either a lonely anomaly or a Pentecostal.³⁷ From this last group, Pentecostals sometimes receive the new and rather confounding response of affection and acceptance without denominational conversion. The context of religious culture in which Pentecostal folk-life is viewed is changing, and with it the meanings which are assigned to its various features.

To a large extent, these developments are part of an international shift in the patterns of Christian belief which began during the 1950's, and is still continuing to grow and spread. An excellent study of this international shift is available in Walter J. Hollenweger's The Pentecostals (1972), a précis of his ten-volume Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung.³⁸ The development of the Charismatic Renewal in North America is discussed in detail by Richard Quebedeaux in The New Charismatics (1975). Here, only a general sketch of some major shifts in cultural thought is given, with special attention to those developments which had special relevance for Newfoundland.

Neopentecostalism and Charismatic Renewal in North America

During the late 1950's and early 1960's, individual religious leaders and ordinary believers in both the Pentecostal and the non-Pentecostal churches began to bridge the cultural gap which had separated them since the first decade of the century. Middle-class people began to take an interest in the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and

to attend the religious meetings of healing evangelists such as Oral Roberts, Gordon Lindsay, and Kathryn Kuhlman. Roberts, Lindsay, and David duPlessis, an important international leader in the Pentecostal denominations, became increasingly involved in ecumenical conferences; duPlessis, who made Pentecostalism's first contact with the World Council of Churches in 1951, was invited to attend Vatican II and to give a series of lectures on Pentecostalism at prominent theological seminaries around the world. In 1953, a Presbyterian businessman, Demos Shakarian, founded what became one of the most effective "translations" of Pentecostal thought into middle-class cultural terms: The Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMI). Meeting in fine hotels and restaurants instead of tents and Pentecostal churches; featuring middle-class lay members of non-Pentecostal denominations as speakers, instead of professional evangelists and pastors; and speaking the conversational English of the middle class, instead of the fiery, King James-phraseology-laced rhetoric of Pentecostal preaching, FGBMI grew at exponential rates.³⁹ Strongly ecumenical convictions and practice replaced the classical Pentecostal association of doctrinal purity with separatism; people responded to thoughtful theological teaching rather than to impassioned oratory on salvation, the Second Coming, or miracles. Those Pentecostal leaders and lay members who made this shift came to be called "Neopentecostals," while members of the other denominations who began to believe in the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the charismata were termed Neopentecostals or "charismatics." Culturally, the two groups converge into a single style of religious folklife and thought.

This group has come to involve a large number of people, and is still growing worldwide, particularly in Korea, Chile, Brazil, several European and African countries, Australia and New Zealand, and North America.⁴⁰ Of its impact in the United States, David Harrell writes:

Once an object of derision, in the 1970s pentecostal religion became almost fashionable. Many judged the charismatic movement the most vital single force in American religion. The gifts of the Holy Spirit (charisms), speaking in tongues (glossolalia) and divine healing were subjects studied in nearly every American church, and cells of charismatic believers appeared in most American denominations. By 1975, perhaps 5,000,000 or more Americans were taking part in the charismatic revival. (p. 3)

As these developments were taking place in the middle class, convergent processes were taking place among working class and counter-cultural youth. In 1963, David Wilkerson published The Cross and the Switchblade, which details the results of his "translation" of Pentecostal Christianity into the street vernacular of the gangs in the Bedford-Stuyvesant region of New York City.⁴¹ Its companion volume, Run Baby Run, a spiritual autobiography of gang leader Nicky Cruse, added to the impact of Wilkerson's book on both youth and older readers.⁴² Both were widely read, and helped to foster the attitudinal separation of charismatic beliefs from Pentecostal stylistics in the minds of many Americans.

The Christianity preached by Wilkerson and Cruse in their public ministries and writings, like that of Neopentecostal leaders in general, was charismatic, evangelical, and ecumenical. This type of Christianity mushroomed in the North American counterculture to produce what has been termed the Jesus Movement, because of its members' intense concentration on a living, knowable Christ, with whom they sought

"relationship" instead of "religion." People simply became "Christians," and, while the major doctrinal points which differentiate the Roman Catholic Church from Protestant sects and denominations were not generally taught in these nondenominational groups, neither were they ever self-labeled as Protestant. There is a widespread tendency among these groups to refer frequently to individuals and events from early church history, and to identify themselves not only with the precedents set in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles, but also with later precedents. There are favourites—for example, the first generation of Franciscans are often looked to as kindred spirits of the Charismatic Renewal, and the writings of St. Teresa of Avila, St. John of the Cross, and Brother Lawrence are often referred to. However, the tendency to identify with the Pre-Reformation Church is more general than that: I have, for example, heard a young Neopentecostal pastor in a large church preach to his congregation from the writings of Origen on prayer.⁴³ The concept of denomination is thus placed in a much more historically-minded context in this group than in some other North American groups. The various denominations are often perceived as emphasizing particular points of shared doctrine, while the concept of being a Christian takes cognitive precedence over these doctrinal distinctions. There are therefore large numbers of evangelical and charismatic Christians who have arrived at an ecumenical viewpoint without having had contact with the concept of the ecumenical movement, as such.

Universities and theological seminaries were also affected by Neopentecotalism, charismatic renewal, and the Jesus Movement. FGMFI meetings attracted clergy and faculty members connected with many academic centres in the United States and Canada; Campus Crusade for

Christ, Teen Challenge, and other youth ministries affected student populations.⁴⁴ Pentecostalism had been classed among the "cults" in numerous theological courses before duPlessis's lecture tours, but as early as 1958 the President of Union Theological Seminary, Henry Pitney Van Dusen, was urging that it be recognized as a valid form of Christianity, and the norms for the teaching of Pentecostalism in many seminaries gradually changed.⁴⁵ Perhaps most importantly, these three socioreligious "movements" or developments brought a wave of "first-generation" converts into the evangelical, fundamentalist, and Pentecostal churches, Bible schools, and seminaries: converts who brought with them new questions and attitudes, new kinds of personal backgrounds and goals, and an absence of many cultural concomitants established in various religious belief groups. It produced large numbers of members within these groups whose modes of reasoning and self-expression were congenial to those who shared aspects of their backgrounds: liberal Protestant, Jewish, or Eastern mystical beliefs, humanistic and environmental or political concerns, or the perspectives and problems of the drug culture. New kinds of empathy became possible across a variety of cultural barriers.

Roman Catholic involvement in charismatic renewal has especially strong academic roots. The initial spur to pray for spiritual baptism is variously attributed to three sources: Pope Paul VI's prayer for "a new Pentecost" in his televised speech following Vatican II, and the positive statements made about the place of the charismata in the Church today in the conciliar documents; the independent Bible reading and conclusions of two lay faculty members at Duquesne University, who prayed an invocative hymn to the Holy Spirit daily for a year in hopes of

spiritual baptism; and the influence of Wilkerson's The Cross and the Switchblade and John L. Sherrill's They Speak with Other Tongues upon a student-faculty group at the same university.⁴⁶ However the Duquesne group arrived at the point of prayer, the experience itself took place on a weekend retreat. Léon Joseph Cardinal Suenens of Belgium, now the international episcopal advisor to the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, was present, and gave this account in a radio interview in 1981:

A group of students on a retreat, having prayed very strongly that the Holy Spirit should come and renew the face of the earth, they were there with . . . a group of teachers also, professors from the university. They prayed seriously, and the answer came. Really the thing that we were there and experienced was a sort of spiritual transformation of those boys and girls. At the time they were twenty; I met them later on, and since twelve years the perseverance is there; the fruits [of the Spirit, Galatians 5:22-23] are there; I am obliged to testify that the Lord did something there. The Spirit was blowing there in a visible way, and it spread all over the world, and that was a very strange phenomenon, because usually when you speak about a movement, you have a founder. Saint Francis . . . founded the Franciscans. But nobody founded the Charismatic Renewal. It came over the five continents. It started in the States. Why in the States, I don't know; I am not in the counsel of Providence. Sociologists explain that they were in a very bad mood at the time, . . . 'sixty-seven. Well, it was a difficult moment, but in any case, the Lord started there something: I think really a sort of renewed experience, on another scale but in the same line, of what happened on Pentecost for the Apostles. (Tape 37, side A)

News of this group, and in particular of their reception of the ability to pray in tongues, spread through friendships and informal contacts to the University of Notre Dame and to the University of Michigan in East Lansing. The Notre Dame group met with the local chapter of Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship on March 13, 1967, three months after their initial charismatic experience, and discovered important congruence and unity between them.⁴⁷ Beginning that year, Notre Dame organized and hosted national (now international) Catholic charismatic conferences.

Attendance was between one hundred and one hundred and fifty in 1968; about twenty-two thousand in 1973; and thirty thousand in 1974. In 1975, an international conference was held in Rome, and Mass was celebrated in St. Peter's Basilica by twelve charismatic bishops and seven hundred charismatic priests, attended by ten thousand people from fifty countries.⁴⁸ The Pope's address on that occasion gave official support to the place of their new belief and experience within the Catholic Church:

And as we said last October in the presence of some of you, the Church and the world need more than ever that "the miracle of Pentecost should continue in history." . . . We are pleased to see signs of this renewal: a taste for prayer, contemplation, praising God, attentiveness to the grace of the Holy Spirit, and more assiduous reading of the Sacred Scriptures . . . we desire nothing more than that Christians . . . should experience an awareness, a worship, a greater joy through the Spirit of God among us. Have we forgotten the Holy Spirit? Certainly not! We want him, we honor him, we love him, we invoke him. And you, with your devotion and fervor, you wish to live in the Spirit. . . .⁴⁹

The Catholic Charismatic Renewal had strong ecumenical ties as well as strong identification with the Roman Catholic Church. The Notre Dame group developed into the first of several live-in communities, the World of God Community, in Ann Arbor, Michigan, which in 1975 had over one thousand members, Protestant as well as Catholic.⁵⁰ Cardinal Suenens is involved in the Ecumenical Movement as well as in Charismatic Renewal. Ties between the Catholic Charismatic Renewal and the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International have extended far beyond the Notre Dame group, existing primarily on personal rather than official terms, but remaining an important influence on both groups. New Covenant, a monthly magazine begun in 1970 by the National Service Committee of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, whose headquarters is in Ann Arbor, has an ecumenical board of contributing editors—which has included David

duPlessis--and has published articles by authors from diverse denominational backgrounds. There are now several Catholic charismatic publishing houses in the United States--including Paulist Press in Ramsey, New Jersey; Dove Publications in Taos, New Mexico; and Logos International in Plainfield, New Jersey. All have published materials by Protestant as well as Catholic charismatic authors.⁵¹ Protestant membership in predominantly Roman Catholic charismatic prayer groups has been common in St. John's and in Freshwater, Placentia Bay; according to Quebedeaux, interchurch prayer groups are quite as important an aspect of American charismatic life as are groups with specific denominational affiliations (pp. 121-122). Input to the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in Newfoundland, when the Renewal began here in 1972, therefore included ecumenical attitudes, and direct teaching from charismatics of other denominations in the form of books, articles, and tape recorded addresses from charismatic conferences.

Also during the 1960's, charismatic renewal became organized in the American Baptist, Presbyterian, Eastern Orthodox, Lutheran, and Episcopalian denominations in the United States. A number of interdenominational organizations joined the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship: Christian Growth Ministries, in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, and Melodyland Christian Center in Anaheim, California; Women's Aglow in Vancouver; and the Fountain Trust in London are among the most influential.⁵²

Summary: Neopentecostal-Charismatic Culture
in North America

There were thus three kinds of socioreligious change taking place in North America at the same time, whose combined effects have helped to

shape the Charismatic Renewal. Changes within classical Pentecostalism produced the so-called "Neopentecostal" style of religious folklife, devoid of the distinctive rhetorical style and demographic patterns which had characterized the Pentecostal denominations since their inception, and bearing traits which made it comprehensible and attractive to middle-class and urban lower-class countercultural youth, and to members of the established mainline churches. The development of nondenominational, evangelical, and usually charismatic Christianity within the counterculture produced Christians who did not tend to think in denominational terms at all, nor necessarily consider the charismatic aspects of religious belief and experience as in any way separate from the rest of basic Christian doctrine. The beginnings of charismatic groups within mainline churches, and charismatic organizations which attracted people from the mainline churches, began to separate baptism in the Holy Spirit and the charismata from the classical Pentecostal rhetoric and demography with which they had previously been associated. As North American charismatic culture has developed (and it shares many features with charismatic culture in other parts of the world, particularly the English-speaking countries), the influence of these contributing factors has produced a number of widespread traits.

(1) The basic form of charismatic gathering is the prayer meeting, held in a church, home, or other building at some hour which does not conflict with attendance at church services. Richard Quebedeaux gives this general outline of common features:

In . . . prayer meetings . . . someone is usually called upon to be a leader--a facilitator rather than one who dominates. Each member, in the context of order, is free to pray in any manner he or she wishes (respecting the demands of "Love and faith"). The focus is on people praying together, not simultaneously.

Content of the meetings may include, in addition to prayer, *Scripture readings, testimonies, hymns, and various Charismatic expressions* (e.g. prophecy, glossolalia, and divine healing). Participants commonly gather together for long periods of time at regular intervals (four to five hours not being uncommon), but informality is a key feature; coffee breaks are part of the general practice of such fellowship gatherings. (p. 120)

(2) Charismatic worship, in prayer meetings and in other contexts (such as conferences, church services, and private prayer at home) tends to be much quieter and less demonstrative than is traditional in classical Pentecostalism. The "do's and don'ts" associated with holiness in classical Pentecostal tradition are rejected, not because they are considered wrong in themselves, but because they are considered inappropriate for people of diverse religious backgrounds, and more a matter of outward behaviour than of inward attitude. (Two influential Catholic charismatic authors, Kevin and Dorothy Ranaghan, described them as "cultural baggage," which well expressed the evaluation I have heard from local charismatics and Neopentecostals.⁵³ There is a strong tendency to maintain friendships and social involvement of diverse kinds, in contrast with the classical Pentecostal concept of separation from the world.

(3) Demographically speaking, the Charismatic Renewal is weighted toward the middle class, but draws participants from all socioeconomic levels. Women and young people are as eligible for leadership as mature men—again, in contrast to the classical Pentecostal pattern. It is difficult to generalize about the political commitments of American charismatics, but there may be a slight majority of liberals; there is certainly a large percentage of critically minded participants (p. 135). Walter Hollenweger went so far as to observe, concerning early Roman

Catholic charismatic meetings:

It was not the uneducated but the intellectuals, not the uncritical but the critical exegetes, not frustrated Puritans, but quite normal Christians who took part in the meetings. There is not only speaking in tongues but critical discussion of theological and social problems; not only the singing of hymns but the composition of new hymns, not only praying, but eating, drinking and smoking.⁵⁴

While no charismatic group I have ever seen has been limited to the "educated" and the "critical exegetes," there is certainly a good deal of theological and social discussion at prayer meetings. I think this is due not so much to the social class of those attending the meetings, as to its open atmosphere. The enjoyment of and ability to question have never been limited to any particular social class.

(4) Doctrinally, the Charismatic Renewal is by and large orthodox, evangelical, reformist, and ecumenical. Richard Quebedeaux, who formulated this general definition of the charismatic theological orientation, sums up the import of these terms as follows. The Bible is regarded as the final authority on religious questions, and is considered inspired. Roman Catholic charismatics context this belief within the inspired authority of the whole Christian tradition. (I would add that, given the critical tendencies discussed above, and the tendency for charismatics to use a variety of translations of the Bible, charismatic orthodoxy should not be confused with the stereotypic literalism often associated with Pentecostal and fundamentalist tradition.) They are evangelical in the sense that they are concerned both with the spread of Christianity, and with the spread of Holy Spirit baptism among Christians. However, attempts to involve others in either type of change is usually limited to close acquaintances and relatives.⁵⁵ Belief is by no means centred upon recruitment, however: the desire is

to make these options clear and easily available. Quebedeaux explains that "It is reformist in its desire to renew existing ecclesiastical structures, and ecumenical in its search for Christian unity across denominational lines" (p. 126). These concerns are sometimes expressed together at charismatic services, when clergy of various denominations may concelebrate, and charismatics of varying denominations take Communion together, or participate in other traditional aspects of ritual. Ecumenism is related to the charismatic belief that the Holy Spirit is a Person, and that unity in Him precedes and makes possible unity in doctrinal belief, but that "unity in diversity" is both possible and advisable (pp. 123-124).

Overall, the Charismatic Renewal in North America is very much an "open" folk group with an "open" belief system, as opposed to a "closed" one.⁵⁶ Participation on many levels, from the casual, occasional attendance at a prayer meeting to involvement in a cooperative living community, is possible and welcome. There is a good deal of diversity among charismatics on matters of social and personal conscience (e.g., drinking, politics, dress, charitable giving) which is accepted as a matter of course. These tendencies, and the doctrinal orientations described above, also characterize the St. John's charismatic community, whose development is traced below.

Neopentecostalism and Charismatic Renewal in Newfoundland

During 1971 and 1972, the influence of the Jesus Movement and the Charismatic Renewal began to appear in several parts of the province. News of these and other developments in religion reached Newfoundland through the mass media and periodicals, but the primary influence

mentioned by local charismatics today is personal contact. Through travel to the mainland and Britain, and through mainland and British charismatics moving to Newfoundland communities, charismatic ideas began to be introduced into a number of areas. The time available for research has not allowed me to obtain a comprehensive picture of this process for the entire province, or even a geographically balanced sample. I here present information for three locales: Twillingate, Placentia, and St. John's. Scattered details concerning events in other areas are included where they are relevant to the events in these communities. It must be emphasized, however, that there is a great deal more "scattered data" available than is included here. These examples give some indication of the kinds of processes which have taken, and are still taking, place; they are not the sum total of charismatic developments in Newfoundland (see map, Fig. 4).⁵⁷

Twillingate

The first charismatic prayer group in Newfoundland began in Twillingate in September of 1971, with United Church, Anglican, and Catholic members. Reverend Joseph and Mrs. Carol Burton, who pastored the United Church there, explained that the group began through a combination of several influences. They themselves had already begun to "search for something deeper" in their religious life. Reverend Burton, who was raised in Glovertown and was about forty years old at this time, explained the processes which took place in his own life as well as in his Twillingate congregation. Both the personal and the social elements in the narrative are significant for the understanding of the reasons and means whereby charismatic patterns of religious

folklife can take hold in a small Newfoundland community.

In retrospect, Reverend Burton felt that a number of events seemed to occur in "perfect timing" during 1973-75, beginning a few months after they had begun reading and praying intensively; he feels that God was leading them and bringing people to them, though he did not have this feeling at the time. A number of American and mainland Canadians passed through Twillingate during 1973-74, visiting or working temporarily in the area. "And every one of them who came to the church," he said, "had been in contact with the charismatic renewal and shared with us about it." Some "Jesus people" also came through the community, and prayed with some of the younger members of the church for the baptism of the Holy Spirit. These local people were attending the Thursday evening Bible study he led at the church, and their contributions to the discussion (and, he feels, their prayers) affected the outlook of other members positively, bringing new enthusiasm to the meetings. Some of them, who had been meeting in homes with other local charismatics, bought an old schoolhouse and opened the Twillingate Bible Youth Centre in 1974. Their Wednesday evening meetings attracted people from a variety of local denominations and, while not openly charismatic, its ten or fifteen leaders had an evangelical and ecumenical effect upon the community. They opened a bookstore which carried books published by Logos, a Protestant charismatic press; Dennis Bennett's Nine O'Clock in the Morning; and a variety of recent books from the United States and England.

Carol Burton was baptised in the Holy Spirit through prayer with these local charismatics that year. Joe was more hesitant. He explained:

I was afraid of that because as a boy I remembered going to a church in our community, and I saw people lying on the floor, baptised in the Spirit. I, I had that bad experience, and I didn't want to hear any talk about the baptism in the Spirit. Still, it was in the Scripture, and God--God was challenging me with His word. And I was getting more and more into His word. . . . no matter how I would turn my mind off from it, there was this recurring reference to the baptism in the Spirit and the Holy Spirit. (Tape 47-3, side A)

The year 1974 was difficult for them because of the discrepancy in their experience and beliefs. During 1975, however, as President of the Newfoundland United Church Conference, he was asked to consecrate a new church in Dunfield, Trinity Bay, where he had been minister some twenty years earlier. Walking through the community in the evening on the way to the consecration service, he recognized an old friend, Mrs. Ida Clark, standing in the window of her home, and stopped in to say hello. Mrs. Clark was Methodist by birth but Anglican by marriage, and had never attended the United Church when he was there, but she told him that she had often prayed for him and hoped he would return to the community. She was excited about the consecration of the church, and asked if she could pray with him before he left:

And she said, "I hope, Mr. Burton, there happens over there in the church tonight what happened when they opened the temple in the days of Solomon." And I said, "What was that?" because at that time I didn't know my Bible too well. And she said, "You know, the priests and the ministers couldn't so much as get in. The glory of God came down and consecrated the place, and all the people, they fell down on their knees and said, 'The Lord, He is God.' Oh, that that would happen tonight!" And I said, "Yes, that would be beautiful if it would." . . . And she put her hands that were all knotted with pain, and with work through the years, she put her hands on my head, and I backed into the corner. I did! I backed into the corner as she put her hands on me. And she prayed the blessing of the Holy Spirit to come down upon Reverend Burton . . . she said, "Now, I want you to preach tonight on 2 Chronicles chapter seven." And I had no intention of preaching on it. . . . (Tape 47-3, side A)

Ida Clark was not a charismatic, and as far as Reverend Burton knows she had never had contact with them. Her actions, her prayer, and

the impression of divine inspiration which he had about both of these changed his attitude toward the charismatics by forming a link between charismatic spirituality and his own Methodist roots. (He commented later during this talk, referring to his own charismatic faith: "What I've gotten, I've gotten from the United Church, and I thank God for our Methodist roots: our roots are deep.") To have an elderly woman, an old friend in a small community, lay her hands upon his head and ask for "the blessing of the Holy Spirit" upon him was, he says, a crucial turning-point for him in overcoming his associations between that "blessing" and the Pentecostal forms of religious ritual. He also mentioned that he was struck by the accuracy of several issues Mrs. Clark mentioned as she prayed for him: an accuracy usually described in charismatic circles as the word of knowledge, one of the nine charismata. He did preach on 2 Chronicles 7 that evening, and felt that her prayer was answered by the "sense of freedom and peace and openness" he felt during the service.

One evening soon afterward, when some charismatics were lingering after the Bible study, he asked them to come to the manse and pray for his wife Carol, who was ill. He explained, in the course of describing his own experience that evening, his general concept of what had taken place for these charismatics:

These were a few members of my congregation who had come into something more than I had. They had come into the baptism or the infilling of the Spirit—I don't know what you might call it; the release of the Spirit, I like to call it, because when you're converted, when you turn from your sin and turn from your past and face God, it's the Holy Spirit that comes and converts you and you become a new man in Christ. At the moment when you turn. And I had turned to God when I was seventeen. And the Holy Spirit had come to me and changed me and directed me, and equipped me for the ministry. But it was bottled up or

something; I don't know. And I needed to have it released. And Ida Clark played a great part in the releasing of that Spirit.

And now here were some of my own church members gathering around to pray for my wife. And as they prayed, something more happened to me. I fell down on the floor in the living room of the manse. And I didn't speak in tongues, and I was conscious; I just laughed. I laughed and I laughed and I laughed and I laughed. And . . . it was deep: 'way down, coming from my belly, like. Release. And if there's anything that I needed in my ministry, it was joy. I had lost the joy of the Lord, which was my strength. And it came to me, a baptism of joy. A baptism of joy. And that added a new dimension to my ministry. (Tape 47-3, side A)

This kind of emphasis on the experience itself, allowing room for some confusion about exactly what happened, how, or why, is quite common among Newfoundland charismatics. I have heard discuss their own baptism in/release of the Holy Spirit. It is one of the reasons why "unity in diversity" is possible in Newfoundland, in spite of the greater importance which denominational differences have had in the social structure of some communities until recent years, and still have for some people today.

Deborah White, who knew the Burtons during this period but became a charismatic herself only in 1982, told me that this ecumenism, as well as the charismata, drew negative reactions from most of the local clergy and from many lay people. They were considered "crazy," she felt, by most of the community, for both reasons. Now, some ten years after the group's beginnings, several local churches have formed charismatic prayer groups of their own; there have been local events sponsored by the Full Gospel Business Men and by Women's Aglow, and the United Church Renewal Fellowship (a national Canadian organization interested in fostering renewal of several kinds, including charismatic renewal); whose first Newfoundland chapter was begun in Twillingate by Reverend Burton, is still growing. Ms. White also mentioned that she, along with a number of other

teenagers and young adults in Twillingate, had worked for a few years in urban centres on the mainland, and had there come into contact with various eastern and occult groups and with psychedelics. She described the "ministry" of the charismatic group in Twillingate, not as similar to these elements of the counterculture, but as relevant to the needs and interests of people who had had strong ties with them, whereas the established churches were not (f.n. 3/12/83). She sees a connection between the growing acceptance of some key elements of the counterculture, ranging from the common use of marijuana by local teenagers to the acceptance of some environmental and political concerns by the middle class, and the Twillingate churches' recent acceptance of charismatic renewal as a legitimate and viable part of church life. Again, the connection is not one of similarity but of relevance: society is changing, and diverse elements which were considered strange and threatening ten years ago are not so strange or threatening today (f.n. 5/11/83).

Placentia-Freshwater

The second charismatic group to begin in Newfoundland started some six months after the Twillingate group, without knowledge of its existence, among Roman Catholics in Placentia and Freshwater, two neighbouring communities in Placentia Bay. The group was begun by the parish priest of Freshwater, Father Philip Lewis, who had met charismatics at two conferences in the United States and at one in Rome, and in December of 1973 received the release of the Holy Spirit at a charismatic weekend conference in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. He initially recounted his experience, and explained the concept of the release of the Spirit, to five or six close friends among his parishioners, who all

prayed for and received it within two weeks of his return from P.E.I. This small group began to meet weekly, holding prayer meetings modeled upon those Father Lewis had seen in Charlottetown--which followed the general pattern described by Quebedeaux, above. They invited other Roman Catholics who seemed interested in prayer and church activities in general, and within about six months the group consisted of some thirty to fifty people, about half of whom were forty to seventy years of age, and half in their late teens to thirties. The group chose the name of the Good Shepherd Prayer Community.

Anne Harkaway, who joined the group about six months after its beginning, gave this description of their usual content:

It was in the music room up in the school. And they had bleachers . . . along the wall, and . . . chairs in a circle. . . . The young people sat on the floor because there wasn't enough room. . . . I remember sitting there. . . . And they started the meeting. It was like, it was natural: you know people were singing and they raising their arms really high . . . and they were singing at the top of their lungs, and . . . it was spontaneous. It wasn't tight or strictly organized; it was just followed through: everything happened the way it was supposed to happen.

Like a meeting would start off, and a reading would be said--or no, first they'd introduce, say who was going to lead the meeting and then welcome everybody and they'd start off in a chorus of praise, and the tongues would come in, and it wasn't this tiny, quiet stuff; it would be fairly loud. And then Bible readings would come out. And prophecies would come out, and teachings would come out, and at the end of the meeting there would be no doubt in your mind what [God's message for] that meeting was. Was it "God loves us," you could see that right through the meeting, that's what He was saying. Was it "You've got to straighten up your act," that was definitely told right straight through the meeting: there was no doubt, there was not one thing off-key. . . .

You'd come in and the pastoral team would make sure they knew who everybody was, and if somebody new came in they would probably say, "Oh, we have two new people. We'd like to welcome them." And so you'd sit down and . . . Father Phil or Pat or Jim would welcome everybody. Then he would say, "Anything that is not of the Lord, let it be cast out from the people and from the room." . . . He'd try to get the people away from their

everyday worries, like the children at home: place them in the Lord's hands, and your worries at work, and this kind of thing. And he'd get everybody into a spirit of prayer. And then he'd say, "Let's praise the Lord for everything He's done." So then people would start praising and then it would break into tongues. And then it would quiet down and then readings would come. . . . Just before the [personal prayers of] petition Father Phil might tie all the readings, and . . . the prophecies together, and say, "This is what the Lord is saying to us tonight." Then we'd have petitions and a final song. (Tape 12-1, side A)

The meetings concluded with general socializing over coffee, tea, sandwiches and cookies. A selection of books on prayer, the charismatic Gifts, and other aspects of Christian living were set out for sale or loan. Books and refreshments, like music and leadership (and, later, the instruction of new members and the reception of visitors unfamiliar with charismatic worship and belief) were taken care of by teams of volunteers, and were called "ministries" in recognition of their contribution to the overall health and spiritual growth of the group. Another ministry, added still later, was fasting and prayer: individuals signed up each week to fast and pray on a particular day of the week, so that anyone in need of prayer or encouragement on that day could telephone or visit them and so receive timely support. Smaller groups of friends within the prayer meeting, as its numbers grew, also met on other evenings for prayer, and the original leaders continued to meet at Father Lewis's on Friday nights, along with other leaders as they emerged. Members of the group also visited the sick to pray with them or for them, and several became involved or continued their previous involvement in the activities of the Church, serving on the altar or as readers, or singing in the choir.

This group was attended by a number of Catholics from outside the community and non-Catholics from within it, as well as by local

Catholics: Members of the Pentecostal church visited from time to time, curious to find out about these Holy-Spirit-baptised Catholics; their louder, more demonstrative style of worship tended to upset the other participants, and relations between the Pentecostals and the charismatics never became close. Some nondenominational, charismatic Christians from the United States were stationed at the American army base in Placentia, and they also attended the meetings. One woman, whose husband and one grown son also joined the charismatic group, recalled one medical doctor from the Argentina base who attended for over a year, and mentioned that several other nondenominational Americans had been stationed there and attended for shorter periods of time (Tape 29, side B). Members of various local congregations came to investigate, including some United Church members from Dunville, but the area, and the group, remained predominantly Catholic.

Catholics also began to come periodically from other communities within a few hours' drive from Placentia: Catholic charismatic groups began in Stephenville, Stephenville Crossing, Grand Falls, Carbonear, St. John's, and Marytown during the mid-seventies, and some or all of these groups gathered periodically for conferences or special events. The Atlantic Service Committee of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal was founded in 1974, with Father Lewis as Newfoundland's representative, together with Father Tingley from P.E.I.; a lay Catholic, Rick Hartnett, from Nova Scotia; and Brother Aurele Melanson from New Brunswick. The committee coordinates periodic meetings for the leaders of local prayer groups, organizes annual conferences, and keeps the prayer groups in touch with events in the American and national Canadian Catholic Charismatic organizations and in the archdioceses of the region. With

charismatics from elsewhere coming to Placentia for prayer meetings and conferences, and going elsewhere to meet with other charismatics, members of the local prayer group began to feel that they were part of a solid religious community.

This sense of community was by no means so solid in Placentia itself. Both charismatics and noncharismatics I spoke to told me that the majority of local Catholics were openly skeptical of the group for various reasons. For example, many had personal resentments toward Father Lewis, who had a reputation for being hot-tempered and had offended several people before his charismatic involvement. The fact that he was the group's pastoral leader kept some people from even considering the doctrinal questions involved in Charismatic Renewal. Also, Father James Doody, parish priest of Placentia, was held in general high regard, and his noninvolvement in the meetings also kept many people away. When I interviewed Father Doody in 1981, he told me that virtually everyone in the parish had come to him at some point to ask his opinion of the charismatics. He always told them to go and see for themselves, he said, and voiced as neutral a stance as possible, but many were apparently reluctant to become involved in anything which he seemed to have reservations about (Tape 8, side A). Some of the members of the prayer group, especially its original members and lay pastoral leaders, were well thought of by community members: Jim Leonard serves on the altar of Sacred Heart Church in Placentia along with Father Doody, and Lucy Counsel is frequently telephoned for prayer or informal counseling when people are ill or troubled. These two, along with Jim's wife Donnie and Lucy's husband Pat, are all original members and pastoral team leaders who have been mentioned to me by charismatics and

noncharismatics as holding high standing in the community. But there were also widows whom, some felt, attended primarily for the company of the group, and young people who had lived on the mainland, and could be exoterically associated with drugs, eastern religions, and the counter-culture.

Probably one of the strongest factors influencing both those who joined and those who violently rejected the Charismatic Renewal in Placentia was the fact that it was hardly the only change to come to Catholic life in the community in the late sixties to early seventies. Vatican II had ushered in a series of transformations that seemed to many individuals to turn evolution into revolution: the Church leapt from the fifteenth century to the twentieth in the space of a few months. Father James Doody described some of these changes as they occurred in his own parish:

When the changes in the Church came on after Vatican II, well, people thought we were just gone haywire, that's all; they just couldn't believe this was for real. "What's the Church coming to; where's it going?" And, like I've preached for years on things, the way we do things, the way we did things; I had to do an about-face, and say, "Well, you know that was because the tradition was to do it that way." Like . . . when we offered Mass, we just stood up--the altar was against the wall, and you just faced the wall and you said Mass with your back to the people. And still the priest was supposed to be the one who was leading the people, and explaining the Word, and trying to make the Liturgy meaningful, but you see it was all awe, and all reverence: whatever was going on was between the priest and God: it was nothing to do with me [i.e., the laity]. . . . I think that's what was fearful about the Charismatic Movement: "This is another [change]; now what's involved here?" (Tape 8, side A)

For many older residents, Vatican II not only turned the priest around to face the people in the Mass; it turned their entire religious worldview around. No more burning of candles before the statues of the Holy Family or of the saints as a form of prayer; no more stress

upon the recitation of the Rosary or other personal devotions as central elements in the Catholic faith; now the Eucharist was stressed as the central focus of Catholic worship. The people were invited to sing in Mass; the Mass was said in English, not Latin. Even the instruments and music of the twentieth century began to appear in Roman Catholic worship.

For some, the Charismatic Renewal thus came as part of an overall renewal and revitalization of the Church; the Pope had prayed publicly for "a new Pentecost" in announcing some of the major decisions reached at the Second Vatican Council, and for many this prayer looked like the most logical cause of the "Pentecostal" experience being reported by devout and enthusiastic Catholics. Why should not the Holy Father's prayer be answered? For others, however, the Charismatics were one in a long series of weird and threatening changes, and references to Pentecost as the precedent for current belief and experience were anything but reassuring. Father Docdy explained:

I think the biggest fear was that we were becoming Pentecostals. I think that's what they thought it was at first: "This is the influence of the Pentecostal Church, and if we're not careful this is what'll happen: they'll take us over."

CC: What made people think that?

FD: Well, see, it was the same: the Pentecostals have a lot in common [with the Charismatic Catholics] in their worship, and they rely heavily on the Spirit. . . . I think this is the fear that a lot of people had, that . . . there's nothing you can really latch on to: it's an emotional thing, you know, it's going to be all pie in the sky. . . .

CC: Was it that people would go to the meeting and . . . see them with their hands in the air and singing and looking like Pentecostals?

FD: Yes; see, that sort of way of devotion and expression is so foreign to us. Like when we went in church we wouldn't even

talk in there . . . and all this staid, cold way of praying was really part and parcel of our lives . . . all this business of . . . praying out loud and letting people hear what you were asking God for, that was completely foreign." (Tape 8, side A)

Highly inaccurate rumours, for such a small community, were numerous and colourful. People told me that charismatics supposedly turned out the lights and rolled around on the floor on white sheets, "lookin' for the Holy Ghost." Some added that each person had to confess his sins to someone at the door before entering the meeting. They were called "holy Joes," "a bunch of old women"--oddly different from the cultic associations drawn by younger members--"miracle-workers," and, of course, Pentecostals. There was a great deal of joking about the group during its first several months, and a great deal of serious discussion as well: several people said it had been the central topic of conversation in Placentia and Freshwater for about two years.

Elements of traditional Catholic folklife and belief provided further bases for reasoning both for and against the Charismatic Renewal. Interestingly, strong convictions of both kinds seemed to spring from consideration of the same themes: the Holy Spirit, divine protection and guidance, healing, and the traits of character considered holy.

For many charismatics, not only in Placentia Bay but in other areas of North America and elsewhere, the Renewal seemed more a reification of traditional beliefs and attitudes than an introduction of new ones, particularly regarding the third Person of the Trinity. The Invocation of the Holy Spirit, sometimes recited as part of the Mass, asks: "Come, Holy Spirit; fill the hearts of Your faithful ones, and enkindle in us the fire of Your love." Pentecost Sunday Scripture readings and homilies reinforced the belief that the Spirit had been

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 known to do so on at least one occasion which affected a large congregation, not Christ or a saint alone. Madonna Hunt mentioned that after being filled with the Spirit, she noticed that He was mentioned quite frequently in the course of parish liturgies; she simply had not been attentive to it before. In addition, they had grown up hearing the priest say, as he placed his hands on the heads of young people being confirmed, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost."

On the other hand, some saw in the Sacrament of Confirmation a reality sufficient unto itself, which required no subsequent experience to make it valid (f.n. 1/10/81). Some found it strange that charismatics should be insensitive to the presence of the Holy Spirit in the everyday life of the Church, and should seek other proofs of His influence in their lives than those available through communion, prayer, and community involvement.

Divine protection was also part of established folk belief. In Roman Catholic folklife, children were often sprinkled with holy water before going to sleep, so that they might be protected during the night. Prayer was a common method of coping in dangerous situations. The intercession of St. Gerard Magella for safe childbirth was sought so frequently that his statue stands in the delivery room of the local hospital, and many people bear his name.⁵⁸ In both Anglican and Roman Catholic families, the Sign of the Cross was made in the name of the Trinity in all sorts of emergencies. For some individuals, traditional references to the availability of divine protection made the idea of a God who is present, concerned with everyday life, and can be communicated with a familiar perspective. Anne and Jane Harkaway grew up in a home where holy water was always sprinkled around the house during electrical storms,

to prevent damage; where wounds were "crossed" with their mother's wedding ring (because it had been consecrated by a priest, and was therefore considered a holy object) in the name of the Trinity. Like other children, they remember being sprinkled with holy water as a form of protection before they fell asleep at night. They mentioned these traditions in the course of explaining how they came to be involved in the charismatic group, using them as illustrations of its appeal to them as a natural, biblical development of the faith they had always known (Tape 12-1, side B, and f.n. 1/26/81). To their mother, Mrs. Eileen Harkaway, however, these traditions provided a basis for believing that the charismatic group was unnecessary, for divine protection was already evidenced: the house had never been storm damaged, and the wounds--both she and her daughters told me--had always healed. Why, therefore, should people begin to meet in homes, instead of simply attending Mass and saying their prayers in private? (f.n. 1/31/81)

Religious healing was an especially complex issue in local arguments for and against the charismatic group. Father Phil⁵⁹ and Father Tingley in P.E.I. were both quite willing to pray for physical healing, and a number of lay members in the Placentia-Freshwater group did so as well, using the traditional method of the Sign of the Cross made over the affected part in the name of the Trinity, or charismatic methods such as the laying on of hands and the use of various charismata. (These are described in Chapters IV and V.) Mrs. Mary Heffernan, whose married daughter and son-in-law were members of the charismatic group, accompanied them to the prayer meeting one evening and asked Father Phil to "cross" her back, with which she had chronic trouble. She told me that she experienced a sensation of warmth flooding through her back

as he did so, and that she has had no pain in it in the several years since this experience (Tape 13, side A). Similar experiences of apparent healing, through the prayers of Father Phil, Father Tingley, or lay members of the Good Shepherd Community, were mentioned by other members of the group as relatively common. For them, and for individuals such as Mrs. Heffernan who had experienced relief through the prayers of Father Phil or other charismatics, healing became associated with the group. Mrs. Lucy Counsel mentioned to me in 1981 that she sometimes received telephone calls requesting her prayers, or the prayers of the group, for healing for various local people when serious illness or injuries occurred (f.n. 3/18/83).

On the other hand, there was less healing than charismatics would have liked to see. Father Doody mentioned that one of his lasting reservations about the group was that members sometimes visited dying people in the hospital and promised that God would heal them. He had several times had to try to repair the emotional devastation caused when healing did not take place (Tape 8, side B). Healing had always been important in Roman Catholic tests of sanctity—for example, in the miracles of saints which were investigated during the process of canonization, and in the personal experiences reported in shrine publications. Crutches hung on the walls of shrines and chapels, and ex votos in the shape of body parts which had been healed through prayer requesting the intercession of a particular saint, served as mute testimonies to Catholic concern with divine healing.⁶⁰ It was of great local importance as well: Anne Harkaway said that healing was the central type of evidence for which people sought when attempting to decide whether the charismatics were truly filled with the Holy Spirit or not.

"If there had been more healings and less tongues," she mused, "a lot more people would have believed. A lot more" (Tape 12-2, side B).

Healing was also a factor in the response of the Pentecostal Assemblies to the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, and to Father Phil in particular. When I interviewed Father Phil in 1981--an interview we did not record because he was fighting a sore throat at the time, and preferred not to record--he recalled that he had gone to visit the General Superintendent of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, A.S. Bursey, on one occasion when he had been hospitalized following a car accident. "I laid hands on him; prayed in tongues over him; prayed up a storm," Father Phil remembered. Bursey was able to sit up and to eat a little within a few minutes, and he apparently attributed this to Father Phil's prayers. He invited Father Phil to speak at the Pentecostal church in Victoria, Conception Bay, and at some other churches in the region, on the Charismatic Renewal in the Catholic Church (f.n. 5/26/82). It was not sufficient to establish cordial relations with the PAON, for--as various individuals at the Pentecostal Head Office and at various churches have commented to me--there was widespread feeling among Pentecostals that if the Roman Catholic charismatics had really received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, they should stop smoking, drinking, and attending Mass, and join the Pentecostal Assemblies. The fact that they did not do so (though obviously not all Catholic charismatics smoke or drink) created confusion and resentment.

It appears that, locally, the charismatic group has not been widely accepted into the sphere of church life in the thought of most local Catholics. Some, perhaps, view it as one of several optional types of involvement, along with the Legion of Mary, the Knights of Columbus,

Marriage Encounter, Cursillo groups (an international movement for adult religious education, discussion, and personal "sharing" in the Catholic Church), and other groups. Some St. John's Catholics view it as part of the renewal of the Church, rather than as the renewal, associating it with such programs as Genesis II (A Bible study program) and Christ in Others Renewal (a youth retreat program). For many noncharismatics in Placentia, however, it seems to have remained a fringe phenomenon: not, as in Pope Paul VI's metaphor, the fire of Heaven burning on the hearth of the Church, but the "craziness" or fanaticism at its edges.⁶¹ Yet some ambivalence remains. Numerous people call Lucy Counsel if they are ill or deeply troubled, and respect for the gentleness and strong faith of some of the other members keeps the group and its beliefs from being utterly dismissed.

St. John's

During the early 1970's, much of the same kinds of influences which brought charismatic ideas into Placentia and Twillingate were also affecting St. John's. Local people moved temporarily to the mainland, or vacationed there, and came home with stories of charismatic prayer groups or whole church congregations elsewhere. Young people from the Good Shepherd Community moved into town to attend the university and to work, and charismatics from the mainland, the United States, and other Commonwealth countries did the same. For example, Miss Sheena Findlay, a Church of Scotland charismatic, came to teach in the Memorial University School of Social Work in 1975. She joined the newly-forming Marian Prayer Community, where she has served on the pastoral team, and Topsail United Church, where she has taught a Bible study class on the Acts of

the Apostles. Ki and Jan Adams, a Neopentecostal couple from Chicago, came to teach in the Pentecostal school system, and joined the Worship Centre, Newfoundland's first Neopentecostal church, when it opened in 1976. Jan had attended Bible college with its pastor, John Mercer, and their friendship, common ideas, and familiarity with Neopentecostal churches in the United States provided important sources of mutual support and input in developing the Worship Centre's style. Miss Findlay and Dr. Philip Heath, an Anglican charismatic, have made charismatic ideas available at the InterVarsity meetings on campus, and helped to start a faculty Bible study group in 1980. Father John Punkakunnel, a charismatic priest from Karala, India, served at the Basilica of St. John the Baptist from 1979 to 1983, and contributed a great deal to the Marian Community's meetings. These and numerous other charismatics from elsewhere, together with Newfoundlanders who had become charismatic elsewhere, provided important sources of informal cultural transmission by describing groups in other places; by lending tape recorded talks from conferences; by recommending books and charismatic periodicals; and by providing examples of charismatic worship and participation in newly-forming groups.

The Marian Community

St. John's, being a metropolitan area, did not react in as intensive or concerted a manner as Placentia-Freshwater when the Charismatic Renewal began to appear locally. The Marian Community began as a small prayer group in St. Clare's Hospital, attended primarily by nuns and lay staff members who worked there, and by their acquaintances. It was led by Pat Byrne, a young charismatic Jesuit from the mainland, and by Sister

Lorraine Michael, a Newfoundlander who had become charismatic through contact with Father Tingley, Father Phil Lewis, and the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the United States and Canada. During its first year, in 1972, it attracted participants who did, and others who did not, want the charismata to be exercised in the meetings. Sister Mary Brenda, a St. Clare's administrator who was opposed to the Gifts at first, explained to me that she saw no reason why those who were apt to be put off by speaking in tongues and other forms of charismatic worship should be subjected to them, and no reason why those who wanted to engage in them could not do so in their own homes instead of at the prayer meeting (Tape 1-1, side B). As the number of lay people involved in the meetings grew, the feeling among those who did want to exercise the charismata in the meetings grew as well, and in 1973 the group divided into two, with the charismatics moving to the Mercy Convent. This second group was joined in 1976 by Father Phil, who had been transferred to St. Paul's Parish in East Meadows, a new residential area of the city, and grew rapidly until in 1977 it had some three hundred members. The St. Clare's group--minus Pat Byrne, who had returned to the mainland, and Sister Lorraine, who had moved with the charismatic group--remained a small prayer group, predominantly for hospital staff.

During this period, the Marian Community had quite a number of members in their twenties and thirties who were involved in the business community or the university. It was perhaps 90% Roman Catholic, with some United Church and Anglican participants. Its leadership, chosen by a combination of volunteer candidacy and prayerful choice by such preexisting leaders as Sister Lorraine and Father Phil, grew to accommodate its numbers. Many of its newer leaders were from the young

business and university stratum of the group, for the desired qualities were an ability to teach, and an absence of shyness about speaking in front of a large group. After a couple of years, in 1979, it was decided to split the group into three parts, so that individuals would not be lost in its enormity. One group went to St. Paul's School in East Meadows (there was no church there, and today, as then, Father Phil says Mass in the gymnasium). The second group went to the Basilica of St. John the Baptist, in the centre of the old part of town. The third went to St. Teresa's Parish Church, to the west. Members sorted themselves out by a combination of preference and geographic proximity: special friendships and preferences for certain leaders, and the style of each group as it developed, sometimes motivated people to attend one further from their homes than another. Each group was given a small room: a schoolroom at St. Paul's, a basement room at St. Teresa's, and an attic room at the Basilica.

For the first two years, the groups stayed relatively strong, but membership began to shift to different predominant populations. In 1981, I talked with several of the young university and business people who had disassociated themselves from the meetings during the previous two years, and they talked at length about their reasons for doing so. Ed and Mary Wyse, who had been part of the Good Shepherd Community in Placentia, invited me over, together with Jane and Eugene Ryan, Anne Harkaway, and Gerard Bruce—all from the Good Shepherd Community as well—one evening in July, and we sat around their small, student-furnished living room, soft rock playing on the stereo, swirling Coke or whisky and water in our glasses as we talked. Ed and Mame had strong feelings, and it showed. Ed commented first that he saw fundamentalist traits

engendered by the meetings: an affinity with Protestant groups who associated certain kinds of intolerance with Christian principles. For example, a friend of theirs who is homosexual was given a cool welcome when he seemed keen on becoming charismatic while remaining homosexual. Ed mentioned that some of the group members even began to consider it wrong to play cards--reminding him uncomfortably of Southern Baptists. "Lots of rejection of innocent human individuals and activities," he summarized, was starting to characterize the definition of holiness he saw in use there.

The theme of fundamentalist traits reminded Mame of occasions when she had heard Marian Community members cut off the discussion of a doctrinal point by asserting that such-and-such a view was "in the Bible," as if that settled the matter with unassailable finality. They had both noticed an increasing tendency to accept teaching from charismatic leaders with a kind of passive, unquestioning attitude which seemed to them to replace the exercise of the individual conscience and intellect. They also felt that the group's spirituality was rather self-centred, and becoming more so: people spoke of their internal "walk with the Lord" and the small emotional ups and downs of the week when they "shared" something in the meetings, rather than about social issues, or events in other people's lives in which they had tried to be of use. (Sister Lorraine had by this time left the group and become deeply involved with Catholic Social Action--possibly for reasons similar to these, though group members seemed uncertain.)

They were also disturbed by a spirituality which they saw as increasingly overspiritual: "People act as if God does everything, including write their term papers," Ed commented in exasperation. They

seemed to have lost the concept of human responsibility for the use of the mind and of the ability to cope. Mame added that, perhaps because of this over-reliance upon God and lack of perspective upon the ordinary workings of the world and the human personality, people seemed to require what she considered an inordinate amount of "ritual" to relate to Him.

Through all of this, Jane and Gerard, who had maintained membership in the community at St. Teresa's, remained quiet, nodding in agreement or understanding and commenting briefly, "Yeah, I can see your point," or "Yeah, there's that tendency." Sometimes their comments were more qualified: "Now, not everybody's that way." Gene, who is quiet at the best of times, had withdrawn from the meetings with little explanation, simply saying that he didn't feel they were quite right for him any more. He sat deep in an armchair, eyes thoughtfully fixed on the floor in front of him, not commenting. Anne, an articulate and reflective woman, less analytically-minded than Ed and Mame but just as able to frame an argument, had a somewhat different perspective on what was wrong with the St. John's groups. In comparison with the early years of the Good Shepherd Prayer Community, before she and other younger members moved in large numbers from the community, and Father Phil was transferred to St. John's, she had seen far better organization, more sure-handed and capable leadership, a greater and more convincing use of the charismata, and a kind of joyous, holy, electrifying sense of Presence in the meetings. Her objections had to do with qualities the groups had lost, not with undesirable ones they had gained (f.n. 7/27/81).

One young couple had originally attended the meetings together; the wife eventually stopped coming, and when I met the husband in July of

1981 he was serving as a member of the pastoral team for the group meeting at the Basilica, now called the Lamb of God Community. He was finding it a somewhat frustrating task, partly because he would have preferred to share his charismatic involvement with his wife, but primarily because the group had begun to attract large numbers of people who had been cajoled into coming by well-meaning friends, and were, he felt, in need of counseling or social work for family problems before they could really benefit from or contribute to a charismatic prayer group. He found himself being called upon to be both counselor and social worker, and to tackle problems that he would much have preferred to give to someone with professional training. There were so many people in this category attending the meetings that the leaders were unable to get to know them all, and their very presence, together with the quiet passivity they often brought to the meetings, made it difficult for them to foster an uplifting and inspired atmosphere. A fellow pastoral team member, also in his late twenties, concurred: it was like trying to carry a large group on the strength and spiritual energy of a small minority, he felt. Only a few people ever "shared" or exercised the charismata in the meetings; many did not throw themselves into prayer and praise with the concentration that he had come to consider typical of a "healthy" charismatic group. Even those who could do so somehow felt themselves weighted down by the atmosphere created by the presence of a majority of people who hoped to be "carried by the meeting," as he put it, rather than "reaching out to God themselves."

One leader had noticed a pattern in the experience of individuals who came because they were generally depressed or had problems with which they were not coping well. At first, he said, membership in the group

cheered them up tremendously: they were "soaring" with the happiness of having found a loving, supportive, strong community of people. Then, when they began to discover some of its faults--heard their first misguided word of knowledge, or were snapped at by someone in a bad temper--they "plummed to the depths" and lost all faith in the Holy Spirit. He also noticed a tendency among people to evaluate their spiritual lives in terms of their friendships in the prayer group. "I believe," he explained, "that an individual's relationship with God should be hammered out between the individual and God" (L.N. 7/29/82). He, too, saw a lack of "analysis" in the thought of group members: a tendency to label doubts as "from the devil" to be dismissed instead of thought through. These and other changes have damped the Hartan Community's spirit considerably since the group split into three parts. In 1982, it recombined--now having a total of perhaps fifty to sixty participants at an average weekly meeting--but many of the problems which caused some of its more thoughtful members to leave are still in evidence. Its spirituality, as one still-faithful but unhappy participant commented, is rather like that of a Legion of Mary meeting, and indeed many of its older women--now a large majority of the group's total composition--recite the Hail Mary, and try to centre the group's attention upon Her, quite frequently. They sing loudly when they sing, and listen attentively to anyone speaking, but the charismata, and the sense of Presence, which once marked the group as specifically charismatic are much diminished.

Crossdenominational Charismatic Renewal

As the Marian Community has diminished in numbers and in zeal, charismatic groups elsewhere in the city have budded and grown. In 1979 a small group of local businessmen, who had attended Full Gospel gatherings while visiting other cities, started a chapter of the organization in St. John's. They sold tickets to monthly breakfasts and dinners, held at the new Holiday Inn or at other locations free of denominational associations, in as many local churches as they could find someone willing to distribute them. From an initial attendance of fifty or so (a denominational mixture from the beginning), these breakfasts and dinners are attracting an average of two to three hundred people now, and new chapters are being opened in Grand Falls, Stephenville, and Lewisporte. Its affiliate organization, Women's Aglow, began holding monthly meetings in 1982, and has recently opened a second chapter in Carbonear. Both groups invite a guest speaker, usually from out of town, who tells the story of his or her conversion to Christianity and/or baptism in the Holy Spirit, or teaches on some aspect of charismatic belief. The meetings open with five singing--often pop Gospel, or soft rock and roll; people are seated at long tables with linen tablecloths, and leaflets at each place giving the words of choruses to be sung after the musicians have performed. The food is elegant and expensive; complimentary tickets are often given to those who cannot afford the ten dollars for a fancy breakfast. Those affiliated with the organization of the chapter sit at a head table, dressed in well-pressed dark suits or formal dresses. In this well-heeled setting, old Pentecostal choruses, well-known hymns such as "Amazing Grace," and new charismatic "praise songs" are sung with arms raised or hands clapping; testifying

and teaching are done, for the most part, in ordinary conversation phrasing and tones; and people walk to the front of the room after the speaker finishes, to undergo the rites of passage of conversion and spiritual baptism. The charismata are exercised freely during this period, as individuals come to pray with those who approach the front; laughter and tears and the murmuring of praise in tongues mix with firm commands to demons to depart, and words of knowledge or prophecies are given to specific individuals by others praying with them. Salvation Army officers, nuns, priests, Central Baptist and Pentecostal ministers, Anglican clergy, and ministerial candidates of these and other denominations from the university seem to come in great numbers, investigating charismatic Christianity through this means rather than through one of the local prayer groups. There is something so legitimate and lush about its atmosphere that quite a range of people seem to feel more comfortable there than they do at smaller meetings.

Close to PCBMFI in atmosphere and style is the nondenominational charismatic television program aired daily from Toronto, 100 Huntly Street. The same format—fancy clothes, an opening singer, a testimony, more singing, and prayer with individuals—can be seen every weekday morning. A local telephone line, staffed by charismatics, is operated out of a small office above a shop on Elizabeth Avenue, near the university. When viewers call in for prayer or counseling, they are often referred to a charismatic of their own denomination and close to their own age. A large map (Fig. 5) in the office pinpoints the locations of counselors around the province, so that out-of-town callers can be offered a local contact when it is possible.

Fig. 5. A map of Newfoundland in the 100 Huntly Street counseling office, with push pins showing the location of charismatics who have volunteered to counsel individuals in their areas who call 100 Huntly Street.

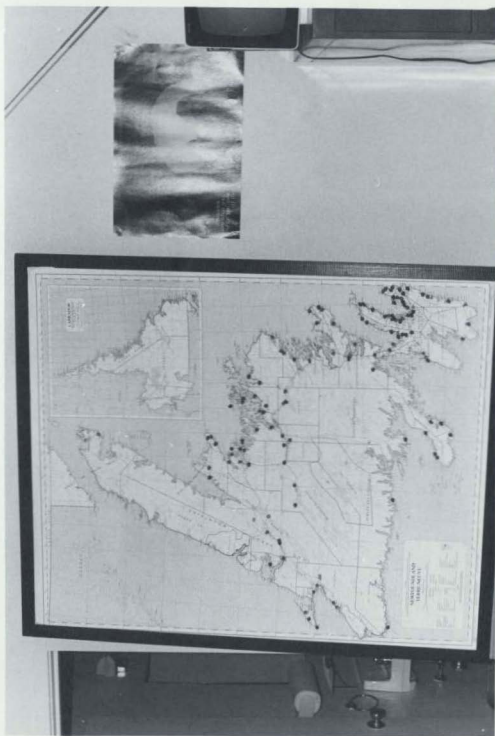


Fig. 6. The bulletin board in the St. John's counseling office of the charismatic television program 100 Huntly Street, broadcast nationally from Toronto at 10:30 a.m. Monday through Friday on CBC. The office telephone number is shown on the television screen. The telephones are answered by volunteer counselors from the local charismatic community.

This counseling line has not only brought people to the various charismatic prayer groups in town, but has made charismatics more aware of each other. Meeting at the counseling office, classical Pentecostals sympathetic to charismatics have met Roman Catholic charismatics who like classical Pentecostal style; United Church members attending the Marian Community meetings have met other United Church members attending some small house group unknown to the Marian Community. At the Full Gospel and Women's Aglow meetings, also, the charismatic community has both grown and discovered itself, becoming more unified and aware of the range of prayer groups in existence. New groups have formed; visiting between groups has increased. There is now an Anglican group, led by Mr. Gerald O'Brien of St. Mark's Church, meeting in his home on Tuesday evenings; a local branch of the United Church Renewal Fellowship, led by Reverend William Cosh of George Street United Church and Mr. Carl Monk, a local insurance agent who became charismatic through his friendship with Reverend Joseph Burton; and at least three crossdenominational house groups which meet in homes associated in some way with FQSMFI. Individual charismatics, such as Captain Sims of the Salvation Army Temple, and Miss Janice Cooper of St. John's Citadel and the Worship Centre, have started general prayer groups in which charismatic participation is rather quiet and subdued, but present. Derm. Westcott, a young, longhaired, denim-jacketed charismatic Baptist with extensive friendships among the tougher members of the St. John's street culture, founded Turning Point Ministries in 1982, and has been joined by some dozen other young churchgoers, most of whom are charismatics. They now hold weekly meetings for teenagers at St. Clare's Hospital (quite separate from the prayer group there), and sponsor movies,

concerts, and other events designed to convert teenagers to Christianity. Another small group of charismatics, familiar with life in prison from their own past experiences, have started a "jail ministry," visiting prisoners, bringing them tape recordings of charismatic speakers, magazines, Bibles, and religious tracts, and offering continuing friendship and support to those who respond positively to their overtures.

The Cuffs' Prayer Group

One of the places where one is likely to find Derm Westcott, Janice Cooper, and a range of 100 Huntly Street counselors and Marian Community members (or ex-members) is at Don and Linda Cuffs' home on a Wednesday evening. Don and Linda grew up in United Church families in Bonavista, Bonavista Bay, but attended its classical Pentecostal church after undergoing personal conversion experiences (about which more will be said in Chapter III). They were also members of an interdenominational charismatic prayer group there, which met in various homes each week. Together with a classical Pentecostal neighbour, Mrs. Joyce Senior, a 100 Huntly Street counselor, they started a similar prayer group when they moved to St. John's in 1979.

The Cuffs' prayer group is significantly different from the Marian Community in the fine points of ethos and atmosphere. Where the Marian meetings are held using a circle of chairs in a gymnasium, the Cuffs' group crowds into their townhouse living room, some in chairs, some curled up on the carpet. Don and Joyce, though they are the only two leaders, and self-appointed rather than chosen by other local leaders or prayer group members, somehow create a more relaxed atmosphere, and participation is greater than at the Marian Community. It is intensely charismatic and intensely intellectual: there are prolonged discussions

and even arguments, as well as impassioned prayer and praise. Though the literal interpretation of biblical promises and principles is a common element in the reasoning voiced by the group's leaders, there is much questioning, and a strong use of, and respect for, the individual conscience combined with these traits, and Don combines passionate evangelical concerns with a deep respect for and interest in other denominational styles of religious folklife. Its meetings are sometimes more prolonged, and far more flexibly structured, than those of the Marian Community, beginning about eight-thirty and not breaking up until after one in the morning. Prayer tends to be prolonged, individual and intensely concentrated, where the Marian Community tends toward shorter, collective, and less concentrated periods of prayer. There is a strong focus upon the exchange of ideas and experiences regarding the charismata: in fact, it is something of a training ground for individuals who are attempting to exercise them. Such discussion is absent in the Marian Community, or exists only in very informal forms, perhaps between individuals in conversation after the meetings. It is composed of younger and poorer people than those Full Gospel meetings are designed to reach (though they attend Full Gospel as well). Don and Linda's soft Bonavista voices add a "Bayman" flavour to the meetings which many of its participants from outside the city obviously enjoy.

The Cuffs' group places a strong emphasis upon Bible study and the discussion of the actual operation of the various charismata. Don is a thorough and careful Bible teacher who uses plain language, and the combination of deep thought and simple words seem to encourage participation in the discussions. Don also encourages people to experiment with the charismata. Gerry and Agnes Donahue and Tina Furlong, ex-Marian

Community members who now attend there, have commented that they find it less threatening to offer a rather uncertain, hesitant prophecy if one can count upon feedback and evaluation from other members. At the Marian Community, any utterance which is offered as being "from the Lord" is greeted with a chorus of "praise the Lord" and "Thankyou Jesus"; at the Cuffs', all such utterances are tape recorded for preservation and later review, and are subject to questioning, discussion, and general evaluation. The importance of this factor in the actual operation of inspired utterance among local charismatics will be further explained in Chapter IV.

Virtually all the regular members of the Cuffs' prayer group except Joyce Senow, who is a committed member of Elim Tabernacle, a local classical Pentecostal church, have begun to attend the Worship Centre from time to time, along with a large percentage of the other charismatics in the city. The Worship Centre's development has been, until the last year, almost solely governed by the ideas and innovations of Pentecostals, for it is technically under the auspices of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland--unorthodox though the Assemblies' leaders find it.

The Worship Centre

Elim and Bethesda remained the only Pentecostal churches in St. John's until 1976. The beginning of a third church was John Mercer's idea. He had grown up in a strict Pentecostal home in Long Pond, near St. John's, but left to work in Toronto when he was seventeen. From there he had gone to Bible college: not, as most Newfoundland Pentecostals who wanted that kind of education did, to Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, but to Central Bible College in Springfield, Missouri.

While there, he encountered congregations, pastors, and writers whose religious outlook and practice were considerably less structured than those of the churches he had attended in Newfoundland. After graduation he returned to St. John's and, serving as assistant pastor at Bethesda, discussed the possibility of opening a third church in one of the new sections of town with the provincial administrators of the Pentecostal Assemblies. An early attempt to buy a building was not approved by the provincial board, however, and Mercer left for seminary.

Mrs. Sybil Andrews, who was a member of the Worship Centre from its opening service and knew Mercer before the church was opened, explained to me that he was determined to open another church, even if it had to be done independently, but he sought and, ultimately, received the PAON's official support. Popular support, however, was uncertain when he arranged to begin holding services in the cafeteria of an old sanatorium, temporarily being used as extra classroom space by the College of Trades and Technology. The location had been chosen in order to serve a neighbourhood relatively distant from Elim and Bethesda, but Mrs. Andrews recalled that no announcements about its opening were made in Elim, where she attended. Without pastoral encouragement to support the new church, people in the area found out about it through word of mouth, through contact with Mercer, or through the advertisements he placed in the newspaper when the church was ready to hold its first Sunday morning service. She and her husband Harold saw the ad, and stopped in as they passed the sanatorium on their way to Elim. They enjoyed it, transferred their membership, and stayed.⁶²

The whole idea was something of a shock to the local Pentecostal community. Eliff Brown, who had been like Harold and Sybil Andrews—

very much involved in the church life of Elim, a member of the board and cofounder of its radio broadcast, "The Old, Old Story," described some of the reactions:

Those of us who knew him felt it was, ah, quite an adventurous move, to say the least. There'd been two Pentecostal churches here ever since--you know, thirty, forty years, and a third one just seemed so unreal. And most of us who heard about it really just sort of said, "Well, we'll wait and see." There wasn't really any support for a third assembly from either of the two existing ones.

It very quickly captured the interest of quite a few people who . . . I think were attracted to, to the fact that somebody would even attempt to do this. And John was quite an enthusiastic person: he was a very keen individual; he was able to relate to people quite well; he was a young man, new ideas, fresh out of Bible college. But yet he didn't seem like a novice; he, he seemed to have his head on straight. He got the respect of quite a number of mature Christians in the city . . . people donated things like P.A. systems and supported him financially, even without attending. (Tape 3-3, side A)

Some of the original ideas which shaped the Worship Centre, as they have been explained to me by John himself and by members of the congregation, clarify what was so "adventurous" about it. First, it was conceived as what is known in Newfoundland Pentecostal tradition as a pioneer assembly: a church which was intended to draw people not currently attending a Pentecostal church. Other churches to which the term had been applied, however, had always been in communities where the obvious reason for nonattendance was that there was no Pentecostal church to attend. No Newfoundland pastor had previously attempted to draw people who already had Pentecostal churches available to them and had decided they did not want to attend there. Soon after the church opened, John and some members of the congregation located people in the area who had grown up in Pentecostal homes but did not themselves attend Elim or Bethesda, and people whom friends thought might appreciate an invitation to the new church for other reasons. He did not seek to draw members

away from the other two churches. Beyond an original core of a half dozen people, those who transferred did so on their own initiative. Mercer thus had no real precedent to follow in his manner of attracting people to the church: it had a new orientation and a new kind of audience.

Second, as Sybil Andrews explained, he wanted to see what happened when the traditional taboos and requirements of Newfoundland classical Pentecostalism were excised, feeling that, quite possibly, what he later called "the vibrant life of the primitive church"⁶³ could become evident. The Worship Centre not only met in a cafeteria; it met with only a skeletal outline of the ritual structure which normally defines a Newfoundland Pentecostal service. Beyond opening and closing with prayer, and including singing and--usually--a sermon, the structure of each service was largely left open to the inspiration of the moment. Lay members were invited to preach sermons or to lead the opening singing and prayer; they were even asked spontaneously to pray aloud at the beginning or end of services, with no advance warning. People were also welcome to stand on their own initiative, if they felt the need or the inspiration to contribute something at a particular moment. The duration of the service was flexible: starting times were consistent, but they ended anywhere between one and three hours later, whenever pastor and people felt ready to stop.

Two structural features eliminated from the Worship Centre's services had particularly interesting results: there was no long altar call, and the traditional "testimony time" on Sunday evenings was both allowed to occur at other times, and transformed from a performance genre. The elimination of pastoral exhortation concerning salvation

resulted, not in a cessation of the traditional approach to the altar, but its occurrence without a rhetorical cue. Cliff Brown recalled:

He really felt bad about putting pressure on people to come forward, and on several occasions in his services, immediately following a message or, on one occasion, even before a sermon was delivered, I believe, a person went forward to, ah, to become a Christian. Without anybody asking. And I remember him saying to me one day, "I knew that sort of thing could happen," he said. "I just, I just feel that this is the way it, it can be." He just felt he wanted to, to some extent, I think, experiment, to see if things really had to be done the way they had always been done in traditional Pentecostal churches. (Tape 3-3, side A)

The transformation of "testifying" into "sharing" reduced the likelihood that--as one Worship Centre member commented about the testimonials given in another congregation where he knew the people quite well--an individual could be "ecstatic in church and miserable at home, or miserable for other people to get along with" (f.n. 12/20/82). "Sharing" was done in one's own words, at one's own pace, and dealt with one's own chosen content; its acceptability at a wide range of points during church services placed its timing in the individual speaker's hands as well. Cliff Brown was particularly struck by the impact these changes in form made upon the functions and affects involved. When I asked him whether there was anything in particular about the services which he interpreted as evidence that God was active there, he responded:

In the times of sharing which occurred on Sunday evening and sometimes on Sunday morning, people whom I considered nominal Christians, or who had, um, drifted away from fellowshiping with other Christians over the years . . . began to show up and become more involved: want to volunteer their help, or whatever, and often expressed the feeling that this was genuine, what they were involved in. They felt part of a family; they felt part of a group of people who cared about them. And they began to be less inhibited about sharing some of their most private concerns. It was just like a family: a family feeling. (Tape 3-3, side A)

A traditional testimony could be given without reference to, and in fact could be cognitively "bracketed" as separate from, the actual circumstances and emotions of everyday life. "Sharing" dealt specifically and directly with the everyday in its deeply, individually significant aspects. Testifying is stylized to the extent that it is emically recognized as a learned art; sharing is done in as unstylized a manner,

as possible, and is done in the Worship Centre as frequently by visitors who have had no opportunity to learn group norms as it is by members.

Testifying has traditional rhetorical goals: a "good" testimony inspires listeners by communicating an air of personal triumph over the world, the flesh, and the devil, all of which are frequently mentioned as defeated enemies. Sharing has few traditional expectations other than honesty and humility. Gratitude toward God is commonly expressed, but confusion and even despair are equally acceptable.

A similar transformation took place in preaching. Both the pastor and the lay members who preached from time to time abandoned the style and the structure of traditional Pentecostal sermons. They spoke in normal conversational tones and used their usual vocabulary, not adding the final "-uh" which often closes Pentecostal preachers' sentences or phrases; the "halleluias" and "praise the Lords" which are sprinkled through them; or the sharp rises and plunges of pitch and volume which are intrinsic to their traditional emotional impact. They addressed or referred to other members by their first names, rather than with the formal "Brother Smith" and "Sister Jones" often used in sermons even if they are not used in church conversation. They also spoke from notes, with the intention of teaching rather than preaching, as Sybil Andrews put it. Traditional Pentecostal sermons are often given

extempore, because this is felt to give more freedom to the Holy Spirit to tell the pastor what to say. One local minister who was considered especially "classical" (that is, "like the old days," in the words of one admirer) preached primarily on divine judgement, prophecy, and the Second Coming (Tape 3-1, side 1). Virtually every sermon I have heard in Pentecostal churches has touched emphatically upon these themes, and all have moved freely from one idea to the next, rather than developing a single topic. In the Worship Centre, coherence and unity of thought were highly valued, and often had a structure similar to the classic five-paragraph theme of high school and university composition courses: an introduction; three or four carefully integrated ideas; and a conclusion. Topics ranged from the exegesis and homiletics of mainstream Protestant tradition to the discussion of practical and ethical issues, remaining always closely and explicitly tied to Christian (rather than cultural or humanistic) concerns. This widened the possibilities in terms of content, as well as style, from traditional Pentecostal norms. Cliff summed up the resultant effects in this way:

I think one of the things that appealed to many people about the church was John's down-to-earthness. His messages were well thought out; very clear. Not always long, which is the custom in most Pentecostal churches. . . . He didn't shout. He didn't get terribly excited when he preached, but you could tell he believed every word he was saying. It was real to him, and he made it real to you. . . . He was talking straight at you; . . . you didn't get bored because you knew he had prepared this for you. It was on your level: you could understand it. It wasn't, ah, pie in the sky; it was basic Christian living, understanding Biblical concepts, understanding what Christ really did for us. (Tape 3-3, side A)

Other members of the congregation have commented, after sojourns at other churches because of work or travel, that sermons elsewhere struck them as too "heavenly-minded," not relating sufficiently to the here and now. They also noted the frequency with which the need for salvation was

stressed to congregations in which no "unsaved" individuals were present. (I have myself heard Pentecostal pastors speak categorically of the importance of "preaching salvation" regardless of the audience.) Like "sharing," Worship Centre sermons tended both to reflect and to encourage congruence between church behaviour and everyday life, removing much of the situational framing created by ritual style and content.

Congregational behaviour during worship developed in interesting blends of old and new. There was no "groaning in the spirit" included in individual prayer, and many of the other overt behavioural traditions of Pentecostal churches in the area disappeared as well: trembling; the loud, musical, extended "Hallelu-u-u-ia" of individual worship; and the Jericho March were absent. The raising of the arms during singing or prayer or congregational praise, however, increased. Cliff Brown commented:

I think people began to, ah, seek God more. People that I had never seen before raise their hands in worship began to do so. People that had . . . attended churches for years without any desire to go deeper in terms of learning about the Bible or studying the Scriptures began to, to want that. Midweek Bible studies became very well attended. And just people who were not interested in church before began to be interested. And this just amazed me. . . . People who came there, came there to really meet God. People weren't inhibited: people who in other circumstances, in other churches, would have been more reserved. But they really came because they wanted to worship. (Tape 3-3, side A)

The association Cliff expresses here between raising the arms in worship; wanting to study the Bible; and coming to church "really to meet God" are frequently expressed by other members of the congregation, speaking both of their personal sense of connection between them and of their perceptions of the church as a whole. Raising the arms can be called a form of performance only in a qualified sense, because

there is frequently no audience, and the "performer" knows it: it tends to occur during times of congregational and personal absorption, when eyes are frequently closed. Its link with Bible study and coming to church "to meet God" is motivational. People do all three for the same central reasons. The reasons are difficult for many members to articulate precisely, but Cliff put it this way:

There just seemed to be, um, a quiet, holy atmosphere. . . .
 You knew everybody was worshipping, and you felt God there.
 In a very real way. (Tape 3-3, side A)

This, however, is a strictly esoteric perspective. Exoterically, the view was quite the opposite. Carl Hudson commented that gossip had been reported to him from Elim and Bethesda in which it was said that "you could smell the coffee brewing during every service." Members of Elim have told me that it is still called, not the Worship Centre, but the Social Centre or the Space Centre. Cliff Brown heard that people were saying that it was "a place where hippies gathered and sat around on the floor and sipped Coke during the service, and this sort of thing—I'm serious! These are the sorts of rumours that spread" (Tape 3-3, side A). Fred Searle, who lives outside the city near a more rural Pentecostal church, heard people express suspicions that Worship Centre members smoked cigarettes (as far as I know, none do) or danced. One Pentecostal woman who had visited the church several times told me that it seemed "dead" to her because the hymns were sung slowly and there was little noise or movement. Others were offended because Barbara Mercer, John's wife, did not wear a hat in church, nor the navy blue dress and white collar which have become traditional for pastors' wives and women in other positions of leadership.⁶⁴ The crowning outrage was probably the building: it seemed

sacreligious, as a number of people complained to Cliff and John on various occasions, to hold religious services in a room used for eating and card-playing during the week. Like the idea of church members going out for coffee and doughnuts after a service, it struck people as an unseemly mixing of the sacred with the profane. The absence of traditional barriers roping the sacred off from everyday life was widely interpreted as a lack of respect and appreciation for the sacred.

Part of the reason for the exoteric gossip lay, members feel, in resentments created by the migration of what Carl Hudson called "disgruntled Pentecostals" to the Worship Centre. John Mercer had not set out to draw people away from other churches, but as news of the Worship Centre's innovations spread through Pentecostal social networks, people who were chafing elsewhere for various reasons frequently changed their membership. It thus acquired something of a maverick reputation: an air of the renegade. This was only increased by the other group attracted to the church: charismatic members of other denominations.

Strange as the Worship Centre's priorities, music, social relations, and liturgy are from the classical Pentecostal perspective, they are quite ordinary from the Neopentecostal-charismatic perspectives. Both Pentecostals and charismatics from outside Newfoundland who have come to the church have commented on its similarity to churches they have attended before. Miss Maggie MacIlwaine, a nurse from Belfast, Ulster, commented that she remembered very similar Church of Ireland groups at home (f.n. 9/21/80). Betty Bissell, an American Pentecostal schoolteacher, had left a similar church back home in Missouri. Mrs. Susan Hammond, a charismatic Methodist from North Island, New Zealand, said much the same (see Tapes 11-1, 2); I have myself seen very similar churches, Pentecostal and nondenominational charismatic in Oregon,

California, Colorado, and Yorkshire. Charismatics from various local prayer groups, including the Cuffs' and the Marian Community, often know some of the songs already, for they are part of the Neopentecostal-charismatic body of recently-composed song which travels, in both oral and recorded forms, all over the continent and even overseas. These songs, for reasons no one has figured out as far as I know, are referred to by some officials at PAON headquarters as "Catholic choruses"—perhaps because they think of the Charismatic Renewal in terms of the Roman Catholics with whom they have had the most contact. They are one of the many things about the Worship Centre which make it seem peculiar to the PAON and quite familiar to charismatics.

It has been something of a surprise to some Pentecostal members of the Worship Centre to find charismatic members of other denominations settling in as happily and easily as if the traditional demarcations between Pentecostals and other churches did not exist. Many were largely unaware of the Charismatic Renewal, and tended to think of the church primarily in relation to the Pentecostal Assemblies. This sudden influx of people who considered the Worship Centre normal, and apparently delightful, had mixed effects upon the congregation.

One of the major problems in the integration of Pentecostals and charismatics has been that the individual who has done the most to introduce charismatics to the Worship Centre, Mr. Lorne Rostotski (himself a Ukrainian Catholic who married a Pentecostal woman, and joined her church following a conversion experience), had previously upset some of the church's members by exercising the charismata more freely than they were prepared to accept. It has taken two years for trust to begin to develop after an initial explosion of ill feeling. Lorne's lack of inhibition about the charismata, willingness to discuss

demons and angels, and openness towards other denominations were all highly unusual in comparison with classical Pentecostal norms in the area, and seemed to aggravate some of the resentments which had caused Worship Centre members to leave their previous churches in the first place, for their impression was that these tendencies were based in the same kind of demonstrative, overexcitable religious proclivities which caused other Pentecostals to tremble, shout, and enter trance states. Over the past two years, these judgments of Lorne have largely softened, as he has never trembled, shouted, or gone into trance states, and has proven his intelligence and emotional balance to the satisfaction of most of the church's members. As these evaluations have changed, their attitude toward charismatics who are also willing to exercise the charismata, speak of angels and demons, and belong to other denominations are softening and warming as well.

The congregation hired an architect and builders, and helped to design and build their own church in 1979-81. In early 1982, John Mercer returned to seminary to complete another graduate degree, and the congregation prayed about, voted on, and hired Pastor Gene Clarke. Like Mercer, he is from Conception Bay, and not yet thirty years old; more a teacher than a preacher; and a lover of spontaneous worship. He is also warmly open toward charismatics. The level of lay leadership has remained relatively high, and has extended to new individuals as more people have joined the church. Membership now stands at some one hundred and fifty, and average attendance at about two hundred. Interest in the charismata is starting to rise somewhat among "disgruntled Pentecostal" members, and there seems to be a desire for more demonstrative worship on the part of some of the quieter members. Charismatics are attending in greater numbers month by month.

Several kinds of rapprochement are taking place at present. Classical "disgruntled Pentecostals" have become interested in and attracted to charismatics; friendships are forming, and belief and practice are coming closer together as the Pentecostals relax in the conclusion that the baptism and Gifts are actually separable from the kinds of "cultural baggage" they want to avoid. Classical Pentecostals outside the church are beginning--at least on official levels--to accept the Worship Centre as a stable and respectable, if somewhat strange, type of Pentecostal church. Simultaneously, there has been greater contact between charismatics and Pentecostals through FGBMFI and Women's Aglow, resulting in more cordial relations on both sides. The Worship Centre seems to be increasingly perceived as a connecting link between the old and the new, as Pentecostal and charismatic definitions of the religious folklife which is "supposed" to accompany baptism in the Holy Spirit continue to change, develop, and discover one another. This is, in fact, the way in which Neo-Pentecostalism is often perceived by scholars who differentiate between Pentecostals and charismatics.⁷³

Conclusion

St. John's is connected, by a steadily growing number of personal and professional networks, with other communities around the province. Its charismatic community is no exception. Visitors from other communities are almost always present at the Worship Centre and the Cuffs', and the Marian Community has some members who drive in from other communities around Conception Bay. All three groups have personal contacts with charismatics elsewhere, and news of other groups' doings is often exchanged at meetings. The more detailed study of cultural

traits shared by the Worship Centre, the Cuffs' group, and the Marian Community, are shared by groups elsewhere—even in small communities in which such extensive similarities might not be expected. For example, the Sacred Heart Prayer Community in Fors Cove on the Southern Shore shares a great deal with the Marian Community; Anglicans in Northern Arm, Gander, and Appleton in central Newfoundland keep in close touch with Worship Centre members, and attend when they are in town. Reverend Joseph and Carol Burton, now pastoring three United Churches in the Bay Roberts area, Conception Bay, and leading a small charismatic group there, are in close touch with some United Church members here who attend the Worship Centre. These and numerous other people from out of town attend FGBM and Women's Aglow meetings. The cultural analysis offered here should, therefore, be taken as a sampling of the possibilities and general tendencies which appear in a larger population.

Each of the three groups is discussed in terms of the social features and personalities which make it unique; generalizations about charismatics as a group are minimal. However, they are given when justified by my field experience, so as to make these group-specific discussions fit as clearly as possible into a wider framework. As the number of charismatics in the province is growing rapidly, and the intensity and range of their involvement with inspired utterance, religious healing, visionary and ecstatic experience, and other locally unusual elements of religious folklife seems to be increasing as well, it is hoped that this study will provide useful groundwork for future understanding of the group.

CHAPTER II

MEETINGS: STRUCTURE, AFFECTS, AND RULES OF CHARISMATIC RITUAL

As illustrated in the preceding chapter, there is considerable evidence that the Worship Centre, the Cuffs' group, and the Marian Community are connected in concrete and significant ways, and that their individual traits exemplify some of the possibilities which exist within a larger cultural group to which all three belong. Other possibilities are shown in other prayer groups meeting locally, and in the FGBMFI and Women's Aglow meetings and other charismatic events which draw members of these and other groups together. That they regard one another as "kin" within a relatively close-knit family is obvious from the amount of mutual visiting which goes on on a regular basis--particularly between the Cuffs' group and the Worship Centre, but involving Roman Catholic charismatics in and outside the Marian Community to a large extent as well. It is also obvious from the way in which group members speak of other groups and of individuals within them. While many of the older women in the Marian Community feel much more strongly associated with noncharismatic Catholics than they do with non-Catholic charismatics, other Marian members, like the vast majority of Protestant charismatics I have spoken with, treat charismatics of other groups or denominations with the same warmth and trust which they give to members of their own prayer group.

In this chapter, the pattern of unities and unique features which exists in the actual meetings of these three groups will be

presented in the context of a general analysis of charismatic meetings. Certain concepts and modes of worship; certain meanings and means of expressing them; and certain types of collective religious experience are consistently in evidence across these and other local groups. These unities provide an important cognitive context for the unique qualities of each group, both from the point of view of the participants and from that of ethnoscientific study, for they are elements, or expressions, of that ethos and worldview which is meaningfully referred to as charismatic culture. In studying the particularities of each group's meetings, as in the presentation of other aspects of their identities as small groups, I treat these shared concepts and modes, values and experiences, as keys to the meaning and role of specific group rituals and activities. Without them, it is easy to miss the reasons why a sixty-year-old Roman Catholic from the Marian Community can feel at home, understand what is going on, and participate fully at the Cuffs'; surrounded by Protestants and Country Gospel; why a Worship Centre member, visiting the Marian Community, may be able to give an intricate description of exactly when and how the "feel" of the group struck him as inspired and when it did not.

The work of three theories is central to the approach taken to religious ritual in this chapter. Its structures, themes, and aesthetics are viewed as part of a coherent system: open to change, capable of contradictions and vague areas, but a cultural system nonetheless. In this I follow Clifford Geertz's definition of religion:

a religion is (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.¹

This provides the widest, most comprehensive conceptual basis for the entire study, and for the analysis of charismatic meetings as events in which religion is made explicit. Narrowing the focus to the specific qualities which make meetings satisfying to charismatics, I make use of Victor Turner's concept of *communitas*, which he defines as both a specific type of collective experience, and a concept which can play an important part in religious ideals of community and of communal ritual:

Communitas is a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion . . . which combines the qualities of lowliness, sacredness, homogeneity, and comradeship. The distinction between structure and *communitas* is not the same as that between secular and sacred; *communitas* is an essential and generic human bond.

The bonds of *communitas* are undifferentiated, egalitarian, direct, extant, nonrational, existential, I-Thou (in Buber's sense). *Communitas* is spontaneous, immediate, concrete, not abstract. . . . It does not merge identities; it liberates then from conformity to general norms, though this is necessarily a transient condition if society is to continue to operate in an orderly fashion. . . . *Communitas* strains toward universalism and openness, it is a spring of pure possibility. . . . It is richly charged with affects, mainly pleasurable. It has something magical about it. Those who experience *communitas* have a feeling of endless power.²

I will also be using Turner's tripartite analysis of "liminal" processes in ritual. Here *communitas* is described as one of their three purposes, the other two being the communication of sacred things, and the "ludic" or playful recombination of cultural elements.

Finally, the experience of individuals within this framework of meaningful acts and moving collective bonds is discussed, following Turner's own usage, in relation to Michaly Csikszentmihalyi's concept of "flow." Flow, like *communitas*, can be both an experiential state or quality, and an important part of religious ideals--this time, ideals of individual rather than collective ritual activity. Flow is a

state in which mind and body seem to do exactly the right things at the right moments, with effortless grace. Attention is absorbed; distractions are shut out of awareness; there is joy without self-consciousness. One is thrown out of oneself in complete concentration upon the object of attention (the next handhold on the cliff face being climbed; the music being danced to; the prophecy being spoken), yet people feel more completely themselves than they do when they are self-aware. Flow is intensely pleasurable in and of itself.³ In charismatic contexts, it is also intensely holy. *Communitas* and flow are crucial elements in cultural concepts of "real" worship and of communication or communion with God, and therefore are central to the moods and motivations which shape charismatic ritual.

Some discussion of basic cosmological concepts is necessary, however, before the analysis of prayer meetings can make much sense. Concepts of divine persons, and of cultural interaction with them, provide the necessary context for the understanding of what people do when they are gathered for the purpose of interacting with the divine. A short survey of basic charismatic beliefs and attitudes therefore precedes the main body of this chapter.

Human and Divine Persons in Charismatic Worldview

Local charismatics tend to speak of, think about, and address all three members of the Christian Trinity in prayer. God the Father is regarded as loving, encouraging, and forgiving, more eager and more able to meet the needs of believers than they think—that is, charismatics often regard their own confidence in God as being less than is realistic, and strive to increase it in themselves and in one another.

Though charismatics do not usually specify which member of the Trinity answers prayer, speaks in prophecy or tongues, or interacts with them in other ways ("the Lord," a cover term for the Trinity as a whole, is usually named in these contexts), prayers are often addressed to "Father," and prophecy frequently opens with, "My children . . .". God the Son is "Jesus" to many local charismatics, and is addressed this way in prayer as well. He is specifically asked for physical healing, often by His touch or the laying on of His hands, and for help in overcoming problems and faults. His substitutionary death on behalf of all who will accept it tends to draw from charismatics a response of gratitude, relief, and a sense of freedom, and they often refer to it, when praying aloud, as a sort of legal grounds upon which they are welcomed into familial relationship with the Father (a perspective shared by many evangelicals and based on Old Testament and Pauline writings). The personal and corporate sense of religious identity is often explicitly rooted in "belonging" to Jesus as His subjects, His charges, and His loved ones. (The identity of servant seems to be more an ideal--something people think they ought to feel--than an actual, formative principle in the thought and actions of the average believer.)

God the Holy Spirit is, to most charismatics, the experientiable presence of God. Pastor John Mercer, founder of the Worship Centre, once said in a sermon that the Holy Spirit listens to the Father and tells the Christian what He hears, and many attribute whatever personal guidance they receive from God to Him (e.g., f.n. 9/18/80). It is the Spirit whom Catholic charismatics in St. John's credit with the individual inspiration of people in the prayer meeting, which results in coherency and the somewhat startling "fit" sometimes in evidence between

the individual contributions of members. The Holy Spirit's is the "still small voice" which not only guides and inspires, but provides inner certainty that one does indeed belong to God and has been accepted by Him permanently (unless one chooses to leave). The Spirit mediates between the charismatic and the Bible, illuminating meanings and personal applications which might otherwise escape him, and bringing passages to mind when situations arise in which their content is helpful. Further, He sensitizes the individual to those qualities and tendencies he possesses which are inconsistent with the character of God, so that he may come to view them from God's perspective and change accordingly, with the Spirit's help and encouragement. Most centrally and consistently of all, however, charismatics in all three groups speak of the Holy Spirit as the Paraclete (a Greek New Testament name): the "one who is called alongside to help." Usually they do not use the name itself, but describe His activity in their lives as that of helping and encouraging. Memorates referring to the Holy Spirit frequently attribute increased happiness, confidence, relaxation, and effectiveness to His intervention, whether it was sought or simply acknowledged. Numerous memorates refer to such effects as they were experienced in a particular situation, but Spirit-baptism narratives often speak of a general increase in these qualities in one's personality immediately following the Spirit's descent or release.

Though if questioned directly, charismatics will say that the Holy Spirit is a Person, He is often interacted with as though he were something vaguer, more transparent, than Christ and the Father, who both have definite personalities both in Scripture and in local thought. In the song, "There's a Sweet, Sweet Spirit in this Place,"⁴ for example,

which is sung at Full Gospel Business Men's and Women's Aglow meetings, and occasionally at the Worship Centre and the Cuffs', "spirit" is roughly equivalent to "atmosphere." In practice, when charismatics comment that "the Spirit is moving" upon or is discernibly present in a meeting, they are usually referring to a particular atmospheric quality. It is more like a sensation of Presence than like a mood, for it can result in a wide variety of emotional responses from group members and from groups as wholes, but it is nevertheless vaguer than the experiential qualities which sometimes prompt meeting participants to say, "The Lord is among us," or "Jesus is here." More will be said about this in the following chapter.

Mary appears only in Roman Catholic charismatic thought, as far as I have been able to ascertain (and not for all Catholic charismatics). Those who refer to Her in prayer meetings speak of her in two capacities: as an intercessor with Christ on behalf of the believer, and as the prototype of the believer and especially of the charismatic, because she allowed the Holy Spirit to "come upon" Her so that Christ might live within her, as the believer wishes to do. One member of the Marian Community, a businessman, attributes his recovery from alcoholism to "the direct intercession of the Virgin," and the Hail Mary, recited in unison, is one of the methods of intercessory prayer offered by the group for the healing of sick loved ones (f.n. 5/12/83). This man's certainty about the source of his recovery was expressed in much the same way in which charismatics frequently speak of Christ's answering their prayers: at the time of prayer, he experienced a sudden feeling of confidence and peace, as if the problem had been taken out of his hands. Also like the more widespread charismatic faith in Christ and

the Father, the Hail Mary or spontaneously-composed prayers requesting her intercession may be left confidently in her hands by believers without this kind of experiential base for certainty. Mary also occasionally "authors" prophetic utterances: that is, the words are presented as hers.

Mary as model is a frequently expressed and often affectively central orienting principle in Catholic charismatic life. The workings of the principle in thought are illustrated by this prophecy, which was sung by Deacon Rick Hartnett of Nova Scotia during a May, 1983 meeting of the Marian Community:

You are My faithful ones; receive you My love.
 You are My faithful ones; open your hearts to Me.
 Fashion your hearts like that of My mother.
 Fashion your heart to be like unto hers:
 Open, loving, willing to serve.
 Fashion your hearts like unto hers,
 And I will reveal your eternal glory. (Tape 35, side A)

Communication with or perceptions of angels, demons, saints, and the dead are comparatively rare among members of these three groups. A half-dozen or so members of the Worship Centre and the Cuffs' group (there has been a good deal of reciprocal attendance in recent months) can describe angels and demons in terms of both appearance and activities, and will be discussed later. Saints, who figure only occasionally in the comments of Marian Community or Worship Centre members, seem to be viewed in much the same way as living Christians whose example is admired and used in the formulation of beliefs and values. The traditional Prayer of Saint Francis ("Lord, make me an instrument of Your peace; Where there is hatred, let me sow love . . .") may be sung to various melodies, or appear on plaques or posters in homes. Incidents from saints' legends are occasionally retold in sermons at the Worship Centre

or in teachings at the Marian Community. The intercession of saints as "specialists" in various types of problems, a traditional element of Roman Catholic folk religion, is sought by some Marian Community members, and considered unnecessary or unscriptural by others. The general charismatic consensus seems to be that the saints, along with the rest of the Christian dead, are now with Christ in Heaven and will be met after death. Damned souls, in ghost-form or hellfire, are simply not discussed, and seem to have little or no relevance to local charismatic cosmology.

The charismatic concept of the human identity is triune, like their concept of God, but exists in at least two versions with a number of rather vaguely defined variants. In one version found in St. John's, the human person is composed of body, soul, and spirit. The body is physical; the soul is composed of intellect, emotions, memory, imagination, and reason. The spirit is the deathless part of the individual, the core of personality, and contains the deep, consistent aspects of being commonly called the heart and the will. As might be expected among people who speak so frequently of "spiritual" life, the spirit is of central and fundamental importance in charismatic concepts of the self and ways of seeking to interact with God. It is in the spirit that the Holy Spirit is believed to dwell, and it is through cooperation by the human spirit with the Spirit of God that positive change is brought about in the soul and, sometimes, in the body: for example, through the exercise of faith which is believed to "release" or admit the healing power of God. In the second local version of the human identity, people speak of the spirit, the flesh, and the soul. The spirit is those thoughts, emotions, and characteristics which the

individual views as similar to or in harmony with those of Christ; which he feels are pleasing to or encouraged by God; and which help him feel close to God. The flesh is the bodily appetites and drives, plus all those thoughts, emotions, and characteristics which he feels are unlike Christ; displeasing to God; and make him feel separated from Him. Fleshly traits include selfishness, competitiveness, jealousy and anger, dishonesty of various kinds, pride, laziness, and apathy. When these become overpowering, or when they are mixed with destructive wishes toward the self or others, they may be reclassified as demonic in origin. The devil is widely believed to operate primarily through mental suggestion, and charismatics often regard some percentage of their own thoughts as not their own at all. Passing thoughts (sometimes called Satan's "fiery darts") are therefore not considered sinful; entertaining or acting upon evil thoughts, or believing demonic assertions about oneself, God, or others, is considered an act of the will and therefore a cause for guilt and for repentance.

One of the crucial differences between charismatics and classical Pentecostals is that charismatics do not tend to consider themselves "chosen people." Many respect and love the traditional religious services of their denominations, and regard noncharismatic believers as "saved" (though this varies). Individuals in all three groups frequently pray publicly for God's blessing upon other churches--not necessarily that He would make them more like the charismatics, but that He would teach, heal, and give joy there as they believe He does in their own meetings. Non-churchgoers and nominal participants may be regarded as lacking something the charismatic wishes they would accept, but the possibility that God may yet succeed in wooing them is usually left confidently open. I have

never heard a local charismatic refer to anyone as "lost" (that is, damned), as classical Pentecostals sometimes do.

The relationship between God and the individual which is reaffirmed and developed through charismatic meetings is often felt to have four central components: facts, faith, feelings, and results. As might be guessed from the alliteration, the first three are spoken of as a trisid from time to time in folk speech, while the fourth plays a more personal and unpredictable role in the system as it operates in the lives and thoughts of individuals. "Facts" refers to the intellectually-held tenets of religious belief: for example, the doctrine of Christ's atonement for sin. "Faith" refers to the behavioural and cognitive assent of the individual to that tenet: the belief that is evidenced by modes of action and thought. To continue the example used above, "faith" would be evidenced by the believer's acting and thinking as if he bears no guilt for the wrongs he knows he has done. "Feeling" refers both to emotions and to affect in a wider sense: to the qualitative cast of personality and experience. The "feelings" relevant to the atonement include emotional security, an absence of emotional guilt and the fear of death, and a view of God and one's relation to Him which resembles the Prodigal Son's view of and relation to his father, and also the excitement and wonder of the relationship portrayed in the Song of Songs. "Results" refers to interpersonal and empirical events which indicate to the charismatic that his relationship with God as a forgiven person and a part of Christ's bride, the Church, is objectively, as well as subjectively, real.

Official religion, both in the denominational traditions relevant to the local charismatic population and in the evangelical tradition in

North American Protestantism, arranges these four elements in a linear causal order: faith is based on facts; feelings follow faith. Results are unpredictable and wholly in the hands of God. One of the most widely-disseminated religious tracts in North America, Bill Bright's Have You Heard of the Four Spiritual Laws?⁵ translates this arrangement into a visual metaphor which I have heard used in preaching from time to time by lay Catholic and classical Pentecostal charismatics. Facts (i.e. the Bible) are the engine that pulls the "train" of human religious identity. Faith is the car that follows it. Feelings are the caboose, and the train will run with or without them. This image is used, in the tract and on the occasions when I have heard it locally, as a preventative or cure for overdependence on feelings as a basis for the sense of religious identity. It is recognized that baptism in the Holy Spirit and conversion can both produce temporary euphoria, lasting for several weeks or months; the train metaphor is designed specifically to cushion the shock when euphoria ends, and prevent people from interpreting its end as a sign that God has left them.

Folk religion, however, generally arranges the four elements into an alinear and acasual constellation. Prolonged lack of feelings or of results is taken seriously, and each element of the system affects the operation of the other three. In practice, meetings usually begin with songs which express and encourage feelings; prayer expressing and encouraging faith comes next; facts are declared through prophetic utterance, tongues and interpretation, words of wisdom or knowledge, or simply through a "teaching" or sermon or Bible study; and results are sought individually through concluding prayers—with specific ministering teams at the Catholic meetings; at the altar of the worship Centre; and

in individual requests for prayer, at the Cuffs'. But "facts" may also be declared through song and prayer or public greetings, or faith exercised without feelings through prayer and verbal praise; results of various kinds experienced during the week may be related during times of sharing at almost any point in the meeting or service. Any one of the four components may motivate prayer or praise.

These are some of the consistent features of religious thought which orient the participants in a charismatic prayer meeting in St. John's. The purpose of the meeting is to conduct this kind of interaction, between human beings defined in this way, and the divinities in which they believe.

The Style of the Prayer Meetings: General Consistent Features

When a charismatic meeting commences, participants tend to view themselves as entering God's presence. The group approaches God by praising and paying attention to Him; He responds and renders their attempt successful by charging the atmosphere of the meeting with an atmosphere of awe and joy which is interpreted as a sign of His presence. Both ritual (that is, traditional and symbolic) and spontaneous actions in charismatic meetings tend to spring either from the desire to foster this awe and joy, or from response to it. Meetings are considered opportunities to express love toward God and to experience His love; to learn from and about Him, and thus to strengthen one's religious beliefs and make them more "uniquely realistic"; and to change, cumulatively and, it is hoped, permanently, through interaction with Him.

In some of the other varieties of folk religion practiced in St. John's churches, "worship" is a fairly delimited cultural category,

with one meaning, one mood, and one motive. Worship means that one acknowledges God's sovereignty; one worships by expressing awe and reverence, usually through silence, through song, or through formal recitation or formulaically composed prayer ("We glorify Thee, O God, for Thou art bountiful and rich in mercy . . ." or, in another stylistic tradition, "Jesus, we just praise You right now, Lord, for all the good things You've done for us: Halleluia, Lord . . ."). One worships because one believes one ought to, or because it is expected by one's family or community, or because one derives pleasure from thinking about an overarching beauty and order as the ultimate context of one's life. Congregations using this "working definition" of worship often act in unison, standing or kneeling or bowing the head in accordance with an established ritual order or the verbal directions of a leader. Individual worship is culturally defined as attentive participation (in some groups, even inattentive participation) in these collective activities. Charismatic folk religion, in contrast, uses a concept of worship which allows action and emotion to take diverse forms. The charismatic congregation may move from full collectivity to full individuality, from shouting to silence, from stillness to dance, through a wide variety of intermediate possibilities, without classifying any of them as "not worship." Like loving, it is a consistent, describable mode of interaction or expression, but can take, in fact should take, many forms. Like the Psalms (which charismatics often cite as precedents for various aspects of worship), its dominant mood is the happy confidence of loving and being loved by God, but that confidence makes room for the expression of needs, confusions and fears.

This freedom and familiarity in ritual contexts is part of, charismatic culture's dramatic reduction of the distinctions between sacred and secular folklife, discussed in Chapter I. This reduction is also expressed in the casual dress which is the norm at prayer meetings, and the flexibility of postural norms during prayer and praise, the practice of remaining in the same spatial domain to pray, sing, eat, and socialize; and the use of traditionally "secular" spaces such as living rooms and school cafeterias for sacred ritual. Charismatics experience no profanation of the sacred in this reduction of its cultural framing, for the reduction is motivated by two attitudes which preclude this possibility almost completely: one, the sacred is conceived of as far larger and "stronger" than the secular, and therefore cannot be deprived of its power by the admission of the secular to its sphere; two, it is felt that the acts of worship are best performed (in Victor Turner's phrase) by "men in their wholeness wholly attending,"⁶ which demands that the full range of human emotions and concerns be admissible to sacred contexts.

However, there is a simultaneous heightening of the power and extent of the sacred/secular barriers. In many forms of folk religion in St. John's and in western society generally, one may keep one's "secular" self and still retain some security in the possession of a "sacred" identity. The identity of a "saved" person, for example, may be affirmed periodically, through church attendance, rather than constantly in daily life. Because charismatics regard the everyday self as indwelt by God, there is no real cultural realm given to a "secular" self. Charismatics frequently extend the activities and attitudes, moods and motivations, characteristic of prayer meetings and religious

services into everyday life: individual prayer, religious songs, and musings upon the nature or will of God tend to occupy the mind for some part of every day, and, as God is considered present and interested in the individual's daily behaviour and experience, charismatics tend to expect divine help and to strive for divine standards. Many individuals cease to accept in themselves those characteristics which they consider unacceptable to God, and therefore identify with less of that which is classified as secular (secular or fleshly) in charismatic worldview. As Black Elk said of the Oglala Sioux, charismatics express respect for the sacred/secular barrier or distinction by living as much as possible on the sacred side of it.⁷ Entering the ritual sphere of the sacred therefore motivates them, not to observe special norms for dress, language, and behaviour designed to render them fit for the sacred realm (though they observe such conventions at times), but to open and reveal the self so that it can be wrought upon by the transforming power of the sacred, and thus enabled to bring still more of everyday thought and action into harmony with it.

This lack of symbolic "hedges" around the sacred sphere makes sense in terms of the centrality of *communitas* and flow in charismatic modes of sacred experience and ritual. As suggested by Turner's list of recurrent metaphors associated with *communitas*--dawn, light, whiteness, and running water in particular--sacredness that is charged with the affects of *communitas* does not need to be protected from pollution. The most intense of the cultural categories of experience associated with the sacred, such as baptism in the Holy Spirit, "the anointing," and various results of the charismata such as physical, instantaneous healing and deliverance from parasitic demons, are frequently described using

metaphors of these kinds, as will be shown in the following chapters; however, even the simple experience of worship can evoke their use, as in the case of the song lyrics which declare: "We bring our hearts as vessels to Your ever-flowing spring (or stream)." If worshipping God is like washing in and drinking from a spring, one expresses respect for the sacred, not by barring polluted people from it, but by bringing as much human pollution (in the self and in others) to it as possible to be cleansed and filled and made whole.⁸

This perspective upon the sacred explains the informality found in charismatic meetings. Children lie on the floor of the sanctuary at the Worship Centre, running toy automobiles over the chairs or colouring pictures while their parents sing and praise the Lord around them. The Marian Community has held outdoor Masses, attended in bathing suits, shorts, T-shirts, and sunsuits, and followed by a barbeque (see Figs. 7-8). At the Cuffs', a plateful of candy and potato chips may pass from hand to hand during the main body of the meeting, during Bible study or discussion. The flip side of this lack of concern with dress and the separation of playing and eating from worship is a certain frustration with forms of religious folklife which they perceive as replacing the reverence of heart and mind with an outward or enacted reverence. No amount of loud singing or energetic hand-clapping, often classed as evidence of religious reverence in classical Pentecostal churches, can constitute appropriate behaviour in charismatic terms, if it is done without real attention being paid to God. Much the same view is taken of large monetary donations to churches, or the wearing of particular kinds of clothing (e.g., a three-piece suit and a tie, or a modest, formal dress) locally associated with church attendance in various

Fig. 7. Members of the Marian, Good Shepherd, and Sacred Heart Prayer Communities gather in Torbay for an outdoor Day of Prayer, July 4, 1981. Father Philip J. Lewis is preparing the elements of the Eucharist.



Fig. 8. Worship during Mass. Day of Prayer, Catholic Charismatic prayer groups, Torbay.



denominational traditions. They are considered fine in themselves, and even good--but only so long as they are outward expressions of an inward worship. On their own turf, so to speak, charismatics prefer clothing, postures, and modes of speech and action which express love, intimacy, trust, and informality in the relations between deity and worshippers.

Turner, who uses "antistructure" as a synonym for *communitas*, cites numerous examples of other religious groups which have disdained "outward show" in favour of inward love of God. Throughout several of his works, he documents the rise and development of Hindu, Christian, and other kinds of groups which have rebelled against the "petrification" of religious forms "in the name of the 'moving' of 'grace'."⁹ In "Metaphors of Antistructure in Religious Culture" Turner argues that *communitas* is

not only an assertion of the value of interior experience against outward forms; it is simultaneously an attempt to legitimate such experience by having recourse to what were felt to be "pure" ancient traditions (e.g., the Book of Acts) that were no different from true and present experience. The originally enunciated Truth, the "deposit of faith," was just such as the devotee had personally experienced. (p. 75).

The abundant charismatic use of biblical metaphors to describe experience, especially experience in various forms of communication and communion with God, is one of many indications that this line of thought is present in local charismatic culture.

The emphasis upon inward rather than outward modes of expressing respect for the sacred realm of ritual is one of the most readily noticed and emotionally charged issues dividing charismatics from noncharismatics. It strongly affects relations with classical Pentecostals, who are both the latest "antistructural" group to have tried to return to the experiences described in the Book of Acts, and one of the most heavily

structured religious folk groups in Newfoundland. When classical Pentecostals have attended services at the Worship Centre, the feature they have commented on most frequently (at least in my hearing) has been the absence of the signals they associate with religious reverence and involvement: clapping, loud singing, and shouting by the congregation, and loud, impassioned preaching by the pastor. The quiet bothers them and causes doubts about the devotion and sincerity of the participants. Conversely, Worship Centre members sometimes comment that these visitors do everything except worship—as charismatics define it. Their eyes remain open; they appear to be paying attention to the pastor, the music, the people around them—everything except God (f.n. 7/20/82). "They don't know how to enter in to the presence of the Lord and worship in their hearts," one member commented (f.n. 6/3/83). Charismatic disregard for the traditional definitions of sacred space and sacred clothing figured in the Pentecostal rumours about the Worship Centre when it met in the old sanatorium's cafeteria. They also upset Roman Catholics in Placentia and Freshwater: one charismatic remembered that when she told her mother about an outdoor Mass that the group had attended in shorts and other casual clothes, her mother commented grimly, "It's another Jonestown," associating it with the recent mass suicide of an American cult group (Tape 12-1, side A). Traditional formalities can sometimes set charismatics to making grim remarks as well. Once, attending a charismatic concert with a Roman Catholic friend, I was struck by his reaction to the classical Pentecostals who were present. He identified them by their clothes, commenting that he would not want to feel he had to be so formal with God. After all, he argued, God is supposed to be closer to you than anyone else; didn't Christ say to love Him more

than father or mother? Then why dress up for Him as if you were ashamed to be yourself? (f.n. 7/12/81)

Informal, interactive, based upon the expectation of transformation by an immanent and triune God who is within as well as near the believer, charismatic ritual is unique in the religious repertoire of the St. John's area and, in many ways, in western culture generally. It is perhaps not so unique in the spectrum of world religion. Its divinities are sometimes physically "sensed" as present, though not portrayed with masks or statues; its worship of them involves ecstasy, though not trance states. In the remainder of this chapter, ritual itself will be discussed in terms of its structures, its experiential qualities, its purposes, and its effects.

The Structure of the Prayer Meetings: General Constants and Group Variations

Everyday behaviour becomes charismatic ritual through a distinctive kind of interaction. It is signalled by music; entered through the enactment of traditional phrases and gestures, creatively varied and combined; then plunged into like rock dancing or extempore oratory, taking on a grace and ease born of an order as fully internalized as the grammar of a language thoroughly learned. It is created, in each performance and as anemic genre, by what Carol Edwards has called "a poetics of process based on an implicit generative system."¹⁰

This system is composed of a basic sequential outline, a number of movable elements which must appear within it, a number of relations which must exist between them, and key qualities, such as those of *communitas* and flow, which must result as they are combined. The basic sequence of the prayer meeting is extremely consistent, not only in

these three groups, but also in the FCBMFI breakfasts and dinners, to some extent in the television program 100 Huntly Street, and in prayer meetings described in recent ethnographies of charismatic meetings elsewhere in North and South America.¹¹

Meetings begin with the gradual arrival of participants, which in St. John's usually continues from about twenty minutes prior to the scheduled starting time to ten or fifteen minutes past it. Group leaders often start on what folklorist Barre Toelken calls "Indian time": that is, "when things are ready."¹² This may vary from about ten minutes early to ten minutes late, and I have seen the Cuffs' group wait up to forty minutes for latecomers. "Let's all stand" or "Let's get started, shall we?" are often the only formal announcement of the transition from casual conversation to focused worship, but with the first two lines of the opening song (singing is invariably the first activity), people are beginning to make the psychological shift in attention. It usually takes two or three songs before the shift is complete. When signs of distraction--rustling, side glances--subside and the faces of the participants begin to look peaceful and absorbed, the leader conducting that particular meeting, or part of the meeting, may begin to praise God verbally in his or her own words, while others listen or, more usually, do the same. An opening prayer, spoken by the leader or by another member at the leader's request, is then composed extempore, asking God's blessing on the meeting. Compare the consistent themes of supplication and adoration, and the request for divine leadership and action, in these two prayers. The first was spoken by Mrs. Rosemary Rose of the Marian Community; the second by Don Cuff.

Jesus, we just gather now. . . . We just ask You to just move our spirits; just lead us, Lord Jesus, in whatever it is that You want us to hear tonight. . . . Jesus, we know that You are drawing people to Yourself; that You are opening hearts and opening minds. You are taking the stones and the pebbles: You are beginning to move them out of our hearts, softening the hearts that we had, Lord Jesus. Just keep softening every heart that's here. Lord, because I know when--when we're baptised in the Spirit we are given new hearts, as the song we just sang told us. But still it seems that even those new hearts get a little bit hard sometimes. Jesus, I just speak for myself now, and I ask that You would soften my heart. And anybody else here that feels they want to pray that prayer can pray it in their heart right now. So Jesus, just move amongst all Your people. We are here for Your glory and Your honour. We're here that we may learn about You, how to love You and how to adore You; how to feel closer to You and become more aware of the movement of Your Spirit. Jesus, we just ask You to just take this meeting now into Your hands, and speak to us. And have this meeting go however it is that You would wish it to go. And let whatever You want said now be said in . . . the time that we have. And Jesus I just ask that every person here be free to share what is on their minds and what is on their hearts. If the Lord, if the Spirit sends you a [Bible] reading, we ask you to share it. If He sends you a prophecy, we ask you to share it. If He sends you a word of knowledge, if He sends you something that you wish to share that has something to do with the Lord and His work in your life, just share it with us. We put this meeting now, Jesus, into Your hands. Praise You, Jesus. Praise You, Jesus, alleluia. (Tape 46-3, side B)

Heavenly Father, gracious Lord, we're so thankful to be here in Your presence tonight. And Father, we give You thanks for what You will do in our midst this evening. We give You all the glory and all the praise, for You alone, Lord, are worthy, and anything that happens here tonight is all Your doing. Father, we don't want to be taking credit for anything that's done here tonight by Your Spirit, for it's all of God, all of Your Spirit, and nothing of us. I pray that we be hidden tonight, and Christ just shine forth in our midst. I pray, Lord, Father God, that every person here will receive something from You tonight. And Lord, I pray that every person here will give something back to You: something of that great love which You have already given to us, through Jesus Christ Your Son, in whom is hidden the wisdom of God. Father, I pray that we come closer to Christ, closer to the reality that is in Him, closer to You and to Your great love for us, and for all mankind. And I pray this in Jesus' precious and wonderful name. And Lord, we will praise You tonight, and lift up Jesus higher and higher and higher, for all that You will do tonight. In Jesus' wonderful name, amen. (Tape 35-1, side A)

This prayer is accompanied by whispered agreements and praises from the group, and some speak the final "in Jesus' name, amen"--not necessarily in perfect synchronization, but at about the same time.

The body of the prayer meeting is highly conversational. At the Marian Community, this takes the form of sequential monologues, more or less related to one another by topic or, at times, by metaphor. One individual may "share" an instance of answered prayer or divine healing or guidance experienced during the week; another may relate a similar experience, or comment on the import of a biblical image used in the first narrative. The choice of associational principle made by the second or third speakers is often followed by several subsequent ones, and becomes central to the "theme" of the meeting. At the Cuffs' and the midweek house meetings at the Worship Centre, speech is more fully interactional, usually developing quickly into a discussion with several active participants, and ultimately involving virtually everyone present (though there are a few shy souls in both groups who say little or nothing). This discussion may follow a pre-selected "theme" started and developed by the leader, or may progress by the spontaneous associations and sparked interests of the participants. Usually it is a mixture of the two. Topics at the Cuffs' often centre upon the practical application of principles and beliefs regarding the supernatural: for example, reasons why divine healing does and does not take place in particular kinds of circumstances, or the details of understanding and receiving baptism in the Holy Spirit (see Tapes 46-3, 4). At the Worship Centre's "Prayer and Share" meetings, as they are called, topics are often social and moral (such as the proper modes of viewing and handling material wealth), or

centred upon the study of whole books of the Bible over a period of several weeks.

Meetings make their transition from conversation and "sharing"

to the focus of individuals' attention upon God about forty minutes to an hour before they end. As all three groups start around eight o'clock or eight-thirty and finish around eleven-thirty or midnight, this transition comes sometimes between ten and eleven o'clock.

Again, the transition is made on "Indian time," when the discussion "feels" finished as the leader gauges the mood of the participants. (Occasionally, leaders stop discussion and sharing too early or too late to please some members, but they usually comply without much fuss, for concerns can easily be continued from the mode of discussion to the mode of individual prayer, and boredom, if it occurs during discussions, is gracefully concealed.) The next phase of the meeting varies in its degree of collectivity, but is devoted to some method of prayer for the specific needs and concerns of individuals present. At the Marian Community, topics for corporate prayer are explained, usually briefly and in rather less than audible voices, by members speaking in no particular order (e.g., clockwise around the circle). Typical prayer requests are for the healing of sick friends and family members (usually not named), for jobs for them, or for their return to participation in the Sacraments of the Catholic Church. More private petitions are indicated by saying, "For a special intention," as Masses may be offered for the "intentions" of a particular group or individual. Both these unstated and the inaudible prayers receive the same corporate response. The individual explaining his prayer request says, "For this I pray"; the group responds, "Lord, hear our prayer." The petitions are brought to a close after about two minutes by the

leader, who offers a final prayer including all unspoken requests. At the Cuffs' and at Prayer and Share, the methods of prayer for individual concerns are quite variable. A common method at both is for individuals to explain their concerns while the leader jots them down. When everyone who wants prayer about something has spoken, the leader asks for volunteers to pray for each concern, or "gives" concerns to various people. These individuals then pray aloud, usually in clockwise order (for all the groups sit in some roughly circular arrangement), while the other participants murmur agreements.

The meetings generally close with more singing, followed by coffee, tea, and an assortment of foods contributed by the participants. At the Marian Community and the Cuffs', this is a casual affair involving small, triangular sandwiches of tuna or egg salad; homemade tea buns (a baking powder biscuit with currants), storebought cookies, homemade muffins, and instant coffee in styrofoam cups. Participants wander about like people at a cocktail party, laughing and chatting for an hour or so before leaving. Meanwhile, at both groups, those who wish to continue praying about individual concerns gather in another room (in the Cuffs' townhouse, simply at the other end of the living-dining room, a few feet from the tea table). Baptisms in the Holy Spirit, experiences of divine healing, deliverances from demons, the reception of the charismata, tearful counseling sessions about serious problems, and other intense events may take place during this period, for, even in these close-knit and demonstrative groups, many people prefer to save such requests for prayer or counseling until after the main body of the group has dispersed to tea and conversation. There is thus a strange polarity in this final segment of

the prayer meeting: it is both the most casual and everyday, and for some the most intense and sacred, time of all.

The Worship Centre's Sunday services, in which charismatics from other churches often participate (they are often at another prayer meeting on Wednesday evenings when Prayer and Share meets), differ from this general structure only in the addition of a sermon (a long teaching or "sharing") during the central body of the meeting. This is often added at the Marian Community as well. In other respects, the Sunday evening services resemble prayer meetings at the Cuffs' and the Marian Community with special closeness. The singing which opens the meeting, alternating with sung or spoken praise in English and in tongues by the participants, often extends to an hour or more as the group enters *communitas* and individuals enter states of flow. Utterances in tongues, followed by interpretations in English; prophecies; or perhaps an occasional word of knowledge may be interspersed with this, as may "sharings" of various kinds. The service ends, like the others, on "Indian time," as participants kneel or stand at the altar to pray about individual concerns, joined by other members who stand and pray with them.

The stable elements outlined above may be diagrammed as follows:

Table 2

Sequential Outline of a Charismatic Prayer Meeting

1. Gradual gathering
2. Collective singing
3. Collective, individual praise
4. Leader's prayer
5. Sharing and discussion
6. Collective prayer about individual concerns
7. Collective singing
8. Socializing/intensive private prayer and small-group prayer
9. Gradual departure

This sequence establishes collective unity as an experiential and symbolic framework. The act of singing together is often prolonged until this experiential unity is well established, which may take anywhere from five to twenty minutes. When it is, the more individual activity of praise, collectively performed but individually composed, can begin without fear of the fragmentation which might result if it were begun earlier. The leader's prayer on behalf of the collectivity is often delayed until singing has established experiential unity between group members, and praise has established experiential "connection" or "communication" between individuals and God. When it is spoken at this juncture, the leader has had time to establish these connections himself, and to sense the mood of the group; therefore, his prayer is more apt to strike group members as a truly collective prayer. Dialogue, sharing, and prayer for one another's concerns combine individuality and collectivity in various proportions and modes. Collectivity is reaffirmed with more singing to close the ritual "frame," and the socializing which precedes the meeting takes over again as individuals seek out whatever friends, counselors, topics, or special problem-solving forms of religious action they need to feel that the meeting has accomplished its purpose in relation to their everyday lives.

This is the general progression of a charismatic prayer meeting in St. John's from its beginning to its end. Within this outline, the charismata and corporate praise in English and tongues are quite movable, and may appear at almost any point (though they never appear at moments which interrupt a speaker, for all three groups prize "order," which implies a steady progression from one shared focus of

of attention to another). "Sharing" tends to continue, in one form or another, throughout the meetings. Individuals exchange experiences and religious ideas which have occurred to them during the week in the course of conversation, before the meeting opens and during its final period; they may also interject such contributions before or after the central period of discussion and formal "sharing," when individual speakers have the attention of the whole group, or frame them as comments upon a shared theme of discussion.

Spontaneous developments and individual contributions are essential to the unfoldment of meetings: the outline alone cannot satisfy participants. Without the movable, the unpredictable, the individual, a prayer meeting would be perceived as a mechanical imitation of the real thing. It is for this reason that I referred to the outline as an "implicit generative system." The stable elements and their relations, like the formulaic languages of prayer which can be part of them, give structure to ritual performance as the principles of grammar give structure to sentences. A prayer meeting can no more occur without creativity, individuality, spontaneity, than a sentence can exist without words.

Among these movable elements, each group has its favourites, which appear more frequently and are given greater stress than the others. At the Marian Community, where (at least for the past three years) the primary interest of many participants is in the sharing of warm friendship, the final song closes with an exuberant version of the Kiss of Peace. Some speak the phrase, "The peace of Christ," also used in some local parishes during Mass, as they hug one another; others say "God love you," or "How are you?" and engage in more

protracted conversations. Hugs are not mandatory; handshakes or verbal exchanges occur as well. However, they are extremely common, warm and unaffected. At the Worship Centre, a favourite movable element is corporate praise and quiet contemplation, which may be allowed to stretch out and to recur many times during a church service or a Prayer and Share meeting. At the Cuffs', the charismata are allowed to do the same, occurring frequently and sometimes for long periods: there may be a long message in tongues, followed by a long interpretation; two or three prophecies; four sessions of corporate or small-group prayer for physical healing or the reception of charismatic gifts; and a prayer of deliverance from demons in a single meeting. In all three groups, the movable elements which are especially stressed bring expressions of especially complete joy to the faces of participants, and absorb their attention with special ease and fullness.

The relations between the movable and fixed elements are also important in the structure of a charismatic prayer meeting. Proportions, as well as sequences, have their implicit rules, which must be followed if the meeting is to satisfy its participants as moving and meaningful. In particular, there must be a proportion of about three to one between collective activities and individualistic activities: For example, song and praise and listening to verbal contributions, as opposed to prayer about personal concerns and conversations between individuals. There must also be simultaneity and overlap between individuality and collectivity: a meeting cannot unfold properly unless individuals interact with one another, with the group as a unit, and with God, and the group as a unit also interacts with God. If any of these dimensions of experience are missing for a participant, he

will very likely go home in a less than joyful state of mind. If he avoids interaction with others, or feels he is doing so with God, he may consider himself "cold"; if the group does not seem to interact with God, he may call it "dead." If others do not speak individually and warily to him, he may call the group "cold." If individuals do not interact with the group through sharing memories, requesting prayers, offering prayers, giving readings or prophecies, etc., the sense of God's presence is extremely likely to be absent for almost everyone, resulting in the common assignation of both epithets.

The movable elements most stressed by each group are allowed to occur in as large a proportion to other elements as possible. At the Marian Community, concern with warm friendships and mutual support for emotional needs is often expressed in leaders' opening prayers, in sharings and teachings, and even in songs. "I Love You With the Love of the Lord," for example, is widely known among charismatic congregations in North America, but is sung at the Marian Community with far greater frequency and emotional expression than at the other two groups. Songs speaking of the need for divine comfort or healing from emotional pain are also much more common there than at the other two groups. The Worship Centre, especially at its Sunday evening services, may spend two or three hours total in verbal praise, song, and contemplation. The Cuffs' group may prolong its meetings until two or three o'clock in the morning if the charismata are in evidence; it is rare that anything else should motivate this kind of prolongation. Each of these elements is central to what the leaders of each group feel the meetings are for, though probably all would say that the exchange of love, the worship of God, and the exercise of the charismatic gifts are important parts of a prayer meeting.

The Experience of the Prayer Meetings:
Communitas and Flow

As Turner stated in his general definition of *communitas*, "there is something magical about it. Those who experience *communitas* have a feeling of endless power." It is an important element (charismatics would say it is one result) of what is culturally interpreted as the presence of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, in crosscultural and non-theological terms, *communitas* itself can be described as a spirit of "holiness" in the charismatic sense of the word. It brings a sense of unity: of being included in a "group consciousness" which is capable of functioning with coherence and remarkable coordination. It does have an element of magic and power in its experiential dimension, as I have heard participants in other types of gatherings attest.¹³ Turner argues elsewhere that metaphors of dawn, light, whiteness, and running or flowing water are among the most widespread crosscultural concomitants of *communitas*,¹⁴ --and these occur frequently in charismatic descriptions of the Holy Spirit and of especially satisfying prayer meetings. The common image of the radiant white dove is one of these. The dominant metaphor used by local charismatics when describing the experience of worship (and also that which is being worshipped) is that of the spring or fountain. Songs sung there include lines such as, "I know a fount where sins are washed away," "And Jesus said, 'Come to the water, stand by My side; I know you are thirsty, you won't be denied,'" and "We bring our hearts as vessels to Your ever-flowing spring."¹⁵ Periods in individual lives when the moods and motivations of worship seem to wane are called "dry" times; when they are strong, people speak of worship as slaking a deep thirst, as cleansing, as healing and nourishing. Turner elsewhere calls *communitas* by one of

Christ's metaphoric names for the Holy Spirit (John 3:8, KJV), "the wind that bloweth where it listeth,"¹⁶ and Blake's winged joy which cannot be clutched, but must be kissed as it flies;¹⁷ both accord well with charismatic interpretations of the source and nature of full worship.

"Group consciousness" in *communitas* is experienced in a variety of ways at local meetings. One very common form, which can in fact occur without intense experiences of *communitas* though it is much more common during them, is called "confirmation." This is the local name for the phenomenon in which two or more participants turn to, or think of, the same Bible passage at the same approximate time; when a prophecy or interpretation of an utterance in tongues is mentally "received" by two or more people simultaneously; when a mental visualization (often interpreted as a kind of pictorial prophetic message from God) and a verbal prophecy "received" by different people seem to convey the same message; or when someone has heard or read the same ideas from two or three sources in the course of a week. This is felt to "confirm" that the ideas conveyed were sent by God. Sometimes these forms of coordination are striking and pervasive. Tom and Mary Heffernan commented about the early meetings of the Good Shepherd Community:

TH: The first few prayer meetings I went to, I always thought the whole meeting was planned.

MH: I always thought that, too.

TH: Because all the readings would connect, and there'd be a theme going through the whole thing. And there'd be certain hymns sung, and one person would read a reading, and somebody else would read something that would connect with that, and then somebody would put it all together at the end of the meeting. Somebody would say, "I feel that this person--or, you know, somebody--needs this," and that upset me a little bit; I just couldn't figure out how this was happening. (Tape 13, side A)

Don Cuff described an even more pronounced form of group coordination as typical of the interdenominational group in Bonavista. Not only verbal utterances, but actions, "fit" together in a way no one could fully explain, attributed by group members to the power of the Holy Spirit, flowing like nerve impulses from the Head of the Body of Christ (i.e., Christ Himself) to its individual members (a metaphor based closely on Colossians 2.19). Don explained:

The whole thing would be, like computerized, synchronized, clockwork-like action: everybody doing a different function, but everything just fitting right together. There was no confusion; just complete order. It was just, just the Book of Acts coming right alive . . . the Lord would give somebody a word of knowledge that there was a person with a specific need. And ah, then the Lord would give another person a burden for that person, that the group should pray for that person. Then while the first two were probably getting ready now to minister to, to that situation, as they were praying . . . and probably moving toward that person (or just the group just anticipating that, . . . the Spirit was about to move in a certain way), then the other person, the Lord would tell them to go and get some oil to anoint that person. And the person was going for the oil would not be aware of who the person was that was going to be prayed for, but the only word they had from the Lord was to go, to go and get the oil. So that by the time the person came back with the oil, the other person was there and ready to lay hands on that person, and asking for the oil. And of course she didn't have to wait, because the person was back now and had the oil. . . . (Tape 6-1, side A)

The "feeling of endless power" which Turner describes as typical of those who experience *communitas* is an important part of the interpersonal warmth cherished by the Marian Community, the praise cherished at the Worship Centre, and the charismata at the Cuffs--and, indeed, in the function of all three in all three groups. The experience of *communitas* often gives people a glow: an excitement, a contagious joy that is visible in their smiles. The sharing of this experience and its "glow" gives a special, attractive quality to the greetings, hugs, and conversations that follow a Marian meeting. The

sense of having shared in a transcendent experience, and of being part of a transcendent community, is evident in the delight with which group members often embrace and converse. Praise also "glows," and may be spoken of in metaphors of soaring flight, when a meeting or service "takes off" on the "wind" or "wings" of the Holy Spirit. It is a participative experience on two levels: individuals are aware of unity with others surpassing their everyday sense of belonging (which may well have been in effect five minutes before), but they also experience a sense of communion with God, and the praise of God becomes, in local metaphor, an embrace. Dr. Carl Hudson of the Worship Centre, Don Cuff, and Father John Funkakunnel of the Marian Community have addressed their respective groups on the concept of worship using the Greek term for it found in John 4.23-24: "... God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth" (KJV). The term is *proskuneo*, and literally means to embrace: to give a kiss of greeting. This is among the most oft-quoted scriptures in the charismatic community.

One of the treasured, occasional concomitants of charismatic worship, communal or private, is the sense of divine Presence. (I capitalize this because it is sometimes used as a synonym for "the Lord," as will be shown below.) David Hufford, in researching the experiences of sleep paralysis and hallucination known in Newfoundland as "the Old Hag," found that sensory impressions of evil presences could be quite clear and precise. His description of this is useful for an understanding of charismatic references to the divine Presence. Hufford writes:

Informants have often stated that they thought "someone or something" was in the room during the experience. . . . I

discovered . . . that it was neither an inference nor vague. . . . People have stated that they knew where "it" was, what its intent was . . . , its gender, sometimes, even its appearance--but as information lacking any sensory component, not as an image.¹⁸

When charismatics speak of the "presence of the Lord," they are sometimes referring to this kind of "information"; sometimes to a kind of "cloud" which seems to descend upon groups or individuals. The first is usually associated with Jesus and the second with the Holy Spirit. Either may have some sensory component: people often "feel" the descent of the Spirit in some way which has a describable speed, height, and intensity. To others, the personality of "the Lord" and His specific intent or message at the time may be of paramount importance, and dominate verbal description of the event. One woman at the Worship Centre described her first service in the sanatorium's cafeteria in this way:

I went in, and I think it was instantaneous: I was hit by the Spirit. Yeah, and I thought, "ohhhh...." I remember just feeling--sitting there tingling all over, and just sitting frozen in my seat hearing this--well, just an ordinary sermon, I thought, but wow, whatever was in there.... "What is it about these people? They're really different."

CC: Can you describe what it was about them?

LD: Well, I knew they were sincere; I knew it was real. I knew God was real in their life and He worked miracles. I heard about people, you know: some alcoholic that had gotten delivered from that and some marriage that had gotten put back together, and, and all these things, and I thought, "Wow! . . . To know God like that, to be like that!" But I thought you had to be good; and I was basically bad, so, I felt I couldn't give up my lifestyle. Anyway, I walked in and I was just hit--oh, the spirit. Made you tingle. Warm. It wasn't a condemning. It was like--well, um, I knew I had to make a decision: this was it, one way or the other. You know, "Which way are you going to go? Are you going to accept Me" (which I, essentially I didn't know what, other than, "Okay, whatever Your will is for my life." Complete control . . . letting God take over complete control of my life.) . . . And it was like, "Okay, are you going to let Me or no?" (Tape 20, side A)

Anne Harkaway recalled:

I always had this feeling when the Spirit was there: when they were praying and I had my whole heart and soul on God. I still have it. . . . I, I can sense the Presence. And ah, during the meeting I knew that this was what it was. A couple of times I said, "Maybe I'm cold," but it was too warm in the room for it to be cold.

CC: You felt shivers?

AH: Yeah; this kind of tingling. . . . I just had, I always get this kind of sense. ~ (Tape 12-1, side B)

Though the exercising of the charismata involves a great deal of internal and personal experience, it has important communal dimensions as well. An entire group often senses that an inspired utterance is about to be given, and a reverent hush falls, up to two or three minutes before the individual so inspired actually completes his internal processes and speaks. (These processes are described in detail in Chapter IV). When the utterance is given or any of the nonverbal gifts are exercised, one or more other people are invariably affected; in the case of tongues, interpretation, and prophecy, the entire meeting may be powerfully affected. In this combination of internal and corporate participation in the charismata, Frederick Dale Bruner's comments on the experience of divine power in Pentecostal churches is especially apt:

contrary to general expectation, highly individualistic Pentecostalism is highly corporate and congregational in its life. The Pentecostal church-meeting or assembly where the individual gifts are principally exercised is close to the center of the Pentecostal secret. Here the experiences of the many merge into the one and by this confluence the power of the Spirit is felt in multiplication.¹⁹

The role of individual religious action and ecstatic experience in *communitas* has to do with Turner's observation that the state both unifies and "particularizes" identities, binding individuals together

in "an essential and generic human bond" which "does not merge identities," but "liberates them. . . ." Many forms of inspirational leadership, from a "strong feeling" that God wants the group to pray about a particular international issue or sing a particular song, to long prophetic messages resembling the messages of the Holy Spirit to specific churches in Revelation 1-3, can trigger, or foster, or occur within collective experiences of *communitas*. This is simply a charismatic form of the rather self-evident truth that an ecstatic group is composed of ecstatic individuals.

There are many different kinds of religious experience in charismatic culture, as will be described in the chapters to follow. One of the most common experiences in ritual contexts is ex stasis, ecstasy: a state in which one is "taken out of" oneself, lost in absorbing action and interaction with the group and with the sensed presence of God. Ecstasy may be mild or intense, brief or prolonged, but in any case it does not seem to be a culture-specific state. Descriptions abound, in Christian and non-Christian writings, which closely resemble the experiential accounts of St. John's charismatics. Indeed, when sociologist Andrew Greeley gave a questionnaire to a demographically balanced sample of the midwestern American population containing the question, "Have you ever felt as though you were very close to a powerful, spiritual force that seemed to lift you out of yourself?", 35% said that they had--once, several times, or often. (Interestingly, the higher percentages of people who had had such experiences were in the middle class, and members of the same denominations from which the majority of American charismatics come: Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Methodist.)²⁰ The

common descriptors included a sense of profound peace, a certainty that "all things would work out for the good," a sense of personal need to "contribute to others," joy, a sense of having gained important "understanding and knowledge," and great emotional intensity (p. 65).

This is quite an accurate profile of the kinds of experience which draw people back to charismatic prayer meetings week after week: ecstasy is not predictable or fully evocable, but it happens often enough, for enough participants, that many people associate it with prayer meetings and other charismatic gatherings.

Flow is Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi's name for a type of experience which is, I would say, a mild and prevalent form of ecstasy. He coined the term after conducting interviews with dancers, surgeons, composers, mountain-climbers, and people who regularly engaged in other forms of "autotelic" or intrinsically rewarding activity: things done for their own sake. He found that a majority of his informants spoke of occasional, somewhat unpredictable times when these activities produced a merging of self, activity, and environment that completely absorbed, in a way suspended, the actor's attention. Completely caught up in what he was doing, he experienced an exhilarated sense of perfect complementarity between himself and his activity, in which his skills were used to the fullest, yet not overtaxed. From the most recurrent descriptor used by his informants, Csikszentmihalyi christened this experience "flow."²¹

Victor and Edith Turner suggest that group experiences of *communitas* can involve individual experiences of "flow."²² This is very likely true of charismatics at prayer meetings. In particular, it seems to be part of what is happening when individuals exercise the

"word gifts." As will be described more fully in Chapter IV, the process of prophesying or interpreting an utterance in tongues involves intensive listening with what some of my informants call "the inner ear": one relays to the group what one "hears" God saying. This takes absorbed concentration of a relaxed kind, and often "flows" best, local people have said, when one has forgotten about oneself completely. It is because "communication" of this kind is part of the charismatic concept of worship that characteristics of the flow experience ("Let's forget about ourselves, concentrate on Him, and worship Him . . .") appear in local songs.

As *communitas* would be described by charismatics as one of the results of communion between a worshipping group and God, so they would probably say that flow is a result of communion between an individual and God. In fact, Pastor Gene Clarke of the Worship Centre, in a recent sermon on the significance of the Shekinah or "cloud of glory" which Israel followed through the wilderness for forty years, recalled that he and some of his friends used to describe the experience of following God in everyday activities as "flowing." River-metaphors are common when charismatics speak of following the "leadings of the Holy Spirit," and even the countercultural phrase "go with the flow" is used to describe the ideal of obedient cooperation with the Holy Spirit. Individuals in a state of flow can play crucial roles in leading prayer meetings, for others often credit them with having special insight into the "leadings" of the Spirit for that particular moment or that particular meeting. In other words, flow is not considered a simple experiential state. It has meaning: it is one of the signs of inspiration, and therefore individuals in flow may be

followed as a means of following God.

The state which local charismatics refer to with the use of the term "flow" and of "flowing" metaphors is, like that described by Csikszentmihalyi's informants, emphatically not a trance state. Surgeons can operate, mountaineers negotiate difficult cliff faces, and charismatics conduct articulate conversations and interactions while in a state of flow. It is simply a state of joy, of heightened awareness and streamlined coordination, in which one is relaxed and free of self-consciousness. Charismatics also describe the occasions during which I would say they are in flow as occasions when they are "open to the Spirit" as "willing vessels" to be filled or "channels" to be used. As will be described in the following chapter, the experience of flow sometimes develops into a deeper and more intense experience called "anointing," in which the Holy Spirit "flows" down upon, into, through, and between individuals.

Some Relations Between Experience and Ritual Structure

Communitas and flow do not just happen; they occur within certain contexts and psychological conditions. However, they are not fully evocable, either. They are the product of serendipity, and seem, from the point of view of the experiencer, to come as a gift of grace--as Turner and Csikszentmihalyi point out.²³ These, and some of the deeper experiences which can occur in prayer meetings, are of the kind described by William James when he comments:

Although the oncoming of mystical states may be facilitated by preliminary voluntary operations, as by fixing the attention, or going through certain bodily performances, . . . yet when the characteristic sort of consciousness once has set in, the mystic feels as if his own will were in abeyance, and indeed sometimes as if he were grasped and held by a superior power.²⁴

People do not become "possessed" in charismatic meetings, in the sense that they lose control or become dissociated from reality around them in any way. If they speak of being "held" by a "superior power," they refer to the embrace of worship (the feeling of loving and being loved by God) or to the experience of inspiration (being spoken to or spoken through by God). Nonetheless, these gentle and not particularly paranormal kinds of experience can only be encouraged, not caused, through ritual acts and structures.

The primary mode of encouragement is enactment: people may lift their arms, close their eyes, and focus their attention upon the Presence they wish to experience, as a means of doing what they call "entering in" to the presence of God. This enactment, recognized as a deliberate version of what ideally becomes a spontaneous mode of ritual action, is considered all a human being can really bring about by himself: the embrace of worship is only completed when the Lord's arms reach down as the people's arms reach up. Confident that God is ever-present and ever-loving, charismatics do not regard "reaching out to touch God" (a local descriptor for this kind of worship) as in any way empty or futile. It is regarded, rather, as an act of the free will, which operates on the mind and emotions to open the individual up to a God who is already reaching down. Thus it is the mind and emotions, as well as the Lord, which are addressed in several opening songs:

Bless the Lord, O my soul,
And all that is within me,
Bless His holy Name.²⁵

Let all that is within me cry, Holy,
Let all that is within me cry, Holy,
Let all that is within me cry, Holy,
Holy is the Lamb that was slain.²⁶

Others declare the worshiper's intention in attending the meeting or the service, giving him an opportunity to articulate, and to hear himself articulate, what he believes are the proper reasons for being there; though he might not have been thinking about them a moment before. "We Have Come into this House," quoted at the beginning of the preceding chapter, is sung in all three groups. Others of this kind include:

I will bless the Lord at all times;
His praise shall continually be in my mouth.
My soul shall make her boast in Thee, Lord;
The humble shall hear thereof and be glad.
O magnify the Lord with me,
And let us exalt His Name together;
I sought the Lord, and He heard me;²⁷
And delivered me from all my fears.²⁷

Let's just praise the Lord,
Praise the Lord,
Let's just lift our hands toward heaven,
And praise the Lord.²⁸

I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live;
I will sing praise to my God while I have my being.
My meditation of Him shall be sweet;
I will be glad, I will be glad in the Lord.
Bless thou the Lord, O my soul, praise ye the Lord:
Bless thou the Lord, O my soul, praise ye the Lord.²⁹

At the Worship Centre, the words of the opening songs are often drawn to the singers' attention by the pastor or lay leader, who may comment upon their apt description of the actual intentions shared by the group at that moment. Particularly relevant songs or lines of songs may well be repeated after this kind of encouragement to "let the words become real to them," as it is sometimes put, has been given.

A third kind of opening song, used for this transitional purpose by the Catholic group in particular, places the singer in the role of God, addressing the human self and the group in the manner of prophecy:

Come, My people, see My glory;
 Come, My people, I'm your God;
 Come, My people, love Me only;
 I will guide you from above.³⁰

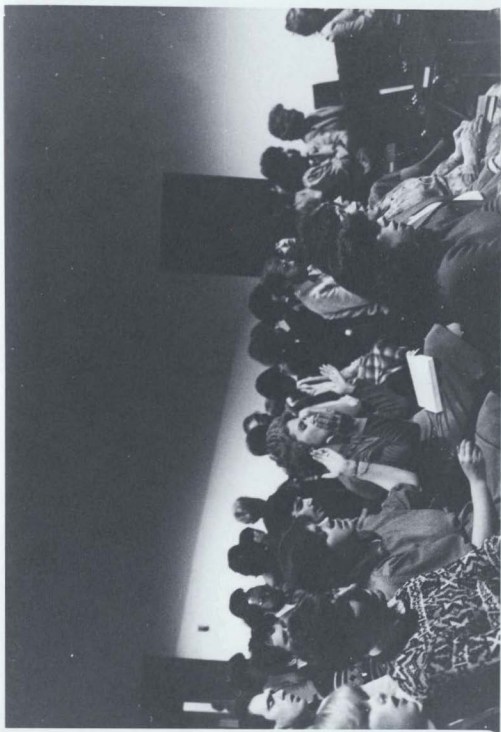
As the self is gathered into the realm of sacred experience, detached from extraneous concerns, other participants and God become the primary audiences for worship. Those who are moving from trying to worship to worshipping are often aware that others are still trying, and that their behaviour may help or hinder the transition. To stretch the arms upward, to sing heartily, to have a rapt and peaceful expression, to murmur praise to God quietly between songs, are recognized as usually helpful actions which contribute to the development of the desired raptness and peace for the group as a whole, and so long as the atmosphere of the meeting remains transitional between secular and sacred, some members will have others in mind as they choose their postures and tonalities. (Lydia Fish has discussed this aspect of traditional Catholic piety in her analysis of pilgrimage as performance.³¹) However, the transition is supposed to be completed, and when it is, participants tend to relax into a spontaneous responsivity which is at once individual and collective (see Figs. 9-11).

The structure of a charismatic meeting thus has two purposes and is experienced in two ways: it first helps to evoke, then contain, the *communitas* and flow of spontaneous and "spirit-filled" worship. At the Worship Centre, where long-term members of the congregation have given a great deal of thought to the role of liturgical tradition in the design and effects of meetings and services as they broke with Pentecostal precedents, the form of the service is sometimes spoken of as a "wineskin," after Christ's reference to new wineskins for new wine (Matthew 9:17). "New wine" is a frequent charismatic metaphor,

Fig. 9: Pastor Gene Clarke of the Worship Centre leads prayer before Communion. Mr. Harold Andrews, a member of the church board, is in the foreground at left.



Fig. 10. Members of the Worship Centre pray before receiving Communion. (Shown are individuals of Presbyterian, Baptist, Pentecostal, Salvation Army, Ukrainian Orthodox, and Anglican family backgrounds.)




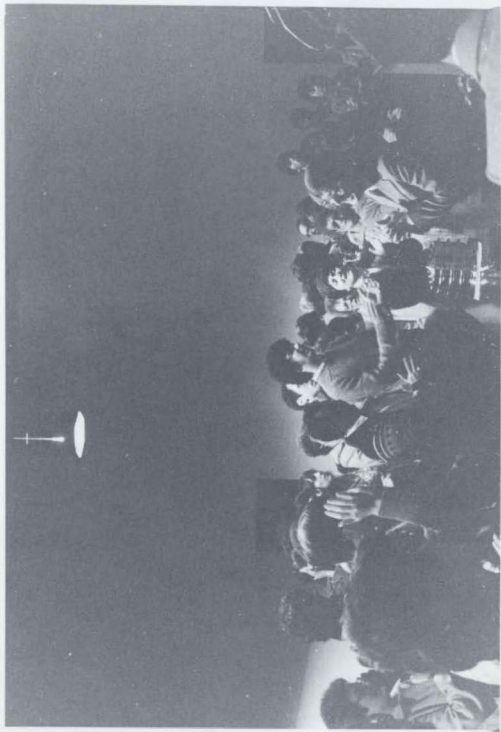


Fig. 11. Members of the Worship Centre gather around the altar,
singing, after receiving Communion.



both here and elsewhere in North America, for the baptism of the Holy Spirit;³² it is this which charismatics want to feel "flowing" through individuals and through the group. The purpose of the structure is to hold it. In one sense, the act of opening and raising the arms includes some of the metaphorical intent of holding a wineskin open so that it may be filled.

It is because of this view of ritual structure that those movable elements which best evoke community and flow in each group are allowed to "flood" the meeting in large amounts. As noted above, this element is interpersonal expressions of love in the Marian Community, the charismata at the Cuffs', and praise at the Worship Centre. Each group includes all three elements in its meetings, but responds with particularly intense joy to, and speaks with particular awe of, those meetings in which its chosen element abounds. In addition, each group considers the meetings in which that element does abound as particularly "Spirit-filled" and "Spirit-led," for the element which moves people the most is considered the one least under their control; the most fully a divine gift.

It is really these meetings, the ones considered the most deeply, overflowingly Spirit-filled, in each group, which reveal their differences most clearly; for the differences are subtle, and have to do with ethos, the intangible and often indescribable quality of life, rather than with worldview. In simple terms, one might say that the three groups run on the same kind of complex current, but light up to maximum incandescence when different elements within it are increased. In order to demonstrate the unique qualities of each group as clearly as possible, the descriptions below are of meetings which produced

this "maximum incandescence."

Love, Power, Praise: The Emic Criteria of Excellence
in Three Sample Meetings

On a hot July evening in 1981, the Marian Community (or the third of it which met at St. Teresa's at that time) was gathered in a circle of folding metal chairs in a small, unwindowed room in the basement of St. Teresa's church. Some thirty women between thirty and sixty years old, three men in their fifties, and five or six women in their twenties were crowded close together, chatting in twos and threes. The pastoral leader for that evening, a slim, grey-haired woman with a gentle, somewhat tired face, stood up and began to welcome the group to the meeting. Conversation quieted; the group stood, opening blue folders to find the words of the first song. Two young women strummed the opening chords on their guitars, joined by a middle-aged man with an accordion. With no harmony but fine, full volume, the group sang:

refrain:

Come to Me, come to Me, oh My children, come to Me,
I have waited so long to hold you gently;
If you open your heart wide, let My light into your eyes,
Then My love will lead you on and on forever.

Your word, O Lord, burns deep within,
My spirit breathes a sigh;
Your words of love give courage and hope
To a heart as weakened as mine.

My heart is burdened with many a care,
Your light has grown dim;
The darkness of sin has taken its toll,
And it's time for repentance again.

Oh how I have failed in loving all men!
Your love is what I need;
Oh if I could forgive and forget what's been done,
Then my heart would truly be free.

Then come, my Lord; oh Lord, do come,
 And wash away the pain;
 Fill my empty heart with forgiveness and love
 To rejoice with my brothers again.

Hands were lifted to waist height, shoulder height; a few people swayed gently to the music. As the song ended, people began to murmur words of praise. In the usual manner of the Marian Community, this verbal praise continued, growing in volume, for a minute or so; then someone began to sing in tongues, and others joined her. Individual melodies rose and fell around a single tonic in thirds, fourths, fifths, and octaves, for some three minutes, subsiding gently into spoken tongues and English. Murmured praise descended into silence; rose again into song; returned to quietness for several minutes. Then another woman on the pastoral team, her eyes closed, chin resting on her fists as she leaned forward, elbows on her knees, began to speak in a somewhat shy and broken voice:

Tonight we opened the meeting with the song that has the line, "It's time for repentance again." I really believe Jesus is here with us now, whether we realize it or not, and we should examine what we're thinking and whether we're responding to His promptings of our hearts. [Pause: seven seconds] I've been saying a lot of pharisaical things lately--it's like what was once real to me I'm now mouthing. And God is really calling me to repentance. I'm confessing my sin tonight, and I feel prompted to share this. . . . I haven't been living up to all I'm supposed to be as a child of God. I've been failing in my prayer life, and with people close to me. I'm ashamed--and yet I know God's forgiven me. (f.n. 7/7/83)

Her face is strained with pain and embarrassment as she speaks. Not only is she a pastoral leader, looked up to by the group, but she is in charge of staff and patients on a hospital ward and has several children of her own. She is surrounded by people who expect kindness and good sense from her, and the standards she sets herself are high. Seeming to retreat from the great vulnerability of her confession, she

begins to speak a traditional Roman Catholic prayer of repentance, and most of the group recites it with her, sharing the fellowship of common guilt.

The sharing continues. One woman had just been to the Shrine of Saint Anne de Beaupré. There she had met, among her fellow pilgrims, a blind child and a charismatic priest. She and the priest had prayed with this child, asking God to restore his vision. The priest had begun his prayer by asking forgiveness for his own sins and for hers. "We need forgiveness before He can enter our hearts," she concluded, "including forgiveness for things we don't want to acknowledge." Another woman adds, "I had that feeling today, too: that we should repent and pray continuously." "Joy floods in when we repent!" smiles the first woman who had spoken. "I'm having new life again." Her face is relaxed; she is praying silently as the group shares. One of the guitar players, a married woman in her early twenties, comments: "Our first step to Jesus is admitting that we've truly sinned. Even in the last half hour we could have turned our backs on Him, or our neighbour, and said, 'No way!' And that is truly sin."

Following a tradition common in nondenominational charismatic groups in North America, but one I had never heard at the Marian Community before, one of its most faithful and most ecumenically-minded members, a strong, smiling woman in her forties, began to lead a prayer of repentance. She composed it a phrase at a time, pausing after each phrase so that the group could repeat it together. The sense of unity between the members seemed to grow, but *communitas* was not yet complete: there were small signs of distraction; a faint awareness that some ten or twelve participants were still in their everyday, private

frames of mind. One young woman, a graduate student in Education, commented on this, and several people nodded agreement. "When you have repented and cleansed your soul," she explained, "you should love yourself as a child of God. If you don't, there's something you're still hanging on to, and you must search your heart and see if something still needs to be given over to Him." There was quiet for several minutes, mingled with sighs and murmurs of the name of Jesus, as some of the people shut their eyes, frowning in concentration as they attempted to follow her advice.

There was a subtle shift in mood, from introspection back to unified action. One of the men had opened his Bible, and read aloud a psalm of thanksgiving and praise. Another participant followed this by reading 1 Peter, chapter five, which exhorts Christian leaders to be good examples to the "flock," to cast their cares upon God who cares for them, and to watch out for Satan, who prowls about like a lion, looking for people to devour. She ended with a brief summary in her own words, stressing the stabilizing power of God, and His ability to perfect believers. The group was smiling, responding to the confident words of the Epistle, ready to turn from repentance to rejoicing. The pastoral leader for the evening suggested that they sing one of their favourite songs, "Bind Us Together." The musicians picked up their instruments; a few people who did not know the words picked up their blue folders, and found the xeroxed, typewritten page that bore them. The others, clapping a little or holding hands, some shutting their eyes, began to sing:

refrain:

Bind us together, Lord, bind us together
With cords that cannot be broken;
Bind us together, Lord, bind us together
Bind us together with love.

There is only one God,
There is only one King.
There is only one Body;
That is why we sing . . .

Made for the glory of God,
Purchased by His precious Son,
Born with the right to be clean,
For Jesus the victory has won.

We are the family of God,
We are the promise divine,
We are God's chosen desire,
We are the glorious new wine.³⁴

Smiles were growing in intensity; over half the circle was holding hands, swaying from side to side in time to the 3/4 beat of the music.

"Let's sing, 'How Good is the Lord'," someone suggested, and the musicians picked up the tune in the same key. The beat was faster, 4/4; the song is Black Gospel. Soon the circle was on its feet and dancing a kind of modified Jewish horah, arms around one another's shoulders, laughter spilling through the words:

refrain:

Oh, oh, oh, how good is the Lord,
Oh, oh, oh, how good is the Lord;
Oh, oh, oh, how good is the Lord,
I never will forget what He has done for me!

He gives us His Spirit, how good is the Lord;
He gives us His Spirit, how good is the Lord;
He gives us His Spirit, how good is the Lord;
I never will forget what He has done for me!

He gives us His healing . . .

He gives us each other . . .³⁵

They sang it two or three times through, with participants calling out new verses as they invented them: "He gives us repentance"--which brought a laugh--"He gives us new life." The song finally came to a close, dissolving into the Kiss of Peace, as people lifted their arms from one another's shoulders and hugged each other. The mood of

affection and unity was deep, and glowing on their faces: eyes met with more than their usual directness and length of gaze; hugs were prolonged and bearlike, close, without self-protection. Some of the more exuberant members, laughing, made certain that they hugged every person present. "Now, did I miss anybody?" one would say occasionally; some shy person would answer, "Me," and be promptly enfolded, with pats on the back and a little banter to cover the unintentional slight: "God love your heart; I didn't mean to miss you!" Slowly they moved toward the hallway, where coffee and cookies waited on a small table, to stand talking or praying in small groups for another hour and a half.

This meeting was, from the point of view of many of the participants who commented upon it afterward, glorious. The awareness of shame, pain, and shortcoming, of separation from God and inability to love oneself "as a child of God" had been acknowledged, shared, made manageable through sacred community. It had become "our" problem, instead of "my" problem. Something positive had been done about it: repentance had been made verbal. The biblical bases for confidence and joy in spite of the continuing need to repent had been read, dispelling the fear that one might be living in a fool's paradise if one chose to believe in the love of God. Affection had been given and received--not on the basis of personal abilities or qualities, but on the basis of common faith in a God who gives abundantly: the arms around the shoulders were accompanied by "I never will forget what He has done for me." There is relief; there is self-acceptance and hope for continued change as He does more. *Communitas* had begun in earnest during "Bind Us Together," one of their favourite expressions of community and communion, and soared during "How Good is the Lord," remaining strong as

the group dispersed, going with them as they walked to their cars at midnight.

Recalling Geertz's definition of religion, what happened is that certain "key conceptions of a general order of existence" (here, the concept of the Body of Christ as composed of forgiven sinners, who are being slowly changed by a God who is love, and in whose love for them they can have complete confidence) have been "clothed in . . . an aura of factuality" through personal comments on their reality in the experience of individuals. They have awakened "powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations," which were expressed through spoken and silent prayers of repentance. Bible readings and songs caught belief and affect in single utterances, "binding them together," triggering the joyful unity of *communitas*. It was at once heightened and expressed in dance, in touch, in eye contact, in mutual awareness and group coordination which intensified as the conviction of belonging to the Body of Christ gained in concrete factuality and became more moving.

The same bright look of mingled awe, excitement, and affection is often on the faces of charismatics at other local meetings. At the Cuffs', on a Wednesday night in early March, 1983, it was particularly visible by the middle of the prayer meeting. It began, like the Marian meeting, with alternating song and praise. The living room was full: eight or ten men in their twenties and thirties, in jeans and blue work shirts or light, quiet-shaded sports shirts, were leaning back in chairs or crosslegged on the floor. Eight or ten women of the same age, some looking sophisticated and professional in makeup and carefully waved hair, others with short, simple cuts and the comfortable clothes suited

to caring for small children, sat in the same attitudes. Joyce Senior sat in a big red plush armchair in the corner, very erect, in a modest skirt and sweater she had made herself, her hair curled and combed in a shoulder-length flip. Her Bible rested, well-worn and black-covered, on her lap; other Bibles, mostly paperback and rather dog-eared from use, lay about the room next to their owners. Don, tall and bony, his brown beard dark above a blue cotton work shirt, denim jacket and heavy jeans, sat on the floor against a wall, his gold-rimmed glasses slipping a little on his nose, long agile fingers flicking over the chords of "His Name is Wonderful":

His name is wonderful, His name is wonderful,
His name is wonderful, Jesus my Lord;
Bow down before Him, love and adore Him,
His name is wonderful, Jesus my Lord.

He's the great shepherd, the rock of all ages,
Almighty God is He;
He is the mighty King, master of everything,
His name is wonderful, Jesus my Lord.³⁶

The singing continues; hands are lifted; eyes close; absorption deepens. There is quiet for a few seconds. Then Don's clear voice is raised to a louder volume than he ever uses to speak "his own" words: he is giving a "message" in tongues to the Group from God:

O na mana kita na kita kayana maya; O nara-bayani na pushaya.
Kastamana ei, a ei, kasho moralani, kushto barakalani aya.
Kista na ravani, o shala, o shala, vakhar ko kasta maran kaya.
Nimaran kayal ku shahi ka sabha; shavaran kosta vekh khiran
bas kaniya. Mendokh kasani, kasani aya viliya; kista na
kiya bar' kusta. Machah par dakhani ka nuriya basti; o
shabhana shuriya hando-par suni. (f.n. 3/8/83)³⁷

After a long pause, a shy young man with glasses, his hands twisting nervously in his lap, eyes closed, leaning forward in concentration, begins to interpret very quietly:

My children, be strong. Have faith in Me. I am the Lord your God. I will guide and direct you in all that you do. Open your hearts to receive Me. You are My chosen ones. I will never fail you. (f.n. 3/9/83)

Everyone is doubly pleased: first, by the sensation of divine Presence which has descended, tangibly, like a cloud, upon the room, a brightness half-visible playing over the head of the young interpreter. Second, by the fact that he has never interpreted a message in tongues before. When the word of the Lord has been completed, taken in, acknowledged with praise, the intense sense of Presence diminishes a little, and questions begin. The young interpreter looks up, pleased, shy, and meets Don's proudly smiling eyes. "That's good," he commends the young man. "How did you find it?" "Kind of scary," the young man answers. "Like, I didn't have it all at first, and I just spoke out after a while and hoped the rest would come... and it did. But I'm not sure I got it all what the Lord was saying." "That's okay," Don reassures him. "You're learning."

We all got to learn; how else you going to grow? It takes time to learn to listen to the Lord; you don't just learn it all in a minute. You got to practice at that same as at anything else. But He's a patient teacher and He'll work with you. (f.n. 3/9/83)

There is some quiet conversation, some laughter and joking, and Don opens his notebook and Bible. Reading Bible verse numbers from a slip of paper in one hand, he asks eight people to find particular verses in their Bibles and be ready to read them aloud when he asks for them. He is teaching primarily from Isaiah 53, on the atoning death of the Messiah, explaining the import of the Hebrew terms used for the "sorrows" and "diseases" healed and borne for mankind. People read out their verses when they come up in Don's exegesis: other uses of the same terms; uses of Greek terms associated with the Hebrew by various translators; other references to healing and salvation accomplished through the Crucifixion. Some people are taking notes, or

scribbling down the Hebrew terms in the margins of the Bibles. There are questions, answered as often as not by three or four other people offering ideas and interpretations. Some issues are left unresolved; others end in clarification and accord. Someone wants to know whether there is a particular way in which one ought to appropriate the healing made available through Christ's death. Does one present it like a legal argument before the throne of God? "Just act like you're healed and thank Him for it, no matter how you feel," one participant advises. "That's unrealistic," someone else objects. "There's no sense in thanking God for something I haven't got." "But it could be on its way to you," Don counters, "and the way to stay open for it to manifest itself in the physical world is to keep praising Him for giving it to you, even before it manifests." Some people remain dubious, but the issue is a thorny one and the group moves on to other topics.

When the lesson is completed, the group continues to discuss the whole issue of healing for a while, then begins to share requests for corporate prayer. They shift about, putting notebooks out of the way, settling themselves into a more circular arrangement. Don is jotting down prayer requests: an alcoholic father; a brother in the mental hospital; a nonchristian friend or fellow office worker; a man with ulcerated legs from diabetes. There are about twenty such requests, mostly for the physical, emotional, or spiritual needs of people not present. A few requests on behalf of "government leaders" in general, for prisoners, and for the churches of the city are added. Individuals volunteer to pray aloud for these needs as Don reads them back. The group falls silent; eyes close; people begin to murmur, "Praise You, Jesus.....praise you, Lord.....alleluia:....Jesus....." A few speak

quietly in tongues. One by one the volunteers pray aloud in English for the requests, in the order they were read. A soft chorus of praise and "Yes, Lord; we agree for your brother.....in the name of Jesus....." accompanies each prayer. When the list is completed, a few people speak their own prayers aloud, adding topics or friends they remembered as the group prayed. These prayers too receive verbal agreement and support.

Don asks if anyone wants to be prayed with about anything, and four people respond shyly that they do. The first to speak is a young woman with brown, shoulder-length hair and glasses, in her late twenties or early thirties. She tells Don that she has a persistent kidney infection which produces pain in her lower back. She stands in the middle of the room, well away from the furniture, for reasons which will become clear in a moment. Some of the other men and stronger young women gather just behind her; Don is at her left side. He places the fingertips of his right hand on the centre of her forehead—no one knows exactly why, but this sometimes seems to have a beneficial effect in the laying on of hands, and is practiced by a number of people at the 'Cuffs', the Worship Centre, and FCBMF meetings. Others place their hands on her shoulders or back. All heads bow and eyes close. Don begins to pray aloud in English; the others around him are praying loudly in tongues or in English. The young woman can probably hear Don, but the rest of the people in the room cannot. After about two minutes, she staggers backward and falls. The people behind are ready to catch her, and lay her gently on the carpet on her back. She looks very peaceful, but fully conscious: in spite of her closed eyes, she looks as if she is awake, as indeed she is. Don and three or four other people kneel beside her, holding their hands out, palms down, a few

inches above her body in a kind of protective, ministering gesture of blessing. (Again, the reasons for this procedure have been a little vague; the intent has been described as protective and blessing, and not much more.) She lies perfectly still for about ten minutes; then rises slowly. Later, she tells me that, a second or two before she fell, a flood of heat seemed to come from Don's hand and travel swiftly through her body to her lower back; the pain is gone. She feels that it was this flood of heat that caused her to fall. Don nods. "This is all kind of new to you, eh?" he asks politely. She says yes, it is. He asks a few more questions about her experience, commenting that he also had felt the anointing flow from his hands into her body at the moment she had described.

Meanwhile, Don is praying with another young woman, and she also falls. There are three on the floor now. Linda Cuff and one of the other women are in the kitchen, assembling cups and boiling the kettle for tea. People are praying for one another in twos and threes; some are chatting, some kneel around those "slain in the Spirit" on the floor. A man who has recently stopped attending the Marian Community meetings, in his early thirties, is asking Don to pray over him that he might receive the charismata of prophecy, the "word of wisdom," and the "word of knowledge." Don lays a hand on his forehead, and begins to pray. Another young woman, one of the small group standing around him, begins to prophesy. She says that he will receive the gifts, and also instruction from God in their use. Her voice is happy and loving and full of authority. She calls him "my son"--speaking not as herself, but as a relayer of God's words as she hears them in her own mind. Don, listening, murmurs, "Praise God;

thankyou, Lord." The man being prayed for falls like a stone, suddenly, straight backwards; he is hastily caught and lowered to the floor, where he lies for perhaps three or four minutes. His wife kneels beside him, praising and thanking God quietly, then waiting in silent contemplation. Don comes over, and kneels by him. When he opens his eyes, Don begins to talk to him, telling him that he now has the gifts and must use them "in faith," even though he feels nothing particularly supernatural. He explains that if one waits for God to "zap" him, the gifts will never be used; the supernatural often becomes obvious after one has begun to prophesy or to exercise other gifts. "Go ahead," he says. "Prophecy."

The man and his wife close their eyes, kneeling side by side on the carpet, and the man begins to speak, hesitantly, with long pauses. He speaks in a general way of God's love for His "children," of reassurance and comfort and strength. "That's fine," Don says encouragingly when he stops. "Probably the Lord was saying some things that you missed, but you'll get more of it as you learn to listen." "I was wondering what the Lord was saying that he wasn't getting," commented the man's wife.

A few minutes later, I was visiting with him about this experience. He was not much interested in talking about himself, however; he had something else on his mind. He told me that I was grieving over my father, and that God was telling me to stop. He reached for his Bible and found a verse in Matthew (23.9), in which Christ declares, "call no man 'father' on earth. . . ." Looking at me with gentle firmness, he told me that I must cut the emotional bonds that are hindering me from relating to my father properly; to stop allowing myself to be

overly affected by his problems. Somewhat stunned, I told him that he was quite right: I am more haunted by my father's problems than any daughter should be. He took my hands in his and began to pray aloud for me, asking God to help me to let go of these painful and unnecessary ties. Later, he gave me some of the most accurate and penetrating advice I have ever received. Don, who happened to hear the last few sentences of it, grinned and said, "See, I told you you'd receive the gifts of knowledge and wisdom." "Did I?" he said, surprised and pleased. "But it felt so natural!"

The people who had been "slain" are on their feet again, most with a muffin in one hand and tea in the other. Two young women are praying in one corner; a blind young man from the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, having borrowed Don's guitar, is singing a long hymn of his own composition. When he finishes there is clapping from those whose hands are free. When Don finishes his tea, someone else asks him to pray about something; soon there is a small knot of people praying in tongues and in English around the one seeking prayer. A few early risers leave quietly. Others slip back into the intense concentration of prayer, and the sense of Presence builds again. There is another public "message" in tongues, this time by another young man, and it is interpreted by one of the women. I have been caught in conversation by someone who wants to discuss recent problems in her family life, and cannot hear what is taking place. Another person falls—I look over, and it is one of the people standing beside the one seeking prayer. This causes some comment later, for it is unusual, and gives rise to a little hypothesizing. "Guess the Lord had something He wanted to do for her," someone comments. It is ten minutes to one. Don gets up to go to work at six, but this may go on for another hour. I say a quiet

goodnight, hearing praise and prophecy as I leave.

The charismata, from physical healing to accurate "words of knowledge" such as those spoken to me, are more common at the Cuffs' meetings than at almost any other in the city. (Their frequency is matched at one other house meeting: that held at the home of Worship Centre members Lorne and Jill Rostotski.) Don, accustomed to the interdenominational group in Bonavista, whence he has told me stories unmatched by anything I have ever heard or seen, is calm and reverent about them (see Tapes 6-1, 6-2). Others, unaccustomed to such phenomena, are more overwhelmed when the paranormal occurs. On an evening such as this, when several people are "slain" and inspired utterance is abundant, draw from the group not the pleasure of thrill-seekers, but the *communitas* of worshipers convinced that God is "moving mightily," as they sometimes say, "among them." *Communitas* began during the first period of singing, for people often come to the Cuffs' expecting to sense the Presence which moves and motivates, inspires and slays: they come primed, ready to "enter in," responsive, attentive, waiting, worshipping. Perhaps because they are highly accustomed to *communitas* and flow, they also move easily in and out: it takes only a few moments for the deep silence and absorbed attention given to tongues and interpretation to transform into lively discussion, joking, nibbling potato chips. A ten-second pause, a long breath, and an individual can be absorbed in prayer. The world of "deep" sacredness and the world of everyday life interpenetrate so thoroughly for some members of this group that transitions are very easy to make. The paranormal does not stun them, for the most part, or keep them talking about it. For days, as such events would at the Marian Community (and,

when they occur there, do). They explain the paranormal in the same way as the Marian Community would explain the interpersonal love of their meeting described above: people say, "The Holy Spirit really led that meeting."

The Worship Centre's various gatherings differ much more in structure and emphasis than in content and affect: Sunday mornings are closest for formal, mainline Protestant services, with less place given to spontaneous contributions and to individual needs. Sunday evenings combine preaching and singing with focus on these areas. Wednesday evenings are for Bible study, discussion, corporate prayer, and a great deal of "sharing" (in fact, members call the midweek meetings "Prayer and Share"). These three are supplemented by other gatherings: women's Bible studies and social-action meetings; teenage skating and pizza parties; "College and Careers" house meetings for young single people and married couples at homes following the Sunday evening service. All are best thought of as elements in a system, for in an important sense the Worship Centre is not just like a charismatic prayer group; it is a charismatic prayer group. It simply happens to have (1) a building of its own; (2) an inherited denominational tradition of diversified activities; and (3) the cultural-cognitive identity of "church," which enables it to fulfill the common charismatic sense of obligation to go to a church on Sundays. If other prayer groups in the community were socially identified as churches, they too would probably have diversified meetings and attendance on Sundays. Obviously, it resembled the other groups more when it met in the sanatorium cafeteria; there is no denying that its material dimension has affected the concepts and attitudes held by members toward the

group and its meetings. Yet its essential character remains unchanged, and there is more continuity than discontinuity between what happens in the living room circles and what happens in the sanctuary.

Leadership during the opening singing at church services and at the midweek meetings is shared by a fairly stable group of volunteers: primarily married men and women in their thirties. There are, as in the other two groups, no general differentiations in manner or responsibilities between the sexes. All three of the central types of meetings (the morning and evening services on Sunday, and Prayer and Share) open with song. There are no songbooks; people memorize the words, or (when it is present) read from the overhead projector's screen, so that their hands are free to be clapped or lifted or clasped together. Eyes close, distraction drains away, and absorption in contemplation and soft verbal praise deepen at about the same rate and in the same manner as the other two groups. Their music differs: the Marian Community uses a great deal of blank verse, composed by its members or by other Roman Catholics in the last ten years; the Cuffs use the Country Gospel from Redeemed's repertoire, with an admixture of North American nondenominational charismatic music; the Worship Centre blends the hymnody and choruses of the Pentecostal Assemblies with charismatic music. Some songs are shared by all three groups, and all seem to respond best to music composed by charismatics, which consists primarily of praise, and quoted or paraphrased Scripture. It moves them quickly and deeply into full, peaceful concentration, whereas their alternative styles frequently accomplish the transition less effectively.

From this point of entry into the common initial state of charismatic worship, the Worship Centre's three central types of meetings begin to diverge. The Sunday morning service is taken over by Pastor Gene after ten to fifteen minutes of song; the evening service after perhaps thirty; Prayer and Share remains in the hands of a lay leader. The opening welcome to the participants and prayer for the service differ also in tone and content, though not always in duration. A typical Prayer and Share opening is spoken in the fully nonformalistic language used by numerous Worship Centre members when praying aloud for any reason whatever. It may be addressed to Jesus and/or to "Father" or "Lord." It usually concentrates upon the announcement that the group is now entering God's presence, thanking Him for the privilege of doing so, and stating that people have come with needs and problems, hoping for His renewal and guidance in their lives. The Sunday evening prayer, also spoken by a lay leader, varies according to the speaker's background, temperament, and inspiration of the moment. Not infrequently it is skipped altogether, perhaps because after the morning service, worship is easily begun: leaders sometimes appear to sense that the congregation is already immersed in worship, and needs no formal introduction--as it were--to the Presence of God. When it is spoken, it is usually brief and simple: an expression of gladness and thanksgiving for God's Presence, and of anticipation, not for what He will do, but for the delights of worship to come. Sunday mornings the pastor often takes over the service before the opening prayer, and combines it with an announcement of welcome. Often he lists various personal prayer requests (mostly for the sick or for unspecified crises) telephoned in to the church during the week, and invites members of the congregation

to inform him of other requests. When these have been cited, he or a lay member prays specifically or generally for these and for the service from the microphone in the pulpit.

Prayer and Share begins with about twenty minutes of singing after the opening prayer, accompanied by a guitar or sung a capella: in either case, participants usually sing at a full, comfortable volume, neither shy nor deliberately loud. There is a great deal of improvisational harmony: as many as five parts may be created on the spot, for the Worship Centre is rich in singers. (The equation of "good singing" with straight melody sung full blast is among the features of classical Pentecostal folk religion which members sometimes recall, with a wry face, from their previous church experience. In the Worship Centre, "good singing" is done with awareness of and identification with the lyrics' meanings, and with the intention of expressing love toward God.) Most of the songs are a dozen lines or so in length, and are sung twice or three times in succession. It is during this part of Prayer and Share that the singing typical of the church's early days in the sanatorium is recreated: the group is small enough for harmonies to be heard clearly; voices are few enough to be recognizable. It is an important part of the emotional role played by the midweek meeting in the overall religious life of the Worship Centre.

The silence and murmured praise which follows the closing song is almost entirely in English; the deepening of concentration is, in some indescribable quality, audible as the group settles into the relaxed absorption typical of Worship Centre praise. (The 'Cuffs' is more energetic; the Marian Community's more shy.) The leader then often asks if anyone has incidents from their week's experience for

which to praise God, or about which they would like pray. Only five or ten people (though not the same five or ten at each meeting) usually venture some contribution at first, but more gain boldness when a few have spoken. The majority of things "shared" are often requests for prayer on behalf of sick relatives or friends. Less commonly, someone may describe an upsetting situation in his own home: one teenage member once told the group that her mother was dating a heavy drinker, and that she and the other sons and daughters were afraid of him and worried about the relationship. Occasionally an international situation (e.g., the war in the Falkland Islands) or a community concern (e.g., Turning Point Ministries, an interdenominational lay ministry to youth which was launched in 1982 [see Tape 23, side B]) may be brought up, or someone may be engaged in "ministering the Gospel" to a nonchristian acquaintance, and request prayer for that person. Any of these concerns might draw forth "spiritual warfare" from members of the Cuffs' group ("we come against the lying spirit of Satan in that life, and we bind it in His mighty name" [Tape 46-5, side B]), but the Worship Centre strongly prefers supplication to aggression. Such concerns are often jettied down by the leader, who asks individuals to "take" the various requests. Heads are bowed, eyes are closed, and quiet prayer and praise rises and falls while one individual at a time (usually moving clockwise around the circle, not by design but for some unknown reason) prays aloud. There is no closing prayer for unspoken needs, as there is at the Marian Community's meetings; people simply begin to sigh, rustle and shift in their chairs a little, and the mood shifts to readiness for the leader's next move.

The body of the meeting is divided between discussion and more prayer. Discussion usually follows a thematic outline prepared in advance by the leader. Participants usually bring their Bibles and perhaps a notebook; discussion centres around a book of the Bible or some evangelical volume (C.S. Lewis's Mere Christianity, for example),³⁸ read at the rate of a chapter or so per week, or sometimes around a theme: how to worship God; how to exercise the evangelical concept of "stewardship" (rather than ownership) over material wealth. Individuals are often given xeroxed copies of questions for discussion which the leader has prepared. Personal interpretations and applications of Biblical concepts or passages are exchanged and debated. The second period of prayer, when it is included, is done in smaller groups: pairs, threes, or fours. Here people request prayer about, or simply talk over, personal problems they felt too shy to bring to the attention of the full group. Sometimes there are tears; prayer is often prolonged regardless of the leader's attempts to regather the participants for a final song and prayer.

Food is contributed to the meetings by one to six people, and often turns into quite a full meal at eleven o'clock or so. It is "blessed" with a nonformulaic grace (as in the Cuffs'), and served buffet style on the home's dining room table. Raw vegetables, home-made cookies, small sandwiches, cheese and crackers, and perhaps a hot dish of some sort (soup, chili, pizza), soft drinks, tea, and coffee are not unusual. The Worship Centre's membership includes far more couples and families than either of the other two, where only wife or husband often belongs to the group. More members have comfortable incomes as well, and it is primarily those who are both maritally

unified with regard to religion and financially secure who do the hosting and much of the cooking. People stand or sit about, talking and joking; for perhaps an hour or so before the meeting ends, in a less intimate form of the Cuffs' and Marian group's closing hour.

Pentecostal and Salvation Army tradition as I have observed it tends to classify Sunday mornings as primarily teaching, preaching, and worship services, with an emphasis on congregationally unified singing alternating with speech by one designated leader. This pattern has been largely retained in the Worship Centre: there as elsewhere, it is Sunday evenings which allow time for individual prayer at the altar, sharings, and the exercise of the charismata, though any of these may occasionally take place in the morning. Morning services end on "secular time": when the clock says twelve-thirty or twelve-forty-five, at the latest; evening services have a token formal ending at about eight-thirty, but people actually stop praying, singing, and sharing on "sacred time": that is, when they have finished, which may be nine or ten o'clock. This "afterservice," as it is called in Pentecostal and Methodist tradition in the area, is often the time in which the most change takes place in individual lives, as griefs are cried to a finish at the altar, spontaneous counseling sessions are conducted between congregation members, impressions of the service are exchanged, and the emotional bonds between participants are reaffirmed and used in mutual support and confidences.

One recent evening when Dr. Carl Hudson was leading the opening singing, choosing primarily nondenominational charismatic music, the service moved rapidly and deeply into joyful absorption. Several of the songs he chose had separate, harmonically blended lyrics and melodies to be sung by the men and by the women, or were to be sung as

rounds. These proliferate in North American charismatic music, and on this occasion the congregation obviously enjoyed them very much. Individuals could be heard inventing alto and tenor and soprano harmonies (which often seems to occur, there and in the other two groups, as transitional worship is giving way to full worship), and the congregation seemed to be singing with full volume. Between songs, for the first few minutes, Carl spoke briefly about their meaning for him, or about his own enjoyment of worshipping the Lord. Then he ceased to speak between songs; the congregation paused only long enough for the next lyrics to be placed on the overhead projector. They were standing. Hands began to lift to waist height, to shoulder height, over the head; palms cupped, eyes closed, faces peaceful. A vibrancy and beauty grew in their singing. At last they all stopped together, somehow deciding that it was time for the next thing to happen, though they did not seem to know what it would be. The silence was softened by murmured praises, none loud enough to distract anyone else, all individual volumes at the same level. They stood still, not ready to withdraw from contemplation.

Pastor Gene Clarke walked to the pulpit as Carl sat down. As absorbed as the congregation, he stood quietly, praising God as they were doing, for two or three minutes. A hush descended upon the group all at once, as if a volume knob were being turned down. Vicky Dawe, a young housewife standing two or three rows back from the front of the sanctuary, began to speak in prophecy, just loud enough to be heard by all. Her voice was trembling with emotion. She spoke in the first person, viewing herself as a "mouthpiece" for God, expressing His deep love for humanity and His longing that the people come to him individually, "in their spirits," so that He might bless and fill and heal them,

and make them radiant with His indwelling presence. When she fell silent after some five or six sentences, the soft murmur of praise began again as people thanked God for having spoken to them, and began to try to act on His message. (I knew that some present were dubious about prophetic speech and usually considered it humanly authored, but there was no tension in the air after Vicky spoke, perhaps because she had only prophesied once before, and was usually reticent and quiet; the freshness of her contribution may have encouraged belief in its inspiration.) Individuals were quietly absorbed in their own worship, peacefully aware that they were free to express their individuality within the unity of the congregation's attentive, contemplative mood. Pastor Gene placed the words of another song on the projector, and people, seeing the words, began to sing. Those whose eyes were shut joined in gradually.

As the people still stood, praising again after the song ended, Keith Collins began to sing "Gentle Shepherd,"³⁹ an invocative chorus addressed to Christ. The congregation joined him immediately: the words of the song seemed to please people and to express well what they were already thinking and feeling. The pastor looked at Keith, eyebrows raised, smiling: it was the next song he was about to place on the projector. As it was completed, he began to sing praise to God in English and in tongues, and others joined him, weaving improvised melodies around a tonic note. After three or four minutes of creative singing, they began to sit down and to open their eyes.

The pastor's sermon was on Exodus 40.36-38, which describes the way in which the Shekinah, the "cloud of glory," served as leader and guide during Israel's forty years in the wilderness. He commented

upon the lengthy, repetitive nature of the biblical text: the only passage in Exodus to reiterate a single idea in four or five consecutive sentences. He explained that it was reiterated because the concept of moving when God leads, and not moving when God does not lead, is crucial for believers in all times and places. He recalled his own experience while traveling with an evangelistic Christian group several years before, which attempted to follow this model. He remembered that members of the group would say to one another, "We were really flowing today, weren't we?" when they felt that they had been particularly successful in following the "cloud of glory." He encouraged the congregation to adopt this pattern in their own development as a church and in their behaviour during services. His voice rang clear and unusually confident. He told me afterward that, unlike his usual sermons, which take several days to write, this one had come to him "whole," while he was praying and asking God what He wanted said. "It just came. The scriptures for it and everything," he said wonderingly.

It was nearing nine o'clock as a last song ended and Pastor Gene prayed aloud for God's blessing upon the people as they went to their homes. Those with children waiting in the Sunday School rooms, with early Monday mornings to prepare for, or who simply felt ready to leave began to return to the strolling, conversational manner of arrivals and departures, standing in little groups toward the back of the sanctuary and in the foyer. Some ten to twenty remained, quiet in their seats or kneeling on the clear space of carpet before the platform. As the sanctuary grew quiet, the pastor and two or three members of the congregation moved toward those kneeling or standing at the front. Most were intent upon their individual interactions with God,

eyes closed, hands clasped, body stilled, brows drawn together and heads lowered. Some were sick, or had loved ones who were; others were pleading for strength and grace to cope with painful family situations; others were asking for divine guidance in decision-making. Some seemed to be holding back tears. A few, kneeling against the platform edge with their heads pillowed on their folded arms, were weeping quietly. As the pastor and the lay members moved independently among them, suppliant and supporter held whispered conferences; the one explaining what he was praying about; the other beginning to pray aloud for him while he murmured agreement, lifting his hands and head sometimes as he gained courage and hope. Those who felt freed of the need to pray about their own concerns turned to others, putting an arm about the waist or shoulders, asking about the need or simply praying in more general terms with and for them.

Lorne and Jill Rostotski stood with a young woman who was sobbing, her face hidden in her hands, her shoulders shaking. They stood facing her, Jill on her right, Lorne in front of her, holding her shoulders tenderly. Lorne prayed for her in a low voice, full of confidence and love; Jill praised God, half-listening to the prayer, half immersed in the joy of contemplation. The young woman's tears stopped slowly, and she also began to praise God. Lorne lifted his head, smiling upward, and the three laughed and sang as they relaxed in the certainty of answered prayer. On the other side of the room, Harold Andrews and Pastor Gene stood with another young woman. They leaned close as she explained what she was praying about; then closed their eyes, placing their hands upon her shoulders and forehead. She sighed suddenly and fell, her knees buckling under her. Somewhat startled,

they caught her awkwardly and lowered her to the floor, where she lay still as if asleep for about a minute while they stood near her, still praying. Then she got up, smiled at them, and sat down.

More and more people moved back to their chairs as Lorne, Jill, and their young friend continued to sing quietly, arms and faces lifted. Then they too sat down. After a few minutes of quiet, the young woman who had fallen stood up and said that she wanted to explain what had happened to her. She said that she had been praying about a "besetting sin": a recurrent temptation which she did her best to resist, but repeatedly gave in to. She said she had felt uncertain about how to approach God with the problem, and did not want to ask for "deliverance" from the necessity of exercising her will. She said that when Harold had laid his hand on her forehead and began to pray for her, she had felt great compassion and empathy in his manner, and that a force of some kind--God's spirit, she thought, which was able to "use" that compassion as a "channel"--had come from his hand and knocked her to the floor. It had seemed to enter her body and oust a deep tension or weight from her side--she touched her lower ribs--"as if God was doing surgery," "mending a crack in the walls" of her spiritual defenses through which Satan had been able to attack her. She said she was surprised by all of this and did not know quite what to make of it; that she expected to have to continue to exercise her will to resist the temptation, but that something healing and restoring had happened to her in the emotional and psychological sources of her vulnerability to it. Harold added that he was surprised also, and had known only that "God was going to use" him in some way that evening.

An older woman, who had wept for some time in prayer, stood and told the group that her sister had tried to commit suicide the week before, and that she felt overwhelmed and helpless to do much about the causes of her sister's act. She felt guilty and confused by her own rather useless response, and had struggled in prayer--she began to cry again, but controlled it and went on speaking--to gain the strength and wisdom she felt she should be able to offer her sister. The faces of the people listening were grave with pity as they turned toward her, listening. After another few minutes of quiet, Lorne spoke without standing, looking up at the ceiling, too shy to look at the others. He reminded the group of prophecy he had spoken in church the week before, and told them that he had hated to say it, because it had been comparatively critical of the group. (I remembered that he had said, "A cup or a vessel that has been cleaned on the outside is indeed clean--on the outside. . . . But you must come and allow Me to cleanse you within. . . .") He had felt obligated to speak it, but as the words formed in his mind and came out of his mouth he was afraid, and wished fervently that "the Lord had given that prophecy to someone else." "I've been in trouble here before," he said, remembering a year in which he was ostracized by several members of the church, who considered his use of the charismata excessive, "and I can't face it again. But what can I do? I have to obey God, like we all do." His eyes were full of tears.

Harold stood up and said, "I think we should pray for God to develop this church, and us as believers, the way He wants to--which might not be our way. Let's hold hands and pray for Him to lead us, shall we?" The group stood and moved together, forming a line across

the front of the sanctuary, and Harold prayed aloud. Someone began to sing, and all joined in as the prayer ended. As they went to their cars, calling goodnights, it was ten-thirty. They had been in church since six o'clock.

The Worship Centre, as its name was chosen to express, delights in the collective outpouring of love toward God, especially in song. Peace and happiness are never more clear upon the majority of faces than when one song leads effortlessly into another, as when Keith Collins started to sing "Gentle Shepherd,"³⁹ not knowing that the pastor had already chosen it and was about to put its lyrics on the overhead projector. Arms stretch high during such singing, and in the silences between songs is a rich peace unequaled at any other time. It is then, too, that the strange synchronization of individual actions described by Don Cuff takes place; that is when several people are likely to know, and to comment afterwards that they knew, when an inspired utterance of some kind is being silently "given" to some silent participant. I have seen the Worship Centre wait three to five minutes, hushed under the tangible Presence charismatics often call the Shekinah or cloud of glory, for the utterance to be spoken. Then, too, is when sharings take on the self-revelatory vulnerability of the older women's tears, or of Lorna's. Here it is not loving one another "in the Lord," nor watching the charismata in action, which brings the deepest response from the greatest number of people, but shared absorption in the adoration of God.

Some members of the St. John's charismatic community are able to enjoy all three of these groups, with their varying emphases upon and responses to movable elements of charismatic ritual. Others

respond well only to certain emphases: some Worship Centre members have commented to me that they find the affection of the Marian Community cloyingly sweet: "it is too centred upon the emotions of the human individual for their taste. Some members of the Cuffs' group consider the Worship Centre lacking in the charismata, and have expressed great frustration with the congregation's failure to be moved and motivated strongly by them. Some Marian Community members find the other two lacking in demonstrations of love, or are a little overwhelmed by their comparatively strong doses of charismata and of worship. Basically, some members of each group consider the others' focus upon its chosen movable elements excessive, though the elements themselves are shared.

Each of these stressed movable elements evokes a complex cluster of emotions and motivations, which both help to evoke and to characterize *communitas*. As noted above, the chosen element is considered more fully inspired, a more direct sign of God's influence, than are other movable elements. Each is also considered especially pleasing to God: an especially important way to "move with the Spirit." In the Worship Centre, praise is often felt to be a consummate form of communion with God; at the Cuffs', to "move in the Gifts" or "minister the Gifts" is often responded to in the same way. At the Marian Community, I have heard people quote the song "They'll Know We Are Christians by Our Love"⁴⁰ in serious conversation, viewing this as the prime identifying trait to be trusted in others and sought for oneself. While all the groups value (and exhibit) all these elements in their meetings, those which lift or plunge people most effectively into *communitas* and flow are moving and meaningful on several levels and for several reasons.

The Purposes of Ritual: Communitas in Context

Turner argues that the fostering of *communitas* is only one of three purposes inherent in much of religious ritual. The other two are (1) the communication of sacred ideas, emotions, and experiences through exposure to sacred objects, actions, processes, etc., and (2) "ludic recombination" of various elements of culture. The "communication of the sacra," Turner says, is "the heart of the liminal matter":

Through it in active ritual systems it is believed that those undergoing the rites will change their nature, be transformed from one kind of human being to another. In liminality, instruction is given by ritual specialists or cognoscenti that converts potential understanding into real gnosis. . . . Adepts and elders teach neophytes the main outlines of the theogony, cosmogony, and mythical history of their societies or cults. Usually with reference to the sacra exhibited [as objects or actions]. Often the most sacred things shown, most sacred dance dramas, form a central cluster of ideas, images, feelings, and rhythmic interactions which constitute a kind of symbolic template or master pattern for the communication of a culture's most cherished beliefs, ideas, values, and sentiments.⁴¹

While charismatic prayer meetings are not rites of passage in themselves, experienced once in a lifetime, they are intended, and often believed, to facilitate transformation "from one kind of human being to another." When individuals are prayed with, as in the Cuffs' meeting described above, transformation may be felt to be immediate and perhaps momentous, but the act of worship itself is sometimes considered a means of furthering, a small amount at a time, an ongoing transformation. Any form or instance of focusing attention upon God makes it especially easy, charismatics often feel, for Him to teach, heal, reprove, encourage, direct, and "fill" the individual or the group. In this sense, the entire prayer meeting, in all three groups, is suffused with the expectation of "communication of the sacra" by God. The "word gifts" are one form in which this divine communication

is believed to take place. Teaching is often considered less supernatural, but still an important form of sacral communication: The sermons at the Worship Centre's services, and the prepared themes for discussion at Prayer and Share; Don's Bible studies; and the "teachings" sometimes prepared for the Marian Community are intended to instruct others in the ways of God, or to increase their understanding of various issues involved in appropriate behaviour as a member of the "society or cult." The teaching is always done during the central part of the meeting, perhaps temporally framed by song, prayer, and praise to emphasize its sacredness.

One of the paradoxes of charismatic culture here is that, while belief in the "priesthood of all believers" (as the local phrase goes) is very strong, and the involvement of the clergy very minimal, each group has a few individuals who are looked to as "ritual specialists or elders" of one kind or another. The prime ability which evokes the response of respect and affection given to these individuals is the ability to teach: to present biblical material, primarily, in an understandable, useful, and inspiring manner.⁴² The secondary characteristics valued in each group reflect, to some extent, the general pattern already discussed: kindness and warmth are attractive and impressive to Marian members; the ability to "move in the Gifts" to members of the Caffa' group; and sincere and joyful absorption in praise to Worship Centre members. That which inspires in a meeting also inspires when it is seen in the character of an individual. There is, of course, a good deal of overlap here, and teaching ability is respected even if the secondary trait most desired is not especially in evidence all the time. In an important sense, all the groups respond essentially to

the sense of divine Presence "in" an individual as a sign that he "knows" God in a trustworthy way. These secondary characteristics are, more or less, the indicators of that Presence which are most frequently remarked upon by group members.

It often happens that single individuals have two or three of the traits stressed in each group, and draw the response of respect and affection from various people for various reasons. Pastor Gene Clarke, for example, is warm and kind as well as sensitive to the charismata, and joyfully contemplative in the praise of God. The same is true of Don Cuff, Father Phil Lewis and Father Gerry Tingley. In these cases, the importance of the stressed traits to members of the three groups is often discernible in the reasons they voice for liking and respecting these individuals. In other cases, the reasons people give for not liking and respecting leaders of other groups often reflect the priorities typical of their own group. However, I do not mean to paint this picture with a wide brush. The priorities are subtle and variable, and it is because they are that members of the three groups can do as much intermingling as they do.

"Ludic recombination" is often exemplified, in anthropological writings on religion, in rituals of reversal or celebrations involving artifacts—which are, at least in St. John's, hardly involved in charismatic ritual at all. (Even Bibles are usually treated fairly casually. The Word is sacred, but not the paper it is printed on.) Turner explains:

In communicating the sacra, ludic recombination comes into play. Such recombination may itself be traditional, . . . or it may be spontaneous, as in changing or large-scale, complex societies . . . exaggerations or distortions of reality may be regarded as religious mysteries; . . . [or] they may serve the

purposes of caricature, satire, or lampoonery. In both cases they encourage liminaries to ponder. For when elements are withdrawn from their usual settings and recombined in totally unique configurations, . . . those exposed to them are startled into thinking anew about persons, objects, relationships, social roles, and features of their environment hitherto taken for granted. (p. 205)

There is ludus, play, on many levels in local charismatic meetings. Their margins and interstices, before, after, and between period of prayer, praise, song, and discussion, are often filled with laughter. Laughter can be part of these four activities as well: occasionally individuals at the Cuffs' or the Marian Community have referred to "laughing in the Spirit" as an expression of "heavenly joy," and the children in the Worship Centre's Sunday School classes learn a song containing the lines:

Ho, ho, ho, hosanna
Ha, ha, halleluia.
Hee, hee, hee, He saved me;⁴³
I've got the joy of the Lord.

Joy, which may be expressed by charismatics in the form of laughter, is considered an important sign of religious sincerity--or, in native terms, "a real relationship with the Lord." People laugh at prayer meetings about their own faults, about small fears and foolish things they have done, and out of pure festive spirit--as was, for example, the case during the time of dance at the Marian Community meeting described above. People occasionally laugh with relief during prayer, if they somehow "sense" that the prayer will be answered. Tongues--which could perhaps be called a "ludic recombination" of vocal sounds⁴⁴--can evoke happy laughter from the speaker, particularly as the ability is "received" for the first time; being "slain in the Spirit" can be accompanied by laughter as well.

In a sense, ludic recombination is quite basic to the transformational process which prayer meeting attendance is supposed to foster. Mrs. Jan Adams of the Worship Centre led several Prayer and Share discussions during the fall of 1982 on various biblical paradoxes involved in this transformation, and I have heard other charismatics comment on most of these at one time or another. The concept of symbolic death (through baptism) as a gateway to eternal life is probably the most universally familiar of the biblical paradoxes, but others commented upon by local charismatics include the related concepts of divine power "made perfect" in human weakness (2 Corinthians 2.19), and of losing one's life as a way of finding it (Luke 9.24). This cluster of ideas is, in effect, a separation of western cultural concepts of strength and security from their usual sources, and their association with qualities which are normally considered their opposites: death leads to life; weakness brings power; losing results in finding. "Lose yourself in me, and you will find yourself," says a Marian Community song;⁴⁵ "Finding more power than I'd ever dreamed, I'm learning to lean on Jesus," says one at the Cuffs.⁴⁶

In an important and emically recognized sense, being "slain in the Spirit" is an active demonstration, or metaphor, of this dying and losing. The fall is usually caused by a sensation of acute physical weakness, which lasts for five to ten minutes, and is apparently quite pleasant, if rather puzzling at first. One Marian Community member described it to me as "a form of submission to a power greater than what you are" (Tape 48-1, Side A). Though I have three times seen it happen to people who had never seen or heard of it and were completely surprised to find themselves on the floor, everyone I have spoken to has enjoyed the experience thoroughly, being especially

pleased by the "ludic recombination" of the feelings of helplessness and safety.

Ludic recombination thus plays a crucial role in the "communication of the sacra" through exposure to sacred actions and experiences. Speaking in tongues, Don and Linda Cuff and Joyce Senior have commented, involves separating the thinking mind from the speaking mouth, and reorganizing their relationship (f.n. 2/2/83); being "slain in the Spirit" is a kind of object lesson in finding safety in letting go; and victory in giving in to God (cf. Tape 48-1, side A). It also plays a crucial role in the "communication of the sacra" which is done through verbal instruction. As is the case with the Hopi boys' initiation ceremony, in which the discovery that the Kachinas are "really" men in costume, rather than deities in bodily form, is an important part of the ritual process, so charismatics are often instructed in the recognition and acceptance of the humanness of prayer meetings.⁴⁷ Rick Callahan, during his period of leadership on the pastoral team of the Marian Community, commented to me that people who do not learn this lesson may be too credulous, accepting every prophecy as genuine and expecting spiritual perfection from every charismatic (f.n. 5/28/81). Don Cuff is also at pains to make sure that fallibility is recognized. On one occasion, when Joyce Senior criticized something he had said to the group, he answered, "Be patient with us baymen who've only been at this a year or so. You're forty years old in the Lord!" There was a general smile (f.n. 2/2/83). Pastor Gene Clarke, Mrs. Rosemary Rose of the Marian Community pastoral team, Father Phil Lewis, and Mrs. Jan Adams also point out their own fallibility, laughingly or seriously, from time to time. Like the Hopi boys,

charismatics are supposed to learn to combine belief in the "real" presence of God with recognition of the "real" frailty and foolishness of human beings. Much teaching time is spent, not only on discussion of the fallibility of leaders, but of the humanity of charismatic groups in general. One of the teachers' most constant efforts is to keep the two views of reality in a workable balance; to prevent disillusionment or inflated concepts of self and community.

It is upon the successful achievement of this balance that the success of the prayer meetings depends. Those who do not learn to accept the human element in religious ritual are unwilling to enact the behaviours which result spontaneously from *communitas* and flow, but also help to evoke them. They will not lift their arms, for example, unless and until they are absorbed in the joy of worship; therefore it is more difficult for them to achieve that absorption. "Don't wait for God to touch you. You touch God," a visiting pastor once admonished the Worship Centre (f.n. 5/22/83). Lorne Rostotski once commented in exasperation that people expect God to "hit them over the head" when they pray for baptism in the Holy Spirit (Tape 49, side A). Acting, rather than waiting for God to act, is often recommended by "elders" as a valuable key to what can become profound spiritual experiences, and also a source of balance in religious life. "If we only praised Him when things were going right, we wouldn't praise Him very much," Rosemary Rose pointed out to the Marian Community on one occasion (Tape 36, side A). It is one of charismatic culture's paradoxes, in which groups are often instructed by their leaders, that thanks and praise come first; reception of blessings often comes second. Pastor Gene Clark commented during one sermon:

We celebrate the Lord and His goodness when we come together. It is to bless Him; to praise Him. We are the performers, and He is the audience. We often come to watch what God's going to do. . . . But when He blesses us, He wants us to bless Him and others. . . . We need to give God our best; the best He has given us. (f.n. 4/24/83)

Confidently doing without *communitas*, then, is one of the best ways of bringing it about.

Particularly for those who have grasped the dual "reality" of charismatic worship, but in many ways for other participants as well, there is play and performance in a charismatic meeting. Worship is a form of cultural performance in that it is considered serious (indeed, as John Mercer sometimes quoted from the Scottish Catechism, it is "man's chief end . . . to glorify God and to enjoy Him forever"), yet it is also fun. Participation implies artistry in singing and inventing melodies for verbal praise in English or in tongues; in adopting the graceful and expansive postures of raising the arms and opening the palms upward; in composing spontaneous prayers for God's listening ear and, sometimes, for others to enjoy. It is performance in that it involves the assumption of a kind of role: an enactment of the "heavenly" identity which many believe they will live in permanently after death or the Second Coming. The role is a true portrayal of the self from the native point of view, but it is nevertheless an enacted self: an articulation of that which is often not articulated during the business of daily life: a stressing of that which is often unstressed; a suspension of foci and concerns which are temporal and therefore temporary; a drawing of the eternal into the world of time. Charismatics sometimes cite heavenly visions in the Bible (in Isaiah 6.1-4 and Revelation 4.8, to take an example from a Worship Centre sermon [f.n. 9/14/80]) which describe the hosts of Heaven praising God;

singing, and raising their hands in worship. "John and Isaiah saw what was being done in Heaven," said John Mercer, "and told it to us on earth." One of the Worship Centre's songs comes from this passage in Revelation, putting the words of the heavenly host into the mouths of the people:

Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts;
 Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts;
 The whole earth is full of His glory,
 The whole earth is full of His glory,
 The whole earth is full of His glory,
 Holy is the Lord.⁴⁸

Worship seen in this light can be experienced as an activity beyond time: an action which gives continuity between earth and heaven; between experience before and after death.

Thus the recombination of cultural elements is one important dimension of the ludic in charismatic ritual, but it is not the only dimension. Imagination and fantasy, projection into the future beyond death, the suspension of the everyday time-sense, and the simple entry into somewhat altered, creative states of community feeling and individual absorption in intrinsically rewarding activity are also ludic. The simple normality of such affects and effects in sacred ritual is argued in Johann Huizinga's Homo Ludens:

In the form and function of play, . . . man's consciousness that he is embedded in a sacred order of things finds its first, highest, and holiest expression. . . . The ritual act has all the formal characteristics of play [order, tension, movement, change, solemnity, rhythm, rapture] which we enumerated above, particularly in so far as it transports the participants to another world. . . . God alone is worthy of supreme seriousness, but man is made God's plaything, and that is the best part of him.⁴⁹

This does not trivialize charismatic ritual, nor does it define its "real" purposes as cathartic or escapist. Sacredness and play are old companions--at least as old as sacredness and solemnity. The

Sanskrit term lila, divine play, can be used to describe the creativity of Brahman; the experience of one who has attained the highest state of religious consciousness (Nirvana) or is in a state of bliss (samadhi); or the proper attitude of the devotee engaged in the creative arts of worship, chanting the names and attributes of a deity or arranging garlands to honour its image. The tremendous proliferation of the arts in the sacred contexts of numerous cultures, which has produced the multisensory richness of the liturgy, the geometric patterns on the walls of mosques, illuminated manuscripts, and elaborate masks, points to the near-universality of playful aspects in cultural religious attitudes. Daniel W. Patterson's placement of early American Methodist and Baptist camp meetings, with their raising of hands, their sacred song and dance, their trembling and falling under the influence of "holy jerks," in the context of celebratory religion in general is significant for the interpretation of charismatic meetings also.⁵⁰

Among active ritual systems, the occurrence of highly enjoyable, non-pathological states such as *communitas* and flow is nothing unusual; if they seem aberrant to us, it is perhaps because we are unused to active ritual systems. Evans-Pritchard has suggested that the whole direction of theory in the anthropology of religion has been strongly influenced by the barrenness of many anthropologists' personal religious experience.⁵¹ A good deal of scholarship interprets religion as a source of illusions about the world rather than as a way of making sense out of it; joy has probably been interpreted as catharsis, or flow as dissociation, quite frequently, because the spectacle of religion in which people experience union with one another and with their sacred realities is foreign and appears "abnormal."

Only in recent years have folklorists and symbolic anthropology begun to distrust interpretations of religious ritual which conflict with, or ignore, the perspectives of participants, and begun to treat active religious rituals as the wine of the people instead of their opiate.⁵²

Conclusion

The view of charismatic rituals presented here must be understood in the context of this last point, for it differs from many previous views in a way that finds its justification in this cross-cultural perspective on celebration and ecstasy. Charismatic ritual here is frequently, and powerfully, shot through with experiences and perceptions that have no names in standard English. The intense *communitas* of love in the Marian meeting, the sensations of anointing and the disappearance of physical symptoms, and the "words of knowledge," in the Cuffs' meeting, and the "slaying in the Spirit" there and at the Worship Centre; the sharp rise in synchronization between the activities and perceptions of individuals at the Worship Centre and described by Don Cuff; the sense of personal divine Presence described by Liz O'Brien, are not at all unusual among local prayer meetings and services. These data argue that previous interpretations of religious ritual in charismatic and Pentecostal settings may have overstressed the role of belief in producing observed religious behaviour and reports of individual experience: to speak of all religious experiences as produced by ritual expectation and belief is like attributing all medical cures to the placebo effect. The tendency among scholars to focus upon the enactment of metaphor, or the aesthetic awakening of emotions and expectations, in the interpretation of tongue-speaking, religious healing, vocal praise, and other features of such rituals

perhaps should be broadened to include attention to religious experience on its own terms. William James has done so in his discussions of mystics; it is perhaps because, as Greeley pointed out, we thought mystics were a lot rarer than they are that we have failed to do so in our studies of religious folklife generally.⁵³ James commented:

The deliciousness of some of these states seems to be beyond anything known in ordinary consciousness. It evidently involves organic sensibilities, . . . But it is too subtle and piercing a delight for ordinary words to denote. God's touches, the wounds of his spear, references to ebriety and to nuptial union have to figure in the phraseology by which it is shadowed forth. Intellect and senses both swoon away in the highest states of ecstasy. . . . One must read St. Teresa's descriptions and the very exact distinctions which she makes, to persuade one's self that one is dealing, not with imaginary experiences, but with phenomena which, however rare, follow perfectly definite psychological types.⁵⁴

In view of Greeley's research findings and the data presented in this and following chapters, the social scientific study of religion might do well to increase its use of the electroencephalograph; of phenomenological descriptions of experience; and of James.

This view of charismatic ritual thus stands in opposition to two points of view common in published studies: one, that behaviour is to be understood solely in terms of enacted metaphor's power to move the emotions; two, that the occurrence of experience as well as metaphor in that which moves and convinces necessarily defines charismatic Christianity as a pathological or aberrant form of religion. It argues that belief, experience, and ritual structures should be treated as interactive elements in a total system, without the presupposition that one derives entirely from another. It argues that charismatics in St. John's experience phenomena which are unusual in western culture, but are far from unique among the world's religious systems. If these phenomena are imaginary and/or pathological, it will have to be

demonstrated: they occur in the lives of people who appear, in general, to be as happy and healthy as anyone else. (Greeley argued that those with frequent mystical experiences, especially the "twiceborn" experiences discussed in the following chapter, were happier and healthier than most.⁵⁴)

Religious experience and ritual structures are here presented in a kind of symbiotic relationship, in which each complements and gives context to the other. Turner has argued that there is no true spontaneity without a repertoire of structures upon which to draw;⁵⁵ the activities of flow and *communitas* described in his work and in that of Csikszentmihalyi involve blending and balancing of freedom and pattern in activity which is, I would argue, significantly similar to that of charismatic ritual. The effectiveness of a given pattern or ritual structure in allowing flow to occur for particular individuals, or *communitas* for particular groups, is dependent upon personality and culture: a surgeon, Csikszentmihalyi points out, will not necessarily "get off" on mountain climbing, though it too is a flow activity for some people.⁵⁶ A Muslim pilgrim present at an occurrence of *communitas* among Christian pilgrims might well not be able to "enter in" to the experience, and might perhaps not even recognize it as similar to his own experiences of *communitas* (though sometimes it "translates" across cultures quite well). It may be that the success or failure of charismatic ritual structures to allow flow to occur, or of individuals to "enter in" to *communitas* in charismatic ritual settings, is a powerful determinant of who joins charismatic groups and who does not. The specific kinds of religious affect and experience (love, power, praise) which individuals most cherish, or the specific variations of charismatic

ritual structure which best produce flow for them, may likewise be important in determining which group is chosen by individual charismatics as their primary or exclusive "home." This is especially important in the context of the mystical experiences more specific and detailed than *communitas* and flow, for there are plenty of people in St. John's and elsewhere who have had such experiences, once or often, yet do not "get off" on charismatic prayer meetings. (Greeley, for example, makes no mention of charismatics in his study of mystical experience.) Thus it is not true that ritual structures produce or evoke all such experiences, but it may well be that prayer meetings, like other autotelic activities, develop in various styles according to what best facilitates *communitas* and flow for the individuals that shape them.

CHAPTER III

CONVERSION, SPIRITUAL BAPTISM, AND ANOINTING

Clifford Geertz's definition of religion, used throughout this study, describes it essentially as a system of meaning which is, for those who hold it, firmly knitted to reality: emotionally moving, intellectually convincing, logically consistent with what is experienced in the natural and cultural world. It is part of what makes life make sense, by providing interpretations of what might otherwise appear to be random, and even wantonly cruel, events. It provides a satisfying affective context for life as well, defining virtues and weaknesses, ultimate purposes and basic orientations. Victor and Edith Turner point out that many linguists derive the Latin *religio* from *religare*, "to bind fast."¹ Religion is one of the social bonds which create a sense of community among those who share it, and it does this in a number of ways: by contributing to the significance of seasons, through holidays and the annual recollection of myths; by shaping the rites of passage and the roles of age-groups which give meaning to the life cycle; by involving men in public ceremony and celebration in which shared beliefs and values are expressed and affirmed. Religion also creates a private bond between the individual and his world, for myth presents a picture of man's relationship to the distant past and the far future, to lightning and stars, to women, to suffering, to sensual delights, to supernatural benevolence and hostility, and to death. Geertz's definition of religion focuses on how it moves and convinces; on why its bonds do not break more often than they do.

This chapter presents three primary ties which bind religious belief to experience in charismatic culture: becoming "born again" or "converted," undergoing the baptism in or release of the Holy Spirit, and receiving divine "anointing." Each of the three is, in part, a belief; each is also an experience which can have powerful, apparently sensory components, and each has some amount of ritual associated with it. The proportions of belief, experience, and ritual vary enormously in individual cases. Experience can and frequently does precede exposure to the beliefs; it can also take place outside of charismatic gatherings and without ritual of any kind. Ritual can also be considered efficacious without experience, or belief without ritual. In the case of conversion, for example, an individual may kneel by his bed at home, alone, and pray somewhat tentatively that Christ might forgive his sins and become his Saviour. Some of my acquaintances have reported intense mystical experiences resulting from such prayers.² Another individual may repeat a prayer of conversion as a speaker leads it in a Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship meeting, have no mystical experience, and yet be considered as genuinely "born again" as the first man. A third might pray with a charismatic friend, in a nonritual setting and in his own fumbling words, have no mystical experience, and this kind of conversion too would be accepted by the charismatic community as genuine. In these three cases, and as similar variations occur in the baptism of the Holy Spirit and anointing, it is the experiencer's own judgement which is usually accepted as the test of validity, whatever the proportions of belief, experience, and ritual may have been. The point is that being born again, Spirit-filled, and anointed are not classifiable as beliefs, or as experiences, or as

rituals: they are all of these. That is one of the reasons why they knit religion and reality together, and why the "moods and motivations" associated with them "seem uniquely realistic."

These three cultural elements are dealt with in sequence in this chapter, and form important groundwork for the discussion of the charismata and of religious healing which follow in Chapters IV and V. All of these topics are closely woven together--as beliefs, as experiences, and as ritual-related activities. All of them are phenomena which have often been misunderstood. It is particularly common--both in the casual conversations I have heard in St. John's among non-charismatics and in social scientific literature--for them to be perceived only in terms of ritual enactment, or of ill-founded belief. While I am not about to argue that St. John's charismatics hold a set of beliefs and rituals which are more objectively realistic than those of other cultural groups, I do argue that the significances of ritual and the grounds of belief among Pentecostals and charismatics in general have been given far less rigorous examination than is necessary if these forms of religious folklife are to be understood. One of the major purposes of these three chapters, devoted to cultural elements in which specific kinds of personal (and often sensory) experience are intertwined with ritual and belief, is to provide the kind of data I feel is lacking in many social scientific studies of Pentecostals and charismatics. That is, data on the informants' data: what convinces an individual that he has been born again; that he has been filled with the Holy Spirit; that divine power and Presence are upon him? What does he mean, in detail, when he says he has been delivered from a demon? What kind of evidence is he using to determine that such an event has taken place?

A number of folklorists--among them Kenneth S. Goldstein, Michael Owen Jones, David Hufford, and Lauri Honko--have wrestled with the problems inherent in the study of belief. Goldstein has pointed out that it varies in strength; Hufford has described it as "much less a 'thing' than an attribute of things," which ill fits a generic scheme of classification for elements of culture.³ Jones has pointed out that beliefs are often expressed as--and may even be said to consist of--things people do rather than things people say.⁴ Honko's studies of supernatural beliefs, with their detailed attention to the personal experiences which often support them, emphasize the importance of studying belief as both causes and results of things people do and say, rather than as independent, free-floating mentifacts⁵ which is simply "there" in the worldview of an individual or a group.⁶ In this study, as explained above, even the term or category of "beliefs" distorts and oversimplifies ethnographic reality. If I were to classify anointing, for example, as a belief, I would be forced to classify headaches as beliefs as well, for anointing is often perceived, wholly or in part, with the body's normal senses of temperature, touch, and movement. If being "born again" is a belief, then so is falling in love, which is the phenomenon most frequently used for comparisons when local charismatics have attempted to describe it for me or for others when I have been present. The category cannot be used to classify these cultural elements without creating more epistemological problems than it solves. They contain elements of belief, but the concept of belief is not sufficient to contain them.

Conversion

Little scholarly work has been done on the phenomena of being "born again" and anointing. The ground is untrampled; it is still possible to lay a foundation of thorough description before explanations and interpretations are offered. This is not the case, however, with "born-again" conversion. It has been discussed as part of the wider topic of religious conversion in general by a number of social scientists--by implication, if not by direct statement, for conversions are often treated as much of a muchness, whether the concept of second birth is involved or not.⁷ The definition of "conversion" is fundamental in the discussion of any religious folk group which is entered by this means, for in defining the mode of entry one often implies much about the group being entered. For example, many social scientists regard conversion as a response to rapid and upsetting social change, in the role of the individual or, in the case of widespread conversions, in a society. This implies that the groups joined are also best understood as responding to social change. This perspective lends a certain insignificance to whatever other motives for joining, or conceptions of the group, members may voice--such as religious motives and conceptions. Some attention to the concept of conversion being used here therefore precedes the discussion of local data.

This preliminary discussion of conversion as a concept is also necessary because the study uses Geertz's definition of religion, which does not really attend to the phenomenon of conversion. It defines religion as a settled aspect of cultural ethos and worldview, and explains why and how it is experienced as "uniquely realistic." It does not attend to the beginnings and endings of a religion's power to

convince. What can cause an individual's (or a whole society's) sense of meaning to cleave from experience? How do an alternative religion's meanings, moods, and motivations come to seem "uniquely realistic"? While charismatic religion is not utterly alien to the beliefs which many local people held before they adopted it, it is something of a change for everyone. At the least, it involves some separation of religious style from religious content, and in many cases the redefinition of elements in both. For those who had believed that the age of miracles and other tongues is long past, it involves a redefinition of the possible. For those who were basically atheistic, in the privacy of their own minds, before something made an empty cross and a descending dove become important information about the real world, the change is as radical as the scientific shift from geocentric to heliocentric astronomy. On an individual level, it reorganizes basic perceptions and procedures for understanding the cosmos, altering basic relationships between self and world. For the study of a religious folk group composed entirely of people who used to believe something else, it is not enough to explain how religion satisfies and convinces. One must also explain why people can and do change their religious lives around.

Sociologist Max Heirich conducted a study of an ecumenical-charismatic group (the Word of God Community in Ann Arbor, Michigan) in 1977, in which he proposed a definition of conversion which accords well with Geertz's definition of religion. Heirich compared a sample group of charismatics with a control group chosen from the university, high school, seminary, convent, and general community populations from which the charismatics came, measuring the incidence of high personal stress, upward social mobility, major shifts in social role, and middle

siblinghood--all previously posited as significant factors in religious conversion--in both groups. He found that those who had joined the charismatic group did not show a higher incidence of any of these characteristics than did the control group. On the basis of these findings, Heirich challenged the sufficiency of previous social scientific understandings of what conversion is, and defined it as a change in the "sense of ultimate grounding--one that provides a clear basis for understanding reality, that provides meaning and orientation for understanding one's situation and acting in relation to it."⁸ He argued:

As I see it, the interesting questions about conversion are not who will change (as socialization and stress arguments imply) or when they will change (as the arguments about immediate social influence imply). Rather, they are the following:

1. What circumstances destroy clarity about root reality (both for individuals and for collectivities)?
2. How is an alternative sense of grounding asserted in ways that lead various observers to take it seriously? What ingredients must it have? What must it be able to do? How is it brought to their attention? Under what circumstances will an alternative sense of root reality become widely shared?

An attempt to answer these questions would tie the study of conversion more closely to the growing body of literature that treats religion less as "systems of truth" than as efforts to discover a ground of being that orients and orders experience more generally. (p. 673)

The primary focus of this study is upon the workings of charismatic Christianity as a cultural system; space does not permit a detailed analysis of factors involved in individuals' adoptions of that system. I have asked about factors such as personal crises or periods of depression, changes in social role, and modes of exposure to charismatic Christianity prior to joining, and about family backgrounds, in my basic interviews with charismatics, and the results support Heirich's contention that no single factor of a demographic or social-psychological kind can be convincingly correlated with this particular change in "root reality." Moreover, local charismatics are relatively unified in the

sense of root reality they have come to, but quite diverse in those they have come from. Since the transitions which have brought them together are not the same, there is little reason to expect that the processes involved in those transitions should be uniform. In addition, there are various religious styles and emphases available within the local charismatic community, as has been demonstrated in the foregoing chapters: people can be convinced and moved primarily by the love, or the power, or the praise of God found in particular prayer-groups. There are many reasons for coming, for staying, and, of course, for leaving. Thus I do not intend to answer Heirich's questions—fascinating as they are—in this study; but to use them as "an alternative sense of grounding" for the subject of conversion itself.

The term "conversion" poses some complicated semantic problems, beginning with the fact that the term is rarely used by local charismatics. Instead, they speak of two events, or one process and one event, by which they became charismatics. The first, which may be sudden or gradual, momentous or minor in its impact upon the individual, involves the beginning of personal belief in Christ as Saviour. Some individuals I have spoken with cannot remember a time when they did not hold this belief. Others grew up holding it, as it were, in theory, but it "became real," as they sometimes put it, during a period of time which may range from minutes to years. When this beginning of belief happens because of, or apparently results in, or is accompanied by a mystical experience of encounter with the divine, local people may refer to it as a "conversion experience" or a "born-again experience." So "be converted," as I have heard local charismatics use the term, always refers to the beginning of belief in Christ, whether it is purely an intellectual decision, or has experiential components.

The second event (which is always an event and not a process which develops gradually over time, as local people speak of it) is baptism in the Holy Spirit, or the release of the Spirit. As explained by Reverend Joseph Burton in his narrative of spiritual baptism, quoted in Chapter I, it is often felt that the Holy Spirit enters the believer, with Christ, at the time of conversion, and is somehow set free to work in and through the individual to a greater extent through "baptism" or "release." Both conversion and spiritual baptism can occur with or without ritual settings, and may or may not involve powerful mystical experiences, for the core of both is generally considered an "acceptance by faith" of something God is offering to all people.

To become a Christian, charismatic style, is to "accept Jesus as your personal Saviour," or to "ask Jesus into your heart" (a definition shared with many evangelicals). With the partial exception of Roman Catholic charismatics, denominational affiliation does not enter into the concept of conversion at all: charismatics tend to feel that individuals should allow God to guide them to a particular local church, and that others have no right (or ability) to recommend membership in one denomination over another. When "altar calls" are given in charismatic services or meetings (as they are, for example, at the Worship Centre and at the monthly breakfasts held by Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship), no mention is made of "sinners" or of "salvation" in most cases. Instead, the speaker may say: "If you're here today and you don't know Jesus, and you would like to, you can come [to the front, or raise your hand] now while we are singing, and ask Him into your heart." Sometimes specific mention is made of individuals who have been churchgoers and have not "known Jesus personally," and people who view themselves as

belonging to this category do frequently come forward. On some occasions, the entire congregation's eyes are shut, and only a single leader, amid total silence, watches as individuals raise a hand to indicate their desire to become Christians. Often, conversion takes place outside ritual settings, in the course of private conversation between a charismatic and an individual who feels that he does not "know Jesus," or in solitude.

The cultural stress upon "knowing Jesus" and "asking Jesus into one's heart" in the concept of conversion is directly related to the nature of the conversion experience in charismatic culture. While purely rational and only mildly experiential conversions are both common and culturally acceptable, what is called a "born-again experience" frequently accompanies the decision to seek personal, permanent, intimate relationship with Christ, and serves as a common kind of evidence to the individual that such a relationship has, in some empirical sense, been established. The timing, duration, and precise nature of the experience is quite an individual matter, but its common features include feelings of deep peace, of being loved and filled with love, of joy and wonder, and a sense of divine Presence. This Presence may seem to hold the individual (one man spoke of being "tossed on ocean waves of love" [f.n. 9/18/78, Oregon]), surround him, descend upon him like the "cloud of glory" sometimes experienced by groups during worship, or seem to enter his being and remain there. It may be accompanied by feelings of cleansing from guilt or various "dark" persistent moods and thoughts, or by feelings of release from the control of past habits (even physical addictions to drugs, cigarettes, or alcohol are occasionally said to have disappeared). The metaphor of rebirth or second birth is sometimes used to refer to the psychological reorientation experienced when the "really

real" undergoes redefinition, or the individual feels he has a new relation to the "really-real" because of his conversion. At other times it is used to refer to these emotional feelings of cleansing. Often, references to Christ entering the heart may have some reference to physical or quasi-physical sensations, difficult for local people to describe except in highly metaphorical terms.

I would argue that charismatic and evangelical definitions of conversion, and the experiences linked with them, can be usefully placed in the cross cultural category of "twiceborn" mystical experiences; rather than the category of religious conversion *per se*. When I have heard charismatics in St. John's and elsewhere describe experiential dimensions of conversion—that is, when individuals have said that they felt the transition from "unsaved" to "saved" take place, their descriptions have accorded well with Andrew Greeley's summary of the traits found in mystical descriptions of "twiceborn" experiences. Greeley developed this summary as a means of distinguishing between questionnaire respondents whose descriptions of mystical experience could be interpreted as consisting simply of "heightened emotion," and those which "fit the classic descriptions of ecstasy."⁹ A factor analysis of the responses yielded a cluster which did indeed fit the "classic descriptions," including passivity (the feeling that one is not creating the experience oneself, but is "receiving" it); ineffability or indescribability; a "sense of new life" following the experience; and "the experience of being bathed in light" (p. 77). He found that those who reported three or four of these factors in their mystical experiences also reported having them more frequently than those who reported one, two, or none of these factors, and that there was an extremely high correlation between psychological wellbeing and this "twiceborn" type

of mystical experience. In fact, those who reported these factors were more likely than any other questionnaire respondents to appear happy and psychologically healthy (pp. 79-81).

There are, moreover, good reasons to view the whole cultural element of "born-again" or twiceborn conversion (and not just the intensely experiential conversions of individuals) in the context of twiceborn mysticism. When I have been present at charismatic gatherings when such experiential conversions have been recounted as "testimonies," the response of the audience as a whole and of individuals within it whom I have talked with has always been extremely positive. It is generally felt that these experiential conversions are simply clear, explicit, perceptible examples of the process which takes place in and for every person who asks Christ to become his saviour and enter his heart. Those whom we would call "mystics" are not regarded as different from other charismatics, nor are their conversions regarded as differing in essence and effect from other conversions. For the sake of terminological precision, I use the term "twiceborn conversion" in this study to refer to the experientially mystical type of conversion, but its close relationship to the entire charismatic cultural definition of conversion should be borne in mind.

The following accounts of conversion were obtained in interviews or personal conversations, after a minimum of six months' acquaintance with each informant. These accounts therefore are as far from being public narrative performances as was possible under the conditions of field research. St. John's charismatics tend to shy away from stock phrases or narrative elements even when "giving a testimony" at a meeting, and in private conversation are still less likely to adhere to any notion of conventional or expected style or content in narratives

of conversion. The metaphoric and descriptive terminology used, the picture given of the self before, during, and after conversion, and the sequential account of events, thoughts and sensations are chosen for their fidelity to memory rather than for rhetorical effect or adherence to generic conventions. (In fact, charismatics sometimes express distrust of memorates which appear to be shaped more strongly by the desire for effect or conformity than by perceptual and experiential accuracy, and actively resist conventionalization in their own narrations of key religious memorates.)¹⁰

Don Cuff grew up in Bonavista, Bonavista Bay, in the United Church of Canada. He became disillusioned with Christianity upon the death of his father, and, when he began work on his Bachelor's Degree in Commerce at Memorial University in St. John's, became interested in psychic phenomena and began to practice various meditative techniques. After finishing his degree he returned to Bonavista, where he met a young, independent car mechanic who lived very simply, sending most of his earnings to "Christians in Communist countries." He belonged to no denomination. Don was highly impressed with Jerry:

So that really blew my mind, you know? Why would somebody be so selfless....? I wanted what he had then, you see, but what he had was much more, ah, righteous than what I'd been used to. And I was confronted then with the Gospel and with the person of Jesus Christ again, but now from a living dimension, you see: there was a person that, that had Christ in their life, in his life, and I could see Him. (Tape 6-1, side A)

Some time after he had begun to talk with Jerry about Christianity, Don was at home one night alone. It was a depressing period in his life, and he felt that his depression was relatively normal: that other people were, in general, as "bound up inside and suicidal and over-anxious about everything" as himself. Nevertheless, he remembers kneeling down by his bed and praying about the condition of his life

and of life in general:

I remember just kneeling down at my bed and saying, "God, whoever You are, if Christ is Your son, as He claims to be, and the only way to You, as He said He is," I said, "I don't really know, but if You'll reveal Yourself to me this way so that I can be sure, then I'd be glad to accept Your son and I'd be glad to live the life You want me to live." So I just went on to bed and thought no more on it. (Table 6-1, side A)

Nothing happened that night, and it was months later that, while in the hospital recovering from a serious accident, Don thought about God again. He had moved to St. John's, and began to spend time with a nominally Catholic friend: a "smoking, drinking, and philosophizing" partner with whom he had long discussions about God, Christ, and other subjects. One evening about seven o'clock, his friend telephoned to say that he had been dozing, and had heard a voice which he believed was God telling him to get up and go to church. Don was doubtful, but agreed to go, and the two of them began to drive around town looking for a church. The first one they found was Elin Tabernacle, a classical Pentecostal church. They had both heard "strange stories" about Pentecostals: "that they turn out the lights there and roll around on the floors, and people talking in strange languages, and they really get excited, right?" They did hear a woman speak in tongues, but the lights remained on and no one rolled on the floor. The sermon that evening was on the story of Nicodemus, from John 3:1-21, which seemed to have special relevance to Don and his friend, who had been discussing various questions about Christ for some weeks before:

He came to ask Jesus some questions, but Jesus beat him to the punch in perceiving his thoughts. The Bible says that He said to him, "Nicodemus, except a man be born again, he shall not see the Kingdom of Heaven." So he preached on that, being born again, what being born again means. . . . That was my time: God just opened up the heavens and revealed Himself to me. Because when he preached that sermon, it was just like it was preached for both of us. And when it was over, I remember looking over

at _____, and he was blond to begin with, but that night he was white. And he was shaking, with conviction. He said, "Don, you gotta let me out [of the pew], 'cause I got to go up [to the altar] and shake this thing [i.e., get rid of this feeling of conviction]." So . . . I stood up to let him go up to accept Christ and be converted, be born again or whatever the pastor was saying. And I went to sit down again in my seat, but something stopped me for a second there and I just looked at _____ walking up there and I thought, "Well, maybe I should go up too." And I hesitated and I said, "No, I can't do that because there are too many people here." I didn't like the idea of all these people looking at me going up there admitting that I was a sinner, you know, and that I needed a saviour, Jesus Christ, and that I wanted to be born again. So I went to sit down again, but I hesitated and said, "Well, why not? It wouldn't hurt. I think I'll try it." . . . And as I started to walk it seemed like I wanted to walk faster and faster; something was just drawing me; 'course it was the Holy Spirit. And when I got to the altar I knelt down, and I didn't know what else was going to happen or what to do; but the moment I knelt down, God, knowing my heart, I guess, that I was sincere and that I was looking and so on, right? I just had looked in the wrong places before, and now I'd just come to the right place. He was just there standing in line all the time, but now I'd finally arrived at the right place, and just as my knees had hit the ah, the rail there at the altar, I felt God's love and His power and His Spirit just come right down all over me. And just completely cover me. And I felt all His love and His goodness and His mercy and everything that God is, just fell right upon me. And all my guilt and shame and sin and dirt and all the muck from all the years of sin I was carrying around upon me, upon my shoulders, upon my whole being, I just felt it leave me. I felt an actual sensation, it leave, lift, and just vanish into thin air. And I began to, to cry and sob my heart out, I just cried it's posed about an hour. And I just felt completely cleansed, completely forgiven, completely new, completely born again. So it had to be a definite, real experience, because I experienced it. And nobody can convince me otherwise. And immediately my whole life was different, and people just looked differently, houses looked different, white looked whiter and black looked blacker, and, and I just saw people differently.

CC: You mean your actual colour perceptions got sharper? More intense?

DC: Yeah. Yeah. Everything just became more intense, more acute, more aware. (Tape 6-1, side A)

Don's experience of divine love coming down upon him, and of cleansing from many years' accumulation of "guilt and shame and sin and dirt," are especially common elements in local narratives of what I am calling twiceborn conversion experiences. Quite a number of people who

have either told me of their conversion experiences, or have been converted on occasions when I have been present, have cried freely and for prolonged periods, to emerge smiling and excited when the sobbing was over, describing feelings of cleansing and renewal. Some have said that they lost their sense of time, and felt as if they were "caught up" into the presence of God. Don's account is considerably more representative of such components or qualities in local accounts than might be expected, given its profound intensity.

A woman I shall call Lee Olsen, who attended the Worship Centre before her engagement to a Roman Catholic, with whom she now attends St. Pius X Parish Church, had a more gradual and less dramatic conversion, but there was a slow buildup of "twiceborn" experiential factors in her life over the course of the months it took for her to complete the process. Lee was twenty-six when I interviewed her, about a year after her conversion. She was raised in Nova Scotia, in the United Church of Canada. During her childhood, she explained being a Christian had meant "going to church, listening to sermons, trying to follow Jesus' example and knowing that you'd always fail, but that God would forgive you for the failures" (Tape 18-1, side A). She attended church most Sundays during her early adult life, but God seemed "distant": "I was doing things I know He disapproved of . . . and rationalizing it away . . . going away from Him," she explained. One of these things was to marry, at twenty, a man considerably less involved with religious belief than she was (though her own involvement seemed minimal to her). She liked herself less and less over the two years that the marriage lasted, seeing herself as a "hypocrite," "obsessed with self and selfishness," and "going from bad to worse."

After the divorce she moved to St. John's, where she worked as a physiotherapist at a local hospital.

One of the nurses there was a member of the Worship Centre: Maggie MacIlwaine of Belfast, Northern Ireland. They became friends, and Lee mentioned her disappointment with the local churches she had attended. She thought of Pentecostals as "Holy Rollers with lots of do's and don'ts," so she had not tried any of the Pentecostal churches. Maggie's descriptions of the Worship Centre sounded quite unlike this, and Lee attended "out of curiosity." Her experience on her first visit is described in Chapter II (p. 177).

Lee began to pray after her first visit to the Worship Centre, while remaining away from all churches for several weeks:

I thought, "God, if You're real, You can deal with me personally; You don't need to send anybody." . . . I wanted something to happen, and yet I didn't really feel God was there—I guess because I knew that my life was not acceptable to God, or my lifestyle . . . you couldn't expect God to answer your prayers, and be completely out of His will. [But] God began talking to me inside my mind, and it's definitely another voice. It's not me. . . . Somewhere in my mind I must have said, "yeah, I'm going to accept this [new reality]," but [I felt I was also saying to God,] "I don't know, I've got to find out more out [about it]," or, you know, "Show me," or whatever. There's no specific time it happened. . . . (Tape 18-1, sides A-B).

Lee struggled for some weeks with what seemed to her an unbridgeable gap between the kind of person she considered herself to be, and the kind of person she associated with a life that was "acceptable to God." "You can tell when a person really loves the Lord," she explained. "They speak about it and they act it; they're happy. . . . But I thought you had to be that way on your own strength. . . . I didn't know you get the Holy Spirit. . . ." (Tape 18-2, side A). She felt that in order to please God, she would have to become celibate,

read the Bible a great deal, and, at least cut back on the night life she enjoyed. She also felt that some atonement would be necessary for her previous way of life and thought. She wanted to commit herself to God, but renunciation and atonement seemed beyond her strength. She finally broached this subject with Maggie, and was surprised to find that she had quite a different perspective on it all:

She told me about being a baby, a spiritual baby, and how you've got to grow, and that He'll take you through. . . . And somewhere along the line I heard . . . that Jesus died on that cross to pay the penalty of our sins. I--I suppose at an early age in life I wouldn't have known what sin was; I don't know. But by this time I had enough [of it] in my life that I knew (*laughing*). And I thought, "Wow; He's paid the penalty? You mean I don't have to do anything?" . . . And for me that was like big burdens lifted. And . . . I had said, "Lord, if You want me, You take me: take my life, but I'm not going to change a thing in it. I'm helpless. This is the way I am." And I found my mind changed for me: . . . the things that I knew were sinful, I no longer wanted. They just went! Um, and it was really very exciting, because that was the way God dealt with me personally. (Tape 18-1, side B)

One evening, while praying by herself at home, the "voice" in her mind resolved two of her most persistent sources of uncertainty. The first had to do with the past: what should she confess to God? Was there any sort of taproot to it all? The second had to do with the future: what was she to live for? Was there a reason for being alive?

Somewhere along the line, too, I heard about you must confess your sins. "Oh, good! I'll get down and confess them now!"—see, I got it all backwards: things were happening to me before I heard this. I mean, I never said a sinner's prayer until [I was already so far along that I was eager to do it:] (*claps hands and laughs*) "Oh, I must say one now!" . . . And oh, where do you begin? But it just hit me again like, "It's okay." And this was this other voice speaking to me, and it said, "The biggest sin in your life is that you turned away from Me." And I realize when I look back . . . in high school, I can see the point where I, my life had changed, and it led one thing into another. Um, and that was it: "your biggest sin is that you turned away from Me."

And then a question that I had been asking for about two years: "What is the purpose of life?" And it was, "Your purpose in life is to glorify Me, and do My will." And that's it. (laughs) Hooray! So it was like two things got answered in one night. (Tape 18-1, side B)

This voice was accompanied by a sense of divine Presence: the same as she had experienced on her first visit to the Worship Centre. She began to attend its services regularly, and found that her sense of continuity between her mystical encounters with the "voice" in prayer at home, and the shared experience of congregational worship became stronger and clearer. She explained this continuity as the result of having been given the Holy Spirit:

I heard that God gives you the Holy Spirit when you become a Christian . . . and I'd certainly had enough of His Presence to know what that was, just by the way God was speaking to me and dealing with me so personally. And going to church and really actually learning how to worship Him. It was such a joy: there was so much joy and peace in knowing this was the right thing. It was knowing, "This is it. This is what I have been looking for, and there's not going to be any more looking any more. . . ." There wasn't any feeling that I would tire of this. I knew I had arrived. I knew it was right, and I had no more garbage in my life. (Tape 18-1, side B)

Lee's private experiences of divine Presence, and of prayer as a conversation in which God speaks; of finding herself changing in ways she did not think she could bring about through willpower; and of peace and joy in worship, feeling that "this was the right thing" are relatively common among the charismatic conversion narratives I have heard. The combined evidence of her mystical experiences and the developing, positive changes she saw in her own behaviour and state of mind also recur frequently; neither component alone seems sufficient to convince many of my charismatic acquaintances that real change is taking place. It is when they can see correlation between what they ask God to do, or "hear" Him say that He will do, and what takes place within them

that they are convinced that a relationship exists and interactions are taking place between themselves and God. This kind of pointing to the evidence that convinced is quite a common feature in local narratives of both conversion and spiritual baptism.

Don Cuff and Læe Olsen were both certain that they had not been "real" (as opposed to nominal) Christians, though both had been raised in the United Church, before the events described above took place in their lives. Not all charismatics are entirely sure whether they are "real" Christians already or not when they first become involved with charismatic culture. This can cause a certain amount of confusion, because spiritual baptism is generally believed possible only for "real" Christians. Some members of the Marian Community base their sense of Christian identity upon their participation in the Sacraments, while others base theirs upon the concept of twiceborn conversion described in this chapter. It is the second basis, shared with the Cuffs' group and the Worship Centre, which is officially supported by the National Service Committee of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. In the booklet which accompanies the seven-week "Life in the Spirit Seminar," designed to prepare would-be charismatics to pray for the baptism or release of the Holy Spirit, the third week is devoted to the explication of biblical passages relating to salvation by faith.¹¹ A sample "sinner's prayer"—quite representative of the prayers I have heard in Protestant charismatic gatherings—forms the first part of the prayer for baptism in the Holy Spirit (p. 23).

Father John Punnakunnel, a charismatic Catholic priest from Karala, India, discussed the necessity of conversion briefly when he was helping a new charismatic prayer group to get started in St.

Michael's Parish Church on Bell Island, not far from St. John's. Using the biblical image of an embrace to describe what it is to "worship in spirit and in truth," he said:

We find it very hard to embrace the Cross and give a kiss. Like Saint Paul on the Damascus Road we ask Him, "Who are You, Lord?" And when He answers, we get converted and love Christ with our whole heart.

Saint Paul was very religious man; most learned man of his day. He was killing the Christians, he thought, out of service to God. We also can be very religious and still not know who Christ is. Then when trouble comes we collapse in our faith, because we lack that knowledge. Today Christ is telling us, "Embrace Me, embrace My cross, and you will find joy!" (f.n. 9/6/81)

"We have to praise God with our whole being, our bodies and souls, not just our mouths," added a Bell Island man about eighteen years old, who had just finished the Life in the Spirit Seminar and received the release of the Holy Spirit some two or three weeks before.¹²

At the Worship Centre, the Cuffs' group, and FGEM meetings, I have heard charismatics direct would-be converts to pray a "sinner's prayer," and immediately follow it with prayer for baptism in the Holy Spirit. In these circumstances, and when the prayer given in the booklet for the Life in the Spirit Seminar is used by Marian Community members, the ritual and experience of conversion and spiritual baptism may converge into a single event in the life of an individual. There are charismatics in all three groups who have undergone them separately, and others who have undergone them together. This is one of the reasons why they are considered together here, in addition to their shared role as initiators of membership in charismatic culture.

The Baptism in or Release of the Holy Spirit

The entire cast of charismatic thought rests, in many ways, upon the basic axiom that the believer "dwells" in the being of Christ,

and Christ dwells in the believer. This much is shared as personal belief by most evangelicals, and at least as official belief by most of Christendom. Among charismatics, however, it is accompanied by belief in the existence of a concretely experiential rite of passage.

I have heard no sources quoted by local people as bases for beliefs regarding the Spirit and spiritual baptism except John's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, and these are used quite extensively. Some "elders," and quite a few other charismatics, comb them in detail for information about the character and functions of the Holy Spirit, the experiential nature, results, and purposes of the baptism, and the identifying traits of the "Spirit-filled" Christian. The central source of ideas about the Spirit Himself is John 14-16, in which Christ describes Him as the Paraclete or Comforter (literally, "one who comes with strength"); as the Spirit of Truth who "shall be in you," "teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you" (14:16-17, 26). He is also said to "testify of" Christ (15:26), "reprove the world of sin and of righteousness and of judgement" (16:8-11), and to teach the disciples "not of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will shew you things to come. He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you" (16:13-15). This is all believed to come about for modern-day charismatics in one or another of the ways described in Acts. Local narrative periodically reports that the pattern celebrated in the liturgical calendar by Whitsun or Pentecost, the fiftieth day after Easter and the tenth day after the Ascension, when "tongues as of fire" fell upon a large group of Christians, has occurred again in some distant place. (The three I have heard mentioned are the

West Midlands of England, an Ethiopian village, and various areas of Africa.) Legend also occasionally reports the recurrence of the pattern described in Acts 10, when the "Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word" as the apostle Peter explained the death, resurrection, and divinity of Christ to a non-Jewish household for the first time. The pattern used in most local instances of believed spiritual baptism comes from Acts 19:1-6:

And it came to pass that . . . Paul having passed through the upper coasts came to Ephesus: and finding certain disciples,

He said unto them, Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost.

And he said unto them, Unto what then were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John's baptism.

Then said Paul, John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus.

When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus:

And when Paul laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied.

The Baptism in Ritual and Spontaneous Experience

Each of the three groups has a somewhat different pattern arising from this basic approach to the baptism as being received through the laying on of hands by someone who already has it. The Marian Community holds a Life in the Spirit Seminar once or twice a year, which is led by volunteers from this and other Roman Catholic prayer groups in the area. Attendance is completely voluntary; and it is common for individuals to wait six months, a year, or even longer before participating in it. The seminar meets for one hour weekly, prior to or concurrent with the prayer meeting. Each participant is given a copy of the guidebook, which contains seven chapters, each focusing on a single doctrinal theme, and including passages from the

Bible and commentary to be read each day during the seven weeks. Beginning with salvation and a prayer of repentance and personal commitment, the guidebook covers those topics which the American Catholic charismatic leaders consider essential for baptism to occur and its effects to be understood, retained, and allowed to develop over time. These include description of the "release" of the Spirit as an event (quoting the biblical passage quoted above), the "fruit" of the Spirit, or character traits which develop in the believer through His activity, and the charismata; discussion of human inadequacy and the problem of evil; definitions of repentance and of faith; common problems immediately following the experience of spiritual baptism, such as doubt of its reality or undue fear of, or concentration upon, the charismata; and principles of long-term "growth" and "transformation" as a Christian. At the fifth meeting of the seminar, those who want spiritual baptism pray individually with one or more people who have received it. As a rule, each person who does so is told that they have received it, whether they speak in tongues or not. Some believe this; others do not.

At the Cuffs' group, individuals ask for prayer to receive the baptism in the course of normal prayer meetings. When this happens, Don or another participant usually conducts a short interview with the individual requesting prayer, asking if he is "born again" (that is, personally committed to being Christ's disciple, which is considered a prerequisite there), and ensuring that he understands and assents to some points of doctrine which Don and many other group members consider essential. First, the baptism is a gift, and can only be received as such. It is not earned through goodness or faith, nor is it a "level of spirituality" to be attained, like an elevated state of consciousness

(such as Nirvana in Hindu tradition, or dhyana in Buddhist tradition).¹³ Second, speaking in tongues is considered the evidence that the baptism has been received, and the individual is told that he must open his mouth and begin to make some sounds. He is not to speak in English, because one cannot speak two different languages simultaneously. Nor is he to refrain from speaking altogether, because—in Lorne Rostotski's words—"God doesn't flap tongues" (Tape 49, side A). Third, he is told that there are three steps which he must take in order to receive the baptism: he must ask God for it, believe that he has received it, and verbally "confess" that he has received it. Don, standing with both hands resting on the person's shoulders, usually ends this interview by telling the person that when he has prayed for them, they are to say, "Father, I receive now the Holy Spirit by faith, and I ask that You would give me the New Testament evidence of speaking in tongues," to take a deep breath in, and to begin to speak some sounds. He then places the fingertips of one hand upon the centre of the individual's forehead; and begins to pray. Usually, at least one other person also lays hands upon the person, standing behind him so that if he is "slain" he will be safely caught. Sometimes people are "slain" before they can even speak the words Don has told them to speak. At one meeting I attended, a young woman got as far as "Father, I receive—" and fell back in a graceful arc, as if she were being lowered back as a classical ballet dancer might lower his partner, though she was unsupported for the first third of her fall. Her eyes were closed and her face blissful; her attention seemed to be completely absorbed by whatever she was experiencing. She began to speak in a soft, flowing series of syllables unlike any of the "prayer languages" I had

previously heard from members of the group. In five minutes she was on her feet again, excited, articulate, and full of questions about what had happened to her, and what she should expect in the coming days.

The Worship Centre is by far the least structured of the three, and has no set methodology for baptismal prayer other than a verbal request made on behalf of the one seeking it, by someone who has received it, with the same casual laying on of hands as is generally used there when members pray for one another about anything: a hand on the shoulder, an arm around the waist, or occasionally the touching of the centre of the forehead with the fingertips of one hand. Classical Pentecostal tradition usually holds that "tongues is the evidence" that baptism has occurred, and most of the church's members probably believe that it is, but there is next to no discussion on the subject and, as is the case in the Marian group, baptisms may sometimes be believed to have occurred even if the individual does not speak in tongues until days, or weeks, or months later. Various individuals discussing their own baptisms with me, in both groups, have assigned the term "baptism" either to the time of prayer or to the time of initial speech in tongues.

There are, however, spontaneous instances of baptism in all three groups. Mrs. Mercedes Barry of the Marian Community said that her own baptism had occurred one evening, after she had been attending prayer meetings for about two months, when she "found herself" walking from the back of the room toward the microphone at the front:

And I don't know from that day to this what drew me up there. And the tears were just streaming down my face. I mean, it was—if I'd had a bucket I'm sure I could have filled it. . . . Half the people were praying, and I was just there in front of the microphone crying. . . .

The only way I can describe it is—I don't know if you've ever seen the sun's rays draw up, you know from the water [at sunrise]? If you're watching the sea. And it seemed like

rays coming from each part of the gathering to my--to me. And it started on my feet; I was standing, and it started on my feet and just brought right up and the priest, Father Lewis, had his hand on my head and I could feel this warm feeling just come flowing right through me. And when it reached the top of my head, the crying ceased and I felt like--"Oh, my Lord...."--you know. I'll never, never, never feel like it again, I'm sure. I knew something had happened, but at that stage of the game I was not aware of what. But after some time in the Charismatic Renewal I realized that that is the night that the Holy Spirit entered my soul and body. And I can literally say I've never been the same since. (Tape 25, side A)

Another member of the Marian Community, a United Church woman, was attending a Wednesday evening meeting at Bethesda Pentecostal Church when she began to shake all over and to speak in tongues. Never having heard of anything like this before, she thought she was dying or losing her sanity. She did not ask anyone about her experience that evening, but went home. She told me that she had been afraid to go upstairs for fear she would meet Jesus. She poured all of this out at a Bible study at her own United Church the following week, and a charismatic acquaintance told her that she had received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and that her fear was unnecessary and "must be from the devil" (f.n. 2/26/83). She then began to attend the Marian Community meetings and the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship events, where her husband eventually received the baptism as well.

Don Cuff, after his twiceborn conversion, remained convinced for several months that baptism in the Holy Spirit was not meant to occur today. This belief changed gradually, until he began to pray about it, though still with "reservation." Eventually he bought a book on the subject by an Anglican priest, which became the foundation of his current beliefs. Don recalled:

I came home and I opened up the book and he said, "Receiving the Holy Spirit is as simple as ABC. First you ask God for

the gift of the Holy Spirit, because it is a gift. Second, you believe that you have received the Holy Spirit because you asked, and the Lord said if you asked you would receive ["If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?" (Luke 11:13)]. And thirdly, if you've asked, and you believe that you have it, well then, the inevitable result now is that you will speak in other tongues. So I knelt down there at the chesterfield and said, "Okay, Lord, I ask for the Holy Spirit; I believe that I have it; now I confess with my mouth what I believe in my heart; I'm going to open my mouth, and I'm just going to believe that You will fill my innermost being with Your Spirit, and give me another language that I've never spoken before." And I just opened my mouth in faith and out came this—a bunch of garbage, just gibberish. And I just continued with my gibberish for about thirty seconds.

Then I was feeling bad, and, like, I was—got a little bit embarrassed, feeling that I had probably let the Lord down, you know, by saying a lot of nonsense. And just as I got to that point, thirty seconds into receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit, I felt that the gibberish didn't seem so gibberish any more. And it seemed like there was almost a flow to it. So I said, "Well, I'll just give it a minute or so." So I continued, to, to speak out whatever I felt was coming out.

And after a minute, couple minutes, I found that it changed; the tongues changed, and I found it became more defined. And then all of a sudden I realized that it wasn't me, really, that was speaking. I was assisting the speaking, that is, I was giving the utterance, but there was like a force just giving me words to speak: all I did was speak them. I felt a surge of, like, God's spirit and God's power just coming up from my belly and from my chest and out through my mouth (gestures with both hands in a rolling motion, up and out) and it was just like a continuous motion, over and over and over again. And I began to get excited, and I just began to pray louder, and I just began to worship the Lord and praise Him, full of joy. And I just couldn't stop—not that I couldn't stop; I, I didn't want to stop. And once I had started I knew that really, now, I had received the baptism of the Holy Spirit: (Tape 6-1, side B)

In this instance, the individual seeking baptism asked God for it directly, rather than having his prayer assisted or articulated by a fellow believer, and there was, of course, no one present to lay hands upon him. In other accounts (cf. tapes 14, side B; 24-1, side A; 27, sides A and B), speaking in tongues occurs without conscious effort or intention—and, contrary to some local beliefs, while the individual is speaking in English, praising God. This was the experience described

to me by Cliff Brown, Secretary of the Worship Centre. His parents converted from Methodism to Pentecostalism in 1960, when Cliff was twelve. They attended Elin Tabernacle, where people were regularly invited to kneel at the altar and pray for the baptism after the sermon ended. Individuals often did this repeatedly for months or even years, "tarrying" for the baptism (as the disciples were told to "tarry . . . in Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high," Luke 24:49).

Cliff recalled:

I myself received the baptism, I think when I was about fourteen or fifteen years old. Um, it was something that I had sought for, I think, maybe once or twice before it happened, but it sort of happened unexpectedly. I was aware of the fact that I was responding to an invitation [being spoken by the pastor] to seek [the baptism]. I did not go forward; I was singing in the choir in the church at the time, and in my seat I began to seek for the baptism of the Holy Spirit. I, I didn't quite know how to do it; nobody told me or gave me any tips. But, ah, I was just praying, and um, all of a sudden I, I felt a very special--ah, not special, but I reached a point where I wanted to say to God or express to God how much I loved Him, and um, appreciated what He had done for me in dying for me, um, and I--I sort of reached a pinnacle, a paramount situation in my thinking where I just could not express to God how much I loved Him. Ah, I said things like "Thankyou, Jesus, for dying for me," and things of that nature, but it came to a point where I wanted to say more than that. And as I was just thinking, my words became, ah, other tongues. And, ah, I continued to speak like that for maybe ten or fifteen minutes. And, um, I, I still don't know how it happened; it just happened. I think obviously it was a gift. . . . I felt God very close, closer than I have ever felt Him before. And ah, I knew when I was speaking in tongues that I was, I was conscious that I was, but I did not have control of what I was doing.

CC: You couldn't stop?

CB: It would have been difficult. . . . I remember feeling that God had, had taken control of, or some force had taken control of my tongue. At that point in time I was in a state of wanting to continue to express my love for Him, so I didn't have a desire to stop, so I didn't really think about it. (Tape 3-3, side B)

There is thus considerable variation between charismatics' baptismal "methods" or circumstances, the degree to which speaking in tongues seems to be under the individual's own control, the occurrence or nonoccurrence of "slaying," and the degree and kind of ritual performed. Two other individuals (Liz O'Brien, and a Catholic charismatic from New Brunswick) reported, like Don, that tongues was accompanied by a sensation of something rising up within the abdomen and chest, into the mouth. Both also said, like Cliff, that they would have had difficulty in stopping. The New Brunswick woman in fact tried several times to stop, and could not (Tapes 20-1, side B, and 27, side B). Cathy Martin of Elin Tabernacle, who was raised in the United Church, told me that she was unable to speak in English for two days after receiving the baptism—a statement corroborated by her landlady (Tape 17, side B, and f.n. 4/22/83). Pastor Gene Clarke and Mrs. Janice Brown of the Worship Centre have also seen people unable to speak in English for a couple of days (Tape 3-1, side A, f.n. 5/18/83). Only Joyce Senior (who, like Cathy and the people mentioned by Cliff and Janice, continues to be happy in the classical Pentecostal church) has told me that this forgetting of English has recurred at later dates when she is to speak to a group in tongues. The more general pattern, at least among charismatics, is that tongues become more and more fully under the control of the speaker: one begins and ends when one chooses, and, though the utterance itself is considered inspired, there is no hint of possession in either the beliefs or the behaviour of local charismatic tongue-speakers. (Joseph Ryan, who did ethnographic work with Catholic charismatics in Philadelphia in 1979-81, also reports a complete absence of classic possession behaviour among his informants—a point I shall return to in Chapter VIII.)¹⁴

Purposes of the Baptism: Expectations and Results

There is a very consistent body of theory current in the community about the effects and purposes of the baptism.¹⁵ First, it is supposed to enable one to "witness for Jesus": to tell others about Christ with love, sensitivity, and effectiveness. It is also supposed to convince the individual himself, if he still needs convincing, that he actually has a real relationship with a real God: as Ontario businessman Ray Golobiewski told a Full Gospel Business Men's audience in St. John's, "the Holy Spirit bears witness with our spirit that we are children of God" (f.n. 1/22/83, paraphrasing Romans 8:16). Most of all, the baptism is considered the gateway to the charismata, and the beginning of the Holy Spirit's freedom to operate in the life and person of the individual in various other ways: to guide him more effectively in making decisions, recognizing his faults and resisting them, being loving and giving toward other people, and particularly in prayer. Speaking in tongues is widely believed to be the Holy Spirit praying, praising the Father, and glorifying Christ through the yielded mouth of the believer.

The amount of discrepancy or "fit" between expectations and experience regarding these effects and results varies a great deal—and in no defensible correlation with the ritual or nonritual manner in which the baptism was received. Anne Harkaway, who prayed for and received the gift of tongues much as Don Cuff did, but considered her "baptism" the occasion on which she was prayed for during the Life in the Spirit Seminar, primarily hoped to gain "a deeper life with the Scripture" when she was prayed with. She recalled:

I really wanted to know the Scripture. But even in the baptism of the Holy Spirit I don't think I received that

burning—they always talked about this, you'll get this burning desire for the Scriptures. I didn't get it. I didn't get it for years and years. But, like, I do have it now. I read and read and read and read and I don't want to stop reading. . . . (Tape 12-1, side B)

Cliff Brown had conceived of the baptism as an attainment of a higher level of Christian spirituality, from which it was almost impossible to fall. He found, however, that his original expectations were not entirely justified by the results. He explained:

A short time after I received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, I began to analyze what it was doing for me. And I had been told that it would give me greater power to be a Christian, and I, I really think it did. But to some extent I began to be disillusioned with, um, what it was, what it was doing in the lives of many people. In fact, many who had received, I began to notice it in fact had not made any difference in their spiritual growth. . . . people were backsliding. They were turning their back on God and becoming just as, you know, just as bad a sinners as they were before. And to me it seemed unusual or strange, because I had the impression that if one had received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, that it would in some way stabilize you or, or keep you from wanting to go back on Christ, ever. But I soon realized that was not the case. (Tape 3-1, side A)

A great many people, however, particularly in the Marian Community and other local cases in which several members of a group have received it at the same time, experience two results they were not told to expect: intense joy, and frequent instances of what appear to them to be miracles. For as long as two or three years, in some cases, people have told me they are "in love with" God; Christianity is like a "honeymoon"; they are "on cloud nine." Liz O'Brien found that "no matter what went wrong I just wanted to worship, and praise, and—I mean, worship just became more and more meaningful. . . . And . . . I felt so much love in my heart" (Tape 20-2, side A). God's guidance often seems to be constant and clear: their needs are met; their prayers are answered; the charismata function in their lives; other

people become Christians because of their "testimony" or even the simple radiance of their joy. Later, they realize that they are not as utterly transformed, as freed of the old faults and thought habits, as they thought they were. Some, like Gerard Bruce, become depressed by the resumption of the battle with the "old self" (Tape 2, side B). Others continue to feel confident of God's forgiveness and His ongoing power to develop the character of Christ in them. In spite of Cliff's impression that baptism should bring holiness, the guidebook used in the Life in the Spirit Seminars, Pastor Gene Clarke's sermons (e.g., f.n. 11/5/82), and plenty of everyday charismatic talk express clearly the belief that this development is a long, slow, laborious process, and requires continued, repeatedly reaffirmed determination to pursue it by reading the Bible, praying, resisting temptation, and taking care that one thinks, speaks, and behaves with "the fruit of the Spirit" ("love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance" [Galatians 5:22-23]) as fully as one can.

In everyday folk practice, "Spirit-filled" people are recognized by their joy, their love for God, and, often, their ability to talk about Him in an inspiring manner. The "fruits" listed above tend to be valued as evidence of real Christianity far more than the charismata. The baptismal event is recognized by slaying, tongue-speaking (whether it seems deliberate or divinely given to the speaker), and by the simple conviction that one has received; in general, any one of these may be considered sufficient evidence that the baptism has taken place. Experience during and after the event varies from very mild to intensely mystical, and is considered, like the event itself, a personal matter between God and the individual about which generalizations cannot often be made.

Charismatics reason that God wants to baptize all believers in the Holy Spirit, and that He will therefore "give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him" (Luke 11:13). Unlike classical folk Pentecostalism in the St. John's area, charismatic folk religion generally expects that all who ask will receive. The long "tarrying" and the association of worthiness with reception being absent, reception of the baptism does not greatly alter one's standing in the religious community in and of itself: those who have not asked, or feel they have not received, are fully accepted. At receiving, "by faith," as in Don's case, and in ritual ways, as in the case of the young woman who was obediently raising her hands and reciting the words she had been told to say when she was slain in the middle of a sentence, often seem to "open the door" for overwhelming religious experience to take over, ritual and belief and experience run into one another in cultural concepts of baptism.

In relation to the next cultural element to be discussed, "the anointing," it is quite logical that charismatics should make more use of the biblical model in Acts 19 than of other accounts of the Holy Spirit's reception. In that passage, baptism is brought about by the laying on of hands by someone who has already received the Spirit, whereas in several others it occurs unexpectedly, while a group is praying and praising God (Acts 2:1-4) or listening to someone preach the Gospel (Acts 10:44). The use of the model in chapter nineteen is, of course, probably attractive because it offers a precedent for requesting the baptism, but it also accords well with the beliefs and experiences associated with the laying on of hands.

"The anointing" does fall upon praying and praising groups and individuals, according to both charismatic and classical Pentecostal

song and personal experience narratives I have heard locally, as will be discussed in more detail below and in Chapter VII. However, it is frequently mentioned when people are recounting experiences in which one individual places his hands upon another while praying for him both the one laying hands on and the other having hands laid upon him may feel a flow of heat or "current" pass through the hands and into the body of the other. This is usually said to be the same "anointing" as sometimes descends upon people during prayer and praise. Some regard both of these sensations as evidence that the Holy Spirit is "personally" descending upon the group or entering the body of the one prayed for; others speak of them as an impersonal energy which is given by the Holy Spirit, or by the Lord as a triune whole. The sensations of flowing and filling which can accompany either experience are often said to be reflected in the terms used for spiritual baptism. Liz D'Brien said that the Baptism was her first experience of the Presence of God within her, though she had felt it around her and upon the group on many occasions at the Worship Centre (Tape 18-1, side B). Others have commented that baptism was their first experience of the anointing or of Presence in any form. I have heard several local charismatics explain the term "release" of the Spirit through reference to the "release" of a fountain or stream within the individual, quoting from John 7:37-39:

... Jesus stood and cried, If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink.

He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.

(But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believeth on him should receive. . .)

The term "baptism" itself has liquid connotations, of course, and calls up images of immersion or of water sprinkled on the head. A third term

in local use is the "infilling" of the Holy Spirit, which seems to suggest being poured full of liquid: I have heard local people use this term in connection with a passage from the Twenty-third Psalm: "my cup runneth over."

There are thus extensive and complex associations between the concepts of baptism and anointing. Both involve Presence; both also tend to involve liquid sensations and are spoken of using liquid imagery. Both usually involve, when they are sought or evoked through ritual means, the laying on of hands, but both also occur unsought and without this form of "transmission" or evocation.

Anointing

"The anointing" as a term comes from the King James and other translations of the Bible, where it refers to the pouring of scented oil upon the top of the head. It appears, and is cited by local charismatics as appearing in ways significant for local belief, in two contexts. Where the recipe for preparing the oil is given, in Exodus 30:22-33, it is prescribed as a method of consecration: of bringing about a transformation in the symbolic or spiritual state of an object or a person. Priests, and later kings, were anointed to symbolize, or to seal, their appointment to positions of public service and sacred leadership by divine fiat. In the second context, which appears most clearly in the Twenty-third Psalm, the anointing is performed by God as a form of blessing, bestowing joy and a sense of richness in spiritual plenty: "Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over" (v. 5). Even in the first context, God is sometimes referred to as the real anointer. When the prophet Samuel pours oil upon the head of Saul, he asks: "Is it not because the LORD hath Anointed thee to be captain

over his inheritance?" (1 Samuel 9:27).

Anointing in Ritual and Spontaneous Experience

At the Worship Centre, the Cuffs' meetings, and the annual "healing weekends" held at St. Teresa's Church by Catholic charismatics, oil is actually used to anoint those requesting prayer for physical healing, and sometimes in other kinds of prayer as well. Some use olive oil; some plain cooking oil; some Catholic charismatics use blessed oil prepared by the Church. (The biblical recipe calls, among other things, for calamus and cassia, and the proportions of the ingredients are given in shekels. It may be the obscurity of all this, rather than anything directly dependent upon local beliefs, which accounts for the use of alternatives.) When oil is used, it is usually carried in a small vial by someone expecting to pray for others. A drop of oil is placed upon the centre of the forehead with the tip of one finger, and it is smoothed gently across the skin just enough to transfer most of it from anointer to anointee. Don Guff and Pastor Gene Clarke usually accompany this act with a phrase such as "So-and-so, I anoint you in the name of the Lord." No particular feelings or results have ever accompanied this act to my knowledge, nor have I ever heard a local charismatic express the desire for anointing with oil, or the belief that it is the proper remedy for any particular problem. There may well be "feelings" and "results" associated with it for some individuals of which I am not aware; for those I know, it seems to be done out of simple faith in biblical precedent, or—in charismatic terms—"facts."

"The anointing," as opposed to anointing with oil, is almost always spoken of in terms of facts, faith, feelings, and results.

Anointing with oil is performed primarily (though not exclusively) when physical healing is being prayed for, following (people often say)

James 5:14-15, which recommends this procedure. The anointing appears in many different kinds of contexts and uses, including preaching, exorcism, intercessory prayer, and the exercise of any of the charismata. It may almost be said to permeate charismatic belief, experience, and ritual like leaven in dough.

Don Cuff described his experiences with the anointing in the context of "ministering" to the needs of others in this way:

DC: I've seen people healed . . . more easily when there's a loving situation, and the person knows that this is God's will for them, and when there's a certain amount of the anointing of the Holy Spirit . . . it's like a, a certain release: it's, it's a small release of energy, current flow, that just goes through your hands and into the person.

CC: Do you feel drained in any way after that, or is it not your energy?

DC: No, it's not my energy, no. No . . . the anointing is present when you pray, so as the anointing rests upon you, then a portion of that anointing then goes in, but you still have the anointing. So it's just the Holy Spirit going in there, that's all.

CC: Can you describe that anointing . . . ?

DC: It's like a feeling that drops down from out o' nowhere. And just settles upon you. And you—all of a sudden you feel good, you feel right about praying, and you want to get up and pray and minister with the person or someone, because the way the situation usually unfolds that somebody's there that has a need, a problem. you're talking about it, and as you're talking about it, the anointing just descends. And you know it's the Lord saying, "Well, I'm here by My Spirit, and I'll anoint you now to, to pray for that need. Because I want to move in that situation." So invariably . . . [when] you begin to pray, there always is some manifestation of the Spirit. (Tape 6-2, side B)

During another interview about a month later, I asked Don how he recognizes the anointing: that is, what "data" he uses to distinguish it from other sensations, or "descents" of the Spirit which might have

other meanings or purposes. He explained that he had "received different anointings in different ways depending on the situation," but added:

I guess it's best described as a quickening in my spirit, and it's also a lot like a cloak that comes around you.

CC: Is it—is there—like a sensation of it coming down upon you, or—wrapping around you?

DC: Ah, it's more like a, a cloak that's just surrounding me. . . . I don't sense it till it's upon me. But it's something that, that is tangible, and I would say it's measurable, if it, ah, could be measured. . . . But it, it's something that is real, no doubt, and it's also transmittable. . . . I find that when you minister under the anointing, using the power that God is placing upon you, that power quite often goes into the person that's being ministered to and they feel it. And quite often this is when the person would be slain in the Spirit or fall under the power, as we say. And quite often this is when the healing takes place, 'cause the anointing of the Spirit goes into the body and drives out the sickness. (Tape 6-3, side A)

He then reminded me of a meeting two weeks before, when he had told the group that he felt there was someone present who had a back problem. A young woman who had never attended the group before said that she did, and he and several others had laid hands on her and prayed for her. She had been "slain," falling backward into the arms of another participant, who had laid her flat on the floor. When she rose some fifteen minutes later, she was wide-eyed and smiling. Placing her hands on her lower back, she told me that the pain was gone. Don said she had told him that she felt the entry of the anointing into her body, and a "gentle burning" in the area of her pain.

Don, like numerous other local charismatics, responded to my queries about the anointing with narratives of its occurrence without, as well as with, the laying on of hands; of reception, as well as "administration" of it to others.

CC: Had you encountered anything at all like the anointing before you were baptised in the Holy Ghost?

DC: Ah, no, just one specific incident. I was asking the Lord to baptise me in the Holy Spirit once. And I was just sitting in a chair, eyes closed, early in the morning, just, just worshipping the Lord and asking Him to baptise me with the Holy Spirit. And all of a sudden I felt, ah, like somebody just take my whole body, starting at the tip of my head, right down to my feet and up again: it was just like a feeling of pure liquid love just went right down through me and came up. And it was just so ecatically beautiful that it frightened me. Not frightened in the scared sense, but it caused me to wosh up [e.g., startle] and say, "Wow! What was that?" enough the Lord couldn't finish what he wanted to do, because I had withdrawn myself. (Tape 6-3, side A)

Madonna Hunt and Edmund Wyse of the Good Shepherd Community, Freshwater, also associated the sensations of anointing with those of baptism in the Holy Spirit. Madonna, following her account of the baptism, continued:

And I felt that at one other time. Well, I would always get a feeling, . . . I could sense that the Lord was going to speak through me . . . I felt this warmth, this warmness, like a Father Lewis used to say it was an anointing. And then another time that I felt it very, very much was [when] I was instructing . . . some of the others in the Life in the Spirit [Seminars]. And it came my turn to pray with somebody else . . . there was three of us praying with him, and I was standing with my hand on his left shoulder. . . . and I could feel this warmness that went down, right in through my hand, on his shoulder. And I didn't want to say anything. But then when we all came back in the big group to share anything that we wanted to share, Earl looked across at me and he said, "Madonna," he said, "was your hand burning into my, was it my shoulder burning your hand or was it your hand burning my shoulder?" I don't know what it meant or anything, but I do know that it is a fact: it actually happened. (Tape 14, side B)

Edmund Wyse responded to my request for a description of the baptism as he had experienced it by beginning: "The baptism in the Spirit, the physical experience, if I can call it that, was like electricity running through you." He then hesitated, backtracked, and revised his description as memories of several events cleared and separated in his mind:

I, I never really felt electricity; I was wrong. I felt electricity when I prayed for my brother's girlfriend, for her to receive the gift of the Spirit [i.e., the baptism]; she received it at the same time [as I did]. What I felt [when I received my own baptism] was a lot of peace, and something was going through me, but not really like electricity. I used to feel it when I prayed for people I cared about in a very special way. That's where I felt that [electricity]. (Tape 24-1, side B)

A number of common factors seem to stand out in these accounts. First, experiences can precede exposure to the cultural concept. Don was startled and puzzled by his initial experience ("Wow! What was that?"); Father Lewis interpreted Madonna's sensations preceding prophecy as anointing in response to her description of them to him (I verified this with Madonna later). Second, they can retain credence where belief does not. Edmund Wyse, who did not use the term at all, did not relate his experiences to any charismatic cultural concept (except the baptism). He had, at the time of the interview, withdrawn from charismatic culture, but continued to regard these experiences as empirical and valid, though many concomitant beliefs and practices are now invalid in his eyes. Third, both sensory and interpretive constants appear, despite the informants' diverse backgrounds and sources of charismatic doctrine (Don's in the United and Pentecostal churches and the sermons of evangelist Kenneth Hagin; Edmund's in academic theological studies and Roman Catholicism; and Madonna's in High Anglican and Catholic charismatic folk religion). All three informants associated their experiences with times of loving prayer for another, accompanied by the laying on of hands (this is clear earlier in Edmund Wyse's interview), and with the presence of the Holy Spirit or "the Lord," who had been asked to act upon the individuals present, or seemed to want to do so of His own volition ("And you know it's the Lord saying, 'Well, I'm

here . . . and I'll anoint you now . . . because I want to move in that direction"). All three referred to sensations of currents of "warmness," "energy," "electricity" flowing or running through the body in ways apparently dissimilar to such normal "currents" as adrenalin or orgasmic sensations: the experiences were described as unique, standing out clearly in memory, unrelated to nonreligious sensory phenomena.

It is not clear whether anointing is qualitatively different when the individual is receiving prayer and when he is administering prayer. One distinction seems to be that "administrators" feel the anointing go forth from their hands, while receivers feel it enter and remain in their bodies. Also, there has been no local case, so far as I am aware, of an administrator falling to the floor under the impact of the anointing, but receivers fall quite frequently.¹⁶ Beyond these differences, warmth, energy, "liquid love," "liquid sunshine," "the oil of joy," and similar descriptive terms characterize both administrative and receptive descriptions—as well as those, like Don's first one and Madonna's prophetic sensations, in which the individual seems to receive something from God without the help of another person.

A recent case of this last type of experience, recounted at a meeting of the Marian Prayer Community, struck me particularly because of the narrator's obvious lack of knowledge that any cultural beliefs regarding this existed in the group. She was a shy, middle-aged woman who usually said little at meetings. She "shared" her experience hesitatingly, using her hands to trace the movement of the "joy" that had flowed down over her head and through her shoulders as she had prayed alone at home. She said that she did not know what to make of it, but that "it was like I was overflowing; this joy came down over me

and filled me somehow--I can't explain it" (f.n. 12/3/81). Rosemary Rose commented that the experience she had described was mentioned in the Bible, and that what she had felt was "the oil of joy" (Isaiah 61:3). She also referred to its mention in Psalms 23:5, and its relation, as signified to signifier, to the practice of anointing with oil. The woman was very excited. "Really?" she said eagerly. "It's in the Bible?" Others in the group, commenting, "I've felt that too, and I didn't know what it was," or "Yeah; I knew that must've been the Lord!", began thumbing through their Bibles, looking up the passages. On another occasion a young Anglican candidate for the ministry, who had had no contact with charismatics, came to me in distress because he had been "flooded with currents of energy" as he prayed. He had lost his sense of time as well, and, though he described his experience as "blissful" (he had in fact been praying for the baptism in the Holy Spirit), he was frightened and unable to interpret what had happened to him (f.n. 12/12/81).

Conflicts and Incongruities Between Belief and Experience

Experiences of anointing can occur in opposition to, as well as prior to, belief in their validity. One member of each of the three groups has, to my knowledge, experienced involuntary trembling in all or part of the body "under the anointing": a common phenomenon in local Pentecostal churches, but not discussed (and not always considered genuine) in the charismatic groups. Two of these individuals, a girl in her early twenties at the Worship Centre and a middle-aged woman at the Marian Community, apparently had no previous expectation that trembling could or should occur as part of charismatic religious

experience." The girl experienced it only once: she had never been demonstrative enough, her brother-in-law told me later, even to raise her hands in worship, but one Sunday morning following the sermon the congregation was standing and singing, and I saw her trembling violently from head to foot, her arms stretched high over her head. Her eyes were closed, and she was silent. Later, she walked to the altar, and her brother-in-law prayed with her to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit. She was the first person that some members of the congregation had ever seen "slain," and some of the other young people questioned her curiously about what it was all like. She said that she did not know why the trembling had occurred, but that God's presence had seemed very real, suddenly, "right around" her, and that the trembling had been uncontrollable but not frightening; being "slain" had been "like flying or floating" (f.n. 1/23/83). The Marian Community member has experienced trembling in her left lower arm several times when I have seen her at meetings. She once "shared" with the group that this began through her frustration with Bible reading. "Before, when I would read the Word," she explained, "I'd fumble around. . . . I'd say, 'I can't hear You; I'm just reading words'." One day in August of 1982 she asked God to do something about this. "Electrical power tore through my body, as if it was tearing all the sinews from my bones," she said. She described her sensation then and on subsequent occasions as a "tremor" which starts in her hands, head, and feet when she is praising God, and only then. She is peaceful about this, and has no fear of it. She feels that her ability to learn from the Bible has been increased (f.n. 8/5/82).

Joyce Senior of the Cuffs' group, the third individual among my informants to experience trembling, grew up in and still attends a

classical Pentecostal church. I asked Joyce how she "senses the Holy Spirit" herself, and how she "can tell when someone else is under the anointing":

Sensing the Holy Spirit, for me--and this may sound crazy--there is a warmth, and there's a love, and there is also a trembling in my lower jaw. I sense the anointing . . . when I'm about to give an interpretation of an utterance in tongues, or maybe a word of prophecy, but particularly in interpretation. . . . I often say to the Lord, "Lord, let the anointing accompany this." And sometimes I have to start speaking the first words, and then the Lord complies with my request, and I know it's from God. I know without a shadow of a doubt. . . . Sometimes the Holy Spirit takes over the voice, and the voice changes. . . . And, ah, some people, you'll see a trembling in their hand, or some part of their body. And then sometimes there's a glow on their face. And, um, there's a sense of authority when they're speaking under the anointing of the Holy Spirit.

CC: Is that different from a change in style, an authoritative style?

JS: Yes.

CC: Can you describe it at all?

JS: Well, I am thinking of a certain minister who comes to mind right now, and he speaks in an authoritative style, but it's simply a bass voice. When the anointing was on him, there was simply a different sound to his voice and there was also trembling in his body. You just knew when he was anointed.

CC: Was there a difference in the kind of thing he was likely to say?

JS: Yes: It was said with a lot more freedom. He didn't have to . . . think of what he was saying, it just flowed.

CC: Did he ever say things you wouldn't have expected to hear from him?

JS: In what way do you mean?

CC: As if they didn't come from his own mind.

JS: Yes, and I believe often there is a, um, sometimes a word of knowledge, sometimes a word of prophecy can come when a minister is under the anointing and preaching a sermon, and [there can] also come an exhortation, right from the heart of the Lord, to the church. (Tape 21, side A)

In these three cases, belief and experience have complex relations, and they exemplify the kinds of complexities often found in the actual workings of charismatic culture. In the Worship Centre example, the experienter had been exposed to trembling when her parents converted from the United to the Pentecostal church while she was still a child. Like many others at the Worship Centre, she had more aversion to and distrust of this and other aspects of Pentecostal piety than she had enjoyment of or faith in them, and had held herself aloof from all forms of religious demonstrative behaviour. She was quite surprised to find that experience could occur without belief in or desire for it. She herself recategorized trembling and being "slain" from traditional and emotionalistic phenomena to (at least occasionally) valid spiritual phenomena, and some of the others who knew and respected her altered their beliefs as well (f.n. 1/23/83). In the Marian Community example, the experienter's acceptance of and confidence in trembling as inspired by the Holy Spirit is not widely shared, and some members of the group shy away from her as emotionalistic and given to nongenuine experiences. The disparity here between personal and shared belief has been expressed in individuals' comments to me, made after she has "shared," prophesied, or contributed in other ways, and also by the quiet tension which often greets these contributions in the meetings. (Individual participants whose experiences and/or beliefs are distrusted by the Marian Community have often left it and joined other local groups, or combined their attendance there with participation in Pentecostal church services, so her case is not unique.) Joyce Senior's experiential "data," and her observations of anointing in the Pentecostal minister she described, are fairly standard elements of belief in Pentecostal churches, but

comparatively rare elements of experience. In the congregations I have visited and heard described to me (which total about ten), only three or four members usually tremble, speak publicly in tongues, prophesy, or otherwise give evidence of some sort of experiential anointing. Joyce in fact avoids exercising her spiritual gifts in church, feeling more comfortable with the reactions of the Cuffs group than she does with those of her fellow-congregation members, who are sometimes fearful or openly doubtful about them (Tape 21, side A; f.n. 5/9/83).

Anointing as Belief: Normative and Ideological Forms

Pentecostal folk belief tends to expect the anointing to come only upon especially holy people, and usually upon pastors rather than laity. Charismatic belief, as the above accounts imply, tends to expect that any sincere person may receive the experience as a gift from God—not for its own sake, but in the course of baptism, praying for someone else, prophesying, or in other ways attempting to cooperate with God in a supernatural manner. Pentecostal belief in what Joyce Senior called "pastoral sanctification" associates anointing with personal, permanent consecration to God's service, as early Methodist Holiness doctrine did.¹⁴ Charismatic belief associates it with holy situations, in which God is working, rather than with holy lives. However, some charismatics respond to experiences of anointing with a greater desire to deepen their ongoing "relationship" with God by purifying and disciplining their lives. (This was taught, for example, by several speakers at the Atlantic Provinces Catholic Charismatic Conference held in St. John's in 1981 [Tapes 34-1 to 34-5]; which was entitled "Make Greater Progress

in the Lord.") Some charismatics also share the Pentecostal belief in what one might--following Turner's three types of *communitas*--term "normative" anointing, though they do not associate it particularly with the clergy. Don Cuff, for example, explained that God sometimes uses individuals in specialized ways throughout their lives; for example, in prayer for physical healing. In these cases, "There is a separate kind of anointing that God gives to enable that person to minister in a certain capacity or way." This kind is given on an ongoing rather than a situational basis (Tape 6-3, side A). This belief is rarely articulated by others in the three groups, but is evidenced in their affectionate, trusting, and somewhat deferential or dependent manner of relating to individuals who are considered special. Lucy Counsel of Freshwater, Marie Melvin and Rose Slaney of Tors Cove, and Father Gerard Tingley of Prince Edward Island are treated by many members of the Marian Community as people from whom the love, wisdom, and power of Christ may be expected; Don Cuff and Lorne Rostotski are treated this way by some members of all three groups; and Pastor Gene Clarke, Carl Hudson, Harold Andrews, Jan Adams, Anne Devine, and several other members of the Worship Centre are esteemed in similar ways by many members there.

Again following Turner, one may also speak of "ideological" anointing among some local charismatics. It is largely an individual trait in all three groups, and those who possess it are often spoken of by others as having "strong faith." Ideological anointing is the ability to pray as confidently without experiential data on which to base one's confidence of the Spirit's presence and power as one would if it were there. This form of "strong faith" is based almost completely

upon reason. Individuals praying aloud using ideological anointing often phrase prayer in terms of "If . . . then" statements, quoting or paraphrasing a biblical principle, and then stating that it is being applied in the present situation. Don Cuff, for example, taught members of his group at one meeting how to "minister to" someone requesting prayer for the baptism using sheer reason and faith. It is believed that God always is willing and able to baptise any "born-again" Christian, and that therefore no experiential anointing need be sought or expected by the "administrator." Members of the other two groups (especially those considered by others to possess normative anointing) exercise this confidence in praying for physical healing, performing deliverances from demonic oppression, and may even "lay hands" on cars or equipment that is malfunctioning, as Deacon Rick Hartnett of Nova Scotia told the Marian Community he often has to do to get his car to run (Tape 35, side B).

The ideology underlying this kind of activity is succinctly (and, I think, representatively) expressed by Don Cuff:

The scripture in 1 John 2:27 says, "But the anointing which ye have received of Him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man should teach you. But as the same anointing teacheth you all things in its truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in Him." . . . Every child of God has the anointing abiding within him. Ah, it doesn't matter which denomination he belongs to; doesn't matter if he's been baptised with the Holy Spirit . . . or not. Every believer has the anointing of the Holy Spirit within him to teach him. (Tape 6-3, side A)

Some charismatics feel that this permanent, conceptual sensory anointing is reserved for charismatics, and enters when the Spirit does (or is "released" within when the Spirit is released). That one is never utterly without access to supernatural power is, however, quite a common belief, whether conversion or baptism is regarded as the proper basis

for it. Belief may thus operate without experience, just as experiences may occur before they are believed possible.

Conclusion

A number of studies in symbolic anthropology and folklife have traced the occurrence of important cultural elements in belief, in ritual, and in experience; in cultural norms and ideology and in the way existence spontaneously unfolds for culture members.¹⁷ Conversion, baptism in the Spirit, and anointing are such elements, important in multiple contexts and forms. Turner's concepts of existential or spontaneous, normative, and ideological forms are especially useful in the analysis of elements such as these, for the language of ethnography is not particularly well adapted to handling subtle, numinous states and qualities of experience as we might handle ceramic styles or proverbs or kinship systems. They will be used, along with the more standard concepts of belief, ritual, and experience, in the analyses of the charismata and of religious healing which follow in the next two chapters.

The handling of these various contexts and forms as a kind of open system, rather than a causal chain or hierarchy in which belief derives from ritual and experience derives from belief (or some other such arrangement is posited), allows each context and each form to be studied on its own terms. It is quite clear from the data given here that experiences of twiceborn conversion, spiritual baptism, and anointing are not necessarily evoked by ritual settings, or "preprogrammed" by belief. Neither does experience always occur when there have been efforts made to evoke it, or to awaken faith that it can and will occur.

This approach is radically different from that taken in much of the scholarship on Pentecostal groups, and, indeed, on almost any group in which religion clearly has experiential components in the form of trance states, ecstasy, or unusual abilities (e.g., firewalking). In many studies, experience is presented only as the result of suggestion and emotional excitation, training, and ritual settings.¹⁸ In this particular local culture, such a perspective would distort ethnographic reality quite seriously.

The perspective of the open system, in which belief, ritual, norms, ideologies, and personal experiences are considered as interconnected and equally important forms and contexts in which certain cultural elements appear, is especially suited to the purposes of ethno-science. In presenting "the native's point of view" on these elements, it is vital that each form and context be treated as valid in itself, and connected in multiple ways to all the other forms and contexts of the same element. I strongly suspect that, for a good many of my informants, it is this combination of independence and multiple connections which makes it possible for them to believe their new beliefs, enter into the spirit of their new rituals, and trust in the validity and interpretability of their new experiences. Some are physicians; some are computer programmers or skilled technicians or high school teachers. They are comfortable and efficient in using western forms of logic and reason. Though religion "works" for them in a way that is more exotic and complex in its experiential elements than is typical in western, urban, middle-class Christianity, they nevertheless function quite well in the urban, western, middle-class world. In short, local charismatic culture is not the kind of culture in which one might expect

that belief could derive from ritual, and experience from belief. If it were that simple, very few of my informants would be charismatics.

Frankly, I doubt if it is ever really that simple, for anybody, anywhere. If Geertz's definition of religion has a reasonable amount of crosscultural validity, religion convinces and satisfies for reasons almost as complicated as the people it works for.

CHAPTER IV

THE NINE CHARISMATA

Knowledge is gained by learning; trust by doubt;
skill by practice; and love by love.

Thomas Szasz¹

The charismata or "gifts" of the Holy Spirit are essentially forms of participation, from the charismatic point of view, in the supernatural actions of God. They are given, it is believed, to enable ordinary people to continue the various "works" of Christ: explaining divine truths in an effective manner; hearing and conveying utterances spoken by God; bringing about miracles of various kinds; driving out demons; and administering divine healing. Like baptism in or the release of the Holy Spirit, they are experienced as bringing the divine Presence and anointing into one's own being, but they are active rather than passive. Human actions, along with the choice to act and decisions about when and how to act, are inseparable from the experiences associated with the charismata. They therefore bind religion and the empirical world together in a unique way, contributing elements of participation and cooperation to the religious system which are not like more general participation in ritual; not like believing in, say, the Apostles' Creed; not like passive forms of mystical experience.

The nine gifts of the Spirit are listed in 1 Corinthians 12.4-11, and this is where charismatic thought about them begins.

The passage reads:

Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.
And there are diversities of administrations, but the same Lord.

And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.

But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.

For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit;

To another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit.

To another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another diverse kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues;

But all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.

The members of the Church, with their diverse gifts, are then compared to the parts of a physical body, which are neither all alike nor independent of one another, but must establish unity in diversity in order to comprise a whole — the Body of Christ (12.12-31).

This passage is followed, as local charismatics often point out to one another, by the famous 1 Corinthians 13 description of agápe, God's love, or love which is like His and made possible by Him. Chapter fourteen, which returns to the subject of the charismata and their use, opens with the admonition, "Put love first. . . ." And so, by and large, people do: most of my informants become more upset with themselves when they fail to show genuine love than when they feel inspired to prophesy and do not do so, or when they pray for physical healing for someone and it is not forthcoming. They are also far more likely to listen to, and emulate,

loving individuals who do not exercise the gifts than unloving individuals who do.

Beyond this basis, however, local concepts of each of the gifts are drawn from examples of it elsewhere in the Bible, and from memorates and legends heard locally or found in books and on tape recordings of conference addresses (Lorne and Jill Rostotski have a veritable lending library of such tapes, and various leaders and associates of the Marian Community sometimes bring tapes to play as a form of teaching at meetings).² Local belief is also in constant evolution through discussion at prayer meetings, through public talks given at Women's Aglow and Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship meetings, and through the normal social processes of the exchange of news and opinions. At the Cuffs', for example, a hesitantly-delivered prophecy spoken by a member who has not prophesied before (or only seldom before) will usually spark a lively exchange of analytic comments, personal experiences, suggestions, and questions: Did he know what he was going to say before he said it? How was the compositional process different from that of normal utterance? How did he ascertain that it was in fact God (rather than Satan or his own imagination) who was authoring the words? Did it have special relevance to any of the listeners: was anyone especially struck by its content in relation to their own current needs? Had he experienced violent palpitations of the heart before or during his utterance? Had anyone, or everyone, felt the anointing descend, and if so, at what precise moment? Had anyone else "had" the prophecy at the same time and in the same general words? The Cuffs may discuss such questions during the meeting

itself, thus exposing everyone present to the new information produced, and shared belief therefore evolves more quickly and with more unity there than at the other two groups, where discussion is more frequently held in small groups after the meeting or outside it, but such discussions are fairly common among those who are experiencing and attempting to gain maturity in the use of various gifts (perhaps 20% of the total community). For those who do participate in them, these discussions are by far the most powerful of all the influences present upon belief and practice. (Dubious discussions, which also take place at the Worship Centre and occasionally among Marian Community members, are of course an equally powerful influence.)

Glossolalia

I here discuss the charismata in the order of decreasing prevalence among members of the three groups, beginning with the gift of tongues. My initial impression from the first two years of interviewing and participant observation was that very nearly everyone who felt he had received spiritual baptism felt he had also received the "gift" of tongues. For many, in all three groups, this is indeed the case. However, there has for several years been teaching current in the Marian Community, the Cuffs' group and its Bonavista parent group, and the Pentecostal Assemblies in which the Worship Centre has its roots which argues that there are two different kinds of tongues. What I shall here term "private" tongues is the "sign" of baptism in the Spirit, and is often called "the gateway to all the other gifts", though some members of the community believe that other gifts can be

received prior to tongues.³ This is for personal prayer and praise to God, and may be used in chorus with others, at home alone, as silent prayer at any time, and when "entering in" to God's presence during spoken prayer with one or more others. This gift is believed in and used by more people in the local charismatic community than any other, and can be heard at any prayer meeting I know of, on any given occasion. I have named the second kind "public" tongues, for it consists of utterances to be spoken loudly, addressed to a group, and interpreted by someone else (or occasionally by the speaker). Lorne Rostotski explained the differences when he was asked to discuss practical issues in spiritual baptism with the youth group of the Pentecostal church in Long Pond, near St. John's:

A lot of people think that when you receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit and you speak in tongues, that you receive the gift of tongues. Now, that has not been my experience. When I received the baptism of the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues, in 1970, I prayed almost daily, for the next eight years, in tongues. As well as in English. And it wasn't until 1978 that I received the gift of tongues. And if I can just try and tell you the difference between the two, one is -- when you receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit, it is your spirit, through the utterance that God gives you, praying to God. Worshipping God. Interceding; praying intercessory prayer, and so on. It is through you, up to the Lord -- I say "up"; you know what I mean; out to God. Where I found that the gift of tongues is the reverse: it's where the Spirit of the Lord speaks through you to one individual person, or a congregation of people or a gathering of people. And that is then accompanied by the interpretation of tongues. Because otherwise no one would understand what is being said. (Tape 49, side A)

Steve Clark, whose book Baptized in the Spirit and Spiritual Gifts is published by the Catholic Charismatic Renewal Service Committee and available at the Marian Community prayer meetings, makes the same distinction between the two.⁴

The ability to pray in tongues privately is deeply enjoyed by everyone I have asked about it. Anne Harkaway and Cliff Brown both received the ability during times of longing for eloquence to put their love of God into adequate words; Connie LeBlanc of the Peace, Love, and Joy Community, Bathurst, New Brunswick, commented, "Sometimes when I pray in tongues, I can tell with my whole being that I'm praising God" (Tape 27, side A).

Father Philip J. Lewis of St. Paul's Parish, East Meadows, St. John's, has also exercised both public and private tongues. He described them for The Newfoundland Herald in this way:

The gift of tongues is the silliest, simplest, most common of the charismatic gifts, and it is the most baffling and the most misunderstood. It operates in two forms really. One is the speaking of a message from God in a strange language . . . then it needs an interpretation. The other use is much more common . . . it's used as a simple gift of prayer.

I have a concept inside me and I have to translate that idea into a mental word inside me and then I have to translate that mental word into a spoken word. You hear it, and then have to translate it into a mental word and then translate your mental word into an idea before you can get my idea on your heart, and this is one of the major difficulties of human communication. It's like talking through brambles. . . . What happens in the prayer of tongues is that the spirit of God sort of short-circuits this process and the idea that I have does not have to be translated so many times. It immediately can become a spoken word.

If I'm praying and I'm praising God and saying those words, well, I can just slip into tongues and the idea just comes across. I'm just praising God. And the concept or the feeling or the desire I have to praise Him just comes out, in a lot of old nonsense perhaps. Although there are certain times that words have been spoken that have been identified as an actual language. . . .

My experience is that when I pray in tongues I become very peaceful, very quiet, and I know I'm in total communication with God, and I don't have to worry about what I'm saying. It's almost invariably when I'm praying in tongues that I get these strange discernments I was telling you about.

I shall return to Father Phil's "strange discernments" when discussing the word of knowledge. For the moment, three key factors in his

description of "private" tongues as an experience stand out as particularly representative elements: its peace; its "short circuiting," freeing the speaker from having to think about what he is saying; and its sense of "total communication with God." Edmund Wyse, who conducted a study on both types of tongues as experienced by members of the Good Shepherd Community in Freshwater in 1977, found these three factors very common in their descriptions of private tongues.⁶ One member summed up these aspects of experience by commenting: "It has given me an ease and freedom in relating and conversing with my Saviour" (p. 16). Some of his questionnaire respondents went into striking experiential detail. One, a man about twenty-seven, wrote:

To be touched by God's presence is to be overwhelmed by His Spirit. A Spirit of peace and a release so powerful that we are compelled to praise Him in words unutterable because our human facilities and intellect are not enough. St. Augustine, who obviously prayed and sung in tongues many times said that anything less than God is not really worthy of jubilation; according to Augustine expresses in inarticulate sounds an unutterable, but inexpressible joy. It results from our experiences of the inexpressible mystery of God. He who jubilates utters not words but a wordless sound of joy. The voice of his heart pours forth joy as intensely as possible, expressing its affection in the best way it can, without reflection or any particular thoughts. To manifest his joy the man does not use words that can be pronounced or understood, but bursts forth into sounds of exaltation without words. This is tongues indeed.

Some of his respondents had spoken publicly in tongues, but did not describe the experience in detail. Nora Perham, a member of the Worship Centre raised in the Anglican Church on Bell Island, near St. John's, described private tongues as having several functions, accompanied by different emotional or experiential qualities: among them, she especially mentioned "self-edification," or "being built up from within." Public tongues, she said, did not necessarily "build up" the speaker or produce a feeling of joy in him, because the speaker

is not meant to be the principal benefactor. "When it's for the church . . . you have a mission; . . . it could be of compassion, and therefore your feeling is going to be different" (Tape 20, side A). The "compassion" might be the motive of the speaker in obeying God by speaking, or it could be the central thrust of the "message" being conveyed from God to the people. Don Cuff described private tongues as "a source of strength you can draw upon to build yourself up, because the word 'edified' here in the Greek means to charge, like you'd charge a battery . . . so when I speak in tongues, I charge myself up" (Tape 6-2, side A).

Deciding to Speak in Tongues: Public and Private

Classical Pentecostal tradition, according to several "disgruntled Pentecostals" among my informants, holds that tongue-speaking is nonevocable and uncontrollable. Physically uncontrolled (and supposedly involuntary) movements are often made by people speaking in tongues in classical Pentecostal churches in the area. People tremble violently, stagger about, and often have a blank expression, as if the facial muscles are not being used to express emotion as they normally are. These things I have seen myself; an informant from Twillingate adds that on a visit to the Pentecostal church there, she observed an acquaintance of hers fall back, straight-bodied and rigid, so that his head hit the back of the pew, his heels rested on the floor, and no other part of his body was supported. In this position he spoke in tongues for several minutes (f.n. 5/12/83). Another informant adds that he has sometimes seen people "bite pew-backs" and "foam at the mouth" when speaking in tongues in various Pentecostal churches in the Conception Bay area. Both informants were visibly frightened and

disturbed as they described these events.

In charismatic groups, tongue-speaking is considered fully under the control of the speaker, and such demonstrations of loss of control are therefore not necessary in order for the speech to be considered inspired, either by the speaker or by listeners. In addition, classical Pentecostals apparently sometimes consider only certain phonetic patterns "real" tongues (Tape 3-2, side A). Again, this is not so in charismatic groups. In general, people pray in tongues privately whenever they have the desire, and frequently begin prayer with tongues in the same way as is used to begin meetings: as a means of transition, or "entering in" to God's presence and to communication with Him. It is, among other things, sometimes experienced as a way of yielding oneself to God before beginning to pray, which is felt to help one pray appropriately and realistically ("in God's will"). The Browns, however, perhaps because of their strong Pentecostal background, feel somewhat differently about the voluntary nature of prayer in tongues. Cliff does not attempt to speak in tongues, though there are occasions when, during times of worship and praise at the church, he feels that if he were to say anything, "it wouldn't be in English" (Tape 3-2, side B); his wife Janice does pray deliberately in tongues when she feels confused about the proper way to pray about a given situation, but says that "of course you have to be feeling quite close to God and quite worshipful in your prayers to begin to pray in tongues; you wouldn't just, say, be able to say 'I must pray in tongues about it'" (Tape 3-1, side B). Liz O'Brien, Don Cuff, Lorne Rostotaki, and many other local charismatics do pray deliberately in tongues whenever they feel the desire or need to do so, and the Marian Community, as noted in Chapter II, praises God

collectively in tongues, both spoken and sung, at the beginning of every prayer meeting.

Public tongues is, understandably, rather threatening for everyone who has discussed it with me, for not only does it require drawing attention to oneself in a marked manner, but it requires "validation" in the form of interpretation--usually by someone other than the tongue-speaker. It is not likely to be considered "fake" if no interpretation is forthcoming, for people recognize that interpretation is frightening too, and may have been "given" by God to someone who was too uncertain and shy to say anything. However, public tongue-speakers sometimes say that they fear being considered wrongly "led" if no interpretation is given.

Evaluating Tongues: Public and Private

In general, tongues are given credibility by all three groups: I have never heard the possibility of human, demonic, or any other inspirational source other than God mentioned. As a sort of extra kind of credibility, however, local narratives sometimes report that people have heard recognized, literally understood languages used in both public and private utterances. One of Wyse's respondents said of a local nun, "once during our prayer meetings, one of our sisters had a word [e.g., a public utterance] in tongues, which was identified with a human language."⁸ Another reported hearing what people thought was Gaelic there on one occasion, and German on another.⁹ More striking reports were given to me by Ray Golobiewski, Janice Brown, Don Cuff, and Lorne Rostotski. Mr. Golobiewski told a local group that, at a Full Gospel Business Men's meeting in another city, he had prayed aloud in tongues (that is, in prayer tongues or private tongues) with a

Canadian television producer. When he paused, the man looked up and asked him to repeat what he had just said, and he did so. "Okay," the man said, "we'll try it again." Seeing Golobiewski's puzzled look, he then added, "Do you know what you're saying? You're speaking Portuguese. You're saying, 'Don't give up on the project you're working on, because I am in it'." He explained that some of his crew members had walked off the job recently, and that he had been thinking of abandoning the project. He had learned Portuguese in Brazil, where the project was being done (f.n. 1/22/83). Janice Brown recalled that her friend Tim Tahani, now involved in diplomatic work in Washington, D.C., had attended Elin Tabernacle when he came to Memorial University from his native Basutoland. During one service when Janice was present, fifteen-year-old Mary Drodge gave a public utterance in tongues, and Tim commented afterward that he had understood most of what she had said. It was, he explained, a dialect of Swahili spoken by some of the people in his region at home. He was not particularly surprised by this, and apparently found the message appropriate for its context: he simply mentioned it casually to friends after the service. Janice also spoke to Mary Drodge afterward (who now lives in mainland Canada). Mary had not felt anything unusual when giving this utterance; it was just "tongues" to her, though she felt rather pressured by the heightened expectations of holiness, or specialness, she felt others placed upon her after the event (Tape 3-2, side A). Don Cuff was also at Elin one evening when a woman stood and gave a public utterance in tongues. An Iranian student, a nonchristian who was visiting the service, stood up pale and shaking, and said that the woman had been speaking Persian, in the first-person, as Jesus, saying that He is the Christ. Don said

that the student left the church very quickly (Tape 6-4, side A).

Lorne Rostotski told the Long Pond Pentecostal youth group how a friend of his had been praying aloud in private tongues at a charismatic meeting, and a medical missionary who had worked in Bangladesh came up to him afterward. Lorne described their interaction in this way:

He said, "Bill, do you know what language you're speaking?" Bill says, "No, it's--it's just my prayer language that I received when I received the baptism of the Holy Spirit." "Oh," he says, "But I understood everything you said." He says, "I was in Bangladesh as a medical missionary. And what you're doing, you're speaking a dialect of Bangladesh." And he said, "You were praying in intercession; you were praising; you were praying for individuals," he said, "I understood everything you said." (Tape 49, side B)

I have heard another six or seven such accounts, and some appear--sometimes as memorate, sometimes as second-hand memorate, and sometimes as legend--in some of the popular sources read by local people.¹⁰

Some people feel that they possess more than one "prayer language," explaining that they hear different aural patterns on different occasions, sometimes accompanied by an intuitive sense of change in topic or purpose (cf. Tape 6-2, side A). Many pray daily, or almost daily, in tongues, and some pray or sing in tongues while doing household chores, driving, or falling asleep. Current practice in the Marian Community concentrates private tongues during the period of choral praise at the beginning of the service; the Worship Centre members use it primarily in similar situations, and also when praying for one another in pairs or small groups at the altar. The Cuffa' group uses it most of the three, for praise, for collective prayer led by individual speakers (in English), and simply to add--I surmise--a power of some kind to any spiritual undertaking: prayer for healing or deliverance, intercession about local or international situations, praise, or

requests for divine guidance. Public tongues is also uttered more frequently at the Cuffs' (or by Don when he attends the Worship Centre, which he does whenever Redeemed is not playing at another church) than at other groups with which I am familiar.¹¹

Prophecy and the Interpretation of Tongues

Public utterances in tongues have been rare in my fieldwork except at the Cuffs' meetings. Until Don began to attend the Worship Centre in early 1983, only Harold Andrews had exercised the gift during services when I was present; at the Marian Community I heard only two or three such utterances given in several months of attendance. On each of these occasions, there was a pause of ten to sixty seconds, after which another member of the group spoke in English. Lorne Rostotski's description of typical resemblances and discrepancies between tongues and interpretations well fits my own experience:

A lot of people are kind of caught up on the interpretation business, because they think that um, it's a translation. And sometimes I've heard where, what has been said in tongues, you may hear a particular phrase repeated a number of times in tongues. Then you hear in English a phrase repeated several times, coinciding, almost like a translation. But yet I've been in places where the message in tongues has been a very long one, and the interpretation very short. Because it is an interpretation. And I think that is, ah, very interesting to know; it's valuable to know because it, it keeps you from getting hung up on many of these things. (Tape 49, side A)

Deciding to Interpret

When public tongues is spoken in a group, those familiar with the phenomenon in terms of local belief (as most of those present usually are) stand quietly and wait for an interpretation to be given. There is an increasing tendency in the Cuffs' group, and among some members of the Worship Centre, to spend this time "listening" to God, open to the possibility that He might "give" the interpretation to them.

Some are not open to this possibility; others consider it possible that He might ask, but are too nervous to consider obeying. Some intense internal struggles can go on between the end of the tongues and the beginning of the interpretation (which has been forthcoming from someone, eventually, on every occasion when I have been present).

Some people in all three groups, however, experience very definite, clear, sensory cues which they have learned to associate with the divine command to interpret, to prophesy, or to speak publicly in tongues. Don Cuff once mentioned after public tongues that, while praying, he had felt a sensation in his midriff "like a cloud coming up inside me, and the impression came to my mind, 'message'. And I said, 'Lord, do You want to speak again?' And He did" (f.n. 3/1/83). (One of Joseph Ryan's Catholic informants trembles inside if he hesitates before prophesying; another said he feels "as if you were a bottle being filled with water, and it was gradually coming to the top."¹²) When I interviewed Don about this, he explained the process in more detail:

The most common way it happens with, with me is that all of a sudden I realize that the Lord wants to speak. And at the same time I realize that the Lord is saying, "I want to use you." So immediately my mind goes into gear and I say [silently], "Well, Lord? Is this Your Spirit? Do You want to speak to Your people through tongues?" And I wait until I get a "yes" to each question. And I ask the Lord does He want to use me. And sometimes, depending on the situation, I might ask Him when does He want to speak, so that the [perfect] timing would be there. So then, after I'm satisfied that this is what He's wanting to do, then I'm ready to be used. At that point I may feel something, a quickening in my spirit, or I may not feel anything. I think either way you should be ready to be used. Sometimes the Lord, sometimes the Lord just wants you to have that simple, ah, act of faith on your part, to be willing to speak simply because He has spoken to you now, in telling you to. At other times I've felt such a, a burden that I wanted to speak that I felt that if I wasn't going to get it out pretty soon, I was going to burst, you see? I think you've got to learn to know the Lord's voice, so that

you don't have to depend on any emotion or any, you know, quick heartbeat feeling, or something like this, to, to get you going. (Tape 6-2, side A)

This "realization" that the Lord is about to speak has been mentioned by quite a number of people who are more confused about their proper role, or who are sure it is to be passive. A hush has often fallen over groups--particularly the Cuffs' and the Worship Centre--before a prophecy or an utterance in tongues is spoken. At times it has seemed possible to me that this expectation was aroused by the typicality of the stage in the meeting or service as a possible occasion for inspired utterance, for there is a reasonably consistent pattern. However, several people have often commented after meetings or services that they were conducting similar internal dialogues, and experiencing similar "realizations," before the utterance was given. The practice of internal dialogue before exercising the charismata is based partly upon human uncertainty, and partly upon 1 John 4:1-3:

Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is of God;

And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God.

Both Don and Lorne frequently wait, even if they "have the interpretation," to see if someone else will gain courage and speak instead. Both believe that God often gives an interpretation to more than one person at a time, and sometimes they may even verbally encourage others to "listen." One evening at the Cuffs', for example, Don spoke in public tongues for about two minutes, during which his voice broke at one point, with what bordered upon a sob of love and longing. His voice rose and fell, speeded and slowed, as if he were saying

something very impassioned and moving in English. When he had finished, he quietly said that those present should be prepared to receive the interpretation, and that in order to be prepared they must listen: "God's voice is small and quiet, but it's real." He added that it takes courage to try "stepping out" by offering the interpretation. He waited four to five minutes, but there was no response; only quiet murmurs of praise. Some of the people seemed intent, though: heads were lowered, eyes closed, brows drawn together, as if perhaps trying to decide whether they "had" it or not. Finally Don gave the interpretation himself:

Oh, My children, I love you. I delight in your praise. . . . I showed My love for you when I went to the Cross . . . and I have only you to tell them [e.g., the people of the world] of My love. Will you take My love to them? The fields are white for harvest. . . . (f.n. 12/8/82)

The tongues and the interpretation were approximately the same length in this case, and Don's voice broke in approximately the same place. On the basis of my experiences with him, I think it very unlikely that this was done consciously, much less done for effect. I have seen him weep because he felt he had failed to obey God; it would have been thoroughly out of character for him to deliberately interject anything into either utterance which he knew was his own idea.

When the group had praised God quietly for a minute or two following the interpretation, Jill Rostotski commented that she had had a similar phrase in her mind before he began it. "You said, 'Oh My children', and I had 'My little children', and I thought, 'Oh, Lord, don't do this to me; do this to Don', and I wasn't sure," she explained. Don said that all he had had when he began to interpret was "Oh My children." There was some discussion back and forth about the way interpretations and prophecies often seem, in the experience of several

group members, to come only as they are being given aloud. Don commented that such small differences in wording were relatively common among people receiving the same interpretation at the same time. Lorne at the Worship Centre, and Deacon Rick Barnett at the Marian Community, have both suggested to the assembled groups that individuals learning to use these gifts test them by asking God, when they feel prompted to speak, to give the prophecy or interpretation to someone else. If it is the same (in its essentials) as they would have said themselves, then the gift was from God. (f.n. 5/7/83; f.n. 5/12/83).

There are two related "post hoc" methods of testing one's inspired utterances, both provided by other members of the group. First, individuals may approach the speaker later and say that they knew he was being told by God to speak, either because they sensed the anointing descending upon him, or because they asked God who was to speak, and He told them. Second, individuals may tell the speaker that ideas or key words in his prophecy or interpretation had been brought to their attention earlier in the meeting or the day (or, occasionally, the week) during private Bible reading, conversation with another member, or through some other means connected in their minds with God's current leading of the group.

Deciding to Prophecy

Deciding to prophecy involves largely the same kinds of processes: the major difference seems to be that prophecy, having no "trumpeter" to precede it--which is one of the results, if not the purposes, of public tongues preceding interpretation--has to make its entrance unannounced, and is therefore potentially more frightening for

the speaker. The reverent hush which often precedes both can, however, mitigate this fear by demonstrating to the speaker that he is not the only person who feels that God wants to say something. Steve Clark, a Catholic charismatic leader at the Word of God Community in Ann Arbor, Michigan, wrote:

The experience of giving interpretations is similar to the experience of prophecy. The interpreter, like the speaker in tongues, does not understand the tongues (1 Cor. 14.2,14). In other words, the gift of interpretation is not a gift of translation. It is an urging to speak words which are given. 13

Prophecy in all three groups is defined, not as predictions concerning the future (though these are occasionally given in prophetic utterance), but as anything the speaker feels he is being directed by God to convey to the group. This definition is similar to, and may well be based upon, the biblical assignment of the term "prophetic" to the books of the Old Testament from Isaiah to Malachi. Those who prophesy locally, however, do not consider themselves prophets. Belief seems to hold, in general, that the gifts are primarily existential rather than normative; to return to the terms used above with regard to the anointing. Normative functions of prophet, pastor-teacher, evangelist or apostle, and humblest "offices," such as the giving of hospitality and encouragement, are believed to be God-given, but local people are quite hesitant to claim them. Only at the Atlantic Provinces Catholic Charismatic Conference in 1981 have I seen those considered to possess the "word gifts" (public tongues, interpretation, prophecy, knowledge, and wisdom) formally segregated as "special." There, these individuals sat on the stage with the invited speakers, and only they were permitted to give "words from the Lord" of these various kinds. At least one local Catholic charismatic felt that this was "boxing God

in," hampering him from using anyone he chose to use. In general, local opinion is that openness and humility before God are the primary qualities determining whether one may be "used" or not. The words do not come from the individual speaking, people reason, so the speaker's own wisdom and maturity are more or less irrelevant. However, confidence in prophesying, and proficiency at identifying the "voice" of God as opposed to demonic or imaginary counterfeits, are recognized as the product of experience and learning. Therefore, while prophecies may be given by newly-Spirit-filled charismatics, or by members of the prayer groups who are not considered especially wise or mature in their thinking, they are more frequently given by people who are confident that they do know how to identify God's "voice."

One of the signs of cultural unity between the three groups is that the content and style of prophetic utterance is quite similar in all three. It is usually given in kind, authoritative, but very simple terms, and is rarely phrased in any formulaic terms (there is little "King James English," for example, as there sometimes is in classical Pentecostal prophecies and interpretations).¹⁴ Biblical terms and metaphors are frequent, however. It is very rare in the Worship Centre; Lorne Rostotski and Vicky Dave are the only individuals I have heard exercise this gift there, though others have sometimes commented that they thought they "had" a prophecy but lacked the courage and certainty to give it. Lorne has told me several times that particular prophecies have rather frightened him as he heard himself speak them, as was the case with the one about vessels cleaned on their outside surfaces, referred to in Chapter II (p. 220). This prophecy, and the others which he has found personally threatening to speak, have had to do with

the congregation's hesitancy in seeking spiritual baptism and the gifts, and accepting them as genuine when they occur. Joyce Senior has done the majority of the prophesying I have heard at the Cuffs' group, and also most of the interpretation of tongues, though other members do both from time to time. Joyce's prophecies are often long and detailed and loaded with information about the character, thoughts, desires, and intentions of God. Joyce has been baptised in the Spirit for over forty years, and spends an unusually large amount of her time in prayer (perhaps three to six hours a day, depending on what she feels should be prayed about). These two factors account, in Don Cuff's mind and perhaps in others', for the comparative length, detail, and high theological content of her prophecies. Don carries several prophecies around with him in a small notebook, transcribed from his tape recordings of prayer meetings at his home. This one, given by Joyce, is one he copied down, feeling that it was worth meditating upon:

My little children, give Me all your heart. Do not hide anything from Me: For I am the Lord your God. I am your heavenly Father; I am omniscient, My children. I know all things. I know deep within the recesses of your being. I know your thoughts afar off. My children, be not afraid of Me. Be not afraid of My love for you. Don't give Me just a portion of yourself. Give Me your all, My children; for I have poured out My all to you. Do you not realize the Lord your God delights to honour His children? I take great delight in My children. I have redeemed you, I have bought you, I have restored you to Myself. I desire to make you vessels unto honour and to My glory, prepared for My use, that My Holy Spirit might dwell in you, that you might learn to be completely obedient to Me, that you might learn to be faithful in all things to which I have called you.

My children, around you are great needs. Your neighbours have yearning needs; they are eternal souls. They reach out with a need deep within them to be met. They need to know that you have a loving God: My love within you flowing out to them. Oh, My children, I have only you to use; you are what I design on this earth to do My work. I'll give you My Spirit, that you might go forth and minister to those that have not been drawn into the family and fold of God. These I long to bring.

I long to use you to pray and seek My face that you might be filled with My Holy Spirit, that you might be prepared to minister and to witness and to bring them in. Oh, let the world see the love of God in your life; let the world see My concern in you, flooding out from you to them. Let the world see the light of Jesus within you. . . . The Lord will put His stamp of approval on those who yield their all to Him.

I love you, My children. Be not weary of self-doing. Be not weary of sacrificing for Me. I have sacrificed all that I had for you. I gave you everything, I poured out all My being, and now, My children, lay your all on the altar before Me. Let your bodies be a living sacrifice before the Lord your God. . . . 15

The Marian Community, and its affiliate in Tors Cove, the Sacred Heart Prayer Community, share a feature I have not seen (though I think it would be accepted as genuinely inspired) at the other two groups: visual prophecies. In the majority of cases, an individual speaking prophetically is attempting to "pass on" sentences he is "hearing" in his mind. He speaks in the first person, trying to repeat exactly what he hears, or at least to render the ideas he is "receiving" as accurately as possible. In some instances in the Marian Community, individuals have said that they are "seeing" a particular scene in the mind's eye, which they interpret as a metaphorical message from the Lord. Often, people explain that they were not sure whether this "message" was meant only for themselves or was to be shared with the group, until something was said by another participant which seemed to "confirm" the mental image as germane to the Lord's overall message to the group for that meeting. On other occasions, visual prophecies may be experienced well in advance of a prayer meeting, and "shared" there simply as important insights into the state of the world, or the Church, or the prayer group. For example, one evening at the Marian Community, a man in his late thirties told the group that he had recently had an experience of this type during his morning time of prayer. He had

seen Jesus standing on a mountain, while all around Him crowds of people were struggling to reach Him. One group was trying to negotiate a large bog; another was traveling easily over even ground; others were standing back, not attempting to reach Him. He explained this as a visual metaphor for the current status of Christianity on earth (f.n. 11/30/82).

Prophecies which combine visual and verbal elements also occur, and these also may be experienced during prayer meetings, and interpreted as germane to the precise direction of that particular meeting, or received much earlier, and recounted as a more general type of insight or information. One of the five pastoral leaders of the Sacred Heart Prayer Community, related a visual prophecy which she described as having both situational and more general relevance. The Atlantic Provinces Catholic Charismatic Renewal Conference had been held a couple of weeks before, and she told the Tors Cove group that she had had a vision during that conference which seemed to be coming to her again as the prayer meeting began. She had seen God the Father holding the world and all of its people in His hands:

And the words came to me: "My Son has borne every hurt and sin you have ever borne or ever will bear. My children, turn to Him, My Son. He knows your heart better than you ever will." All night, the same vision is coming to me. I can see Our Lord—I can't describe the feelings I have for Jesus, to think He's gone through every blessed thing every human being has ever gone through. That's true, and all we have to do is believe it. (f.n. 8/14/81)

There are such metaphorical visions recorded in some of the early numbers of the Newfoundland Pentecostal Evangel, a church periodical, and of course there are biblical precedents (e.g., Jeremiah 24).¹⁶ Various members of the other prayer groups have told me that they have had vivid mental images appear during private prayer,

and have interpreted them metaphorically, but these have not been described as a form of prophecy in the other prayer meetings as far as I know. Verbal metaphors have, however, formed important elements in prophecies at both groups. Joyce Senior gave one prophecy in which she rebuked the group for failing to "drink" only from the Spirit of God, and for "drinking" instead from man-made religious forms. She paraphrased Jeremiah 2.13 in this prophecy, which reads:

My people have committed two evils; they have forsaken
me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns,
broken cisterns that can hold no water.

Lorne Rostotski's prophecy at the Worship Centre, using Christ's metaphor of vessels cleaned only on their outsides to signify people who follow only outward forms of religiosity (Matthew 23.35), is another example of metaphorical prophecy. It may well be that in some cases, prophecies delivered in purely "verbal" form, like Lorne's and Joyce's, rather than as descriptions of scenes mentally perceived, may have visual elements in their compositional processes. It appears to be a difference in the styles of the groups, rather than a difference in the phenomena associated with the reception of prophecies, which accounts for the greater incidence of scene-descriptions the Marian and Sacred Heart Communities, but further research would be necessary to establish this.

Evaluating Interpretations and Prophecies

In terms of form, content, style, and performance context, interpretation and prophecy are not really separate genres. While there is a certain consistency across individual performances and across groups which can be emically interpreted in terms of a single inspirational source, there is also a certain divine "personality" associated

with prophecies and interpretations which are considered genuine. (As noted above, it is very rare for any prophecy to be openly rejected in a prayer meeting, but the response of listeners varies in intensity, and occasionally seems dubious.) The prophecies and interpretations which often have the greatest impact on the subsequent beliefs of listeners are often accompanied by some form of anointing, as well. The "personality" conveyed in inspired utterance is fatherly, usually loving, occasionally stern; interested in deep, genuine relationships with individuals and in the evangelism of the world: these are the dominant themes or characteristics I have noted in inspired utterances in these three and other local groups. There is more variety in the themes and ideas conveyed in prophecy and interpretation at the Cuffs' group than I have heard anywhere else. A comment of Don's regarding the variability of the charismata in general between various groups and congregations probably reflects his interpretation of the reasons for this. On most of the occasions when I have heard individuals in the three groups make personal evaluations of particular prophecies or interpretations as being "from the Lord" or "not from the Lord," they have discussed the interplay of divine and human factors much as Don does here:

I think it's a combination of both. It's a manifestation of the Holy Spirit in a multitude of ways, and there's also the human element there: how the person reacts to the Holy Spirit at a particular time. The personality; his conditioning in the church—what the pastor will tolerate. Some pastors will tolerate a lot of freedom; other pastors like to keep a certain restraint upon the church. Again, how the Spirit is moving in that church: ah, the level of growth along spiritual lines, in the gifts of the Spirit and the manifestations of the Spirit amongst the people. I think everything just comes together. The Lord, in His wisdom, moves in accordance to what the people are able to receive and He leaves it at that. As the people grow more, and are open to more workings, more varied manifestations of the Spirit, then they're granted as well. (Tape 6-4, side A)

Many of the factors he lists here are, of course, relevant to cultural explanations of variation between groups, as well as to religious ones.

I also asked Don what he thought the relationship was between interpretation and prophecy: whether they differed in function or in content. (Here, as elsewhere, following the dictates of common courtesy and ethnographic training, my questions were phrased in the idiom of the prayer group.)

CC: Is there any reason you're aware of why the Lord might choose to speak through tongues and interpretation rather than through prophecy?

DC: None except that tongues are a sign to the unbelievers, as Paul says [1 Corinthians 14.22]. But He still uses tongues and interpretation when there are no unbelievers present. Well, I don't know; maybe just a quirk of the manifestation of the Holy Spirit.

CC: Is there any difference in the kinds of messages that come through tongues and interpretation and the messages that come through prophecy?

DC: Ah, prophecy tends to be more comforting, more exhorting, more edifying, uplifting. Ah, tongues and interpretation can be something more direct, to the person. I've seen it happen that way sometimes. Ah, even to the point of the . . . Lord being a little bit stern with them. And it went the way of tongues and interpretation rather than prophecy. Maybe so that the Lord won't violate the Word which says that prophecy is for comfort and edification and exhortation [1 Corinthians 14.3]. That's about the only thing I could think of there. I've seen that happen very, very seldom.

CC: So tongues and interpretation is sometimes for one particular person who's there?

DC: Definitely, yeah.

CC: Does there tend to be a pattern within one prayer group--um, a coherence, from one tongues and interpretation to the next, to the next, over a period of time?

DC: How do you mean?

CC: Do there seem to be themes running through what the Lord says?

DC: Like throughout the evening, do you mean?

CC: Throughout the evening, or over a period of time with one group, or across groups.

DC: Yeah, I think so. 'Cause I've, just this weekend I was out to Bonavista and I mentioned something that the Lord has been sharing with us through tongues and interpretation at a certain meeting, and somebody spoke up and said, 'You know, the Lord was saying the same thing to us there, oh, last year,' in a specific message that they were able to recall. So I guess the Lord has certain things that He wants all His children to know, and certain basic important things that He wants to dwell on. So there could be a similarity and a repetition of the theme, yes. Very easily. (Tape 6-2, side B)

Later, I asked him explicitly about the phrasal conventions I had noticed within particular groups, giving him examples such as the common use of "My children, I love you . . ." as an opening for interpretation or prophecy at the Marian Community. (This particular convention had by this time been commented upon to me by a member of the Marian group, who had said dryly that everyone knew prophecies were supposed to start that way, or I expect I would have searched for a more "emic" way to ask about it.) It was a new and, at first, apparently a troubling thought for Don. I mentioned the existence of nonverbal conventions as well, asking why he thought Jericho Marches might be common in one church and unheard of in another, if utterance and actions alike were inspired "by the same Spirit which worketh all in all." Pondering this problem, he suggested that the Spirit gives the joy which motivates action, the ideas which are then clothed in words, but that human creativity, culture, and personality put the shape upon the "manifestations" of the Spirit (Tape 6-4, side A). When I shared this suggestion with other local charismatics, they thought it was very sensible, and accorded well with the character of the gentle Creator of free will as they believe they know Him. Many, however, remain very dubious of Jericho Marches and of a good many other aspects of classical

Pentecostal tradition attributed to the inspiration of the Spirit.

There is no good way to provide samples of "typical" prophecies or interpretations--much less typical utterances in tongues--from each or any of the groups. To begin with, the recognizably consistent features are primarily thematic and tonal rather than residing (like the example above) in wording. Stylistic regularities belong more to individuals than to groups: Joyce Senior and Lorne Rostotski speak with a sobriety and majesty unlike their usual personalities when prophesying or interpreting, and use a great deal of imagery, while Don, Harold Andrews, Vicky Dawe, Jane Ryan of the Marian Community, and almost everyone else I have heard, speak in plain, simple prose sentences. Occasionally, at the Worship Centre and the Marian Community, prophecy is sung: "it follows the same simple melodies as 'singing in the Spirit,' which are highly reminiscent of the singing used for the lay readings of the Scripture at some local Roman Catholic churches. Don and Lorne have been "given" more complex and consistently structured melodies, and on one occasion, much to their own astonishment, three people joined Lorne, singing the same words to the same tune, in tongues (Tape 49, side A). I have also heard Lorne and Jill sing together in tongues in perfect synchrony. Thematically, prophecy in the Marian group is almost always loving and encouraging; Jane Ryan once commented with appreciation and approval after one of the bolder members gave a more stern and challenging prophecy. Jane said that many people would have been afraid to give it. Fear may or may not be "the real reason" for the blandness and conventionality (or gentleness and consistency?) of prophecy there; Jane and Anne, who remember the days in Freshwater when they felt that the group was infinitely closer

to God than it is at present, are fairly certain that it is. Others with higher opinions of the present condition of the group might feel that prophecies are mostly loving because God wants to stress His love to the many insecure individuals who attend the meetings. Prophecy at the Worship Centre has increased markedly in the last three months, and has also exhibited regular themes: here, of divine longing for deeper communion with individuals, and commands and invitations to come closer to Him. Here it must be noted that the individuals giving the prophecies share the conviction that this is precisely what the church needs to do. Whether the prophecies spring from the conviction or the conviction from the prophecies, I will not venture to decide. Those who share the conviction tend to regard them both as indications that God is trying to work with the church; those who do not share it tend to regard the prophecies as originating in the human opinions of the speakers.

The response of each group to interpretation and prophecy also exhibits regularity. In general, either is listened to with closed eyes and close attention (though occasionally it takes a while for the prophet or interpreter to be heard if people are all murmuring praise to God, for many are shy and soft-spoken). Murmured praise follows the conclusion of the utterance. If the speaker pauses or hesitates so that it is clear that he or she is not finished, people wait quietly, even if a minute or so passes while the speaker "listens" internally (or does whatever else he is doing). Only once at the Worship Centre and once at the Marian Community have I heard individual prophecies greeted with dubious silence, and in these cases the overall religious orientation of the speaker was distrusted by the group on the basis of

personal acquaintance. After the immediate responses, however, the three groups exhibit different reactions: Don tape records all interpretations and prophecies, so that they may be preserved, replayed, studied, and prayed about. He may mention to regular comers who were not at the meeting what "the Lord said" on a given evening. Some of the other members of the group, however, seem to forget about interpretations and prophecies, or at least do not discuss them, after they are given. The Marian Community pays close attention to such utterances, along with teachings, sharings, and other contributions, to "discern" the overall message of the Lord for that particular meeting. Some personally striking prophecies or interpretations are remembered by those to whom they have special relevance. A few members, both at the Marian Community and at the Worship Centre, take a "wait and see" attitude toward the evaluation of inspired utterances. As one leader told the Marion group after one particularly dubious prophecy had made the group rather tense and confused, "Whenever I'm testing anything I always remember that the Lord is patient; the devil's always in a hurry. So we'll pray, and change slowly" (f.n. 8/12/81). The prophecy had called for rapid change.

In many Catholic charismatic prayer groups, including the Good Shepherd Community, at least one leader takes the role of "discerner" to separate true from false prophecies. Some members of the Marian Community feel that the lack of anyone exercising this "discerning" ability is seriously inhibiting the group from attempting inspired utterances, but the current pastoral leaders hesitate to claim such spiritual authority, preferring to act as facilitators and encouragers without asserting themselves more than is necessary.

All of these groups possess a number of members who consider both true and false utterances possible. Internal dialogue and post hoc corroborations are designed to "weed out" both human and demonic sources, but Don and Lorne often comment that while one is learning to exercise the gifts, one may experience mixtures. They urge people to take chances, and to trust the judgement of the group to sort the wheat from the chaff. This is rarely done, however, either publicly or privately, following utterances in any of the groups at present.¹⁸

The Word of Wisdom and the Word of Knowledge

These two charismata are locally interpreted as the ability to pray for or counsel others effectively, through supernatural insight into their needs and circumstances. The word of wisdom refers to wise and appropriate counsel; the word of knowledge to information about specific events or conditions. Father Phil Lewis and Lorne Roatotski seem to exercise these gifts consciously more often than anyone else among my informants, but others have frequently described experiences which resemble those of Lorne and Father Phil very closely. Father Phil, I am told, frequently "discerned" things about people's past experiences, hurts, needs, desires, and problems, much in the ways described as occurring among other members of the Freshwater group by Tom and Mary Heffernan (Tape 13, side A), but on a more consistent, normative basis. Lorne feels that he also received these gifts normatively, when he requested that Reverend Gordon Williams pray with him that he might receive them. He described this experience and the current operation of the gifts in his life for the Long Pond Pentecostal youth group:

Gordon Williams prayed with me . . . for a word of wisdom and a word of knowledge to operate in my life. And I really didn't know all that much about a word of wisdom and a word of knowledge. Um, the only thing I'd ever really known about it was, um, I read a book by a Baptist layman who operated tremendously, and it's a book by Harold Hill called How to Live Like a King's Kid [Plainfield, N.J.: Logos International, 1974.] And it just amazed me to see how this man moved in the spiritual gifts. So when Gordon Williams prayed with me and laid hands on me, I just relaxed and I fell in the spirit. Ah, many of you know it as being called slain in the Spirit. Sometimes the word "slain" is kind of confusing to people because they think you're out cold. But I was aware of everything that was going on. It was just--I fell down, and . . . I lay there for some time, and it was an absolutely wonderful feeling, I didn't go on any kind of a trip, or anything; I was totally conscious, but when I arose, I didn't feel like I had the gift of a word of wisdom or a word of knowledge; I didn't feel any wiser or any more knowledgeable. And I didn't really pay all that much attention to it.

And it was weeks before I recognized that anything had actually happened. I was at another prayer meeting, that was also interdenominational, and there was a gentleman who said, "I would like someone to pray for two friends of mine in New Brunswick." I says, "I'll pray for them." He sat down in a chair, and we kind of gathered around him and laid hands on him and began to pray. And . . . suddenly I began to pray for them very specifically. . . . I didn't know anything about their problems or who they were. Suddenly I realized it was a husband and wife. And I began to name off their problems, their difficulties. And I even knew what town in New Brunswick they lived in, but I was too chicken to speak it out. And it was kind of funny, because every time that I would mention--bring something up, the guy who was sitting in the chair who made the request said, "Yes, that's right." And apparently he was right excited about it: I prayed with my eyes closed, I didn't see him, but Jill was watching. She said he kept looking around and saying, "Well, I never told him that stuff! How does he know?" But that was the first time that I knowingly operated in a word of knowledge. (Tape 49, side A)

Lorne went on to explain that the word of wisdom, operating in the same situation as the word of knowledge, seems to provide insight as to how to react appropriately to the various things revealed by the word of knowledge. For example, on another occasion, a woman from a local church came to ask him to help her because she was unable to feel any emotions. As they began to pray, he asked her questions and

suggested to her the names of family members against whom she bore old, bitter resentments. He felt uncertain and confused about this, because some of the things he told her she needed to forgive them for were rather unlikely, but she wept and told him that he was right in every detail. When she had cried for quite a long time (she had apparently been unable to cry as well), he counseled and comforted her in ways which he felt were divinely led, enabling him to deal appropriately with her sensitive and overwrought condition (Tape 49, side A).

Anne Markaway remembered that Father Phil often knew "that the Lord was saying something to someone, not to him but to someone else, and . . . he'd try to give them the courage to stand up and say it . . . or [he knew] how you were feeling at the time, or things in your life that weren't right, like with your family . . . God gave him the insight" (Tape 12-2, side A). This was called "discernment" in the Freshwater Community, but is called the word of knowledge by other Catholic charismatic groups. Steve Clark describes several instances of people standing up during meetings at Catholic charismatic conferences, and describing specific physical healings which were taking place at the time. Others then stood up to say that the descriptions fitted their own ailments, and that they were indeed gone.¹⁹ This also took place in St. John's several times during the meetings held by Swedish evangelist Peter Youngren in August of 1982 (see Tapes 25-1 to 2 and 40-1 to 5).

A stunned "How did you know?" has greeted more prayers Lorne has spoken with individuals than I can count; I have had occasion to say it myself. One evening, I attended the prayer meeting at the Rostotskis' more for rest and relaxation than for ethnographic

purposes--or rather for the same reasons that ethnographers might spend an occasional evening getting roaring drunk with a group of informants, without taking a single field note. During a period of quiet prayer, while attention was diffused between small groups, I leaned over to him, and asked him to pray for me about the general, rather inchoate guilt under which I laboured a good deal of the time. (The pages of Spradley and Rynkiewicz's Ethics and Anthropology give a fair notion of what I was struggling with: divided loyalties and conflicting field roles; culture shock; ethical arguments with academic superiors; problems of protecting informant anonymity; and related worries.²⁰) Lorne obligingly began to pray, and within five minutes had listed, described, and "symbolically banished" four specific problems I had never discussed with him. He said that I was afraid to "witness"--and of course I had for three years kept my beliefs to myself, both during fieldwork and at the university. He said I was lonely, and suffered from feelings of inferiority and outsiderhood. He mentioned some of the beliefs I held about the grimness of my own future--beliefs no one knew of but me. It was at once a simple and down-to-earth experience and a profoundly affecting one, rather like having a deep splinter drawn out of one's hand. I offer this as description, not as "testimony"; this is simply the kind of thing called "a word of knowledge" when it occurs in the community.

The word of wisdom has never been specifically cited to me by anyone who could describe or point out a particular utterance and say, "that was a word of wisdom." Lorne is not the only person in the community, however, who is sometimes considered to have given advice of rather startling appropriateness and good sense. These situations

are often personal, and the recipients keep the details to themselves. In the example above, such advice as was mixed with his prayer was both sound and appropriate; rather unlike Lorne's own ways of coping with personal problems, but congenial to wife. Mercedes Barry of the Marian Community has three times offered me similar encouraging advice, as it were, out of the blue, which fit my current dilemmas and griefs in a way which would have been surprising if I had spent an hour explaining them to her; as I had not so much as mentioned that I had any, I am quite unable to explain it. ²¹

The Gift of Faith and the Gift of Miracles

Strange as it seems in terms of human psychology, local charismatics are remarkably quiet about miracles. One hears an individual mention calmly to two or three friends after a prayer meeting, muffin in one hand and tea in the other, that she went to the doctor the week before, and the tumour which had shown up clearly on her last brain scan had disappeared without a trace (f.n. 7/12/81). She regards it as a miracle and so do her listeners, but she does not shout it from the housetops. Another man tells me in the course of conversation that he was without housing for his wife and children a few months ago, and that just as he ended his prayer about the problem the telephone rang, and it was a local pastor offering the family the opportunity to take over his townhouse, as he had suddenly been transferred elsewhere (f.n. 1/6/83). This sort of personal experience narrative is common enough in charismatic conversation that people do not seem to get excited about it. They enjoy it and believe it is miraculous, but for many it seems to be simply one of several kinds of evidence that support their confidence in the religious system which is, for them, "uniquely realistic."

The gift of miracles, which one would expect to create legends each time it was experienced, is therefore generally restricted to the casual memorate in its impact upon community belief and narrative. Even within individual repertoires of memorable religious experiences, I have often been intrigued by the tendency of apparently striking experiences to seem to "melt in" with the general fabric of the informant's life. I had known one informant for five years before I ever heard him mention that when he had prayed for the baptism of the Holy Spirit he had also asked for divine healing from glaucoma, and had felt what he described as hands massaging the interior of his eyes as soon as the prayer had been spoken; that he had been filled with such energy and peace that he needed no sleep for three days; or that when he went to have the pressure in his eyes tested by an ophthalmologist the following week, it was normal. When I asked Debbie White how her weekend at the United Church Renewal Fellowship Rally in Twillingate had been, she described several lectures, conversations, and the general delight of singing until late at night, seeing old friends, and discussing Christianity with her mother before she mentioned that a man who had a pronounced limp had asked for prayer, and that the man standing next to her, who had been able to see the event, turned pale and stared wide-eyed, telling her that he had seen the short limb lengthen before his eyes as the man was prayed for, with no one touching him in any way (f.n. 5/16/83). Marie Fallon, a member of the Gander Catholic charismatic group's pastoral team, told me that in her community, where unemployment is high and many families are on welfare, a friend of hers had had several people drop in one evening when there was only bread and a small can of potted meat in the house.

He had told his wife to keep making sandwiches, and they had fed nearly thirty people from the one can. Lorne and Don, who also heard this story, just grinned and said, "Isn't that just like the Lord?" (f.n. 1/5/83).

The gift of faith has been defined by those I have heard mention it—who are few—as the ability to confidently expect a rationally unlikely event, for reasons one cannot explain: one just "knows" that it will take place. Referend Joseph Burton's successful prayer for healing at the bedside of a woman whose kidneys had failed, and who was expected to die that night, is a typical example (Tape 47-3, side B). The gift of faith is often cited in retrospect, however, because there are occasions on which charismatica "believe for" miracles which do not occur. Don Cuff differentiates this kind of human confidence from the gift of faith by describing the gift as "faith that just drops down into your heart for something" (Tape 6-4, side A): a description which accords well with other examples I have heard cited in the Marian Community meetings' times of sharing. "I just knew it would happen," people have said. "I don't know how I knew."

The gift of faith seems, for some, to be cognitively categorized as separate from those experiences in which the individual does know how he knew. One woman, a member of Topsail United Church, for example, once told me of a period of personal insecurity in which she had found herself without work or a home. She had been struck one day by the frightening nature of her circumstances, and had turned her mind toward God in mute questioning. "And I said, 'Lord?'" she recalled, "and immediately this beautiful warm feeling went all through my body, so I knew I was doing the right thing and it was going to be okay"

(f.n. 7/15/82): Such experiences of divine reassurance are, however precious they are to the experienter, often recounted as instances of divine guidance, rather than of the gift of faith. However, discussion in the community was too rare for me to formulate clear concepts of local thought and vocabulary to use in interviewing many people specifically about the gift. My impression is, as in the case of wisdom and knowledge, that the gift is described in memorates more often than it is named.

The Discerning of Spirits

Charismatic belief in "spirits" seems to be restricted to spirits mentioned in the Bible: e.g., angels, demons, and human spirits. The gift of "discerning" them has two forms: (1) an intuitive knowledge about the presence of evil influences, angelic presences, or hidden intentions, problems, and characteristics, which is relatively common in existential experience; (2) a visual perception of spirits themselves, which is rare, but present in the community in both normative and existential forms, as well as in ideological (or believed) form. Part of charismatic "fundamentalism" involves the literal acceptance of biblical accounts of visionary experience, exorcism, and angelic visitations; ideological "discerning of spirits" accepts the possibility of such experiences among Christians today, and is evidenced in the acceptance shown to people who claim to have had, or to be having, such experiences.

Discerning of spirits is primarily a diagnostic gift, and its role in physical, mental, and spiritual healing practices will be discussed in the context of healing in the following section. Here, the general cognitive context will be explained, and examples given of the

gift as it is used in situations not related to healing.

General belief in the spiritual realm (that is, in angels, demons, heaven, hell, and human spirits) is part of assumed worldview in all three groups. It is expressed commonly in sharing at the Marian Community, in which individuals often make rather casual references to having realized, in the course of a difficult day, that Satan was harassing them through circumstances or by suggesting resentful, depressed, or other kinds of negative thoughts to them, and that upon realizing this they had begun to praise God, or to verbally order Satan to leave them alone. These sharings usually end with the believer restored to happiness and functioning efficiently, secure in the confidence that demonic powers have little real ability to harm Christians. At the Day of Prayer held by the Conception Bay Catholic charismatic prayer groups in July of 1981, for example, four women driving together to the site had had car trouble, which they attributed to Satan's efforts to keep them from attending the event. They had prayed, as well as fixing the car, and credited their safe arrival to both measures (f.n. 7/4/81). Belief in angels is expressed less frequently, but does occur in memorates from time to time. When I asked one local charismatic, who attends the Worship Centre and the Cuffs' meetings from time to time, if angels played any part in her religious beliefs, she replied, "Definitely." She went on to describe what she felt was an encounter with an angel, experienced while she was in the hospital, recovering from a delivery during which her baby had died: she had been listening to a Salvation Army group singing "The Lord is my Shepherd" in the corridor, and she had cried. She recalled:

There was a, a heavenly being standing by my bed. I could not see him with my naked eye, but I knew he was there and I knew

he was radiant. My Bed was slightly elevated, and he was at my shoulder. So I had to almost look back at him this way. But I knew he was there: absolutely no doubt whatsoever. Whether that was Jesus or an angel, I don't know, I, I don't know . . . and he was just there for comfort. So all of these things that the Lord allowed at that time, it was just a beautiful experience, though it was a tragedy. (Tape 9, side B)

Others have mentioned feeling that angels were surrounding them in times of danger, such as when driving long distances when very tired. One young woman at the Worship Centre mentioned to me that she asks for angels to stand around her bed before she falls asleep each night.

The human spirit is mentioned per se by community members primarily as a "sixth sense," as in "sensed in my spirit," or "a quickening in my spirit." Accurate impressions about the deepest thoughts or feelings of others are sometimes expressed as perceptions in which the spirit is both the instrument and the object of perception, the impression itself being conveyed by the Holy Spirit and referred to as a word of knowledge or "discernment." Many people seem to vary terminology without much concern for specificity in labeling with regard to experiences of this type, apparently feeling that anything which communicates what happened is acceptable for experiential description.

Basic Beliefs and Methodologies

No one I know of in the community ever calls on angels, though a few, like the young woman mentioned ^{above}, do ask God to send them from time to time. Some people do, however, send demons away, and a great many more community members are willing to have demons sent away for them by others. Here, the methods used and the reasoning behind them are much the same in all three groups.

Demons are not really thought of, by anyone I have heard talk about them, as fallen angels, for they are not necessarily frightening, and never grand or imposing in any way. Satan himself is frequently pictured in local charismatic speech as a lion with no teeth, or a snake whose fangs have been drawn--by Christ at the cross. The real power of the devil, according to local thought, lies in mental suggestion. It is his voice, not his visual form, which is mentioned again and again in personal experience narrative and in general statements about the practical operations of Christian faith. Demonic appearances vary from clear to vague, and are almost absent from the active belief systems of many local people, particularly at the Worship Centre. A few people who claim to have the gift of the discerning of spirits say that they can see them, and describe them in detail, but for the most part they are thought of as parasites whose effects upon the human "host," rather than their appearances or voices, usually betray their presence.

Everyday life is often spoken of by local people--in fact, by a sizeable majority of the charismatic population--as involving mental battles with Satan. Rosemary Rose once mentioned to the Marian Community, for example, that people commonly find themselves hesitant to exercise the gifts of the Spirit out of fear: "Maybe it's not the Lord, maybe I'm wrong, maybe this and maybe that--and you know who's putting all these maybes in your mind, don't you?" (f.n. 7/20/81). Another Catholic charismatic leader told a newly-forming prayer group at St. Michael's Parish Church on Bell Island that she had been hesitant to come that day because the waves were high, but that she had sought divine guidance by opening the Bible at random. She "got a reading" from Maccabees (in the Apocrypha, Jerusalem Bible

Version) "about crossing the waters on the Sabbath and leaving the enemy behind. So I said, 'Okay, Lord, we'll go, and You get the Enemy out of the way" (f.n. 9/6/81). Demons, on the other hand, are dealt with more rarely and are for many people more frightening than Satan--quite possibly because their influence is attributed to types of experience which seem to be within the individual, rather than coming at him from outside, and to remain with him for extended periods of time, rather than taking the form of temporary thoughts or circumstances.

Prayer for oneself and for others concerning safety from circumstantial disasters and dangers may be phrased either as a request to God for protection, or as a command to Satan "in the name of Jesus" not to interfere, or to stop interfering, in a given situation or the life of a given person. They may also be combined. At any one of the groups, but most frequently at the Guffs', a general prayer for an individual, for the prayer meeting, or for a planned venture of any kind may include a passage such as, "Lord, we just ask that You would protect X from all the devices of Satan; Lord, we just bind the Enemy in the name of Jesus. . . ." Some charismatics are quite confident and casual in this kind of prayer or commanding, and may even tell the devil to take his "clawmy paws off" X, but it is always done in the name of Jesus.

This method is based upon Christ's commands to the disciples to cast out demons in His name, coupled with Acts 19:13-17, in which seven Jewish exorcists attempted to use the name of Jesus to command demons, and were themselves physically attacked by the demoniac. It is widely felt that the demons only have to obey an individual using Jesus' name if the individual is himself under obedience to Jesus, and

has faith in Him as the Son of God. Some add prayer and fasting and freedom from sin to the necessary ritual condition of the successful Christian exorcist. Don Cuff, for example, commented:

You certainly have to be right before God; if not, you know the demons will just laugh at you. And second, you have to know your authority in Christ, because . . . the name of Jesus is not useful to you unless you believe the authority that's in the name of Jesus, that you have it. And of course you have to be born again. You don't need to be Spirit-filled, . . . but it helps . . . because then the Lord can use the Gifts, and can help you out that way. That's where fasting in, in certain types of situations is necessary. It seems to me that Jesus did His fasting before He got to the situation, so that the anointing was there and He was able to minister immediately in a situation . . . it's definitely wise to be always fasting, prayed up, ready, and living right, knowing who you are in Christ, before you get to the situation, instead of having to go back and get your act together and then come back again, right? (Tape 6-2, side B)

Several women in the Cuffs' group, and a few in the other two, practice a great deal of "spiritual warfare" as part of their regular prayer for others, at home during the week as well as at church and in prayer meetings. They describe prayer in tongues, verbal commands to Satan to leave, "groaning in the Spirit," and prayer for God's intervention in lives and situations as all possible means of "pulling down strongholds of Satan." Detailed instructions for becoming this kind of "prayer warrior" are given in one of the pamphlets sold at the Women's Aglow meetings, but it is less common than the simple use of the verbal "binding" formula.²² A variation on this formula, used by some members of the Cuffs' group and the Worship Centre, involves "loosing" the Holy Spirit after "binding" the devil, so that the area of the individual psyche or situation vacated by the demonic influence may be transferred to divine control rather than left, as it were, in a suspended or open state. This involves a simple extension of the verbal formula: "I bind the Enemy in Jesus' name, and I loose the

power of the Holy Spirit. . . ." It is based upon two New Testament passages: Matthew 17.19 (" . . . whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven"), and Matthew 12.43-45 (in which Christ describes the plight of a man who, having an evil spirit cast out of him, remains "empty," leaving opportunity for "seven other spirits" to return along with the original one). The most common practice, however, involves only "binding."²³

Because the Holy Spirit is believed to live inside all Christians, it is generally held that Christians cannot be demon possessed. Belief in the local community is gradually changing, however, toward acceptance of the possibility of demon oppression of Christians.²⁴ Most instances I have seen of the discernment of spirits have involved diagnosis and treatment of oppression by individuals who believe they have the gift on a normative basis. These are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

The Acts of the Holy Spirit as a Cultural Domain

The baptism, the anointing, and the charismata, though existing as emic cultural categories in their own rights, interact in complex and pervasive ways, and are perhaps better understood as an interactive system than as separate elements. First, the baptism is not only the rite of passage into the charismata, but is often also the prototypical experience which serves as the initial reference point for the individual learning to recognize divine inspiration as it is defined by his culture. He recalls the presence he felt during baptism, or the sensory information associated with the event, in interpreting later presences and kinds of sensory data; anything which reminds him of some

feature of spiritual baptism as he experienced it is likely to be interpreted immediately as coming from God. Others' descriptions of the baptism, as well as of the anointing and the charismata, are also sources of information with which to evaluate intuitive and sensory experiences. The sensations of "something" or "a cloud" rising to the interior of the mouth from the abdomen or chest may be recognized either from the time of reception of the gift of tongues, or from memorates heard concerning baptism, prophecy, public tongues, or interpretation; heat in the hands or body, falling during the laying on of hands, or trembling, are likewise interpreted on the basis of prior experience and memorate.

Second, the charismata are often believed to function with or without perceivable anointing just as the anointing may be sensed, by one person or by many, with or without clearly physical sensations. In terms of their use in evaluative and corroborative processes, therefore, the relations between the anointing and the charismata are complex, somewhat idiosyncratic, and always asymmetrical. If the anointing falls upon an entire group, or if it is sensed by several group members falling upon one individual, whatever charismata may be forthcoming are often accepted with less scrutiny than might otherwise be given; but a prophecy which is not accompanied by anointing perceptible either to the speaker or to the listeners may be accepted as equally inspired if coherence or confirmation are perceived. Classical Pentecostal "commonplaces" of anointing, such as trembling, or the use of the musical vibrato in speaking the prophecy, may even cause it to be distrusted in the Marian Community or the Worship Centre, appearing too theatrical: too much like deliberate performance. Paradoxically, the

paranormality of experience or behaviour is only sometimes, and only partially, used as evidence of divine inspiration.

Actually, all the members of the charismatic community whom I have heard discuss this topic feel that they are ignorant of the complete system of data relevant to the recognition of divine inspiration in the self or in others. People often comment that they "missed God" on a particular occasion, or that another member of the gathering "quenched the Spirit" in themselves, another, or the group, by misinterpreting divine inspiration as merely human. Prayers stopped before they were "prayed through" (completed from God's point of view), anointings not used, prophecies not given, and guidance not followed are quite common in the self-evaluation of many people on many occasions. This pervasive sense of ignorance is one of the central motivations for the discussion which usually follows spiritual baptism, anointing, and the charismata when they are experienced or witnessed. It is also one of the central motivations for the constant encouragement given to groups by leaders to "step out in faith" and to exercise the charismata more frequently, and at the same time it motivates hesitancy among the members, whose internal dialogues are often fraught with confusion and anxiety. People seem to wait frequently for sensory evidence when deciding whether or not to exercise the charismata themselves, just as many want involuntary utterance to pour forth from their lips when they speak spiritual baptism, so that they can be certain that they are not deluding themselves. But in evaluating baptism and instances of the charismata in others and in retrospect, they accept much more subtle criteria for attributing genuine inspiration to actions and utterances. People often wait for feelings before placing faith in their own acts,

but derive faith from acts performed by others with or without feelings.

William J. Samarin's analysis of glossolalia as a socio-linguistic phenomenon is in many ways applicable--with some modifications--to the operation of the full range of the charismata and the anointing in local culture. Samarin argued that glossolalia is a sign of religious identity, or of membership in a distinctive belief group, creating feelings both of separateness from outsiders and of group cohesion; that it contributes to the sacred ethos or atmosphere of events and occasions for the participants; and that it is considered the key experience which unlocks the cultic mysteries, or makes one an initiate into the sacred order, implied in the cultural ethos of those who speak in tongues.²⁵ To some degree, any experience of anointing or the charismata is viewed as evidence of belonging, as a contributor to the sacred ethos of the event, and as a potential initiatory experience, either into charismatic culture per se, or into a new dimension of it. That is true in all three groups, and applies to witnessed appointments and gifts as well as to firsthand experience with administration and reception. However, tongues simply are not singled out here in any of the ways Samarin apparently found, or thought he found; and, as noted above, the evaluation of the paranormal is a complex, ambivalent, and evolving area of charismatic thought. This may in part be due to the idiosyncrasies of this community and of the communities with which Samarin worked; for no two charismatic groups (or, indeed, individuals) are any more alike than two universities (or two professors). It may also be due in part to Samarin's chosen focus upon glossolalia as his central topic of research: he may well have singled it out in ways which his informants did not.

In classical Pentecostal folk religion in the St. John's area, tongues is the evidence of baptism in the Spirit, and baptism in the Spirit is evidence of sanctification; therefore, tongues may well be prized—not above the other charismata, but as a sign of full membership in an eternal community. But for charismatics, tongues is simply one form of interaction with the Trinity. They do not particularly care what forms that interaction takes, so long as they feel (on whatever cognitive, affective, or experiential bases) that God made the decisions regarding form and content. The cultural ideal is, again, to embrace, to give a kiss of greeting, through adoration and cooperation. People often seem caught between strong desires to "embrace" all that God might do or say or command, and to avoid mistaking any human action or utterance for divine. Confusion, ambivalence, fear, eagerness, and an acute desire for improvement in their ability to judge in this area, make the acts attributed to the Holy Spirit an area of constant experimentation.²⁶

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS HEALING AND DELIVERANCE FROM DEMONS

In "Religion as a Cultural System," where Geertz explains his definition of religion, he points out that it has two crossculturally consistent foci: the problem of evil and the problem of pain, which are fundamental to the more comprehensive problem of asserting that life is meaningful rather than chaotic, and making the assertion stick. It is precisely when undeserved pain occurs, or when that which is culturally defined as evil triumphs over good, that the need for a satisfying, convincing assertion of meaning is often most keenly felt. There can be, as well, complex affective connections between experiences of evil and of pain. Some of these connections, Geertz argues, are important in the broad crosscultural features of religion:

The problem of suffering passes easily into the problem of evil, for if suffering is severe enough it usually, though not always, seems morally undeserved as well, at least to the sufferer. But they are not, however, exactly the same thing. . . . For where the problem of suffering is concerned with threats to our ability to put our "undisciplined squads of emotion" into some sort of soldierly order, the problem of evil is concerned with threats to our ability to make sound moral judgements. What is involved in the problem of evil is not the adequacy of our symbolic resources to govern our affective life, but the adequacy of those resources to provide a workable set of ethical criteria, normative guides to govern our action. . . .

[But] the problem of evil . . . is in essence that same sort of problem . . . [as] the problem of . . . suffering. The strange opacity of certain empirical events, the dumb senselessness of intense or inexorable pain, and the enigmatic unaccountability of gross iniquity all raise the uncomfortable suspicion that perhaps the world . . . has no genuine order at all--no empirical regularity, no emotional form, no moral coherence. And the religious response . . . is not to deny the undeniable--that there are unexplained events, that life hurts, that rain falls upon the just--but to deny that there are inexplicable events, that life is unendurable, and that justice is a mirage.¹

Local charismatic culture posits an especially close convergence of the problems of suffering and of evil. First, many believe that they share the same mythic source: the Fall. Humanly-willed evil, or sin, and physical suffering are explained in this way with particular frequency. Second, many believe that Satan or his demons can sometimes be the immediate cause of several kinds of suffering and evil, including physical illnesses and disabilities, circumstantial disasters, interpersonal discord, and mental illness. They are also believed to tempt and torment individuals by shooting "fiery darts" (ῥήματα) or "passing thoughts" into his mind. These may cause suffering in themselves; they may also incite the individual to do evil and/or to cause suffering for other people. Third, the awareness of evil--especially evil that one has himself committed or allowed--often causes suffering. I have known a few of my informants to become quite devastated by the perception of evil within themselves, particularly if they feel that they have given in to these "passing thoughts" from Satan, thus hurting and dishonouring Christ.

The cultural strategies for the handling of the problems of evil and suffering are correspondingly intertwined. Because sin, sickness, and vulnerability to satanic suggestion are all attributed ultimately to the Fall, it is often believed that they may all be dealt with through some form of recourse to the Atonement of Christ. From this basic axiom, the lines of reasoning and the methods of ritual branch off in various directions, according to the nature of specific problems and the propensities of specific individuals and prayer groups.

The problems of evil and suffering are handled primarily through what I refer to as the "health system" of the local charismatic community

and its individual and group variants. In this chapter, the system is described in essentially the same terms as have been used for the analysis of conversion, baptism, anointing, and the other seven charismata--the two which are relevant here being the gift of healing and the discernment of spirits. I have chosen to handle the realms of physical and mental or spiritual healing, whether they involve prayer to God or commands to demons, as elements of a single system because they intertwine in cultural thought, as described above, and because they often intertwine in cultural practice as well.

The term "health system" comes from the field of trans-cultural health care and medical anthropology, and refers to the concepts and methods which characterize a particular folk group's modes of dealing with physical and mental illness.² Many traditional health systems also attend to problems of evil: for example, by attributing certain health problems to the influence of witchcraft or the Evil Eye.³ The presence of such health systems as part of religious belief is quite common worldwide, and is increasingly common among various kinds of Christian groups in the complex societies of the western world. David Hufford points out:

Contrary to popular opinion, . . . it is currently very difficult to predict on the basis of denomination whether a religious [medical or psychiatric] patient is likely to be importantly involved in religious healing efforts. The stereotypes of so-called "faith healing" as the basic property of fundamentalist "low church" congregations and Old World Roman Catholics is increasingly inaccurate. I do not know of a single denomination . . . which does not include a large number of healers and healing practices. To a certain extent the inaccuracy of the stereotype reflects the influence of traditional expectations (i.e., that such healing will be common among isolated and uneducated populations with little access to modern medical care); and to a certain extent it involves actual changes in practice.⁴

Hufford's comment on the inaccuracy of "traditional expectations" regarding "faith healing" has relevance for the whole concept of traditional or "folk" medicine, and ultimately leads back to Alan Dundes's question, "Who are the folk?"⁵ In the area of Christian religious healing, as Hufford points out, people may be found in all denominations (and all social and educational classes) who subscribe to beliefs often associated with "folk medicine" or "faith healing." Hufford and other folklorists have begun to use the concept of cultural health systems, partially in order to avoid the "traditional expectations" which may still be triggered by the use of the term "folk medicine," and partially in order to convey more precisely the nature of medical thought and practice as aspects of culture.⁶

Healing: The Beliefs, the Experiences, the Practitioners, and the Gifts

The gift of divine healing is believed, like the other charismata, to be bestowed on both existential and normative bases, and forms part of ideological faith or belief in all three groups. It is assumed that divine healing is possible, and, although local charismatics generally accept the possibility that God might not heal in some cases, the tendency is to believe that it is always worth asking.

The general, shared belief system of the three groups contains three kinds of healing, corresponding to the three realms of the human identity: physical healing, inner healing (sometimes called healing of the memories, and dealing with psychological and emotional problems, particularly trauma and neurosis), and deliverance, in which demons are removed from the human spirit, from which they can affect the mind and/or the body. Healing of each kind often involves the use of a few recurrent

components, though each kind has special procedures and beliefs of its own. The common components are (1) faith in God on the part of those praying; (2) love and caring for the sufferer; (3) the laying on of hands; and (4) at least one of the charismata. Prayer in tongues usually plays some part; a word of knowledge or prophecy, or public tongues and interpretation, may guide the specific procedures used, provide diagnostic help, or give confidence that God intends to heal the individual; the gift of faith may provide similar confidence; the gift of the discernment of spirits may reveal spiritual causes for the symptoms; and the gift of healing or of miracles may play a part in the actual cure.

Charismatic belief in healing rests upon a broad biblical foundation. One of its key scriptures is Isaiah 53.5, describing the Messianic atonement: "He was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed." The death, and specifically the blood, of Jesus are sometimes mentioned in prayers for healing, either as having healing power in themselves, or as the "legal" grounds upon which healing is being requested of God the Father. The Father is also addressed as Jehovah Rapha, translated in Exodus 15.26 (KJV) as "I am the LORD that healeth thee." Because of this and other passages, charismatics often regard healing as inherent in the character of the trinitarian God. They base their own confidence in laying hands upon the sick on biblical examples of the success of various disciples and Christians in doing so, such as Acts 8.6-7, in which Philip's preaching in Samaria resulted in numerous healings, and on Christ's commands to do so, such as Mark 16.17-18: "These signs shall follow them that

believe: . . . they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover." Such verses are often the rational or cognitive basis of belief, and are brought into active, explicit use in praying for healing, being stated in prayers and used as a foundation upon which to build a positive attitude.

The Hierarchy of Healing Practices⁷

Many charismatics deal with minor complaints without recourse to religious thought or methods, going to a general practitioner about a sore throat, a dentist about tooth and gum problems, or to the medicine chest for an aspirin in case of headache. Many also take vitamins, exercise, run, and use other common methods for the maintenance of health current in the St. John's area. Similarly, surgery and medical tests are undergone with no religious compunction, and most prescription medications are taken (with the occasional exception of sedatives, depressants, stimulants, and painkillers). By and large, the local religious health system operates concurrently with the official medical system: it is not considered a sign of "unbelief" to go to the doctor or to take his advice. Only when individuals feel that God has specifically told them not to take a particular painkiller but to "trust Him" with that particular pain, or when--like other patients--they simply feel that the doctor has prescribed unnecessary sedatives or stimulants, will they disobey medical directions.

Local charismatics often have recourse to religious methods of healing as a first attempt to deal with a physical health problem, using standard medical treatment if prayer does not result in healing. Religious methods become the sole resort when (1) medical science cannot provide a cure; (2) the medical cure is frightening, as in the case of

surgery; (3) medical treatment has failed or is incomplete, as in the case of partial restoration of the use of a limb after an accident or stroke; (4) the individual must function immediately and the medical treatment requires time, as when a pastoral leader comes down with influenza on the day of the prayer meeting. In these cases, the first recourse is, for most local charismatics, to request corporate prayer. Individuals with slightly above average personal faith will often simply ask God to heal them, thank Him, and continue with their regular tasks as fully as possible, but most prayer group members seem to want others to pray for them. This corporate prayer may take two forms: it may involve only verbal prayer, or it may include various bodily types of activity.

Verbal, corporate prayer for healing may be requested at the beginning of the Worship Centre's services, and toward the end of Prayer and Share, the Marian Community meetings, and the Cuffs' meetings. It usually involves the addition of the prayer for healing to a list of "petitions" to be "brought before the Lord" as described in Chapter II. Corporate prayer involving activity usually includes the laying on of hands upon the sick person (or, if he or she is not present, the Cuffs' group may lay hands "in proxy" upon someone else who "stands in" for the sick one. This often takes place after the conclusion of the formal meeting in all three groups, when those uninvolved in the healing prayer may leave, sip tea, or pray in other small groups. Praying with others is strictly a voluntary matter in these after-meeting instances. It is in these that the various charismata are likely to appear; purely verbal prayer may involve private tongues, but usually the group has a long list of petitions to get through, and does not pause to concentrate intensively

upon each one for more than a minute or two. In many cases, therefore, health problems which create only minor anxiety in the mind of the patient (or the one requesting prayer on his behalf) are included in verbal prayers, and problems causing serious anxiety are reserved for prayer including the laying on of hands, perhaps anointing with oil, and more prolonged individual attention.⁸

This is not, however, always the case. The Marian Community and the Worship Centre do not practice the laying on of hands or anointing with oil by proxy: the concept does not seem to be present in their religious beliefs at all.⁹ Individual members of these groups who are in the hospital, or at home in bed, may therefore be prayed for through strictly verbal means, however heartsick their friends and family who are present at the meeting or service may be. Conversely, at the Cuffs' group, minor problems such as influenza may spur a request--or even a suggestion from someone else--for anointing and the laying on of hands. Similarly, individuals confined to hospital or bed may request a visit from prayer group members, together with the laying on of hands and sometimes anointing with oil, or may simply relay a request for corporate verbal prayer via word of mouth or the telephone. The two methods should therefore perhaps be thought of as alternatives and/or hierarchically arranged steps in the healing repertoire: for some, verbal prayer is less "powerful" than prayer with touch and oil.

The Marian Community has periodic healing Masses at various local churches and Catholic schools, at which a homily on healing is given, those desiring it may be anointed with oil, and holy water or blessed oil are available to take home. Members may also participate in the general Roman Catholic practice of visiting saints' shrines to

obtain these substances, and to pray to the saint (or with the saint, as some charismatics prefer to think of it) for healing. They also hold a healing weekend each July at St. Teresa's Parish Church, when lay and clerical charismatics specializing in the "ministry" of healing come to give talks and workshops, guided meditations, and individual prayer and counseling regarding all three kinds of healing: physical, emotional/psychological, and spiritual. The weekend held in 1982 included the use of many traditional liturgical forms, items, prayers, and substances: benedictions were spoken in Latin, and two tall white candles, a statue of the Virgin, and a picture of Christ holding a child on His lap helped to set the atmosphere in the central area used for the activities (f.n. 7/12/82). In 1983, prayers for physical healing were conducted during the Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and explicitly associated with its power. Also during 1983, concepts regarding angelic protection and demonic oppression played a more significant role. One woman, while exchanging expressions of repentance and forgiveness with a man who was symbolically representing a relative about whom she had painful memories, fell forward into his arms, and later explained to acquaintances that she had suddenly felt a very dark, evil presence resting heavily upon her back. The man immediately prayed aloud for her, and bound and cast out the spirit: it was felt that this was a demon which had been oppressing her in connection with the painful memories, and had "manifested"--much in the same manner as is often described in exorcistic accounts--¹⁰ when the healing of the memories had threatened its entrenched position. Another participant mentioned that a priest helping to lead the weekend used his pastoral authority to grant seventy-two hours of angelic protection

from all evil to all participants when they left the conference. (This is the only instance of the human commanding of supernatural protection I have encountered in charismatic culture, and may have its primary bases in Roman Catholic traditions regarding the authority of priests. The entire weekend was, as one pleased participant commented, "as Catholic as anything could be" (f.n. 7/24/83).

Healing is not set aside as a special focus for events in the other two groups, but the prayers of visiting speakers may form a similar kind of "last resort" or top of the hierarchy in methods of religious healing. In an important sense, however, the manners or attitudes in which healing prayer is spoken constitute a hierarchy at least as relevant to local belief as the method used. Prayer spoken with specific confidence in God, not for healing in general, but for the particular healing being requested, is often considered, in retrospect, to be a key factor. When people who were finally healed after trying many methods and praying many times have discussed their experiences with me, they have sometimes made reference either to God's timing and God's methods ("He healed me when and how He chose"), or to the qualitative differences in their own attitude or the attitude of one who prayed for them. Love, both for God and for the patient, is often felt to be a determinative factor in successful prayer for healing. The presence of heat in the hands of one laying hands upon the patient, or of the heat of the anointing entering the patient's body, is also considered determinative, in retrospect, by many people who have been healed through prayer. Heat in the hands when praying for others for healing, a Marian Community member told me, is often seen as an indication that one has the normative gift of healing if it occurs frequently. In single instances, I

have heard it cited by those who received healing as an indication that the gift was present in its existential form, or simply that they were healed by God: it sometimes occurs without a human intermediary.¹¹

Specialists in Religious Healing

This common configuration of attitudinal and phenomenological factors mentioned in explanations of successful prayers for healing also shapes local bases for seeking the prayers of particular individuals. Strong, unconditional love for God and for people is often felt to make one a "good channel" or a "willing vessel" for the Spirit of God to work through in a variety of ways, including healing; it also tends to inspire confidence in God, or to "release the faith" of the one seeking prayer. These qualities alone are often sufficient to cause an individual to be asked to pray for others; peace, joy, wisdom expressed simply, and the ability to listen well are also recurrent traits of those asked for prayer in all three groups. If heat in the hands of the one praying, and/or in the body of the one prayed for, is also present, or if the anointing is felt in other ways (for example, as a "cloud" or "current" around and upon the two or more people involved in healing prayer), the individual speaking the prayer is likely to be asked to pray again. If healing occurs, suddenly or gradually, he or she will certainly be asked to pray again, but love, faith, and the anointing are a powerful triumvirate by themselves, and have been sufficient to establish several local people as "special," if not exactly specialists, in the eyes of particular charismatic groups or of the charismatic community in general.

The community is also somewhat predisposed to request prayer for healing from four kinds of "specialists"—partially because they

are in the public eye of the community, and their possession of the key qualities may therefore be more readily noticed by larger numbers of people, but also because leadership brings connotations of specialness in the minds of many local people. These four kinds are (1) clergymen and lay charismatic group leaders; (2) public charismatic speakers from within or outside the community; (3) individuals who are in the habit of praying for the sick, whether they believe they possess the gift of healing or not; and (4) charismatic physicians. Obviously, individuals may belong to more than one category; Carl and Linda Hudson of the Worship Centre belong to all four. On one occasion when Carl was a guest speaker at a local charismatic event, one of the organizers suggested to the group that those in need of healing ask Carl to pray with them, because "the prayers of a doctor" should carry special benefits. (This rather embarrassed Carl, who does not consider himself special.) On many occasions at the Worship Centre, however, and in personal contact with various Pentecostal and charismatic acquaintances, the Hudsons are sought out as much because of their reputation for love, humility, and wisdom as for their medical qualifications. Conversely, they are often asked to address Pentecostal groups on issues such as premarital sex and abortion, which are conceived of in largely religious rather than medical terms, because they are doctors.

Anne Harkaway explained the attitude of the Freshwater group toward the gift of healing in a way I have found representative of the three groups I have worked with in St. John's. I asked her if anyone was considered to have the gift normatively, as people were felt to have the gift of prophecy. She answered:

Father Phil. Definitely. . . [And] Father Tingley. He was the one for healing. He's lengthened legs, and this kind of thing-- not he, but through the power of God. But Father Phil . . . prayed for a lot of healings. Um, I don't know of anyone else. They looked up to Donnie and Jim [Leonard] and then [i.e., the pastoral leaders], Pat and Lucy [Counsel]. So if they were going to get prayed with they would more likely look to them, no matter if it was physical, mental, spiritual.

CC: How did people become convinced that Father Phil had the gift of healing?

Al: Ah, . . . he was so enthusiastic about it, for one thing. There was no doubt in our minds that he had the relationship with the Lord, that he had the power of discernment. A lot of people figured, I suppose, that if he had the power of discernment he could do anything else anyway. He had the gift of tongues, he had . . . prophecy . . . and he did pray for healings. Now I don't know if people really thought, knew that he had it, but from this kind of thing they figured he did.
(Tape 12-2, side A)

Don Cuff, Lorne Rostotski, and the leaders of the Sacred Heart Prayer Community in Tors Cove have acquired similar reputations through their possession of similar characteristics. Don and Lorne, because of their involvement with crossdenominational charismatic events, the Worship Centre, and various prayer groups, are sought out by members of all three groups. Members of the Sacred Heart and Good Shepherd pastoral teams, Lorne, and Don are all occasionally contacted at their homes by noncharismatics in various denominations, requesting prayer for healing, or even hospital visitation.¹²

Cultural Explanations for Success and Failure in Religious Healing

Each group has its own unique repertoire of explanations when prayer for healing brings no results. The Cuffs' group tends to look for an explanation in the thoughts or behaviour of the sick person; the Marian Community tends to reason that there may be divine purpose in the illness or disability; the Worship Centre tends to suspend judgement.

It is often emphasized at the 'Cuffs' that lack of faith, sinful practices in everyday life (such as cheating on one's taxes, drinking, taking Christ's name in vain, or maintaining involvement with the occult by reading the horoscope in the newspaper), the harbouring of old resentments, and other failures to live a pure Christian life can cause the Lord to refuse, or be unable to answer, prayers for healing (Tapes 46-6, side B; 46-7, side A). The concept of a handicap or lingering condition (arthritis, for instance) as a "cross" one must bear is used by some members of the Marian Community, and my impression is that it is tacitly considered possible by many who have not stated it in so many words. Many members of the Marian Community and the Worship Centre live quietly with health problems without requesting prayer. The Worship Centre treats healing as something of a mystery: when prayer is requested, it is willingly and sincerely given, but when it appears to go unanswered, there is little or no theorizing.

Visible results of prayer for physical healing are rare, but they are experienced. Community belief is divided as to how quickly results should be expected. Many members of the three groups feel that the gift may be in operation and results begin, rather than be completed, at the time of prayer.¹³ For many of the quieter members of all three groups, what Lorne and Don call the gift of miracles, which includes instantaneous healing, is considered the gift of healing, and gradual healings are attributed to natural causes.

An Unsuccessful Example

One of the babies belonging to a Worship Centre family was diagnosed soon after birth as having a ureter too narrow to allow the normal passage of urine. Final tests and surgery to correct the

condition were scheduled some six months ahead. The congregation was informed of this, and on several Sundays the baby was included in the list of intercessory prayers offered near the beginning of the morning and evening services. As the time for the medical tests drew closer, however, concern for the family intensified. On August 8, 1982, Pastor Gene announced after the morning sermon that the baby would be anointed with oil. He leaned over the pulpit, looking intently at the faces of the people. "We believed God for one of our children last week," he reminded them, "who'd been in hospital for several weeks, and God touched him and healed him."

We know He'll be faithful. He's always faithful. It tells us in the Book of James to gather the elders of the church, and anoint them that are unwell with oil in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save them [5.14-15].

He asked the mother to come forward, and she walked slowly to the centre of the clear space before the platform, her eyes wide and sad and fixed upon the pastor's face. Some ten or twelve people gathered around her of their own accord, their faces grave with the pain they felt for her and the strength they wanted to give her. Arms went round her shoulders and hands rested lightly on the tiny, blanket-wrapped boy in her arms; heads bowed. Pastor Gene had come down from the platform and stood before the mother. He smiled down at the baby, and touched his forehead with a drop of oil, then laid his hand on the baby's abdomen and prayed that the Lord would touch him and heal him, as He had taken children up in His arms and blessed them in Galilee. The mother stood perfectly still and quiet. Her husband had to be out of town just then, and she seemed to feel very much alone with her sorrow, in spite of the warmth and love around her. Her tears fell on the back of the pastor's hand and she glanced down in consternation, but did not move. Everyone remained

standing still, heads bowed, silent or praying quietly, for some three minutes. The baby was gurgling happily, staring with round blue eyes at the pastor. Gradually, people began to lift their heads, open their eyes, and return quietly to their seats.

The baby was not healed. The surgery was done, and seems to have been successful; it has been discussed matter-of-factly on the occasions when I have been present, and seemed to shake no one's faith.

A Successful Example

On another occasion, the Worship Centre's list of intercessory prayers included a request for divine healing for a man who had been electrocuted by touching a live wire. This man was also prayed for at the Rostotakis' prayer group, where one of his relatives attends. Lorne explained this episode to the Long Pond Pentecostal youth group as an illustration of the gift of healing, together with some general explanation of the relationship between healing and faith. Lorne said:

The Bible tells us that these signs shall follow those who believe: they shall lay their hands upon the sick and they shall heal instantly? Nope. Heal almost right away? They shall recover. They shall recover. That's what happens. So what you must believe is that from the minute you lay hands on someone and pray with them, from that moment on, they are recovering. So many people allow Satan to steal their healing away from them by saying, "Uh huh! You're no better!" . . .

The Thursday before Good Friday, J. . . 's cousin in Deer Lake had touched a wire with six thousand volts of electricity. And then he, he fell and split his, his head. And when they came in to the Health Science Complex in St. John's, there was no hope. The doctors held no hope. To start with, there was a two-inch gash in his brain, and the brain--the term used was, the brain was fried. His hands had to go; had to go. There was no way of, of saving this man. And the Lord impressed J. . . to call the aunt of, of this person who was badly injured . . . and she called and asked permission, "May we pray for him?" And they said, "Well, I guess if won't hurt. . . ." So we got together and we prayed. . . .

And the Lord used a United Church person in our group to give a message in tongues. And I had one of these . . . very difficult interpretations, because . . . it was testing my

faith farther than it had ever been tested before. The Lord was saying, "It's about time you learned to trust Me. Bring the person nearest to this injured one, lay hands, anoint with oil, and I will do the rest. . . ." So we got J. . . at the centre of the group, and we gathered around and anointed her with oil. And we had a tremendous spiritual battle. And when that battle was over we just sensed a peace. When it was over, the Lord used the same United Church man in prophecy and . . . said, "I have already done what you have wanted Me to do. . . . This man is going to be raised up for My glory, and for the salvation of others."

And J. . . has got more nerve--oh! You know what she did? She went to the phone, called back that aunt who's been hearing all the . . . reports from the Health Science Centre, . . . and said, "We've just prayed, and the Lord told us he's going to be perfect."

Within eight days that man was standing up, walking around, talking, eating. They did an X-ray; they said, "Certainly everything inside will be fixed as well." And the X-rays came back: nothing wrong. Totally, perfectly whole . . . the brain and the skull healed so quickly. And that hand that had to go: they did remove one and a half fingers. The skin grafts that they had to do, they have hardly any grafting to do at all. . . . And it was just a matter of reaching out. You can't reach out on your own. You have to trust the Lord. I can do nothing; you can do nothing. (Tape 49, side B)

Inner Healing

"Inner healing" is one perspective upon, or version of, one of the basic axioms of charismatic Christianity in its local forms: that, in Pastor John Mercer's words, "Christ accepts us unconditionally, but He doesn't leave us in the condition He found us" (f.n. 1/12/81). Each member of the Trinity is viewed as an agent of transformation in the individual. The Marian Community frequently sings:

Abba, Abba Father, You are the potter; we are the clay; the work of Your hands.

Mold us, mold us and fashion us, into the image of Jesus Your Son.¹⁴

"Abba" is an Aramaic term of intimacy used by the child for his father, like the English "Daddy" or "Papa." It has been introduced into charismatic culture from Romans 8.15: ". . . ye . . . have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father." It is occasionally

used as a term of address in prayer. The same function is ascribed to the Son through references to Christ as "the author and finisher of our faith" (Hebrews, 12:2), and to the Holy Spirit through references to the believer "being changed from glory to glory . . . by . . . the Spirit" (2 Corinthians 3:18). As part of this definition of Christianity as a process of being made Christlike, local charismatics often feel that God may convict individuals of wrong attitudes or actions, to be repented of; deliver them from "bondages" caused by demons; and heal them of emotional and psychological wounds incurred through painful experiences. "Inner healing" has to do with these wounds.

As a process, it is often described in the course of "before-and-after" personal experience narratives, or testimonies, regarding conversion or spiritual baptism. A Torso Cove leader explained to the newly-forming Catholic charismatic group on Bell Island:

It's hard to give your whole self to God, but you'll find if you keep coming to prayer meetings that you'll give Him a little bit more each time. We've been in it six years now, and we couldn't have imagined what God could do for us. Letting go of yourself is the hardest part, but He is the light we must follow. . . .

Before I came to the Renewal I used to be a worrier; I worried constantly about everything. Now I don't worry about anything. (f.n. 9/6/81)

Sudden increases in general peace, joy, and freedom from long-established habits ranging from complaining to alcoholism are frequently mentioned in such narratives. A Marian Community member from a Conception Bay outpost recalled that physical and emotional or psychological components in her life's problems had been taken care of jointly at the time of conversion a few months before I spoke with her. She told me:

I really, really wanted to quit smoking. And I put my hand on God's Word [the Bible] and they prayed with me. And . . . from

that day until now I have never had a cigarette. The Lord is so good! . . .

It was the first night I came to the charismatic. And "Amazing Grace" was playing: I'd never heard it before. But when it got to the words, "saved a wretch like me," I said, "Oh, Lord, if You could only save me! I'd never lose my faith in You again, 'cause I know if you'd do one thing for me, I'll know You're there and You're with me and You're alive." . . . And that was when I had my healing, but it wasn't a miraculous healing from alcohol [as it was from my physical ailment]. It was a slow healing. But that was the night it began: right at that time. . . .

This nun had taken me there, see? And I had taken six drinks to go there, because I didn't like people. No way would I go in among people, unless I was two-thirds--you know. And so she said, "Go ahead and take your six drinks; just come in out of curiosity. . . ." The Lord was using her, see? We were standing there and we were singing and all of a sudden I was so peaceful, like I was going to float away somewhere, you know? And all the heat started to go right through my chest, down into my toes, out into my fingers; I felt the warm heat going all through. . . . But I wasn't too warm: you know, it was different from being too warm. And I thought, "Well, I'm going to die here, God." That's what I thought: I was going to die; I never felt so good in all my life! And that's when the healing happened; that's when I had the miraculous healing [from rheumatoid arthritis]. The next day, I couldn't believe how free I was; my arms, I'd stretch them up, and I could do everything with them, kicked my legs, I put on music and I danced and everything. It was a miracle. (Tape 36-2, side A)

The Marian Community, and, to a less explicit degree, the Worship Centre, also regard interpersonal love as an important means of divine inner healing. Wayne Dawe and Sheena Findlay of the Marian Community once developed the story of Lazarus as a metaphor for the Christian raised to "new life" by Christ. Jesus told others present at Lazarus's resurrection to remove his burial wrappings (John 11.44); similarly, they said, "we must be unwrappers for one another," freeing one another from the hurts and fears and faults which remain after our spiritual resurrection (f.n. 1/6/82). Several of the Worship Centre's members spend a great deal of time together, go out of their way to telephone and entertain new or unhappy members of the congregation, and

consider this active love one of the key factors which makes the church precious to them.

Prayer for "inner healing" of specific problems is sought in the three groups in much the same ways as physical healing, but is especially stressed at the Worship Centre's Prayer and Share and the annual healing weekends held by the Marian Community. At Prayer and Share, counseling and the laying on of hands are the primary forms of healing used. At the healing weekends, a guided meditation called "the healing of the memories" (developed, as far as I know, by Ruth Carter Stapleton¹⁵) is used. All those wishing to participate sit with closed eyes, and a speaker directs the group to remember being various ages, beginning with conception. Some typical experiences of each age may be mentioned as mnemonic triggers, such as going to school for the first time, being put to bed at night, playing with other children, and so forth, but more specific items may also be mentioned: at the 1982 weekend, a participant recalled that the speaker "stopped at age four or five and asked if anybody had been sexually abused at that age. Several people started crying, and she said her discernment had shown her that there were several" (f.n. 8/3/82). Individuals struck by painful personal memories make use of the speaker's general directions in imagining Jesus entering the various situations with them. They attempt to revise past perceptions of others, seeing them "through Jesus' eyes," forgiving or expressing understanding for those who hurt them, and allowing Him to remove, in imagination, the pain still being "carried" as part of their current orientation toward life. Although this is often recognized as psychotherapeutic ritual similar to various humanistic forms of therapy, it is also considered an act of faith, in

which Christ is invited to clarify and rectify individuals' self-perceptions and relations with others.¹⁶

"Inner healing" was also Lorne Rostotski's descriptive term for the process undergone in a more personally guided fashion when he prayed with the woman unable to feel emotions, directing her to forgive particular members of her family, in which he used the word of knowledge and the word of wisdom (Tape 49, side B). On several occasions, individuals who have been "slain in the Spirit" while being prayed for at the Cuffs' group, the Worship Centre, the Marian Community, or Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship meetings have cried, or said later that they wanted to cry, while lying on the floor. Both they and others have commented about these instances that inner healing may have been being performed by the Holy Spirit during this time.

Deliverance and Exorcism

The concept of demon possession, and exorcism by command in the name of Jesus, is based directly upon New Testament narratives. The symptomatology of demon possession is also based upon New Testament examples. Essentially, the "latent" symptoms are those of psychosis as it is recognized in the local lay community, though I have never heard a charismatic express disbelief in psychosis as a psychophysiological phenomenon in its own right. Its "manifest" symptoms emerge in the presence of persons, places, or objects connected with Christ: the Bible, churches, clergymen, and sometimes charismatics. They include screaming, foaming at the mouth, falling to the ground, thrashing about, attacking Christians, and speaking with a voice different from the voice of the person when in a normal state, and even with a different personality. The concept of demon oppression (or obsession, or depression)

has begun to emerge in the local charismatic community quite markedly in the last twelve to eighteen months, but there are many charismatics who disbelieve in it, have not heard of it, or are afraid of the whole idea. Demon oppression is thought of as a condition in which demons attach themselves to the human spirit (which is coterminous with the physical body in the descriptions given by those who can see demons), and cling there as parasites, causing a wide range of possible "latent" symptoms. "Manifest" symptoms may be nil, may consist only of intensifications of whatever tendencies the individual normally suffers from as a result of the demon's influence, or may resemble the manifest symptoms of possession. It is treated in the same manner as possession, through commands issued to the demons in the name of Jesus.

Local Practices, Experiences, and Beliefs

In the Marian Community, deliverance is considered an extremely dangerous undertaking, and when demons are discerned by others, or suspected to be in residence by the one oppressed, a priest is usually sought to perform the deliverance itself.¹⁷ At the Cuffs', one of the young Catholic women who attends the meetings has the gift of the discernment of spirits, and both she and the group's leaders, Don and Joyce, are fearless about performing deliverances themselves. At the Worship Centre, Lorne Rostotski also has the gift, and often orders demons to depart in the course of quiet prayer with individuals at the altar. The pastoral team of the Sacred Heart Prayer Community in Tors Cove also performs deliverances during the period of individual prayer following the meeting.

In Tors Cove, and at the Cuffs' when no one is present who can see demons, deliverance simply involves the use of the "binding" or

"binding and loosing" formulae, applied in a general way to "Satan," or specifically to a "spirit of" the problem named by the recipient of prayer, or by someone else, who has been informed of the spirit's nature through a word of knowledge. For example, one participant at the Tors Cove meetings asked for prayer concerning acute depression, and a "spirit of depression" was bound and cast out verbally, with praise to God in English and in tongues (f.n. 7/10/81).

When an individual is present who can see demons, the procedures are somewhat different. Lorne Rostowski had the gift for several months before he began to see them, and tells me that the ability developed slowly: at first he saw only vague, shadowy forms, but they have become clearer in recent months. He now knows precisely where they are attached to the individual, and when they leave. On one occasion, for example, when someone requested prayer for healing from whiplash caused by a car accident, he saw a small, dark spirit attached to the vertebrae of the neck. When he told it to leave in the name of Jesus, it stretched itself out, moving to a spot several feet away while remaining attached to the neck. When it finally obeyed his continued orders to let go, the individual being prayed for told Jill that she felt as if a weight had lifted from her neck, that the pain stopped, and full mobility returned. Lorne commented to me that the demon might have gained a hold upon the woman's neck at the time of the accident because of the trauma associated with it--an interesting parallel to the medical concept that certain kinds of parasites attack weakened hosts rather than healthy ones (f.n. 3/18/83).¹⁸ He felt that the whiplash itself had natural causes; it was its persistence beyond the usual direction that he attributed to the demon.

This instance exemplifies one of the crucial aspects of healing, deliverance, and the other charismata in the estimation of numerous local charismatics: the comparison of perceptions between administrators and receivers. As "confirmation" is important in the evaluation of Bible readings, sharings, prophecies, teachings, and even suggested songs at the Marian Community, so various kinds of confirmation are sought regarding other attempts to cooperate with the guidance of God and to "channel" or "release" the power of the Holy Spirit. There are instances of prayer for healing or deliverance, as there are "word gifts," in which only the administrator or only the receiver is aware of something he considers supernatural taking place--and for many, when such judgements are not mutual, it is the receiver's judgement which carries the greater weight--but in the majority of cases I have seen and heard described, mutual perceptions are both present and crucial to cultural evaluations of the event. In all three groups, there are instances in which healing is "received by faith" without sensory evidence, or when sensations of anointing may suffice to convince participants and observers that something supernatural has taken place even if the symptoms do not disappear. There are also instances in which an individual who is told that he is oppressed by a particular demon will accept the diagnosis, even if he has not been aware of any symptoms and experiences no change during or after prayer. However, the community in general tends toward pragmatism in these matters, and in every clash I have witnessed between experience and belief, experience has won.

Naturally, in a culture in which paranormal experiences are common, the victory of experience over belief can produce new religious

beliefs as well as skepticism. For example, Don Cuff's concepts of demonic oppression have important foundations in his experiences with the interdenominational charismatic prayer group in Bonavista. He did not, at that time, have the gift of the discerning of spirits himself, but a few individuals he trusted had often exercised it when he was present, and had described their perceptions to him in very concrete terms. To begin with, they had described the ability to see spirits as God-given, in and for specific situations, and not as a normative ability (some charismatics have told me that they see or sense them all the time). Second, they described the perceptual state in which they see demons as the same state in which they have visions of heaven: it is called "being in the spirit" or "seeing into the spiritual realm." Third, their perceptions are apparently not limited to sight, but include touch and hearing:

Mostly . . . the person doing the deliverance, almost each time, like they saw a spirit in the spirit, when they were in the spirit, and the gift was in operation. They would see the spirit attached to the person, and they would take the spirit hold with their hand, and lift it off, and just throw it to the floor and watch it run out through the window or through the wall.

CC: Was more than one person ever able to see this at the same time?

DC: Mmm-hmm. . . . And in the spirit world I ought to point out too that there's noises, and the demons laugh and cry and talk and blaspheme and ridicule. . . . They feel like jelly: that's the sensation that one of the girls has described to me. (Tape 6-2, side B)

After the experiences of healing or release described by receivers of prayer, experiences and memorates such as these are the bases most frequently cited for belief in deliverance and healing.

Most of the demons I have seen Lorne command to leave have produced emotional rather than physical symptoms, as was the case with

the "spirit of depression" cast out in Tors Cove.¹⁹ On one occasion, he and Mill and several other charismatics were holding a prayer meeting, and a young Baptist charismatic was overcome with shyness and left the room. When a woman with the gift of discerning spirits found her crying in the kitchen, she "discerned a bondage," and several people gathered around her and began to pray for her. Lorne was not in the room at that time, but when it began to appear as if she were being "tortured," thrown about and racked with pain, someone called him, and, under divine guidance, he began to name and bind specific spirits: fear, insecurity, marital discord, and others. In all, he continued to name and bind spirits for about ten minutes. When the last one left her, both she and Lorne experienced a sudden flood of relief. She threw her arms around her husband and said how glad she was to have it all over. Others have commented that they have noticed a change in her: she is still quiet, but the painful shyness is gone (f.n. 3/18/83).

One evening when I was recording the prayer meeting at the Cuffs, Lorne was present, and, while praying for another young woman, he discerned a "bondage of memories." Immediately his tone changed from loving, reverent supplication to firm, quiet, relaxed authority as he began to address the demon:

Right now in the name of Jesus Christ, I come against the bondage of memories. Right now I just come against that, the spirit that is continuously bringing up those old memories, and I bind that spirit now in the name of Jesus Christ, and I command it to go directly to the place that God the Father has assigned to it and never to return. And in the name of Jesus I just loose her mind to operate solely for You, Lord, in an uplifting way. Lord, I just loose Your precious, precious healing power on her memories right now in Jesus' name. I just bind right now that tension that she feels . . . that is lodged right here [on her spiritual body] in Jesus' name. In Jesus' name I just come against it right now. . . . Come away from her right now in Jesus' name. In Jesus' name, let her go right now in Jesus' name; let her go. Let her go; she's—

cleansed by the blood of Jesus; let her go right now in the name of Jesus. In Jesus' name. In Jesus' name, come away from her, your power is gone . . . you have no right to her; she's called in Jesus' name; you bondage, come away.

Lorne clearly sensed a change at this point: the demon began to capitulate. He continued:

Okay. Now go away; don't ever come back again; go directly to the place that God the Father has assigned. In Jesus' name. In Jesus' name. . . . [To the woman:] And I just pray right now that you be given more knowledge within your spirit and within your mind, that in the name of Jesus you can resist . . . the devil and he will flee. Draw nigh unto God and He shall draw nigh unto you. . . . Thankyou, Lord. Thankyou, Father. I want Your Word to come alive, and as she reads it I want it to speak to her in a beautiful way. . . .
(Tape 46-7, side A)

He always ends deliverance, like prayer, with thanks and praise to God, and often with prayers such as those above, that God bless the person who has been delivered in specific ways which will strengthen them against possible future demonic attacks.

Lorne feels that demons may attach themselves to individuals during periods of guilt, loneliness, temptation, and other kinds of psychological stress, and that they are especially likely to affix themselves during traumatic experiences. There is therefore a great deal of common ground between the kinds of symptoms treated through inner-healing (especially healing of the memories) and deliverance. In many ways they form alternative systems of treatment, for I know few individuals who participate in both.²⁰

Lorne, Pastor Gene Clarke, and a few other local clergymen have encountered cases of demon possession. In some cases, Lorne and Pastor Gene have told me, individuals have imagined themselves to be possessed, and they both deal with these cases rather peremptorily, telling the person to get hold of themselves, and explaining to them kindly but firmly that they are indeed capable of controlling their behaviour.

(In both the memorates recounted to me, the individual rolled and thrashed on the floor, and was simply told to get up.) Pastor Gene described the symptoms of true possession as including "inhuman" contortions, foaming at the mouth, screaming, or simply abnormal behaviour. "It's ugly and powerful and real," he commented, "... all too clearly real; it comes out into the open very quickly." Unless individuals exhibit very distinct, biblically described behaviour, he is reluctant to diagnose them as possessed.²¹

In one recent local case, however, diagnosis was rather a foregone conclusion according to several people I have heard mention it who were present. Lorne described the experience to the Long Pond Pentecostal youth group in this way:

At the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship Rally '82 in the closing banquet, there were over two hundred people there. And, praise the Lord, my pastor's father, so there was somebody there from my church to see. A woman began to have difficulties in the back of the meeting. Now, I was sitting at the head table, and I suddenly felt a quickening in my spirit: the Lord was alerting me that something was wrong. And I looked up, and I saw another lady motion ... for me to come. And I went over, and when I came, a lady who was possessed attacked me and tried to strangle me. And her face was contorted. The hate-- I've never, it's not often that I've seen that much hate coming out of the eyes.

And I sensed the presence of the Lord. And I just began to bind and rebuke in the name of Jesus, and just deal with this person. And within a few minutes we had her quietened down, and as the demons released her they screamed: this screaming that--terrible screaming. And I'm not afraid of that. Nobody should be afraid of that, because it's, it's their defeat.

And that lady was set totally free. I had two pastors come and help me, and another lady, and we went ... into a room, ... and we were able to pray with her and bind all of these, these bondages that she had. She was freed entirely, and that night she accepted Jesus Christ and He became her Saviour.

And we kept in touch with her by phone. (Tape 49, side B)

Randy and Vicky Dawe of the Worship Centre were also present at this event. Randy explained to me that the woman had begun to

"aqueal" as the group was standing, singing and praising God, by the tables before the banquet was served. His wife Vicky had recently heard a tape recording of a charismatic meeting at which a woman prayed with oppressed individuals, and the same squealing had been audible on the tape. They both recognized the sound, and began to pray. The woman's squealing became louder and louder, and, from where the Daves stood near the head table, they could hear her fall to the floor.

People were beginning to crowd around her, and Randy became alarmed, feeling that the banquet was being seriously disrupted. He prayed what he describes as a "bold" prayer: "Lord, You'd better do something quick!" (He did not remember the exact words he used, but this was the gist of it.) And he prayed, he saw in his mind's eye, in a type of mental vision much more sharp, detailed, close, and vivid than is characteristic of his own imagination, a bright, misty area--"like where dry ice is floating"--and two bright figures in white robes. He knew that one was Christ; he is uncertain of the identity of the other.

Christ pointed downward, and at this signal, Randy saw "masses of angels . . . I wouldn't be surprised if there were fifty or more" enter through the front door of the building where the banquet was being held. They were not winged, but clothed in armour and helmets which reminded him of Roman arms, and they carried great swords. They were between five foot seven and six feet tall, and muscular; they strode down the aisles of the room swiping back and forth with their swords. Randy remembers moving back from the aisle to get out of their way. As soon as they reached the woman, her screaming stopped, and the vision ended.

Later, when Randy told Lorne of this vision, they remembered a prophecy which had been given during a prayer meeting at Lorne's home some three years before, in which it had been predicted that "there

will come a day when My angels will move among you," and several details of the vision had been described. This correlation, but primarily the fact that the screaming stopped as soon as he saw the angels reach the woman, convinced Randy that it was a "true vision."²²

The woman who was possessed has attended some local prayer meetings since her exorcism, though she lives in Placentia Bay, and is well known to some of the members of the Cuffs' group. Some other local people have experienced deliverances almost as dramatic as this, including a member of the Worship Centre, but the entire topic is not widely discussed.

Charismatic Healing as a Cultural System

All of the domains of religious belief and experience discussed in Chapters III, IV, and V cohere in important ways in this final domain of healing. The baptism of the Holy Spirit initiates belief and experiences supporting the view of the human self as intimately united with God. It helps to establish the confidence that one is loved with all one's illnesses, stupidities, and sins, yet at the same time it also helps to establish confidence that one has effective resources with which to combat them. It redefines the relationship between man and his deity so that each dwells within the other, and reduces the power of suffering and disappointment with or anger at oneself to produce feelings of isolation and rejection. The anointing provides sensory or parasensory experiential evidence of this relationship; the charismata provide cognitive evidence. Both the anointing and the gifts contribute vitally to healing events, in which specific causes of suffering and of disappointment and anger at the self are dealt with, bringing them within the realm of religion, rather than allowing them to threaten

or challenge it from without. Healing is one, though it is only one, of the ways in which three central characteristics of charismatic world-view and ethos are clearly displayed.

First, it is an holistic system, in which physical, mental, and spiritual problems are each treated with physical, mental, and spiritual therapies. The physical laying on of hands is a standard element in the treatment of psychological and spiritual problems as it is of physical ones. Prayer is applied as a form of spiritual medicine in all cases. Demonstrations of acceptance, love, reassurance, and support--forms of emotional "medicine"--and discussion of reasoned bases for diagnosis and treatment, and for the possibility of a cure, are given very frequently, and much time is spent in developing general familiarity with such bases through Bible study and discussion. As patient or as healer, the charismatic functions as an integrated person.

Second, it is a health system based upon community sharing of individual problems. All may participate in healing prayer and process as healers and as patients, as givers and receivers of prayer and comfort. This goes considerably deeper than a simple bearing of one another's burdens, or the common recognition of common vulnerability. It draws upon the powerful Christian paradox of Christ as the giver of life through His own death, of healing through His shed blood. As psychiatrist James A. Knight has written in a recent article:

Healers sometimes give the impression that weakness, illness, and wounds have nothing to do with them. The only wounds are those of patients, while they themselves are secure against them. Patients live in a world completely different from their own. They then develop into healers without wounds who can no longer constellate or release the inner healing factor in their patients.

Chiron, the Centaur who taught Aesculapius the healing arts, suffered himself from incurable wounds. . . . The mythological image of the wounded healer is widespread and tells us that the

patient has a healer within, and the healer a patient within.

Humility was a part of the priestly tradition, of one who was an intermediary between the person and God. The healer was only an instrument--one who could promise neither cure nor healing.²³

Even in corporate prayer involving only verbal action, the Cuffs' group often gathers in a circle and sometimes holds hands. Prayer between two individuals, supplicant and supporter, at the Worship Centre's altar usually takes place with arms about one another's waists, or a hand upon the shoulder. Individuals praying together about matters of concern to one of them at Prayer and Share is often done while they sit facing one another, holding both hands. Most fundamentally of all, requests for prayer in any form (except the Marian Community's use of the formula, "for a special intention," during the verbal petitions) involve the acknowledgement and confession of personal needs and concerns before one or a group of fellow believers, and the acceptance of these personal needs and concerns into the shared "burdens" of the group. In addition, most of these considered gifted in healing are literally wounded healers. Don Cuff has been through a very high number of painful experiences (Tape 6-1, side A). Joyce Senior has a chronic spinal condition. It was Carl and Linda Hudson's baby who was not healed of his ureter problem. Lorne told the Long Pond group that the reason he functions in so many charismata is that he has experienced a great deal of emotional pain--and so he has (Tape 49, sides A and B). Father Phil Lewis once had grievous battles with alcoholism, openly confessed to his parish congregation. Vulnerability and empathy with weakness and suffering are important in charismatic healing.

Deliverance also involves a form of confession, and the making of private problems into shared ones. The naming of demons has the effect

of isolating undesirable traits, as the discerner declares that they have no part in the identity of the one being prayed for. The recipient of deliverance ministry receives a great deal of information and emotional support along with his treatment for "parasites": he is told of the undesirable traits and tendencies in his own thinking and behaviour which are obvious to the discerning religious eye of his fellow believer, and he is told that he can choose to get rid of them by cooperating with God in the process of deliverance (for it is said that deliverance cannot be accomplished if the individual wants the spirit to remain; if it is removed, he will consciously or unconsciously invite it back later). He is assured of love and acceptance, while the isolated traits are commanded to leave him alone, and treated as independent entities, squatters upon divinely claimed territory, street urchins who have foolishly bullied a child of the King. He thus gets an earful of criticism--criticism which is often recognized as realistic--and an abundance of loving encouragement at the same time. Even if the existence of parasitic spirits of anger, fear, selfishness, pride, and other qualities traditionally viewed as human faults is questioned, the psychology of deliverance prayer deserves respect (and its perceptual components must at least be held in abeyance).²⁴

Healing of the memories and deliverance both bring the individual into some degree of confrontation with painful, shameful, or anomalous elements of his past and/or his character. In this confrontation he is offered the opportunity to ally his will with the loving support of his community and the power of the Holy Spirit to separate himself from, or reorganize, these elements. The individual is given a good deal of responsibility to allow deliverance or healing to take

place, and to keep it once it has been accomplished, but his primary responsibility is to continue to accept and identify himself with the God and the community who love him. He is not sent home from a religious equivalent of the medical clinic to maintain his health alone; he has prayer meetings to go to; fellow believers to telephone, and, importantly, opportunities to exchange roles with his healers and supporters, so that he need not continue to define himself as a patient.

Confession and community have important relationships, even if that confession is of the indirect kind involved in the healing of the memories and deliverance prayer. In Dietrich Bonhoeffer's words:

He who is alone with his sin is utterly alone. It may be that Christians, notwithstanding corporate worship, common prayer, and all ~~the~~ fellowship in service, may still be left to their loneliness. The final breakthrough to fellowship does not occur, because, though they have fellowship with one another as believers and as devout people, they do not have fellowship as the undevout, and sinners . . . everybody must conceal his sin from himself and the fellowship. . . . So we remain alone with our sin. . . . Sin wants to remain unknown. It shuns the light. In the darkness of the unexpressed it poisons the whole being of a person. This can happen even in the midst of a pious community. In confession the light of the Gospel breaks into the darkness and seclusion of the heart. The sin must be brought into the light. The unexpressed must be openly spoken and . . . all that is secret and hidden made manifest. It is a hard struggle until the sin is openly admitted. But . . . in confession the breakthrough to community takes place.²⁵

Though much of charismatic healing may involve the redefinition, rather than the simple confession, of sin, it does involve the identification and articulation of the traits to be forsaken, their acknowledgement as inappropriate for a Christian, and their submission to divine removal or healing. Equality between discerner and recipient, meditation leader and meditator, reinforces the power of both healing processes to encourage self-acceptance along with trait-rejection. Healing and deliverance are important contributors to the warmth and intimacy of the prayer meeting and of the Worship Centre, in contrast to what charismatics often

perceive as the coldness and isolation of the church pew.

Third, the healing system displays the pattern of unity in diverse styles which is valued in charismatic worldview. Each group has its particular angle upon and emphases within the healing system: the Marian Community leans heavily toward humanistic psychology; the Worship Centre towards western rationalism and scientific thinking; and the Cuffs' group toward the aggressive faith expressed by Kenneth Hagin and some of the other well-known evangelists. Yet each uses the same basic principles in healing: the whole person is of concern to God and to the community; loving acceptance of persons is combined with gentle rejection of traits; divine power to heal and forgiveness for sin are combined with individual responsibility to exercise faith and repentance. In all the groups, the optimum condition of body, mind, and spirit is not a state of equilibrium but a process of transformation: the Spirit-filled Christian is being "changed from glory to glory" (2 Corinthians 3:18), growing, learning, being "transformed by the renewing of your mind" (Romans 12:2); under construction. Inner healing and deliverance are more a removing of obstacles to progress than a restoring of stasis. As part of this, death is accepted as a step into heaven; the goal of healing is not to put it off for as long as possible but to make optimal use of the time spent on earth. These assumptions underlie the diverse methods and styles of the three groups.

CHAPTER VI

LIFE OUTSIDE THE MEETINGS: RELIGIOUS FOLKLIFE AND THE EVERYDAY

Were this a study of religion as a social institution rather than a cultural system, charismatic folk religion could be presented through the examination of religious occasions and ritual activities, and informants' beliefs probed through their explicitly religious statements. The ethnographic portrait thus produced would be orthodox, perhaps, in relation to much folkloristic and anthropological precedent in the study of religion, but it would place on the periphery two factors I think are central to the way charismatic folk religion actually works in St. John's: the patterns of interaction and mutual perception between charismatics and non-charismatics, and the relations between the world of ritual and the world of the everyday.

Ethnographic studies of religion frequently present religious ethos and worldview as systems which function best in isolation from other views and other values. Tribal cultures, peasant communities, even ethnic groups within pluralistic societies are often discussed as if, by choice or circumstance, the field of experience and interaction relevant to religious premises lies wholly within the sphere shared by believers.¹ Holders of other views and values, even if they live in the next village or the next apartment, are not "significant others": perhaps considered crazy, or sinners, or backward primitives, they are

more or less peripheral to the daily operation (and therefore to the ethnographic understanding) of religious culture. The faithful, the elect, the devotees, the normal ones -- however they conceive of themselves or the ethnographer thinks they do -- are portrayed in a kind of cultural huddle, forming a tight little circle of Us in an unclear, alien world of Them.

This is a perfectly legitimate approach to religious ethnography, when it reflects the way culture members think and feel about themselves, one another, and non-members. It can, however, give rise to much the same kinds of distortions as are produced when cultures are presented in stasis, as if political and affinal systems, ceremonial and social life, existed in eternal balance and harmony.² For there are nearly always significant others of one sort or another in any given "Them." Every now and then somebody marries one; the altar boy or the headman's heir goes off to college and comes home a Marxist; the new parish priest turns out to be one of those crazy charismatics. It is not always possible for people to avoid relationships (nor does everyone necessarily want to avoid relationships) with others who hold quite different sets of truths to be self-evident. The feuds and friendships, conflicts and compromises, conversions and syncretic blends which result from such contacts are not always peripheral, marginal, interstitial, a matter of border skirmishes and exceptional cases. Sometimes they are central to normal social process.³

Because charismatic Christians in St. John's are in constant contact with other views and other values, by individual choice as well as circumstantial necessity, interaction with non-charismatics is a

crucial area of religious life. To present charismatic culture only in terms of the relationships between insiders, the "in-house" affairs of prayer meetings and learning to prophesy, would be to leave out not an area, but a whole perspectival dimension of the picture. As Dean MacCannell has pointed out is common among those living in close contact with other cultural groups, charismatics define themselves partially in relation to those around them.⁴ Because of the particular values and attitudes intrinsic to local charismatic culture, close emotional relationships and a general stance of vulnerability toward the opinions of non-charismatics bind individuals, and the group as a whole, to many kinds of "significant others" across folk religious demarcations of belief and style. Individuals tend to heed the feedback they receive from friends, coworkers, and family members in assessing their own fulfillment of charismatic religious ideals, for if a charismatic is not thought loving, peaceful, joyful, and nice to have around, he will often feel that he is not much of an advertisement for Christianity or charismatic renewal. Members and leaders of the three prayer groups frequently comment on the desire to earn and keep the goodwill of local denominational officials and of churchgoers in general, and to avoid conveying an attitude of self-righteousness, separatism, or superiority. Under such circumstances, the image of the cultural huddle simply does not fit the case.

When religion is viewed as a social institution whose essentials are expressed in formal activities and explicit statements, rather than as a system of symbols, concepts of reality, powerful moods and pervasive motivations, it is natural enough to leave out the everyday. It is this

view, I think, which makes social scientific studies of religious groups often far less revealing than the average tribal ethnography. I do not think anyone would try to understand what being an Apache is really all about by studying people only when they were somehow being formally, consciously, explicitly Apache, but ethnographers do sometimes present Pentecostals only through their church services and testimonies, or Roman Catholics only through their festivals and saints' legends.⁵ The implicit, the private, the informal are always worth one's attention, whatever bases of group unity -- ethnic, tribal, occupational, religious -- are being studied. One learns things about a Buddhist by watching him pull himself together after losing his temper that one will never learn by watching him meditate. The faults a man rebukes in his children, or his manner of calling God to witness his honest intentions when haggling with a customer in the marketplace, reveal things about his working notions of Islam that one cannot discover by observing his ritual life. In this case it would be an especially heinous distortion of ethnographic reality to present folk religion only in terms of prayer meetings and spiritual gifts, for people do not think of their religion as consisting of such things. Keith Collins of the Worship Centre explained it this way:

[When I was growing up] the view was that being a Christian was something you did on Sunday. And you would go to church on Sunday and you would have to get enough Christianity or spirituality or enough of, of a blessing . . . so you could stumble through the week and stagger into next Sunday. That's almost the way it was, as opposed to Christianity being something that is a lifestyle. It's life-changing, not only on Sunday but every day of the week. It's a continuing walk with the Lord: you can have communion with the Lord just as easily on Tuesday or on Saturday as you can on Sunday. (Tape 5-1, side A)

The world of the everyday is the proving-ground, the field of application and testing, of religious concepts and motivations. Most of the personal experiences shared in meetings take place at home, on the job, on the street; they are narrated as examples of the way charismatic beliefs have worked out (or failed to work out) in practice. Facts, faith, and feelings may interact easily in the realm of Bible reading and prayer, prophecy and worship, but results are often firmly rooted in the daily mundanities of finding the rent money and getting along with mothers-in-law. The fact is that most of my informants pray about such matters, and give God thanks and praise when they succeed in them.

If I had not just read four doctoral theses, six books, and over fifty articles containing ethnographic portraits of charismatic and Pentecostal groups, all of which focus almost exclusively upon overtly religious occasions, acts, and statements, I would assume that everyday life was generally considered as important for the ethnographic study of religion as it is for the study of tribal politics or kinship or ethnic foodways. However, many of these authors do not seem to have considered it germane to their tasks to sit around listening to their informants reason and argue about why the termites ate through the granary's supporting posts just at the time when a particular person was sitting underneath it, as Evans-Pritchard did in his study of the Azande,⁶ or discuss the import of a toadstool at someone's home which is growing four times as fast as a toadstool has any right to grow, as Geertz did in his study of the Balinese.⁷ This is not because charismatics and Pentecostals do not sit around reasoning about the unknown

causes of apparent chance events, or question the sufficiency of their understanding of the world when things that should not be possible occur, for most certainly they do. It is probably because the ethnographers thought of the regaining of composure, the raising of children, the pious oaths of haggling, and the reasons for the fall of granaries as existing in a realm apart from what being a charismatic or a Pentecostal is really all about.

There are scholarly alternatives to such dismemberment of culture, and Henry Glassie's Passing the Time in Ballymorene furnishes an exemplary one. He comments in a discussion of housebuilding and farming methods in an Irish community:

When they look over the land and proclaim it lovely, what appeals to them is not nature, but reflections of their work, their presence, their cooperation with divine purpose, their husbanding of His gift, His light dancing on their smooth fields. . . . "Wisdom" said the saintly A.E., "is the right relation of our being to that in which we live, and move, and have our being." . . . Precisely through the creation of the land, they taught themselves to think about themselves. Work gave them the thickest, most serious way to form and test their thought. Add religion beneath work, making God's gifts and commandments its foundation, then crown it with pleasure, the fluttering notes of the fiddle and the hilarity of the free-spinning yarn, and you are ready to confront their culture. . . . face that culture, trying to construct it as its people do, compassionately entering into their subjective. Then we risk confusion, contradiction, and repetition, to come at truth. . . .⁸

Here, as there, religion is part of the weave. I don't think most of my informants read A.E., but they often say that religion is "right relationship" with God. The Worship Centre has a favourite song called "In Him I Live and Move and Have My Being," and some of my Marian Community informants know charismatic Father Carey Landry's song with the same biblical passage in its chorus.⁹ One sure-fire way to upset

a charismatic is to point out an area of his life which is out of "right relation," in which religion is not part of the weave. This often happens, one way or another, at prayer meetings, and people think such separation of domains is so unwise that they are praying, "Lord, teach me . . ." before you can say Mea culpa. To construct charismatic culture as its people do is to see that religion does permeate work, undergird pleasure, give meaning to the light playing on the fields. It is so because they simply think that way, and also because they want it and need it and are not happy without it.

Not all aspects of everyday life are discussed here. This is primarily because, as explained previously, it is impossible to generalize about charismatics in terms of such factors as eating habits, political opinions, clothing styles, economic or educational levels, or taste in styles of interior decorating. To give a representative picture of these aspects of everyday life would be to describe all of St. John's -- a task beyond the scope of this study.

I have, on occasion, asked informants whether they thought there were any patterns evident among their charismatic acquaintances in areas such as these. Some responded with a neutral, somewhat bemused denial: it seemed a little ludicrous, I think, that such patterns should be considered possible. Others were quite firm in asserting that "knowing the Lord has nothing to do with things like that" (f.n. 6/31/83). There is no generalizing about simplicity or ostentation in household furnishings. There are gourmets and granola-eaters and students eating canned beans; people who listen to rock and roll on blasting radios and people who play only religious music; women who feel it is wrong to wear

"sexy" clothes, women whose slacks are tight above spike heels, and women who dress for comfort without a thought about its relations to their religious convictions. Where there seem to be common patterns, I have described them, but there are very few shared "shoulds" beyond the Ten Commandments.

The portrait of the everyday presented here is intended to show the ways in which religion works in everyday life -- not everything that charismatics do every day. It is somewhat sketchy, for I know most of my informants primarily through prayer meetings: I have relied to some extent on what they have told me about their lives during the rest of the week. These include formal "sharings" in which people recount instances and circumstances in which religious thought played an important part, but they also include casual comments about aspects of thought or action which seemed to be considered normal or common by listeners and speakers. For example, several "sharings" at the Worship Centre have described the narrator's struggles to overcome resentful attitudes toward particular coworkers or family members; both the frequency of such narrations and the calm, empathic response of listeners has suggested to me that in that particular group, this is considered a problem appropriate for religious handling and conceptualization. Further exposure to sharings and teachings in other prayer groups, and the response of other local charismatics to complaints about the "impossibility" of coworkers' or family members' behaviour, has convinced me that such struggles to overcome resentments are considered essential to religious integrity by many other charismatics as well. And, of course, one learns from what people don't say as well as from what they

do say: nobody has ever mentioned politics, except to pray for "government leaders" in general, or to comment (like plenty of other St. John's residents) that the world in general seems to be in rather unstable political shape, at any charismatic prayer meeting I have attended. I have never heard a charismatic criticize another for wearing flashy or ragged clothes, driving a sports car or a rusty station wagon, eating at MacDonald's or the Ritz.

I have designed this discussion of the everyday to shed as much light as possible upon the values, moods, beliefs, perspectives, and motives which characterize local charismatics as a folk group: qualities they recognize and identify with in one another's thought and habits. For this purpose, narrations about daily life have been a valuable source of information, for one can watch reactions to what is narrated: what is admired as especially "mature" or "spiritual" behaviour; what is accepted as a matter of course; and what is considered somewhat below standard or strange. The generalizations made here are based, in part, upon such reactions, as well as upon what I have heard people say that they do. It leaves out, of course, what they do not talk about at prayer meetings or allow me as a visitor to see -- but that is a problem in most ethnographic fieldwork.

Relating to God: Prayer and Praise

A good many charismatics soak their weekday lives with all sorts of forms of what Keith called "communion with the Lord." Prayer -- predictably enough -- is one of them. Many charismatics feel the need

for a few minutes every day to do nothing but pray and read the Bible; what evangelicals sometimes call a "quiet time."¹⁰ Gerard Bruce explained what it is for, in terms of experiential qualities and longterm results, in this way:

for us as humans, it's hard to imagine that if I'm sitting down here by myself, that I can hear somebody's voice. But you know God does speak to us in our own hearts. . . . He does speak to you when you're alone. And oftentimes you've gotta be alone with the Lord. Like a friend said to me one time, you've gotta learn to sit with the Lord, a lot of times, before you can learn to walk with Him. And I think we all need time to be alone with the Lord, so that love between the both of us can grow. (Tape 2, side B)

Times of prayer are also sandwiched in amid the tasks and travels of the workday, as forms of what Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi calls microflow: brief, mild doses of the deep enjoyment and revitalization experienced during flow activities such as full worship.¹¹ Four young women, three of whom attend the Worship Centre, used to have a daily time of Bible study and prayer, sitting on the stairs of their office building, when they all worked together before getting married (Tape 20, side A). Don Cuff, discussing the gift of tongues with me, described how he had had to wait fifteen minutes in a long line at the bank a few days before, and had refreshed himself thoroughly by spending the time praying in tongues under his breath (Tape 6-2, side A). Keith Collins often turns on a local religious radio station and listens to the music as he is driving to work. When I asked what kinds of things generally went through his mind during that time, he said:

Very often I'd just be . . . trying to focus on the Lord. His reality, that He's not just something we sing songs about in church or talk about in church but He's very very real, and He makes a difference. I am different because I've accepted Him as my Savior. And I try to prepare myself: I

find in my job, pressures build, and I find myself in situations where very aggressive people try to, to do their thing to you. And you have to prevent that without falling into the same trap. . . . I have to try to maintain my, my composure and show that a Christian deals with certain situations differently. So it's almost like psyching myself up for my day as I'm driving to work, just to keep that thought central throughout the day, that I don't do anything that would be unchristian (Tape 5-1, side A).

Praising God is a closely related form of communion, and can take the form of singing "praise songs," as religious choruses and short lyrics are often called, or of keeping such music playing while work is being done. One of the Bible verses most often quoted, sung, preached upon, printed on posters, and used as a theme for sharings (it was also the theme of the 1979 Catholic charismatic conference in the Atlantic provinces) is Ephesians 5.18-19: ". . . be filled with the Spirit, speaking to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord." One young executive commented at the Cuffs' that he had found himself doing so of late, and was excited by its effects upon his everyday life. "It sure makes a difference in your day if you start out praising Him," he commented happily. "I just jump out of bed praising Jesus." Don added with quiet humour, "And 'course you trips over the vacuum cleaner on the way to the bathroom --" "-- And you praise Him anyway," a woman finished. Amid the appreciative laughter, Don nodded, "That's the real test" (f.m. 2/23/83). Numerous local people praise God as a routine way of dealing with everyday pressures and problems, regarding this as their most effective defense against the world, the flesh, and the devil (especially the devil). Many members of the Marian Community have "shared" instances in which they deliberately praised God as a method of changing their own

depression, fear, impatience, or weariness in the course of a difficult day, and found it very successful. Praise, like prayer, is a coping strategy as well as an expression of love.

Prayer and praise are also forms of ongoing contemplation in and active life: charismatic versions of a widespread religious practice. Like the prayer described in the Eastern Orthodox book The Way of a Pilgrim ("Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me,"¹¹ called "the Jesus prayer" by some of my Catholic charismatic informants who use it),¹² la ilaha illa 'ilah as it has been used by some Sufis,¹³ and the Hindu concept of the mantra, prayer and praise in mentally-spoken English and in tongues flow like a subterranean river through the internal lives of some members in each group, helping them to do what they sometimes call "practicing the Presence of God" after the phrasing used by a Catholic writer of several centuries ago.¹⁴ Many also have frequent mental conversations with God -- which they often feel that they do not always initiate. One of the purposes sometimes mentioned by those who practice steady mental prayer and praise is to keep a portion of their attention upon God, so that if He speaks, they will hear Him.

The listening part of prayer varies considerably in its frequency, the intricacy and clarity of what is heard, and the certainty with which it is believed to be God speaking, both between individuals and within the lives of individuals over time. For Keith Collins, it seems to be subtle and quiet, but clearly identified when it occurs. He commented, "I find myself talking out loud to Him during the day," and when I asked, "Does He talk back?" he explained:

Not in audible tones: you always hear people saying, "The Lord told me this," or "The Lord told me that." I think the Lord can do that I find very often it's, it's impressions in my mind, it's thoughts and ideas and concepts that He puts in my mind. He's not, as yet, spoken to me audibly. . . . And there's a certain experience factor: it's not only a logical sort of a thing [when I decide that a thought is from God]; it's very much an emotional, experience-oriented sort of a thing. At least it has been for me. (Tape 5-1, side A)

Joyce Senior describes the Lord's voice as "audible to my inner ear,"

and she also has no doubt about the identity of the voice when she hears

it (Tape 21, side B). Don Cuff finds utterances often detailed and

lengthy, but is not always certain of their source. He explained:

discerning God's voice is almost an art. . . . you listen with your spirit. . . . [It's] not so much a voice but an impression. Or a word could come before you. Or a sentence . . . that you receive. . . . I've learned to, to question the voice, and if I feel that the Lord is speaking to me and giving me something, I will immediately question and say, "Lord, is this Your voice? I ask You in the name of Jesus." And then I wait for the Lord to tell me yes or no . . . and just meditate on that question. And I realize that there's God, man, and, and the devil, and there are a lot of voices in the world, of course. I also realize that God is sovereign and supreme, and Jesus said, "My sheep hear My voice; they follow Me" [John 10.27]. So it's possible to hear God's voice. (Tape 6-1, side B)

Listening for personal guidance during the course of the day intensifies in concentration when individuals are confused or frightened. People report "hearing" both instructions and reassurance in this way. The Bible is used in a variety of ways to obtain situational input which is believed to have relevance to the individual needs of the reader at the time when he seeks it. Such Biblical "personalized" guidance is sought by some members of the Worship Centre (and in some classical Pentecostal homes) by "picking a promise": that is, drawing a card from a box, a jar, or a small china loaf of the "bread of life" bought

at the PADN's Religious Book and Bible House, on which is written a Bible verse expressing one of the promises of God to believers. Marian Community members sometimes use a related technique called "taking a reading" or "splitting Scripture" by opening the Bible at random and reading whatever passages "seem to jump out at you."¹⁵ A young Catholic housewife at the Cuffs' group once related an example of her own use of this method as an addition to the mentally-received guidance:

I was hanging out the clothes and trying to keep my mind on the Lord, and He started talking to me. He started talking something about [my husband's] and my relationship. And I didn't know if I was to share it tonight or not, so I just asked Him to bless my hands, and give me something out of His Word to confirm that He wanted me to share it. So I opened the Bible and I opened at Isaiah 41: 'Be silent, ye distant lands . . . prepare to present your case in court: you will have your chance to speak.' So He was confirming that I was to share it. (f.n. 8/8/82)

Intercessory Prayer and Divine Guidance

At home as well as at meetings, virtually all the members of all three prayer groups devote a large proportion of the time spent in prayer to the needs of noncharismatic friends and relatives. Prayers for guidance, protection from danger, conversion, physical healing, and the resolution of interpersonal tensions between the charismatic and the one prayed for seem to be the most common topics, but any type of prayer for someone else is called "intercession." Some ten or twelve people (three or four in each group) have described their usual prayer at home for others, not as efforts to convince God to grant the desired

blessings, but as "pulling down the strongholds of Satan" existing in the spiritual life of the one prayed for. Joyce Senior explained that these may be circumstances, the opposition of various other people, habit patterns and habitual ways of thinking, oppressive demons, physically debilitating conditions, or a lack of insight into the nature of a particular problem (a "blindness"). Such strongholds may be pulled down through the acts of prayer and fasting, which some feel are forms of cooperative action with God in an ongoing war between the powers of good and evil (Tapes 46-6, sides A and B, and 21, side B). They may be attacked aggressively through "binding": one member of the Cuffs' group told me, with a great deal of laughter, that she had been "binding away, telling Satan to get lost" while stopped at a traffic light in her car, and that another driver had stared at her as she shook her fists and talked aloud, wondering what on earth she was doing (f.n. 5/9/83). The concept of intercession thus involves standing protectively between Satan and the one prayed for, as well as performing mediation for him with God.

Another form taken by this general concept of intercessory prayer is the "burden" of intense empathic concern which, especially when it is experienced without knowledge of the cause or when it occurs suddenly, is often interpreted as a request from God for cooperative prayer. A woman from the Grand Falls Catholic charismatic group told the Cuffs' group:

When the Lord wants something done, He'll put it on people's hearts to pray for that particular thing, and if we don't pray when we feel called to pray -- and it may not be a real big problem -- but I feel as soon as we feel the urge to

pray for someone or something we should just drop everything if we have to, and pray right away. (Tape 46-6, side B)

Liz O'Brien of the Worship Centre explained:

It's come and gone: you're burdened for a time. And then it kind of leaves. . . . you become really upset, you're -- you're concerned with their life, and it's usually a person with a problem. . . . Sort of out of the blue, sometimes, you feel you have to pray for a person. . . . to the point where you have to call them and ask them if they're all right, and come to find out they're not. I think it's the Holy Spirit. Definitely. If He wants you to pray, you should pray, because . . . it may almost be like keeping them in there with God, or keeping God there. . . . (Tape 18-2, side B)

Don Cuff described for me one of his more intense experiences of this kind. A close friend of his had "reneged on his relationship with the Lord for a while," and Don was very upset. He recalled:

I loved him so much that I remember praying once that God would take, actually take my salvation from me so that he could have it, salvation. I wanted him to be saved that much, you see. . . . I was praying for him constantly, and one day I was driving home from work, and I felt a spirit of intercession come upon me for [my friend]. So much so that it was an agonizing burden. And I, I didn't want to scream, or shout, but it was like my stomach was going to just burst if I just didn't agonize in prayer for him, for his soul . . . so that I had to stop the car in the road there, pull over on the shoulder of the road and stop and pray: pray the thing through.

CC: Is it like a strong emotion? Or does it seem to come upon you from the outside, the way the Lord's Spirit comes down?

DC: It seems like it happens from all directions at the same time. You feel something coming down, yes, but you feel something inside that you've just got to get rid of. And the only way you can get rid of it is to pray through. . . . it's very consuming, to the point that you . . . don't know what else to do but pray this way until the burden is released. . . . Again, it's the Spirit that's leading you to do this. (Tape 6-2, side A)

Joyce Senior explained that the burden lifts when prayer has been "prayed through", which may mean that a "stronghold of Satan" has been

pulled down, or that "God has done the work" needed (Tape 21, side B). Some local people's daily lives are often spent, therefore, in what they consider a potent form of cooperative service for God in the lives of other people, performed in their bedrooms on their knees, while driving, or in the midst of their various responsibilities.¹⁶

Intercessory prayer is held to have discernible effects upon the one prayed for, as well as the one praying. One charismatic, a graduate student in the Humanities at Memorial University, recently commented to me that he felt certain that people must be praying for him, because he had experienced an otherwise inexplicable relief from the feelings of depression which had been hindering him in thinking through some major decisions (f.n. 8/1/83). Others have used phrases such as "prayer support" or "undergirding" to describe the sense of strength and happiness which they attribute to the prayers of others. It is quite common for a charismatic, commenting on his own current success in combating persistent faults, his general happiness, or his sense of communion with God in daily life, to shake his head and say, "somebody must be praying for me." This belief in the effectiveness of intercessory prayer is quite widespread in Christianity, and, like charismatics, others may speak of physical and emotional release from human "burdens" -- such as heavy-heartedness or chronic fatigue and depression -- as evidence that someone is probably praying for them, in addition to more objective, circumstantial kinds of evidence. The primary difference between local charismatics and other believers in the power of intercessory prayer is that charismatics often show more concern with correlating perceptions between the one praying and the

one prayed for, using both subjective experience and objective circumstances as data in their assessment of specific instances. Like their comparison of perceptions in prayer for healing or deliverance, and their testing of inspired utterance by asking God to "give" the utterance to another speaker, or asking after an inspired utterance if anyone else "had" the same message, this correlative process is central to the development of individuals' beliefs and practices. In particular, correlation (or lack of correlation) is the single most important factor in individuals' interpretations of their subjective experiences with burdens, as it is in the interpretation of various kinds of sensory indicators that God is inspiring them to speak particular messages, or is healing them, or healing another person through them.

Civitas, Civilitas, Ecclesia, and Ethnos:
Community Affairs

Ronald L. Grimes, in a recent monograph on an annual festival in Santa Fe, New Mexico, used these four terms to name four kinds of emotional or identificative bonds which draw community members together in various configurations, rallying them around various key symbols and values.¹⁷ Civitas refers to formal, often political awareness of and participation in public events as a citizen of a particular geographic community; civilitas, to the same sense of belonging as it exists on an informal, unofficial level (cheering for the town baseball team, for instance, as opposed to saluting the flag). Ecclesia has to do with religious affiliation, either to a specific church or to a denomination,

or to a body of opinion within a denomination. Ethnos has to do with ethnic identity and loyalties. Though a complex festival offers opportunities to see such concerns explicitly expressed, they are not absent from daily life; merely implicit, private, informal. One hears the sentiments and loyalties involved voiced in conversation around the supper table, and acted upon in small decisions.

The charismatic community is far from homogeneous in its participation in these realms of St. John's community life. Its members are diverse in their political opinions, their interest in sports and the arts, their church involvement, and their ethnic sensibilities. A few political issues, however, are thought of as religious questions, and discussed at prayer meetings. Abortion is one which draws impassioned protests from many charismatics, who consider it murder and participate in marches and demonstrations against its legalization. Carl and Linda Hudson, in particular, have given a number of talks on the subject for various local groups. Such civic events as elections, strikes, and holiday parades are not of central concern to the community, as far as I can tell from the topics raised at prayer meetings and in conversations, though they are prayed about when individuals are directly involved:

Plenty of charismatics are involved in local sports teams, though this can cause family tensions for those with Pentecostal backgrounds, for sports are considered unsuitable for Christians by some Pentecostals (not by all). Participation in the arts is more limited: the four composers and eight semiprofessional musicians I know of in the three groups write and perform exclusively religious music, and would not be comfortable playing in the local clubs where other

musicians perform because most of them are bars. Some members of the Marian Community who drink will go to a bar from time to time, and all are comfortable (as far as I know) in restaurants where liquor is served, but the atmosphere of a bar is distasteful to many, whether they drink or not. Local movies, concerts, and plays are sometimes attended, though x-rated and occult material is generally shunned as unpleasant and perhaps harmful. Social situations where large amounts of alcohol or drugs are likely to be consumed are also generally avoided. In all of these areas, individuals tend to think both about the effects of experience upon them, and the possible reflection of their actions upon Christ and Christianity in the eyes of others, but their conclusions can vary.

Involvement in ecclesiastical affairs is also quite variable, a matter of individual temperament rather than cultural prescription. Because of the widespread charismatic desire for good relations with the church in general, and the more personal sense of responsibility to give to other churchgoers out of their own enthusiastic and fulfilling religious lives, involvement with church groups, committees, and special events is admired, though not universally practiced. These involvements are often frustrating to charismatics, because clashes in religious ethos and worldview between themselves and other churchgoers tend to be perceived by both sides, but defined so differently that communication about them is often difficult. Charismatics often perceive others as putting unrealistic limitations upon God -- through denominational prejudice, for example, or disbelief in divine healing. They are often especially upset when churchgoers seem to consider God distant and

abstract, rather than present and concrete. "He's not a belief," one charismatic said in exasperation after a church committee meeting. "He's a Person" (f.n. 6/24/82). Charismatics, of course, are often perceived as religious fanatics, overly involved with spirituality, or conversely, as overly casual, guilty (as one churchgoer commented to me) of the sin of familiarity with holy things (f.n. 1/10/83). Some manage to participate effectively in church affairs without ruffling their own feathers or anyone else's. Others regard the churches in their own denomination -- or churches in general -- as a sort of mission field, in which one does one's best, but encounters tiring resistance and apathy.

Ethnos in Newfoundland is a complicated issue, much less clear-cut than in Santa Fe, where Anglo, Pueblo, and Hispanic cultural patterns are often distinctive. Here, cultural traits associated with Irish heritage are of emotional importance to many; English, to some; being a Newfoundlander is for some a question of ethnicity and for others of regional-cultural or civic significance. Of the various possibilities for ethnic feeling and identification, being a Newfoundlander seems to be of highest importance to the charismatics I know, and this is expressed primarily on festive occasions. At the Worship Centre, Fred Searle has created a puppet character named Uncle Alf, a classical Pentecostal bayman in his sixties, who often appears at church retreats and dinners to comment on its strengths and weaknesses, virtues and unorthodoxies, from the perspective of traditional Newfoundland Pentecostal folklife. The Marian Community, when hosting the Atlantic Provinces Conference of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in 1981, devoted one evening to what they called a Newfoundland Soiree. Gerard Bruce, in an enormous sou'wester

and mackinaw, was master of ceremonies, and individual members of the Newfoundland prayer groups volunteered their talents in story-telling, step-dancing, and traditional music. Foodways at the Marian Community and the Cuffs' are strongly shaped by Newfoundland foodways, consisting of the tea or coffee, sweet buns, and sandwiches often eaten for a "lunch" in the late evening or at teatime. A less positive flicker of Newfoundland feeling sometimes emerges in all three groups when they are comparing themselves with churches and prayer groups on the mainland: a sense of inferiority and comparative isolation often blends with more complicated feelings in such comments. People sometimes seem to feel that, as Newfoundlanders, they suffer from a cultural rigidity and reticence which makes it difficult to participate boldly in prayer meetings (especially in the charismata and in sharing personal griefs), and which therefore causes their development as charismatic groups to languish. Mainland visitors from other charismatic groups sometimes agree; at other times, they express admiration for the depth and freedom of charismatic worship here, but the explanation of rigidity and reticence as Newfoundland traits (rather than human ones) seems to be largely a Newfoundlanders' conclusion.

Home Life and the Family

Marriage and family life tend to be valued by charismatics, and the Worship Centre -- the only one of the three groups which families often attend together -- is a particularly clear example of a more widespread part of local charismatic ideals. The other two groups,

where the husband or wife often attends alone because the other is not charismatic, express their familial commitment and attachment through prayers and comments about their spouses and children. Specifically charismatic values affect the running of the household to varying degrees in these situations, depending in part upon the distance between these values and those of the other spouse, which may be small or great in any denominational context. It seems to be hardest on charismatics when the spouse is actively hostile to Christianity in general: these are the family situations that lead to tears at prayer meetings. Hostility toward charismatic beliefs in particular is usually handled with relatively less strain, and often seems to be managed by the charismatic's willingness to keep his beliefs to himself. Like any other personality trait, the degree to which charismatics are able to do this comfortably and successfully is a very individual matter, but people often comment that they have gotten better at it over time.

Gerald L. Pocius has argued that the placement of religious pictures in various rooms of Irish Catholic homes in eastern Newfoundland forms "visual codes for secular and supernatural relationships."¹⁸ He found that such pictures rarely appeared in the living room or parlour, and suggested that this might be because this room was used for the reception of strangers and formal guests, who could be of unknown religious persuasion. In this room, therefore, pictures show the family's "public face": formal portraits, graduation and wedding photographs, awards and diplomas; religious art is reserved for the intimate realm of the kitchen where friends visit, and for the bedrooms, where private concerns predominate in the choice of furnishings. In the homes of

local charismatic families, religious art is apparently part of the family's public face, for it is present in almost every living room I have seen. Only in homes in which the head of the household is not charismatic are specifically charismatic pictures reserved only for the bedrooms. In many homes, they are in kitchen, hall, bedroom -- even in the bathroom. Spatially as well as attitudinally, charismatic religion tends to pervade the everyday domains of life.

While many charismatics own and enjoy traditional religious art, there are certain tendencies in that which is perceived as "specifically" or especially charismatic. Posters, for example, may depict natural landscapes and bear serious religious statements, or they may use animal photographs combined with humorous comments on the faults and foibles of Christians. A Marian Community member gave me a poster showing a lone man silhouetted on a rock against the evening sky, captioned, "I believe in the sun, even when it is not shining / I believe in love, even when I am alone / I believe in God, even when He is silent" (Fig. 12). A common charismatic view of the self -- one of the ideal views, and one often evinced in actual behaviour -- is well expressed by the wall arrangement in the living room of one of the Catholic charismatic families I have come to know well. In one framed picture, a graceful pen-and-ink drawing of a lion is embellished with a short, calligraphed Bible verse, recalling, perhaps, Christ's metaphorical description as "the Lion of the tribe of Judah" (Revelation 5.5). Directly below it, an orange kitten peers out of a basket on a poster captioned, "I am easy to please as long as I have things my way" (Fig. 13). Whether or not this family had the metaphor in mind when they placed the

pictures, it catches the essence of much charismatic humour about faults and failings. Local charismatics, especially at the Cuffs', often refer to themselves as "baby Christians" (newly born again). As the kitten is to the lion, so the baby Christian is to Christ, whom he believes he will one day resemble — but at present, as Keith Collins quoted a common proverbial phrase, "God's not finished with me yet" (Tape 5-1, side B). Expressions of frailty and immaturity, too, are admissible to the public domain of the home, along with the diplomas and wedding pictures which express family achievements and maturity.

Charismatic couples with young children — Don and Linda Cuff, Harold and Sibyl Andrews, Carl and Linda Hudson, Keith and Dale Collins, and some ten or twelve others I know — often give their children charismatic children's records, Bible stories, and Christian children's literature. They pray with them, especially when putting them to bed, teaching them to pray in their own words, and verbally asking God's blessing upon them. Some pray with their children for divine healing when the children are sick; others simply take them to the doctor without the additional measure of prayer (for prayer is an addition and not an alternative in children's health care in all the families I know). Most seem to teach their children to consider Jesus their loving protector. I do not know any Marian Community children, but the Worship Centre children and the Cuffs' two sons know "Jesus loves me, this I know, for the Bible tells me so . . ." the way I knew "Mary Had a Little Lamb" when I was small: as a children's song, sung frequently by parents with their children.¹⁸ Parents also tend to listen to their children and

Fig. 12. Wall grouping, bedroom of Roman Catholic affiliated with charismatic renewal, Torbay. Note the soaring bird on the poster at right.

*I Believe in the sun
even when it is not shining
I Believe in love
even when I am alone
I Believe in God
even when He is silent*



Fig. 13. Wall grouping, living room, Roman Catholic charismatic home,
Freshwater, Placentia Bay.

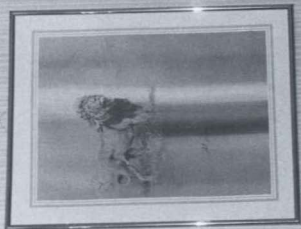


Fig. 14. A homemade felt banner, a small version of the banners which hang in several churches in this community and elsewhere in the study region, acknowledges God amid traditional expressions of family achievements, valued relationships, and memorable events. Its words are taken from a song sung in the owners' church: "Lord, for all that has been, thanks."



to speak politely to them, to answer questions, justify requests for patience or quiet, and respond positively to attempts to get their attention.

In the family, as in friendships and working relationships, there is a strong tendency among local charismatics to place responsibility for maintaining and restoring peace upon their own shoulders. The belief in divine love and guidance, personally available, is important in the actual resolution of conflicts, as is the charismatic tendency to laugh at one's own faults and shortcomings. A Catholic woman delighted the Cuffs' group one evening with this account of a marital argument:

One night in June . . . my husband and I argued all night, and he was -- well, I shouldn't be talking behind his back, but as far as I was concerned he was really contrary! [laughter] . . . I got up the next morning too late to get my breakfast, too late to do anything except go straight on . . . and I came home dinnertime starving, tired, [another woman added, "contrary," and there was a general laugh] and contrary, and I was full of resentment and anger and bitterness. He knew I had to do this job! . . . and oh, how I wanted sleep, and relief from all this anger and bitterness.

She had put in a full day at work, and went to Mass afterward, still tired and angry. She described her sense of embarrassment at being in church in this emotional condition as an indication of her own need to understand God better:

I said, "Oh, Lord, I need You so much, but I'm in no condition to come before You," you know, puttin' our limits on the Lord like we do. So I went to Mass, and it was time to go to Communion. . . . I said, "Well, that's the time I need you most. . . . I want to get healed," and there is no greater healing than the Eucharist. ["Amen!", exclaimed a Pentecostal man.] So I went to Holy Communion, and I came down, and I was still hurting: there was still something wrong.

It was Wednesday night, prayer meeting night. Well, common sense says I ought to get home, get to bed. I get up there . . . I went in the meeting and one of the fellows looked at

me and he came over to me . . . so they came and prayed with me, and one of 'em said, "Whatever it is [that is wrong or that is hurting], you're holding on to it; you're not giving it up." . . . So I said, "Lord, I don't know what it is. Whatever it is, I don't know what to do with it, either, so here: You take it, please."

And with that, somebody fell on the floor behind me. And everybody started praising the Lord, and I didn't know what was going on. Anyway, somebody was slain in the Spirit. So I thought, "Well, how come I'm the one that prayed and she's the one gets slain?"

She used a petulant, self-pitying tone to quote herself, drawing her brows up and her mouth down, mimicking her own frame of mind at the time. The group, identifying with her as both teller and character, was laughing and nodding and clapping a little, and she had to wait a moment before she resumed her tale:

On my way home, it suddenly dawned on me [what it was that I had been "holding on to"]: I wanted to be rid of the guilt that was in me, but I didn't want my husband to be free. I wanted to go home and make him feel like a real stinker because he had done this to me (laughter) and as far as I was concerned, it was his fault, you know? . . . So anyway the Lord showed me on the way home. And when I got home, he was in bed . . . and I didn't want to put my arms around my husband. . . . This arm was so heavy. And [the Lord] . . . wasn't arguin' with me; He was just makin' a simple statement of faith, with all His love behind it: "If you want My love, you have to be My love." I said, "I can't be willing, but I'm willing to be [made] willing. You take it from there. You lift my arm up." And as soon as I put my arm around my husband, I was flooded with His warm, gentle Presence. And I saw this Jewish man's face, and it was not like any picture of Jesus I've ever seen -- oh, I mean, you can believe what you like; to me it was the face of Jesus, but I'm not going to say that for anyone else. . . . And I was flooded with warmth. And this is what He said to me: "If you want My love --" I had asked Him to love me; I felt tired and sore -- and He said, "If you want My love, you have to be My love."

Joyce Senior, smiling, asked, "What did your husband say?" She started to laugh. "What did my husband say? He didn't say anything, he was too asleep; the Lord granted me that!" The group burst into loud

laughter and clapping as she ended, "But I bet he had a beautiful rest" (Tape 46-5, sides A-B).

Self-Evaluation

As one might perhaps expect from this kind of self-directed humour, few charismatics consider themselves good, yet few suffer from anger turned inwards against the self. Credit for "fruits of the Spirit" perceived in oneself (love, joy, peace, patience, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and self-control) is often given to God, whether they are felt to flow forth effortlessly from "right relationship" with Him, or whether they are developed painfully through prayer and determination. The cultural tendency is to believe that "fruitful" behaviour is usually possible through right relationship with God, and, though frustration, anger, and depression are usually acknowledged (at least in the secure atmosphere of the prayer meeting), people tend to have high ideals regarding their own behaviour. Two concrete instances may convey the ethos involved more clearly than analytic discussion.

A small wicker basket is passing from hand to hand, up and down the lines of women seated at tables in a room at the Holiday Inn, who drop into it slips of paper bearing quickly-jotted subjects for corporate prayer. A young housewife who helps to lead the St. John's chapter of Women's Aglow, a regular member of the Cuffs' prayer group, stands at the microphone mounted upon the lectern. Her dark hair falling over a pale, strong-featured face, she says that she feels strongly that at least one woman present, perhaps several, are holding resentment in

their hearts towards someone. "That blocks you and the Lord can't use you," she says firmly. "Put that person's name down, and pray for them. Send your love, not hate. It's hard to love that alcoholic husband, or someone who beats you. But love them." Looking at the deep shadows under her eyes, I have the impression that she has perhaps had to follow this counsel herself.

Jane Ryan, a guitarist with the Marian Community's music ministry, poured me a cup of tea and cut the dark, iced fruitcake she had baked the day before as we sat at her kitchen table, visiting quietly after work. She was thinking regretfully of a conversation she had had earlier that day at the office. One of her fellow workers, hearing that she was going on a church retreat that weekend, observed to her, "You're some good!" Jane, embarrassed, had mumbled something and changed the subject. Now she knew what she wanted to reply. "I shouldn't have let her think I'm good," she sighed. "If I had to've thought of it in time I'd have said, 'No, I'm not good. But I want to be; that's why I'm going.'"

Humour and pain, here as in many other cultures, tend to centre around the same areas of experience,²⁰ like the left and right hands clasping a single object: opposite, neurologically separate, but complementary. Divine forgiveness through the sacrifice of Christ is made strongly personal and experientially concrete in charismatic theology, and motivates much of the real relief and gratitude expressed in praise and thanksgiving. The belief that God changes believers to make them progressively more like Christ helps people to relax when they confront the same fault for the twentieth time, adopting the attitude

of one "under construction" (another proverbial phrase) rather than a flagellante. Yet small failures can cause bitter grief. One woman, a United Church charismatic who had been a "born-again" Christian for almost thirty years, told a local Women's Aglow group:

If anything has ever broken me in my life, it's the realization that when I have a wrong thought toward one of His children, I hurt the heart of God. And I hardly have a wrong thought now that doesn't bring that piercing in my heart. (f.n. 3/12/83)

A high school student who had been "born again" two months before told me one evening at the Marian Community that he experiences the constant Presence of Jesus in his heart -- unless he does something he knows is wrong. Then the Presence withdraws. The reason, he said confidently, is that "the Lord is hurt and wants to let us know it" (f.n. 5/10/83).

A woman at the Worship Centre's Prayer and Share told the group, during a general discussion of guilt and forgiveness, that for several months she had kept remembering while praying that she had once accepted too much change from a local storekeeper when she was ten years old. She felt that she would be considered a little silly if she went back to the storekeeper now, twenty-odd years later, and indeed the storekeeper thought her concern excessive and tried to talk her out of it when she went to return the money, but once it was taken care of she could pray in peace (f.n. 7/12/82). I found one of the members of the Cuff's group blinking back tears after a service at the Worship Centre because he felt that God had wanted him to exercise one of the "word gifts", and he had not obeyed.

The complex paradoxes of charismatic intensification of guilt and freedom from guilt seem to be generated by the vivid focus upon the

love of God which is the most likely of all charismatic cultural traits

to seem "crazy" to other local churchgoers. Gerard Bruce put both

"poles" of the emotional experience of guilt he has known since becoming a charismatic into words for me within moments of each other:

Over the years the Lord has given me, I guess the grace, to have a greater knowledge of what's right and what's wrong.

... in your own way, whatever that may be (it's different for everybody), you've got to make it known that you love the Lord and you don't want to do anything that's wrong. Although we often do; we're not perfect; and that's the way the Lord made us. If we were perfect, we'd have no need of Him.

... after I joined the Renewal and got to know the Lord in a personal way and accepted Him as my personal Savior, it was a whole different story. In a sense you realize that Jesus Christ did die on a cross for you, and that He did shed His blood.

CC: You realize. That's different from just believing it?

CB: Yeah. Yeah. You realize the -- the magnitude of it all, eh? And as a Christian, as a human, that's hard to, hard to grasp. ... it's hard to imagine somebody loving somebody that much. And ... celebrating the Mass ... it's almost like you're there when, when Jesus and the Twelve were in the Upper Room. And you can -- you can actually see Him transforming, you know, the bread, you know, and the wine ... And it's -- it's good for me that I can experience that, because it gives me a great joy ... and at times it also gives me kind of a sad feeling, like, that, you know, Jesus had to go through that for us. And sometimes you feel like we don't deserve it. A common expression in the Charismatic Renewal, and I guess in a lot of affairs where people believe in the Lord and have accepted Him as their Savior, is that, you know, "I'm not worthy of His love." But then if we weren't worthy, He wouldn't have died for us. And you know, again, that's just the devil using our humanness, telling us that we're not worthy. (Tape 2, sides A-E)

Much the same pushes and pulls of belief and religious affect, freeing the individual from the weight of sin while binding him powerfully with the ties of love, can be heard in a joke I have heard from -- among others -- Gerard. The uproarious laughter which greeted the telling, the comments of "That's just how we do" which followed it,

reveal as much about the relationship between faith's joy and failure's shame as the joke's plot. A man falls over a cliff, and clutches a small branch just in time to save himself, but he is unable to move. As he is hanging there helplessly, a mouse begins to gnaw at the branch. In desperation the man shouts for help: "Is anybody up there?" "Yes," comes the voice of God. "I'm here. I'll rescue you." "What do I have to do?" asks the man. "Let go of the branch," comes the answer. There is a long pause. "Is anybody else up there?" On every occasion when I have heard it told, the teller compares himself with the man hanging over the cliff, clinging foolishly to his own means of saving himself, hoping to avoid the full acceptance of his helplessness which he knows, intellectually, will land him in the everlasting arms. Tellers have brought up the joke when discussing, not only the "cliffhanger" crises of circumstance, but the precarious hold they have on being loving, joyful, peaceful, patient, on their own strength.

Interpreting internal goodness as a sign of God's indwelling presence and gracious work, charismatics also "see" God in other people (charismatic and non-) from time to time. One Marian Community member recalled that before she had become a charismatic, she had had an intense dislike for an old man living near her, for no particular reason: "I just didn't like his face," she said ruefully. One day she had seen him digging a hole in his land. "Dig it deep enough to bury yourself in, you old so-and-so!" she said she yelled at him. Later, remembering her cruelty, she went to him and asked him to forgive her. "I don't know what to be forgiving you for," he said, "because I don't remember you saying anything to me." She knew that he had heard her and had

ben hurt; she felt that he was telling her that it was forgiven and forgotten. "And at that moment he looked so beautiful to me, he looked like the Lord Himself," she told the prayer group (f.n. 12/6/81). All three groups sing:

I love you with the love of the Lord,
 Yes, I love you with the love of the Lord;
 I can see in you the glory of my King,
 And I love you with the love of the Lord. 21

It is a rare individual in any of the three groups who does not find his own faults a great deal harder to live with than anyone else's. Most seem to manage to accept and believe in divine forgiveness for specific incidents, divine ability to change ongoing characteristics, with a minimum of self-recrimination. Charismatic culture is so rich in strategies for dealing with characteristics which cause guilt, from deliverance to repentance, and makes available such a wealth of interpersonal support through joint prayer and mutual counseling, that the intense sensitivity which brings "that piercing in my heart" when individuals feel that they have hurt God by hurting others is made manageable through ritual and community.

Interpreting Events

A graduate student in Folklore at Memorial University, doing participant observation at St. Paul's School, East Meadows, St. John's, in 1978, when a third of the Marian Community was meeting there, was somewhat put off by the tendency he observed among members to attribute minor events to the purposeful action of the Holy Spirit. He commented

in the essay he prepared on the group:

Through the Charismatic [sic] Renewal, people feel Christ working with them every day, and because of this, there is a new realisation of Christ. What once would be considered a coincidence, would . . . be considered an act of God. I am not saying this is not possible, but I somehow doubt that the Holy Spirit would break a microphone so that people would laugh and relax when it was fixed.²²

I have been around charismatics long enough to know that what the student saw on that occasion was very likely humour, not cosmology, in action, but -- as Herbert Halpert has pointed out concerning humorous references to ghosts²³ -- it does indicate the presence of serious belief in a God who is intimately involved in believers' everyday lives. Belief in Satan is equally concrete, and everyday events are attributed to his machinations by some charismatics almost as frequently as to God's intervention and blessing. In practice, many are as confused and uncertain about the causes of particular events as the rest of the local population, though they may tend to think about possible spiritual agents a good deal more than others do. One United Church couple who attend the Marian Community meetings once commented to me that they had had little success in convincing others at their church to investigate the possibility of spiritual baptism, and that they were stymied as to whether the fault lay with their approach; with Satan's interference; with the free will of the other church members; or with God's chosen timing and methods of revealing Himself in others' lives. Prolonged emotional pain and early deaths seem to cause the most intense confusion and longing for a reliable explanation, but even minor crises can send charismatics into distressed prayers of, "Lord, why?" Convinced that they know the Lord, it is perhaps more difficult for them to accept

it when they do not understand what (if anything) He is doing than it is for Christians who expect, or experience, less intimacy.

Crises and Death

Like the identification of utterances as inspired or uninspired, the explanation of major events through reference to spiritual acts and agents is often a post hoc affair. The operation of community reasoning in this area is perhaps most fairly portrayed through examples of its possible directions, rather than through generalization about its patterns. One evening at the Marian Community, one of the pastoral team members started the period of sharing by telling the group that her son had received a bad head injury while diving that week. She had said to her husband that "Somebody up there" loved their son, and "he looked at me like I had ten heads; . . . I was thinking that he might have been paralyzed for life. People who aren't close to the Lord can't thank Him like that," she added. "I was so thankful that he wasn't hurt worse, and this is so for us when things happen: it needn't turn us off and make us think He wasn't looking after us."

Another woman commented that this is the way God wants us to react when things happen: to let one another know, so that "by sharing times of accidents we can share that He's working." A man in his fifties added that he had taken a wrong turn while driving a few days before, and that during the minute it took him to get back to the intersection where he had gone wrong, a fatal accident had taken place there. As he drove to call the Mounties and an ambulance, he remembered

that he had prayed for protection before leaving home. One of the priests felt that this "confirmed" what the previous speaker had said. He recalled that St. Teresa of Lisieux had written that "no matter what happens, if you're aware in truth of God and His love for us, it keeps us open and aware of His giving, and you block" whatever disasters might lie ahead. He concluded that "we must praise Him for all things."

Another woman took up the thread of conversation by recounting another traffic accident some years before. She had been driving along a country road when "a cloud of blue came about me and a voice said, 'Are you prepared to die?' I was just kidding with God and I said, 'Sure, Lord; You can take me any time.' Seven minutes later I was in an accident. It was like God saying, 'Don't fool with me any more.'" She received a neck injury which nearly broke it. "We should thank God for the tough things, too," the priest responded.

A younger woman, perceptive and articulate, told the group she had "a strong feeling" that they should join hands and pray "for trust when the contradictory happens to us." They did so, and bowed their heads for a minute or two in individual prayer and praise. Then the young woman began to pray aloud, asking God to "help us to trust in You in all our experiences, however, in our humanity, contradictory they seem." The group remained still and silent for a minute when she had finished. Then a man began to sing, "Let the people rejoice in God their Savior . . .," and others who knew the song joined in.

Accounts of praise to God "reversing" circumstances with astonishing rapidity; of praise changing the attitude of the one praising; and several songs of thanksgiving followed, and the meeting ended with

all the participants standing in a circle, clapping and singing, "Rejoice in the Lord Always; and Again I say, Rejoice"²⁴ (f.n. 7/21/81).

Charismatic culture awards no points for suffering. Some of the older Roman Catholics I know in St. John's will sometimes say they are "crucified" with the difficulties of dealing with an irritable family member, or comment in a personal experience narrative of illness or another problem, "My dear, no one knows what I suffered." This would net one cold comfort at the Marian Community: one does not complain in sharing. The approved response to suffering, to confusion, to the contradictory, is to seek and accept divine help by praying, by asking for prayer from the community, by learning biblical principles relevant to such experiences ("Rejoice in the Lord always" being one) and adopting them as part of one's own perspectives, and by maintaining an attitude of cooperative, trustful dependence upon an active, available, and wholly loving God. This basic modus operandi tends to hold, across the three groups and across various kinds of suffering. It even serves as the usual means of retaining deliverance from oppressing demons, among those who sometimes diagnose them as the cause of suffering: binding, rebuking the devil when negative thoughts recur, and "claiming" deliverance through "positive confession" (saying that one has been delivered, regardless of how one feels) are specific, somewhat secondary measures taken within the general approach considered effective under any kind of shock, fear or pain.²⁵

The form in which this general approach is most frequently voiced, both in song and sharings and in private conversation, is, I think, the psychological basis upon which its other forms are founded.

Many charismatics base their emotional security on the character of God as they believe they know Him, and upon the terms of the New Covenant as they understand it. Shock, fear, and pain are quite frequently made manageable through reference to the loving care and complete control of God, which can be held to be ideologically and normatively true even when they are not experientially true (and sometimes, even in the midst of crises, people report an inexplicable peace which makes them experientially true as well). One of the Worship Centre's songs (also sung at the Cuffs' and at Full Gospel Business Men's meetings) asserts:

Because He lives, I can face tomorrow;
 Because He lives, all fear is gone;
 Because I know He holds my future,
 And life is worth the living just because He lives. 26

Here also the metaphoric description of Christ as shepherd and bridegroom are relevant to charismatic methods of coping with anxiety: as in following trusted human leaders or marrying human mates, peace is rationally and emotionally based upon the character of the one with whom a "covenant" exists, which is known, rather than upon the outcome of future events, which is not.

Crises of finance, health, jobs, and circumstance are often thought of as fully under divine control in themselves; only the emotional response of the individual is often felt to be a source of vulnerability to Satan. "Binding" therefore is often concentrated upon fear, unbelief, insecurity, or the temptation to rush into ill-fated solutions to the problem; the situation itself is often dealt with by asking that God bring about whatever He wants to take place. Sometimes individuals feel confident that they know what He wants, for themselves or someone else; at other times they do not. The actual business of taking steps is

usually done through a combination of prayer for guidance and common sense.

World affairs are seen, by many, in a somewhat apocalyptic light. They are occasional subjects for individual or corporate prayer, particularly at the Cuffs' and the Marian Community, but people often comment that we are "living in the last days" and can expect bad things to happen. Eschatology is not much of a local topic of conversation, however: one does not hear people arguing over whether Christians will be taken off the earth before the worst of the Apocalypse or not, as local Pentecostals occasionally do. People seem to take the view that they don't know, and are not supposed to know, precisely when or how the Second Coming will take place. They simply expect it sometime between tonight and forever, and continue to make long-range plans without the common Pentecostal qualifier, "If the Lord tarries." They seem to feel that the best way to get ready for it is to get on with loving the Lord their God with all one's heart, soul, mind, and strength, and one's neighbour as oneself, whatever actions that seems to call for on a day-to-day basis. As Pastor Gene Clarke commented regarding the personal version of apocalyptic fear, the fear of death, "It's no big deal." He recalled a story about St. Francis of Assisi in which someone had asked him, while he was hoeing his garden, what he would do if he knew that he were going to die at sunset. Francis replied, "I'd go on hoeing my garden" (f.n. 4/23/83).

One of my informants did die while I was doing fieldwork with the Marian Community. He and his wife were members of the Good Shepherd Community in Freshwater; one of his sons and his son's wife, members of

the Marian Community in St. John's. My interview with him had been brief, and I therefore did not visit him while he was receiving treatment for cancer in a St. John's hospital, feeling that I was too much of a stranger to presume so far, for death was coming quickly and the family needed to be alone together. But I went with his son and daughter-in-law to the funeral. They were calm, though sad. His son had been the only person with him when he died, and he described for me the look of surprised joy and peace that had come over his father's face with his last breath. I knew him well enough to guess what he might be thinking about this look, so I ventured, "Maybe he saw the Lord?" "That's what I kind of thought myself," he answered, "but I wasn't sure what you'd think."

When we arrived in Freshwater, the funeral parlour where he was laid out was beginning to fill with friends and relatives: it was Friday evening. At about seven-thirty, the general visiting ceased; everyone knelt, facing the open casket as best they could in the small, crowded room, and said the Rosary. Then one by one, people moved to kneel beside his still body for a moment of prayer. His face was peaceful; brown rosary beads were wound about his clasped hands. His wife caught my eye as I rose from beside him, and held out her arms to me. "God love you," she said, folding me in a close hug. I was startled by the peace in her eyes, her tired face. She was honestly happy to see me, and her hug was not the clutch of dependence but the clasp of friendship. A charismatic friend of hers told me later that the prayer group had held their meeting at the funeral parlour the night before, "but she hadn't really needed it. Her faith is like a rock," she said.

The next morning, in the dim daylight of the wooden church, I stood among their neighbours while Father Peter Golden, in his rich, measured, Irish voice, committed him to the care of God. As the casket was lifted to be borne to the graveyard, the people sang:

Into Your hands we commend our spirits, O Lord;
 Into Your hands we commend our hearts;
 For we must die to ourselves in loving You;
 Into Your hands we commend our love.²⁷

My charismatic friends sang freely, with full-voiced relaxation in the acceptance of their words.

Conclusion

The role of charismatic religion in everyday life has, like the mystical or paranormal experiences which help to form it, often been represented in a somewhat distorted light by various kinds of outside observers. Among classical Pentecostals here, I have heard it said that charismatics are less committed to holiness of lifestyle than truly Spirit-baptised Christians ought to be. Their individuality and acceptance of diversity in matters of clothing, choice of leisure activities, smoking and drinking, and church involvement have been cited by several Pentecostals of my acquaintance as bases for their general mistrust of charismatic spirituality, because these traits are considered "worldly." On the other hand, social scientists, lay atheists and agnostics, and members of "mainline" Protestant and Roman Catholic congregations in St. John's, and other Newfoundland communities sometimes view charismatics as "fundamentalist" because of the religiosity of their moral and social

decision-making processes. I have heard several individuals mention the charismatic tendency to disapprove of abortion, nonmarital sex, homosexuality, and drug abuse, and their stress upon the importance of the nuclear family, as fundamentalist traits.²⁸ I suspect that both exoteric views are shaped by the same tendency in cross-cultural perception: the tendency to stress those cultural traits which appear most unlike one's own, and to interpret these cultural traits as if they "mean" the same thing as they would in one's own culture. Like the stereotypical travellers and missionaries who took nakedness or uncovered breasts as a sign of cultural immorality among Third World peoples, the liberal and the Pentecostal may interpret charismatic traits in the same way that they would if the same traits appeared among members of their own religious groups.

Edward Sapir has argued that the exoteric observer of religious activity (and I would add that this includes tacitly as well as explicitly religious activities) will usually misinterpret what he sees in certain predictable ways. (1) He will miss crucial elements of structure and affect "that give . . . significance to the whole in the minds of those who do possess the key to its understanding"; (2) he will emphasize elements which insiders take for granted, treating ground as if it were figure and the peripheral as if it were central; (3) he will perceive meanings and structures which are simply not there as far as insiders are concerned; (4) he will describe what he has seen in a way that will strike insiders as generally ludicrous and distorted.²⁹ How much this set of traits in exoteric perception per se explains some of the social scientific readings of Pentecostal and charismatic groups remains to be

shown, but Sapir was writing about people who spend a fair amount of time observing other cultures, and called for increased and better attention to native systems of meaning and motivation (p. 152).

A second source of distortion in the interpretation of charismatic everyday life is the common failure to take into account the roles of experience and reason in the formulation and application of religious beliefs. Intercessory prayer, for example, is an area of everyday activity which cannot be appropriately interpreted if the experiential data it involves are set aside. The correlation of perceptions regarding the onset and ending of burdens between the one praying and the one prayed for is absolutely crucial to many local charismatics' personal beliefs and practices: they pray when they are burdened, and continue to pray until the burden lifts, because when they have had opportunities to check the correlation between these experiences and the experiences of the one prayed for, it has been good. If burdens are treated by an outside interpreter as elements of belief, not tied to any form of native verification or testing, the entire structure and affect of intercession will be distorted.

David Hufford argues that reason and experience in religious or supernatural belief have been underemphasized or ignored because of particular cultural biases in the history of the social and natural sciences in the western world:

The current paradigm asks the scholar to begin with the non-empirical and non-rational nature of supernatural belief as a given. To suspend this given, or worse to find that it is false -- although this is logically different from demonstrating that the involved belief is in fact correct -- comes too close to the boundary of the paradigm.

The academic biases against supernatural belief are, in

fact, primarily ideological in nature. . . . [and have] focused the study of supernatural belief on assimilation rather than discovery and genuine research. This is one reason that even those who usually treat psychoanalysis as if it were itself a form of witchcraft, actually use it themselves to explain the persistence of supernatural belief among those who, it is felt, should know better. The very fact that these theories can accommodate any finding and explain it in a way that cannot be falsified, though technically a disadvantage, is a great advantage in assimilating supernatural belief to the academic point of view. Parapsychology is similarly used and abused. Although never granted even provisional legitimacy as an academic field, parapsychology is regularly used as a last resort to drag the supernatural, kicking and screaming, into a material, laboratory-centered framework.³⁰

The study of supernatural belief in its everyday applications and contexts, as well as its cognitive structures and experiential components, is important in the formulation of less biased interpretations -- interpretations which, as Hufford recommends, can be tested by scientists holding different biases (p. 5). It is not enough to show how expectation and cultural conditioning can affect the interpretation of sensory perceptions, or how resistance to the invalidation of cherished beliefs can influence the interpretation of events.³¹ One must also take into account the instances in which experience precedes belief, or is used to confirm or disconfirm, to reinforce or to change it.

Folkloristics has a long tradition of concentration upon forms of artistic expression which are embedded in everyday life: the proverb used in conversation, the design motifs used in clothing and household furnishings, the game, the lullaby. Even before the disciplinary shift in North America away from atomistic study toward contextualism, performance analysis, and the emphasis on native significance and the relations between cultural elements which characterizes folklife studies, folklorists were accustomed to handling mythic and supernatural concepts in these forms.

If a lullaby promised guardian angels, or a shamrock motif was said to represent the Trinity, folklorists have not generally offered psycho-analytic explanations for it. Perhaps it is in the discipline's heritage of concern with everyday expressions of supernatural belief as part of expressive culture, rather than in its relatively minor heritage of belief studies *per se*, that its most useful sources of paradigmatic development in belief studies lies: we have been considerably less biased in the study of belief's expressions as art than we have been in the study of belief itself. Attention to the role of the mythic in the arts of the everyday, and to the study of its expression in context, may be among the most important contributions folkloristics can make to the social scientific study of religion. If we can extend to belief studies the "concern for accuracy and objectivity, insight and explanation, that manages by and large not to contort what one studies with procrustean methodology, or to conceal it behind a mask of theoretica"³² with which Dell Hymes has credited folkloristic studies of artistic processes and products, we may be in a more fortunate position than our colleagues in some other disciplines, where scientific bias has a stronger and more pervasive hold. We need not develop new approaches to the study of religion from the areas of our own discipline in which we have been prey to that bias ourselves.

CHAPTER VII

MEANING AND METAPHOR

Having examined charismatic religious folklife in its ritual and everyday forms, and charismatic religious experience in its internal and interactional forms, it has probably become obvious that certain patterns of attitude and imagery surface again and again, uniting the various domains of cultural life like themes which recur in the movements of a symphony. A cluster of characteristics and associations surrounds each Person of the Trinity, Satan, and the human self; for example, and, though various facets may be illumined or stressed in various contexts, the clusters themselves remain consistent between public and private expression, between ritual and everyday enactments of belief. Those clusters, and their relations, are part of the concrete cultural reality to which Geertz referred in defining a religion as a system of symbols.

Clearly, world religions do not consist of one symbol system which produces one vision of reality and one set of pervasive moods and motivations. Even within one denomination, in one country, at one time, "the same" religion often exists in crucially different versions: Mexico has even seen civil war in which each side carried its own statue of the Virgin into battle, with, apparently, little sense of relationship to "the same" Christian symbol.¹ When one casts the net more widely, taking in diverse national, ethnic, historical, and denominational possibilities, it may be more accurate to think of world

religions as supplying basic paradigms and elements for the creation of symbol systems than as systems in themselves. Folk groups of various kinds, working with Christian imagery and narratives, promises and sanctions, have evolved "performances" as unique as snowflakes in their final forms.

There is some justification, as Geertz's definition implies, for studying the religious life of any folk group in terms of its system of symbols. There is particular justification for it in the present case, however, because charismatics, as I have come to know them here and in other parts of the English-speaking world, are intensely metaphorical thinkers. Of all the biblical bases upon which Christian groups and cultures have founded aspects of religious thought, charismatics have focused upon imagery. Also, biblical imagery is never limited to a single sensory mode, but is made immediate, concrete, multifaceted, as it is wrung for every obtainable drop of meaning. Metaphors are reasoned about, compared with experience, used to describe the past and to orient oneself toward the future. They are used in the creation of consciously-invented mental imagery in Bible study. They may be "received" without conscious invention in prophecies, interpretations, words of knowledge and wisdom, and in metaphorical visions. Certain predication upon Christ, the Holy Spirit, the self, Satan, the community of believers, and the human community become key factors in the concepts held of each one, and of the relations felt to exist, ideally and really, between the various parties. While the subjects and their metaphoric predicates are nearly all biblical, they form a unique constellation of dominant symbols, chosen, conceived of, and arranged in relations to one another and to the overall religious

culture which is unifyingly, and distinctively, charismatic. Religious folk groups of other kinds, in other times or places², have chosen different sets of images, assigned them other primary meanings and relations, and responded to them with other moods and motivations.

Ruth Benedict titled The Chrysanthemum and the Sword by choosing a pair of images whose juxtaposition seemed to capture a paradigmatic tension between opposing qualities or values in Japanese life as she had come to understand it.² By writing ethnography under its aegis, she was able to provide the reader with a central idea around which to organize the data as it was presented. Stanley Brandes, dividing his Metaphors of Masculinity into chapters according to the genre and social setting of various kinds of expression, traced a single topic of cultural concern through numerous domains of life in an Andalusian community.³ The resultant insights into men's shared thoughts and feelings about being men illumine many contiguous topics and aspects of local culture. Clifford Geertz's "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" uses a single rich, complex performative metaphor, "a story they tell themselves about themselves," as an analytic lens through which to present Balinese culture: almost as a form of native, enacted ethnography.⁴ I thought seriously of approaching this study in some such manner but decided against it.

The effectiveness of the methods of presentation described above is their weakness as well as their strength. If the ethnographer has discerned structures and dynamics intrinsic to the culture, and presents them in terms of emically central themes and expressive forms, there is perhaps no more effective method enabling a reader to gain a valid understanding of that culture. To borrow Ward Goodenough's test of

ethnographic validity (that the reader should know how to behave appropriately in the culture if the ethnographer has written well),⁵ one could join in the joking at the olive harvest in Monteros after reading Brandes; one learns something essential about Balinese thought and feeling, helpful in many kinds of cultural interactions, from Geertz's discussion of the cockfight. But if the ethnographer has distorted perceptions of cultural dynamics, or has read in structures which are not inherent, these modes of ethnographic presentation can create academic versions of the stereotype, colouring the reader's perceptions of the data so thoroughly that distortions and importations are difficult to spot. I am a young ethnographer, and native status is no guarantee of accurate perception (some would argue that it brings special distortions of its own). I have therefore presented the ritual and the everyday, the internal and the interactional, in as straightforward a manner as I could, before offering a reading of the culture as a system of symbols. I have tried to make it as easy as possible for readers to separate my own personal interpretations of and conclusions about charismatic culture from descriptions of what I have seen and heard. Obviously, perfect separation is impossible; still, I think it will be easier for the reader to evaluate the insights offered here than it would have been if I had written the dominant symbols and the root paradigms into the very fabric of ethnography.

The terms "dominant symbol" and "root paradigm" come from Victor and Edith Turner's "Notes on Processual Symbolic Analysis," following the text of their Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives.⁶ While terminology and the finer points of definition vary, the "Notes" are not unrepresentative of the basic

analytic method used by Geertz, Brandes, James Fernandez, Sherry Ortner, and other cultural anthropologists working with symbol and ritual as keys to ethnographic understanding.⁷ The concepts and approaches they present are also germane to work being done by a number of folklorists: Sheldon Posen's studies of a Brooklyn Italian saint's festival; Barbara Babcock's interpretive writings on Pueblo potter Helen Cordero's work; Kay Turner's monograph on the cultural meanings and metaphors which shape the Virgin of Sorrows procession in New York City; and several other recent studies.⁸ This approach focuses upon "meaningful performance rather than underlying competence"⁹ in exploring cultural symbols: that which is said and done is viewed as expressing, rather than cloaking, essential emotions and ideas in cultural activities. Where Radcliffe-Brown argued that native interpretations of and responses to art, ritual, and other forms of expressive culture should be excised from the analytic view in order to perceive the "real" structures and dynamics at work, processual symbolic analysis attends to them.¹⁰ Ideas and emotions may be implicit or explicit, straightforward or ambivalent, but they are considered discernible in, not disguised by, "meaningful performance."

The Turners define a symbol as follows:

A symbol is distinguished from a sign both by the multiplicity of its meanings and the nature of its signification. In symbols there is some kind of likeness (either metaphoric or metonymic) between the thing signified and its meaning; signs need bear no such likeness. . . . Signs are almost always organized in "closed" systems; while symbols, particularly dominant symbols, are themselves semantically "open." The symbol's meaning is not absolutely fixed. New meanings may be added by collective fiat to old symbol vehicles. Moreover, individuals may add personal meaning to a symbol's public meaning, either by utilizing one or another of its standardized modes of association, to bring new concepts within its semantic orbit, or by including it in a complex of purely private fantasies. Initially private "construction"

of this kind may become part of public hermeneutic or standardized interpretation if the exegete has sufficient power, authority, or prestige to make his view stick. . . . (p. 245)

The concept of the symbol thus includes, but is not limited to, metaphor. It also includes metonymy (association by contiguity, or the representation of a whole by one of its parts), and, though it is not explicitly stated in this passage, the processes named epiphor and diaphor by Philip Wheelwright: the viewing of one concept or image in terms of another, or the joining of disparate images together to create new wholes.¹¹ Robert Plant Armstrong has stressed, as well, that symbols do not necessarily represent their meanings: some present them. The "signified" is responded to by those cocultural with its "signifiers" as present: as a quality, the primary quality, in them, rather than the meaning indicated by them. The Virgin of Guadalupe (though Armstrong has not discussed Catholic iconography in this context) is not simply an image of Mary; she is a presence and personality in her own right, as legend and ritual clearly show.¹² Symbols as cultural entities often have various "faces," but the form and the meanings of each face can seem inseparable.

Dominant symbols--also called core, key, pivotal, master, focal, or central symbols--have "highly constant and consistent" (though multivocalic) meanings throughout entire symbolic or ritual systems. Their meanings remain the same, independent of the multiple ritual contexts (or other contexts) in which they appear. The Turners describe the dominant symbol as representing "a crystallization of the flow pattern of the rituals over which it presides" (p. 146): a function perhaps suggested by Ortner when she writes that they may "summarize" and/or help to sort out ("elaborate") complex kinds of cultural experience.¹³ Ortner suggests five indicators, more than one of which

often signals the presence of a dominant symbol. I have used these indicators in my own fieldwork. Ortner argues that "X" is likely to be a key symbol if:

- (1) The natives tell us that X is culturally important.
- (2) The natives seem positively or negatively aroused about X, rather than indifferent.
- (3) X comes up in many different contexts. These contexts may be behavioral or systemic: X comes up in many different kinds of action, situation or conversation, or X comes up in many different symbolic domains (myth, ritual, art, formal rhetoric, etc.).
- (4) There is greater cultural elaboration surrounding X, e.g., elaboration of vocabulary, or elaboration of details of X's nature, compared with similar phenomena in the culture.
- (5) There are greater cultural restrictions surrounding X, either in sheer number of rules, or severity of sanctions regarding its misuse. (p. 1339)

Because I am working with a system of symbols (i.e., charismatic Christianity) which has been adopted by people who are denominationally diverse, and continues to spread to new individuals and to appear in new small-group versions within the region's population, I have added a sixth indicator to Ortner's five: when I find that diverse natives respond to X in the same way, for example by adopting the same songs about X or making up songs which present X in a similar light, I have added it to my developing concept of that which is distinctively, and unifyingly, charismatic. Dominant symbols draw together disparate denotations, connotations, and associations which cluster, the Turners argue, at two poles of meaning--the ideological or normative, and the sensory or orrectic:

At the ideological pole, is found a cluster of signata referring to components of the moral and social order, to kinds of corporate grouping, and to the norms and values inherent in structured relationships. At the sensory (or orrectic) pole, the signata are usually natural and physiological phenomena

and processes. Here meaning is closely related to the outward form of the symbol. At the sensory pole are concentrated those signata that may be expected to arouse desires and feelings . . . they are frankly . . . physiological, and thus have links with the unconscious. They represent items of universal experience.

The unity of these two poles in one symbolic object gives the dominant symbol its transforming power. For it brings the ethical, jurial norms of society into close contact with strong emotional stimuli. During a ritual performance, with its social excitement and direct physiological stimuli, a dominant symbol effects an interchange between its poles of meaning. Norms and values become saturated with emotion, while gross and basic emotions become ennobled through contact with social values. . . . The symbols are felt to possess ritual efficacy; that is, they are believed to be charged with power . . . and to be capable of acting on persons and groups in such a way as to change them for the better. (p. 247)

In the local case, ritual settings are not necessary for the interchange between the poles of dominant symbols' meanings to take place. Perhaps because so much of everyday life is lived in terms of sacred behavioural norms, expectations, and relationships, or simply because cultural involvement with sacred symbols as things "good to think"¹⁴ is intense and pervasive, values are emotionalized and emotions ennobled through interaction with cultural symbols in many kinds of nonritual contexts. Geertz's miracle of mutual reinforcement between ethos and worldview, so that what is believed to be simply true is also emotionally satisfying, and the characteristic moods and motivations awakened in response to the symbols seen "uniquely realistic," may well be the more pervasive cultural form of this interchange, heightened in ritual settings and expressed in terms of social values and physiological processes.

The Turners explore the meanings which cluster at these two poles through attention to (1) the comments and explicit interpretations of culture members, including both ritual specialists and ordinary believers; (2) the uses of the symbol, and the settings in

which it appears; and (3) its relationships to other symbols in the total cultural system (pp. 247-48). Within the first source of meaning, the exegetic, they include the name(s) of the symbol, its history, its natural forms and substances, and any artifactual shaping which has been done to it. Between and within these four categories of meaning, sensory and ideological elements in cultural response to the symbol tend to be thoroughly entangled: their separation into polar clusters is perhaps more an analytic perspective than an emic one, though there are exceptions.¹⁵ In my own fieldwork, I give greatest weight to the ways in which ordinary people can be seen to interact with the symbol, and to comments made about it in naturally occurring contexts.

A symbolic system as a whole often seems to cohere into, and be rooted in, a single paradigm for going about the business of being human. Fernandez discusses four African religious movements or cults (he uses the terms interchangeably) as being characterized by, and organized on the basis of, single "kernel metaphors" which serve as "predicates" upon the "inchoate pronouns" of human identity.¹⁶ He argues that

metaphor is an organizing element in all these cult movements . . . --the militant metaphor of Christian soldiering in the Apostles Revelation Society in Ghana, the pastoral metaphor of the bull that crashes in the kraal, in the Church of God in Christ in Natal, South Africa, the sylvan metaphor of the parrot's egg in Bwiti itself, and the atmospheric metaphor of the circumambient holy wind (or ghost) in Christianism Celeste in Dahomey. . . .¹⁷

The kernel metaphor of each cult, elaborated upon and enriched by the cluster of "predicates" to which ritual participants relate, combine to "transform experience" so that their enactment in ritual leaves people "incorporated, empowered, activated, and euphoric" (p. 113). In everyday life, weaving through the believer's sense of self

and purpose, affecting his perceptions, reactions, and decisions, they help people to define themselves and the world in which they live. The Turners stress the presence of the root paradigm, as they term it, in the patterns manifested in freely-chosen behaviour. Explicit in ritual or in crises, implicit in the multitude of small enactments formed by daily comments, interpretations of and responses to events, decisions, and choices, root paradigms are sometimes almost too big, too embedded in the habits of perception and motivation, for participants to grasp. The Turners explain:

... root paradigms are certain consciously-recognized (though not consciously grasped) cultural models for behavior which exist in the heads of the main actors in a social drama, whether in a small group or on the stage of history. (A prime example of a root paradigm is the Way of the Cross.) They represent the goals of man as a species ... raised to the more complex and symbolic organizational level of culture, and are concerned with fundamental assumptions underlying the human societal bond, with preconditions of *communitas*.

Root paradigms are shown in behavior which appears to be freely chosen but resolves at length into a total pattern. They go beyond the cognitive, and even the moral, to the existential domain, and in so doing become clothed with allusiveness, implicitness, and metaphor. They reach down into the irreducible life stances of individuals, passing beneath conscious prehension to a fiduciary hold on what the individual senses to be axiomatic values, matters literally of life and death. (pp. 248-49)

Using these concepts and approaches, the symbols which present key aspects of the "really real" as it is known by local charismatics, which move the emotions in powerful and persistent directions, and which embody key processes and personages, motivating action and relationship toward them in culturally meaningful ways, are discussed below.

Dominant Symbols in the Charismatic System

Fernández, in his discussions of metaphor in culture in numerous instances and forms, concentrates much of his attention on

its power to define and to "move" human identities in "quality space": to adorn or to disparage them, in Aristotle's terms, and to do so by imputing to them qualities personally and/or culturally associated with the image to which they are compared. The identity without symbolic or qualitative definitions is, he argues, an inchoate pronoun.¹⁸ Certainly in our fragmented and fast-paced society, "I" can become experientially inchoate for many people, at many times of life and for many reasons. Theists (mono- or poly-) and agnostics also find the divine he, she, it, or they in need of predication and motion in quality space. Human experience being contradictory, including strange kindnesses and sudden cruelties, theism tends toward explanatory metaphors. The goddess Fortuna, turning men to the top of her wheel and hurling them down again as she rules the part of God's kingdom under the inconstant moon, is such a metaphor in Chaucer and the Pearl-poet.¹⁹ Rangda and Barong, supernatural and opposite, battling in dramatic costume, are of similar help to the Balinese villagers with whom Geertz worked.²⁰ Perhaps other groups, with other problems and priorities, concentrate their metaphoric creativity predominantly upon the inchoate I or we, or human he's and she's; local charismatics concentrate theirs equally upon the divine He. The metaphors they predicate upon themselves are primarily relational, following from these divine images: He is the treasure, we are the vessels; He is the shepherd, we are His sheep; He is the potter, we are the clay.

Metaphoric predications upon each member of the Trinity cohere to form a single dominant symbol in two ways. Many can be applied to more than one of the members, or to "the Lord" as triune whole; also, each metaphor is "performative" in Fernandez's sense--that is, it

implies motion or change or action--and thus affects human interactions with God as a whole.²¹ The various phrases by which local charismatics sum up their identity could all serve as alternate names for the symbol formed by the union of the trinitarian metaphors. In order to find out whether a particular individual has the relational metaphors predicated upon him or not, a charismatic may ask, "Does he know the Lord?", "Is he born again and Spirit filled?", "Does he have a walk with God?", "Is he a Christian?", "Is he charismatic?", or perhaps, "Does he belong to Jesus?" There are some group preferences for one term or another, but all of these possibilities would be understood by most members of any of the groups as different ways of asking the same question. (To speak precisely, one can be born again/a Christian/have a walk with God/know the Lord/belong to Jesus without being Spirit filled/charismatic, though one cannot be the latter without first being the former, but the choice of phrasings depends primarily on whether the individual feels personally warm and close with noncharismatic Christians or not. The metaphorical modes of relationship concerning the Holy Spirit can be extended or denied to noncharismatics purely on this basis, for there is little or no community consensus on the degree and kind of relationship which is possible between the Spirit and one who, is not Spirit filled.) The personality of the trinitarian God, the ways in which He relates to believers, the relational identities believers have to Him, and the ways in which they are invited or expected to relate to Him are too intimately connected in local thought for Father, Son, and Spirit; God and believer; or identities and relations to make much sense as separabilia.

In the following table, the normative pole of the symbol is located at its conceptual top, where cluster the metaphors of

	God/Man:	God/Man:	
	Relational Images	Mode of Relations	
Father	king/subject	ruling/serving	Normative Pole
	father/child	providing/depending	
	potter/clay	protecting/trusting	
	gardener/vine-branch	instructing/obeying	
Son	shepherd/sheep	shaping/yielding	point of interchange
	bridegroom/bride	tending/bearing fruit	
	high priest/sinner	leading/following	
	sacrificial lamb/ sinner	(transforming bride by loving her/being transformed by loving the bridegroom	
Spirit	bread and wine, body and blood/ communicant) absolving/accepting absolution	Orectic Pole
	vine/branch	being eaten and drunk/ eating and drinking	
	living water/thirsty man	feeding/drinking	
	oil/lamp	filling/drinking	
	flame/lamp	filling/drawing up igniting/shining steadily	

Fig. 15. Metaphorical relations between the individual and the Trinity.

superiority and dominance which characterize the Father. He is the most intellectually conceived of the three Persons. The orectic pole is at the bottom of the symbol, where cluster the sensory metaphors through which people often conceive of the Spirit. In the centre, where the two poles charge one another, is the Son, who is the most emotionally conceived of the three, and in whom social and physiological signifiers combine.

There are, as noted above, more predilections upon God than these, including many which have the kinds of corollaries indicated in the diagram, affecting the reciprocal metaphorical status of the believer, and the kinds of interaction which follow from this pairing of relational images. In various local songs, for example, the Father is called by three of His metaphorical Hebrew names: Jehovah Jireh (provider), Jehovah Rapha (healer), El-Shaddai (the all-sufficient). The Son is also sung by using many of His biblical names and imagistic descriptions: Wonderful, Counselor, Bread of Life, Prince of Peace, King of Kings, Son of God, Son of Man, Rock of all ages, and the treasure contained by the believer as an "earthen vessel." In prophecies and visions reported in all three groups, the Lord has been described as the master of the harvest in which believers are called to labour, and the light which they are to hold aloft so that others attempting to travel in the dark may arrive safely. Those included in the diagram occur in the community with special frequency, evoking a special intensity of arousal among the natives--to borrow Ortnor's phrase--and a special elaborateness of discussion and active response.

Three of the metaphoric predicates upon the Son listed in the diagram above, together with three other biblical ones used with

somewhat less intensity and frequency in local thought about Him, form an important group used for thinking about a wider set of cosmological relationships. In much the same way as one may understand family relationships best by first considering husband and wife as a couple, then considering each as an individual within a larger constellation of individuals who together form a household, so the Lord and the believer, considered as a "couple" in the diagram above, may be usefully separated into their individual roles and relationships when the picture is widened to include other Christians, nonchristians, and Satan and his demons. In the next diagram, these entities and their relationships are presented using the metaphors most commonly mentioned in local artistic and everyday expression: in songs, prophecies, posters, sharings, sermons, and informal conversations. The metaphors tend to form intersymbolic sets, for they are used to think about relationships, and hence to provide guidelines for the interpretation of events and the planning of responsive action rather than simply to describe the attributes of the various entities involved. These sets are indicated by number: all the ones belong together, all the twos, and so forth, as will be discussed in detail below. Unlike the previous diagram, the metaphors which are contained within these symbols are not presented in their normative and prectic clusters. Their meanings in charismatic thought, and the moods and motivations they evoke, are more clearly presented through their intersymbolic connections, and attempting to present both in a single diagram would have resulted in confusion.

As in the preceding diagram, the various beings, or classes of beings, are situated on the page so as to reflect something of their relations in cultural "quality space." The individual looks "up" to

1. Shepherd
2. King
3. Bridegroom (second Adam)
4. Head of body
5. Treasure
6. Light (fire, oil)

Nonchristians
("the World")

the Believer

Christians
("the Church")

1. Wild sheep
2. Captives of enemy (prodigals)
3. Potential parts of bride
4. Potential parts of body
5. Vessels not filled with treasure
6. Travellers in Darkness

1. Tame sheep
2. Soldier (Subject, Child)
3. Part of bride (second Eve)
4. Part of body
5. Vessel
6. Lamp, Light-bearer

1. Flock
2. Army (Subjects, Children)
3. Bride (second Eve)
4. Body
5. Collective vessel(s)
6. Collective lamp(s), Lightbearers

Satan/Demons

1. Lion or setter of snares (predator)
2. Enemy
3. Tempter (snake)
4. Divider of members/parasites
5. Thief
6. Darkness

Fig. 16. Metaphorical relations among five key entities in the charismatic system of symbols.

God and "down" on the devil, who is no very impressive figure in the charismatic cosmos, as has been shown before. Heaven is generally considered up, hell down, and earth in the middle in charismatic thought, as they are in much Judaeochristian cosmology; though the literalism of Dante's *Comedia* has given way before the astronomy of the twentieth century, people still speak of mental suggestions they consider satanic as emanating "straight from the pit," and stretch their arms upward to express their loving embrace of God in the common gesture of charismatic worship. The boxes representing the Lord and Satan extend across the page to express the charismatic conviction that both have potential influence upon all human beings; the metaphors associated with the Lord are placed closer to the Church, and those associated with Satan closer to the World, to indicate their respective stronger influence over these two symbolic domains.

The symbols of the Believer, the Church, and the World are on the same level with regard to God and Satan to symbolize the common charismatic view that people in general share the same vulnerabilities and opportunities inherent in the possession of free will. It is felt that Christianity gives one more freedom, more resources, and more responsibility; it does not make one qualitatively superior to non-Christians. In one of the extended narrative metaphors often predicated upon this entire symbolic system of beings and their relations by local people, all men are Prodigal Sons, and God the Father welcomes and restores all when they come home. The World is a foreign country to all human beings, ruled by Satan, who is quite happy to let them waste their inheritance there on pleasures which bring no happiness or fulfillment. The Holy Spirit tries to help each to realize that he can go

home and find welcome; Christ takes care of the guilt which stands between Father and prodigal. Nobody identifies with the resentful elder brother who never grieved the Father in the first place. In charismatic thought, all men are prodigals, and those who have come home see no reason to think themselves superior to those who have not. Mr. Gerald Newbury, a charismatic member of the First United Church in Mount Pearl, often performs a musical version of the parable in which the singer takes the role of the prodigal (the chorus ends, "Father dear, I'm coming home"²²). Another setting by a local Redemptorist priest, Father Eugene O'Reilly of St. Teresa's Parish, is included in the Marian Community songbook and makes the same identification between singer and prodigal.²³ The attitudes summed up in this narrative metaphor have considerable effect upon the ways in which the various relational metaphors of the diagram are enacted by community members.

Identities and Relations: Models of, Models for

For those who are accustomed to symbols which have visible, tangible wholeness about them and must be analytically broken down into their components, there may be something strange about charismatic symbols: they are neither visible nor tangible, and they seem to consist of components which must be analytically bonded into wholeness. Some of this disjointed impression is the result of diagramming--which has a way of sharpening the focus on a thing's parts while blurring one's vision of it as a whole--but it has a certain amount of cultural validity. The members of the Trinity, Satan, the Church, and the World are relatively abstract concepts in charismatic culture. In three years of listening to local talk about them, I have gotten the impression

that people do not assume a full and clear knowledge of any of them: part of being "under construction" is to be in a state of learning about these entities. People can and do describe them all, from time to time, in the course of conversation or sharing, for reasons which will be discussed below; however, these descriptions are usually a piling up of metaphors or statements about various facets of the entity's nature and habitual modes of action. The only one of all these symbols which is pictured (mentally or artifactually) by local culture members in any consistent way is Christ, and people have often commented that the pictures fall short of satisfactory presentation: even they convey only part of Him. But mystery and transcendence (which charismatic sacred symbols share, of course, with a great number of other sacred symbols) only partially explain their curiously sketchy nature. They are not thingish.

The reason is simple, and would not, perhaps, be surprising in a people more removed from western culture, instead of living in the middle of it. When charismatics think about the Trinity, the Church, the World, Satan, and themselves as individual believers, they are not structuring thought around identities as an English sentence is structured around subjects and objects. They are thinking much more with verbs and adverbs than with nouns and adjectives. Just as it is crucial to an understanding of much Plains Indian religious thought to realize that not only is the name of God often not a noun but that one can say whole sentences without using nouns, so it is crucial to an understanding of local charismatic thought to realize that their dominant symbols function primarily to express relations, rather than to describe persons.²⁴

This is not because charismatics do not think of the members of the Trinity, themselves, other Christians, and nonchristians as persons, for of course they do. It is because personal knowledge of them comes through interaction rather than through thinking about them, metaphorically or in any other way. ("You can have a theory all day long about God," said Evelyn Spencer, "but you will never know Him until you do business with Him."²⁵) Charismatics use symbols and their metaphoric components to learn how to relate: to provide guidelines for action and response; that is why the symbols present patterns for relating (sheep to shepherd, child to father, lamp to oil and flame) rather than descriptions of character per se. Primarily, one learns about all of these entities, including oneself, through relating to God, who is considered a willing and patient teacher and the only one who really understands the others. This outlook goes far to explain why charismatics place so much stress upon "a personal relationship with God"--so much stress, in fact, that they use it as a synonym for "real" Christianity. Besides fulfilling the need to love and be loved, that relationship is culturally conceived as the only source of reliable information about Good, Evil, self, and humanity.

This learning about the processes of relating to key figures in the symbolic universe of charismatic culture operates in two ways. The metaphors can serve as models for relating, providing patterns for emulation, implementation, enactment; they can also serve as models of relating, providing interpretive schemes with which to organize and give meaning to the experiences undergone in the process of relating. To put it another way, what Fernandez termed metaphor's predication upon inchoate subjects is--in this culture and very likely in a lot of

others--only half the story: known, concrete, immediate subjects (persons, events, acts, experiences) can also serve as predicates upon inchoate metaphors. It may help a charismatic to clarify his own sense of identity to think, "I am a sheep of the Good Shepherd and a member of His flock." But reference to his own experiences of divine guidance and protection, of close community feeling in his church or prayer group, can also bring alive the metaphor of the shepherd and His sheep, making it an experientially valid descriptor for human life, rather than an empty religious assertion. Clifford Geertz, discussing the "system of symbols" phrase in his definition of religion, explains their functions as models of and models for in some detail:

... cultural patterns are "models," ... they are sets of symbols whose relations to one another "model" relations among entities, processes or what-have-you ... by "paralleling," "imitating," or "simulating" them. The term "model" has, however two senses--an "of" sense and a "for" sense--and though these are but aspects of the same basic concept they are very much worth distinguishing for analytic purposes. In the first, what is stressed is the manipulation of symbol structures so as to bring them, more or less closely, into parallel with the pre-established non-symbolic system, as when we grasp how dams work by developing a theory of hydraulics or constructing a flow chart. The theory or chart models physical relationships in such a way ... as to render them apprehensible; it is a model of "reality." In the second, what is stressed is the manipulation of the non-symbolic systems in terms of the relationships expressed in the symbolic, as when we construct a dam according to the specifications implied in an hydraulic theory or the conclusions drawn from a flow chart. Here, the theory is a model under whose guidance physical relationships are organized: it is a model for "reality." For psychological and social systems ... the case is in no way different. ... culture patterns have an intrinsic double aspect: they give meaning, that is, objective conceptual form, to social and psychological reality both by shaping themselves to it and by shaping it to themselves.²⁶

In local charismatic culture, metaphors as models for relations between entities are used for planning strategies: for interpreting situations, and choosing effective religious means of coping with them.

They are used for figuring out the supernatural causes and implications of internal, psychological states and of circumstantial developments, deciding what God (or Satan) is up to, and what ought to be done in response. They also figure importantly in what is sometimes called "Christian growth" or "spiritual maturity," helping people to define holiness, charity, common sense, faith, and other abstract concepts in ways they can use in evaluating their own daily behaviour and in setting ideals and standards for themselves. What does it mean to be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves" (Matthew 10.16)? How can this image help one decide how to cope with a dishonest business competitor or a gossip neighbour? How does it affect the advice one gives a son or daughter who has been falsely accused of something at school, and has been sent to the principal to explain himself? This is the sort of thing people sit around discussing at the Worship Centre's Prayer and Share, at the Cuffs' meetings, and sometimes in the living rooms of Marian Community members on casual evenings.

Metaphors as models of relations between entities are used for developing interpretations of biblical passages and concepts which can be, or have been, tested for validity by some kind of empirical or experiential means. This predication of experience upon metaphors is often a corollary to the predication of metaphors upon existence. For example, initial experiences of anointing are often interpreted through the predication of biblical metaphors upon them, as is shown with special clarity in the example of the woman at the Marian prayer meeting who was told that what she had felt pouring down over the top of her head during prayer was "the oil of joy." As further participation in prayer meeting and services or independent Bible reading brings exposure

to other biblical passages in which related metaphors appear (say, Psalm 23.5, "Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over"), personal experience often becomes the basis for biblical interpretation: "I've felt that!" the individual says to himself.²⁷

Not all metaphorical thought is centred upon a problem in need of diagnosis, prescription, and treatment, or upon an image in need of concretization, however; much of it is centred upon the entities themselves, and upon their relations. Plunging into metaphors is often used as an adjunct to, or even a whole form of, contemplation. Here both metaphor and experience are especially open to interpretation: either can be moulded to fit the other, and influenced in future thought and action by insights gained or conclusions reached about the other. Individual and group Bible study often take this form. Free from the immediate necessity of figuring out a strategy for coping with an attack from the Snake, or a basis for understanding the parable of the sower, or some other such personal concern, the individual is often motivated primarily to learn about God. (This may sound terribly pious, but among people who seriously believe that they understand Him less than they could and trust Him less than they should, and who often quite literally feel for Him the strongest emotions they feel about anything or anyone, it is a logical enough motivation.) This kind of metaphorical thought uses the symbol system as something more generative than a set of models of and models for; it uses the system to think with. Metaphors become raw, flexible, transformable, like words not fixed in sentences as subject or predicate but mulled over in the composing mind, their connotations and resonances tested as they are given new predicates and predicated upon new subjects. This type of thought, which

develops competence, is often a part of the types which go into performances such as defining serpentine wisdom and dovelike harmlessness, or developing a strategy for enacting them in a particular situation, but it is often relished in its own pure form.

A fourth kind of metaphorical thought involves basic, everyday orientations in life: ethos and worldview in their plain, unreflective forms, not idealized or formalized in any explicit way, but simply used to navigate from sunrise to sunset without foundering upon the rocks of meaninglessness. Praising the Lord anyway when one trips over the vacuum cleaner on the way to the bathroom, like another man's sigh of "Just my luck" or his retaliatory kick at the vacuum cleaner, express in a brief, attitudinal, often imagistic form thoughts and feelings about life which might, on other occasions, take highly philosophical forms. In many of the minutiae of daily thought and feeling, charismatics use the metaphors of the two diagrams as basic axioms, as much a part of the assumed facts of life as the characters and relations of family members and close friends. When local charismatics talk to each other, they may use these metaphors in the creation of off-the-cuff descriptions for people, states, events, or experiences, because their connotations are both rich and, in context, specific enough to render them very effective means of communication. "He's really aglow," said of an inspiring person, springs from the shared, underlying metaphor of the lamp and the oil and fire, communicating not only connotations of warmth and brightness, but also the assumption that the glow comes not from the individual himself, but from the Lord whose presence is discernible in him. (It sounds similar to the Salvation Army or Pentecostal use of the description, "on fire for the Lord,"

but in fact it usually is not: the latter description often refers to evangelistic zeal, while the former can refer to a light of love or joy in the face or a gentleness of manner. This exemplifies the importance of the fine points of ethos and worldview in understanding everyday uses of metaphor, as well as the kinds of differences which often exist between folk religious groups sometimes lumped together under labels such as "fundamentalist" or "evangelical.") To say of oneself in a crisis, "He'll have to leave the ninety-nine on the hillside to pull me out of this one" communicates not only a sense of lostness and desperation, but also confidence that the Shepherd will act as the parable says He does, and rescue the individual from his plight. Not much thought necessarily goes into utterances like these; metaphor is part of thought's ground as well as its figures.

In the following section, metaphors as "models of" and "models for" in local charismatic culture are discussed in some detail, for both are ubiquitous cultural processes and it is difficult to understand charismatic thought without a close look at them. "Models for" are discussed first, for they are more common, and their operation provides a useful basis for the consideration of the "models of": the interpretation of metaphor on the basis of religious experience is a rather mystical-sounding business, and may seem less exotic when the more familiar process of interpreting experience in metaphorical terms has been examined. It should be borne in mind that these processes, as Geertz noted, are really aspects of a single system's functioning, along with the more subtle aspects of contemplation and the use of metaphor in the unreflective, daily workings of ethos and worldview.

Models For: The Interpretation of Experience
Through Metaphor

J. Christopher Crocker, in "The Social Functions of Rhetorical Forms," points out that one of the most common uses of metaphor is to persuade listeners to view a situation in a particular light; to prescribe a way of responding to that situation; and to proclaim that this is a good way, or even the only right way, of viewing and responding to it.²⁸ By way of example, Crocker chooses a segment of conversation from a cocktail party, implying by the very ordinariness of the case that metaphor's power to influence moods and motivations by defining social situations is an everyday feature of experience. He writes:

... suppose that at a cocktail party a male friend complains, "That son-of-a-bitch is sniffing around my wife," when the lusty fellow occupies some superordinate position toward both of you--your employer, for example. Here the incongruous perspective afforded by a metaphor as a particular shifter derives from the speaker's labeling the activity as inappropriate, sub-human behavior. By acting in such an animal fashion, the boss forfeits his humanly superior position and invites treatment appropriate to his "metaphorical" nature: "kick the cur." But you, tactfully shifting the character of what promises to be a most ambiguous scene, "retile" it saying, "Oh, he's just an old goat." Dogs, by reason of their anomalous position as half-human, half-animal, are subject to moral rules appropriate to socialized beings which can be enforced by humans, such as not defecating in the house. At the same time, since they cannot be regarded as holding those rights of total moral responsibility characteristic of sentient beings, their punishments for moral infractions may be appropriate for "brute animals," such as beating. But goats occupy a position in the natural order which is parallel to, rather than convergent with, the social order. Since they are much further "out," in the realm of the entirely animal and amoral, they cannot be reproved for "doing what comes naturally." (pp. 43-44)

The very commonness of such uses of metaphor (which can take place within men as well as between them: the aggrieved husband might just as well have told himself that the boss was just an old goat) is

crucial groundwork for the consideration of metaphoric persuading, prescribing, and proclaiming among charismatics. The spirituality of their metaphors, in contrast with the dogs and goats of cocktail party exchanges, is unusual enough in western culture to cast a certain exotic light over their modes of using them. They use metaphor a great deal, and in situations in which others might not do so, but the processes of persuasion, prescription, and proclamation do not differ greatly, as processes, from those used by other westerners with other metaphors.

Basic Orientations and Axioms in the Use
of "Models for"

The characteristic relationship of feedback and equilibrium, experimentation and correlation, which exists between facts, faith, feelings, and results affects interactions with symbols as it does with doctrinal concepts or sensory experience. The metaphor of the vine and the branches (John 15.1-8) for the relationship between Christ and Christians, for example, may move a charismatic suffering from shame over his lack of the "fruit of the Spirit" to pray, not, "Lord, forgive me," but "Lord, I'm thirsty," interpreting the problem as a lack of "sap," which may be further associated with the cluster of liquid metaphors for the love of God or the anointing of the Holy Spirit, such as living water. If his prayer does not produce a "flow of sap" or the sap does not produce fruit, he may well go back to the Bible and look for other possible forms of vital union between branch and vine, to be increased or restored through other means. If problems begin to occur in his circumstances as he continues to be "fruitless," some other charismatic may suggest that God is "digging around the roots," and

putting manure-- so to speak--on him, as the gardener did to the fruitless fig tree in one of Jesus' parables (Luke 13.6-9). Some of my informants would at this point feel the need for some type of direct and personal answer from God about the source of the problem, and instructions to follow in order to become fruitful again. They might seek this by splitting Scripture, or by requesting counsel and prayer from a trusted friend or prayer group leader. Others, viewing the problem as a common one for which a custom-made answer is unnecessary, might look for a Christian book on the subject, or borrow a tape recorded talk from one of the several local charismatics who have collections of such materials. Or they might look up "fruit" and "fruitless" in a concordance, and begin to search the Bible for metaphorical prescriptions. Turning perhaps to Isaiah 27.2-5, in which Israel is compared to a carefully-tended vineyard which yields only thorns and briars, they might follow its imperative: "Let him take hold of My strength, that he may make peace with Me"--which would probably lead him to pray or seek counsel, like those who turn first to prayer and second, perhaps, to the Bible. Still others would simply relax in the confidence that, uncomfortable as the process might be, this divine "digging and dunging" (as one charismatic I know calls it) would eventually lead to fruitfulness. If the first "prescription" tried does not work, he will probably try the others. Whatever eventually helps, if anything does, may be "proclaimed" in a sharing, or offered as counsel to the next fruitless fellow-Christian he encounters.

Such processes of working with metaphor are frequent, and can be emotionally intense--especially with a condition like the lack of joy, love, peace, and other "fruits" crucial to one's sense of spiritual

health, which can be as frightening to a charismatic as some physical kind of "heart trouble" would be to most of us. (In fact, heart trouble is occasionally used as a metaphorical synonym for fruitlessness.) On one recent Sunday morning, a well-loved member of the Worship Centre stopped while leading the singing to tell the congregation that she had been "dry," "cold," and lacking in joy for several months. When she began to cry as she was speaking, Pastor Clarke, diagnosing her problem as a need for more living water, suggested that people come to stand before the altar and pray with her. A good third of the congregation--as many as could fit into the space between the front row of chairs and the altar--came immediately, and four or five arms went round her waist and shoulders as she sobbed, "Lord, I'm thirsty." Several people, touched by her honesty, the intensity of her concern about this, and her fruitfulness in comparison with themselves, continued to pray for her and to telephone her during the next few weeks, until she spoke again during a service to report that the "fruit" had begun to emerge again, thanks to the personal lessons the Lord had taught her and the instructions for change that He had given her through prayer and contemplation. A few weeks later another member of the congregation mentioned to me that, seeing in himself symptoms of joylessness and a lack of warm feelings for God and other people, he had remembered this woman's experience and was trying the same prescription, asking the Lord to show him any areas of his behaviour or attitudes which needed to be changed, and setting aside extra time (easily done, since unhappiness and concern kept the problem on his mind) to pray quietly, "listening" in various ways for guidance.

In the Marian Community, with its greater concentration upon the concept of inner healing, similar symptoms are often diagnosed as

indicators that there are painful memories to be laid to rest: for example, childhood experiences of rejection which make the individual afraid to show love for others, or make it difficult for him to believe in a loving Father God. This kind of diagnosis makes extensive use of the metaphor of Christ as the wounded healer, whose ability to forgive sin can be given to the believer so that he may forgive others who hurt him in the past, and be set free to be loving, joyful, and peaceful in the present. Painful memories defined metaphorically as "wounds" can then be treated, in the imagination, with the healing touch of Christ. (Marian charismatics, like Joan of Arc, see no necessary contradiction between imaginary interactions with God and real interactions; one of the basic assumptions of inner healing meditation is that He can and does work through the imagination to accomplish real healing.²⁹) In addition, the Marian Community also tends to prescribe the reception of love for the condition of lovelessness, impatience, anxiety, and other kinds of "fruitlessness," involving the community in the process of healing one of its members. It is an interesting reflection of theological differences between Catholic and Protestant that Worship Centre members often take individual responsibility for their "fruitlessness," while Marian Community members often assume communal responsibility for healing one another's "wounds." Just as salvation comes by personal faith in Protestant theology and by participation in the sacramental, communal faith of the Church in Catholic theology; as Christ is often "my" Lord or "the" Lord to Protestants but "our" Lord in Roman Catholic speech, so shared metaphors are turned to different kinds of diagnoses, pointing to individual or to communal prescriptions.

One evening at the Marian Community, a woman read aloud from the story of Lazarus, whom Christ raised from death (John 11:1-44). Struck by Christ's commands to bystanders first to move the stone which blocked the tomb's opening, and then to help the risen man out of his burial wrappings, a nun mused aloud: "What's the stone that the Lord wants me to remove from my heart, so that He can come in? He's going to do it by His power, but He wants us to look at the stones and see them in our lives, and help others with the stones in theirs." Another woman prayed aloud on behalf of the group, asking that God "help us to recognize grave-clothes when we see them." A few minutes later, a man commented, "Christ called Lazarus out and told others to loose him. That's what He tells us: to unbind one another. We always think we're alone in our hurts, but in varying degrees we all have the same ones." One of the leaders from the Sacred Heart Prayer Community in Tors Cove, who had driven in to attend the meeting, spoke in prophecy:

My children, I am greatly pleased with your praise, but some of you are still bound. Invite Me into your heart and I will free you. You can do nothing by yourselves. Invite Me into your hearts.

She added that this prophecy had been coming to her as the Bible passage had been read, and as the prayer about recognizing grave-clothes had been spoken, forming in her mind "in-fits and starts." The simultaneity of prophecy and human contributions to the meeting, voicing the same ideas, seemed to "confirm" for her that this was the Lord's diagnosis for the "hurts" of some of the people present--perhaps a message He wanted to convey to all present (f.n. 9/2/81).

The Cuffs' group, perhaps because of Don's frequent teachings on whole ranges of diagnostic and prescriptive possibilities for common spiritual problems, often ponders more than one interpretation before

(and sometimes after) deciding what to do about a given situation. Various word gifts play a part in the diagnostic process here with greater frequency than in the other two groups, though they can and do appear in all. With Don, detailed consideration of specific symptoms and circumstances can go on for several minutes or even several months before an interpretation is settled upon and implemented. One evening, for example, a woman requested prayer for her young nephew, who was suffering from nightmares. Another participant felt certain that the problem was being caused by a demon, and the metaphor of Christian soldiering was used to take up arms against the slings and arrows of the offending being as the group began to "bind" and rebuke it, eyes closed, faces set in martial determination changing to victorious joy as the woman leading the prayer became convinced that victory had been accomplished. Three weeks later I was chatting with Don when he mentioned this incident, and commented that there might well have been extenuating circumstances not dealt with through this prescription and treatment, such as family problems causing anxiety in the child's life. If this were the case, he felt, binding the enemy was like beating an invader back from the walls, but neglecting to mend the breaches in them which would allow attackers to reenter easily. Such reasonings with metaphor, like a doctor's reasoning about curing disease without reducing susceptibility, can be heard from individuals in all the groups on various occasions, though Don does more of it than most.

Circumstantial disasters often draw especially detailed reasoning processes from charismatics, for the first and most basic problem is to figure out whose fault they are, before any metaphoric diagnosis can be applied. Is this illness or financial disaster an attack from Satan?

Is it something God allowed to happen so that I might learn to trust Him more, now that I have something important to trust Him about? Is it the result of my human stupidity, brought about by my own free will operating in a particularly shortsighted manner? Is it a deliberate act of God, who wants to teach me something or change me in some way through this particular experience? Each of these interpretive possibilities suggests a different metaphoric model for conceiving of and coping with the situation. The satanic attack suggests a militant approach; the placing of the event in God's permissive will suggests that the proper response might be to press close to His side, like a child, for protection and guidance. To interpret it as the result of one's own stupidity may awaken feelings of sheepishness, and a determination to turn from following one's own ways to follow the wiser leadership of the Shepherd. To decide that God has brought the circumstances about in order to teach one something obviously precludes commanding the circumstances to change, as one might if they were Satan's handiwork, or trying to get out of them by smuggling into the Father's arms, as one might if one had concluded that they were not particularly meaningful in themselves, and were best treated as opportunities to exercise a general kind of trust in God. If one is in the centre of God's will there is no point in acting like a lost sheep, either, however trackless and thorny the centre of God's will feels. If whatever it is that hurts so much is His idea, the sensible thing to do is to relax like clay in the potter's hands, yielding to the pains of transformation. It takes time, thought, and (for many charismatics) inspiration to decide which of these metaphors applies. Like inspiration itself, final diagnosis can often be a post hoc business.

Interpersonal conflicts are often diagnosed with a surer eye, for the command to love whether it is easy or not is axiomatic for the majority of local charismatics in all three groups, and eliminates a good deal of dithering because, though one may not know what to think, one nevertheless knows what to do. Between Christians, the metaphor of the Body of Christ is often used as a basis for "persuading" oneself or someone else to accept diversity, with references to biblical passages such as 1 Corinthians 12.12-31, which compares individuals with various charismata to the eyes, hands, and feet of the body, which need one another and cannot be expected to be alike. Between Christians and non-Christians, the metaphor of soldiering may motivate individuals to view those with whom he has conflicts as captives of Satan, who need to be rescued through prayer and kindness; pastoral metaphors may encourage him to define them as wild sheep, whose trust he has an opportunity to gain by "grazing" with them, so that they might eventually come near the Shepherd. I have never heard a charismatic speak of some non-Christian acquaintance as a stalk of grain to be harvested; they are far too concerned with individuals to lump people together in such masses. The metaphor of the harvest in which Christians are labourers has occurred only in visions (in all three groups), when people are thinking in global, apocalyptic terms. One does not cope with conflicts by metaphorically deciding that one ought to lop off the other person's head and stuff him into one's sheaf: the axiom of love precludes some of the symbol system's theoretical possibilities, as axiomatic principles do in any cultural system.

The other side of the axiom of love, which asserts that God loves each individual Christian (indeed, each individual human being)

personally and specifically, exerts a powerful influence upon the operation of the metaphor of the bridegroom and the bride in charismatic thought. It is not considered megalomaniac to think of one's "personal relationship with God" in such terms; indeed, it is typical for individuals to conceive of themselves as brides, as well as parts of the Bride (the Church), in a microcosm-to-macrocosm blend of similarity and participation. In the Catholic Charismatic Renewal of which the Marian Community is a part, prayer groups, or the human community as a global whole; or the Catholic Church may be referred to as the Bride; in all the local groups, individuals may refer to Christ as "my first love" or "the One I'm in love with" (f.n. 5/15/83).

The Most Common "Models for": Imagery
and Problem-Solving

The marital metaphor is evident in the emotional responses of many individuals to the intimacy of "quiet time," and to the concept of worship as an embrace. The euphoric beginnings and inevitable "dry times" of spiritual life are compared to the honeymoon and the hard work of marriage (cf. Tape 2, sides A and B). Even resistance to temptation may be cast in this metaphorical light. Gerard Bruce commented:

Like in a relationship, if two fellows are after a girl, and one fellow sees the other fellow getting closer to the girl than what he likes, he's going to try all that much harder, so he can win her over. And it's the same way with the devil and the Lord: the closer we come to the Lord, the, the harder the devil has to try. (Tape 2, side B)

Gerard returned to the same metaphor to describe the emotional ups and downs he had experienced in his seven years of "a Christian relationship with the Lord," in order to bring out both its consistent, everyday reality as a quality of his experience, and its inconsistency as an emotional state. For Gerard (and for most of the local community, I

think), the metaphor is crucial to the understanding of the difference between loving God, which is a matter of choice and commitment, and feeling loving toward God, which is, like any other feeling, subject to human phases. It is a common topic in leaders' opening comments as they encourage people to "forget about yourself, concentrate on Him, and worship Him" at prayer meetings and services. Gerard's fuller explanation of the metaphor is representative of widely shared thought and feeling:

the disadvantage of lip-service--you know, praying to the Lord and not really meaning it, or telling somebody that you love 'em and not really meaning it, [is the] same thing. . . . I think when we give lip service, He grieves over the fact that we do. Like somebody said to me one time when I . . . was telling 'em my relationship with the Lord was pretty low, . . . I said, "It's just like, the Lord left me; He doesn't love me any more." And the person said, he said, "The Lord didn't leave you; you left the Lord." And as you mature as a Christian, you realize that the Lord never leaves you. . . . His love is constant. . . . In the low times, again, in terms of a human relationship, if somebody's married to somebody, and they're after having a big fight and they're not on good terms with each other, and they don't talk to each other . . . very much . . . , they definitely wouldn't say to the person, "I love you." Or they may not even give a compliment to each other; they may not want to take a walk at night with each other. But if they're head over heels in love, you know, they can't do enough for each other. You know: "I love you; I'll always love you; I'm happy with you; I think your--your dress is nice, or your shirt is nice, or can I help you with the dishes," or--you just want to . . . do things for that person, eh? And the same with the Lord. If you're on top with the Lord, you'll be singing His praises every--all the time, you know, whether you're in the car, or . . . in the bathtub, or on the bike or walkin' or runnin' or watching the television. . . .

A low time is when I change. Like I was saying, He doesn't change; just I change. Or in terms of a community, when a community changes: it's the same thing, eh, just on a bigger level. (Tape 2, side B)

Obviously, the application of the marital metaphor to all the "low times" of spiritual life, resting as it does upon the assumption that it is always the "bride's" fault when distance intervenes between

God and believer, can produce some nasty psychological dilemmas. I have seen some cases in which Marian Community members simply bathed a depressed member in healing metaphors, persuading him to view his situation in a different light than this one, praying and prophesying over him in language designed to break the self-condemnatory tendencies which can be aggravated by the overuse of this analogy. They have used the image of sheep and shepherd with particular frequency and success, reminding the individual that even if he did get himself into his present state of emotional distance from God by "leaving the Lord,"—it is well within the terms of his relationship with the Lord to bleat loudly for the Shepherd to come and find him. Thus there are times when metaphors can contribute to crises, as well as help to cure them.

The metaphor of Christian soldiering, held in common with the Apostles Revelation Society studied by Fernandez and, of course, with the Salvation Army, primarily affects charismatic modes of interacting directly with Satan, rather than with nonchristians per se. It suggests to charismatics strategies of "spiritual warfare" through prayer, rather than through lobbying against legalized abortion or distributing religious tracts door to door. One of its more intriguing features is the "armour" worn by the charismatic Christian soldier, which is described in

Ephesians 5.10-19:

Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.

Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.

For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.

Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand.

Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness;

And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;

Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith he shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.

And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God:

Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints;

And for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel.

Remembering that "fiery darts" (ἡρώα) is translated as "passing thoughts" by several local charismatic leaders, speakers who have visited St. John's recently, and authors whose books are read by local people, it is perhaps not surprising that most of charismatic soldiering is done in mental realms. One young High Anglican, who attends the Worship Centre frequently, mentioned to me that he had used this metaphor in recent weeks to combat religious doubts, lifting the "shield of faith" by firmly asserting his convictions when some of his fellow-Anglicans' objections to charismatic Christianity confused or threatened him. (Virtually every charismatic I know has at some point been told by someone that he cannot be both a charismatic and a member of his denomination, and, while some have cheerfully brushed this aside as nonsense, transferred their membership to another church, or converted to another denomination, others have had to review their personal theological convictions with fairly painful thoroughness. I think it was in defending the legitimacy of his Anglicanness that he was using his "shield.") He smiled happily at the thought of its effectiveness: "They just bounce right off," he said of the "fiery darts." Crooking his left arm as if he held the shield, he raised it in a smooth, effortless arc, easily deflecting the arrows of hell (f.n. 6/5/83).

A United Church laywoman from Nova Scotia, addressing a local Women's Aglow luncheon meeting, gave quite a detailed account of her own diagnoses, prescriptions, and self-treatments using the metaphor of the armour of God. She explained that she was in the habit of "putting her armour on" every morning during her quiet time, "and for a while," she remembered, "I thought I had it licked." However, "wrong thoughts" continued to "pop into her mind" as if some of the fiery darts were getting through. As an example of a dart that got through, she acted out the part of sitting in church, arms lifted, praising God, when she caught sight of a friend on the other side of the sanctuary wearing a dress that did not become her. Immediately, arms still in the air, her expression changed from worshipful peace to a disapproving stare. "I don't like that dress," she said haughtily. Some of the women at the luncheon grinned at this, nodding in identification with the incongruity of this sort of mental shift, and when the speaker clapped a hand over her mouth in consternation at her own thoughts, there was more nodding and laughter. Puzzled by the penetrability of her heavenly armour, the speaker had asked a friend what she thought the trouble was. "Maybe there's a chink in your armour," the friend suggested, "or maybe there was something inside you before you put your armour on." It was the second diagnosis that rang true for her. "But God does the searching," she cautioned firmly. "Don't introspect, or you'll only dredge up garbage. Let Him search you gradually, and when He shows you something, deal with it and put it under the blood of Jesus." Continuing the metaphor of soldiering, she pointed out that the internal fight for one's character has an effect on other people, and on one's ability to function in more external forms of spiritual warfare. "We need to think

of faith and the truth and the Word and all the armour the way you think of the weaponry and training of boot camp," she commented. "Once you're in battle, others' lives can depend on you too" (f.n. 3/12/83).

Some personal confusions and griefs are diagnosed as cases of simply taking oneself too seriously, or setting one's standards of personal holiness too high, and here charismatics lean very much upon their animal predilections on the self. One girl, some six months after her twiceborn conversion and spiritual baptism, was telling me of her recent faux pas with a combination of merriment and chagrin. Using the metaphor of the eagle from Isaiah 40:31 ("They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles.

"), she described the contrast between the identity she thought she had gained through spiritual baptism, and that which she was experiencing, as a contrast between an adult eagle and a nestling. "Yes, sir, us eagles!" she said, flapping her elbows like small wings. "Spar- ing on the wings of the wind . . . but at the moment, I'm all feet and feathers." She made a "soaring" motion with one hand which ended in an ignominious flop, laughing (f.n. 3/24/83). Another charismatic, spending an evening with friends, poured out to them a description of her current experience which sounded like a combination of Romeo and Juliet and Medea. She was ill, short of money, and very lonely; God did not seem to be helping her in any way. Desperate for love and reassurance, she had taken a lover, and was both angry at herself for having broken a religious taboo and angry at God for having made the taboo, for in breaking it she was fulfilling needs which she felt were natural, intense, and vital. She felt isolated from the "flock" for all these reasons,

and so had been staying away from church and prayer meetings. After several hours of discussion, her situation no longer seemed so dramatic and tragic to her; she was able to laugh at her previous self-image, and she felt once more than nothing too out of the ordinary had happened to her. She summed up her relief and her restored sense of membership in the "flock" by bleating like a sheep in farewell. "I feel like a sheep again!" she explained, but her friends understood the bleat without any other gloss (f.n. 2/11/83).

The eagle metaphor can take relational form, as well as the form of the ideal self and the real self: God may be signified by the parent eagle, and the Christian by its fledgling. A speaker from western Newfoundland at the United Church Renewal Fellowship rally in Twillingate, in April of 1983, delighted one of my informants by developing this metaphor at length. She especially remembered his discussion of the way in which the baby eagle is taught to fly: the parent eagle, the speaker had explained, throws it out of the nest and over the cliff, then swoops down below and catches the fledgling on its back. Between the time it goes over the edge and the time it is caught, there may be a good bit of terrified squawking and flailing of wings, for the fledgling does not know that it is in no real danger of falling. The Christian in crisis, apparently thrown over the cliff by God, is also learning to fly, he explained, and is in no more danger than the baby eagle. My informant, laughing, did a quick rendition of the squawk-and-flail reaction, saying that she had seen herself do it several times in crises of one kind or another. I was intrigued by this, for I had found precisely the same analogy (rich in squawks and humour) in a 1972 copy of *New Wine*, a charismatic magazine published in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, in an

article entitled "Life on Wings."³⁰ I wondered if this were a case of cultural transmission or "spontaneous generation." Certainly there is enough contact between Newfoundland and Florida, given the vacationing habits of Newfoundlanders and the magazine-lending habits of charismatics, to make it quite possible that the speaker took his cue from the article. On the other hand, that my informant had picked that single analogy out of what was obviously an extended metaphor suggested that it might have special aptness and significance in relation to widely-shared charismatic concepts of spiritual life.³¹ Simple exposure to information about the training of baby eagles could easily have sparked the same analogy in the minds of two charismatics with no direct contact between them. The image of the baby eagle being caught on its parent's back is a near-perfect charismatic version of the Twenty-third Psalm, transposed into the metaphorical terms of the Spirit-filled life, with its heights of ecstasy, its identification of the believer with the dove and the wind of the Holy Spirit, and its paradoxical, "unearthly" contact with heaven. It also offers opportunities for the self-directed humour that is characteristic of charismatic culture while the lamb, for some reason, apparently does not. Perhaps the association of the lamb with Christ's sacrifice, or years of popular religious association of lambs with innocence and purity, prevents local charismatics from using it as a metaphorical strategy for coping with human failure and inadequacy.

Charismatics often speak of "high" times in Christian life, and of charismatic life in general as a soaring upon the wind, or wings, of the Holy Spirit (using the metaphors of the wind and the dove as signifiers for the same divine Person). Father Phil Lewis, reminding the participants at the Catholic Charismatic Conference in St. John's of

the previous year's conference, commented that by its end, "most of us were ready to fly home on our suitcases," which was greeted by an appreciative and empathic laugh (Tape 34-1, side A). The prevalence of this kind of imagery may help to explain why crises, internal or circumstantial or a combination of both, may feel like falling or being thrown over a cliff to a charismatic, rather than like walking through the valley of the shadow of death. One who makes a rapid transition from cloud nine to being down in the dumps has farther to fall than one who has merely been plodding along on even ground. The "cliffhanger" joke conveys much the same notion as the image of the baby eagle: God is the only available rescuer in both metaphors, and both predicate images of complete helplessness upon the believer. Such imagery helps charismatics to accept violent ups and downs, when they occur, and to define trust in God in a form humorous enough that it will not sound like a pious platitude when one needs to enact it--i.e., as one is falling over the cliff.

Crocker argues that metaphors in social action often answer the question (as in his cocktail party example), "What shall we do about this?"³² Here, they are also used to answer the questions, "Why did this happen to me?" and "Why am I coping badly with it?"

A childlike or animal metaphor first grounds these questions firmly upon the axiom of love, and brings to mind some of its most prevalent cultural conclusions. (1) God's love is unconditional, and is not earned through good performance. (2) God's love is protective. Therefore, the believer who feels that disaster has overtaken him can logically rule out the possibility that it has done so without God's knowledge, against His will, or because He does not care about the

individual. (3) Weakness does not offend God; in fact, it is more appropriate to recognize one's dependence upon Him for one's strength, wisdom, and goodness than it is to try to be "holy" in and of oneself. (4) In any trouble of any kind, regardless of its nature or cause, it is appropriate to draw close to God. When the proper metaphorical manner of drawing close is not clear to the believer, he may do so in an inchoate manner, and wait for God to place an appropriate predicate upon himself and his situation. These conclusions are evoked by most of the metaphors of relationship between God and believer, but where the metaphor of the potter and the clay (and for some charismatics, the bridegroom and the bride) encourage yielding to transformation on the basis of confidence in God's love, the metaphors of shepherd and sheep or father and child encourage the acceptance of inadequacy. Not all charismatics have the emotional strength of the Nova Scotia woman, who derived enough security from the idea that much of her daily personal life was a sort of spiritual boot camp to enable her to accept her failures in that area. Many need metaphors which provide more warmth and comfort when they feel ashamed or overwhelmed.

Any charismatic, however mature, may redefine himself as relatively babyish when he feels ashamed or overwhelmed, reflecting that he has not yet grown up to the "measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ" (Ephesians 4.13), for plenty of people measure themselves against the human life of Jesus more seriously and frequently than they do against one another. Anyone may thus make use of posters bearing confused penguins, milling about; donkey foals, explaining apologetically that God isn't finished with them yet; ducklings, kittens, lambs, and lion cubs, all cute, fuzzy, and relatively helpless, to help him to accept

and laugh at his own immaturity and bountiful supply of faults in comparison with Jesus.

The metaphor of the earthen vessel containing treasure serves as a kind of middle ground between the sublime (bride of Christ) and the ridiculous (baby animal) possibilities for predication upon human frailty and fallibility, and seems to orient the self-concepts of the majority of local people. It serves as an answer for the experiential paradox with which a good many charismatics have to live: that one may experience ecstasy and miracles, and even help to bring about miracles in the lives of others, and yet remain mired in a discouraging number of tendencies one would be better off without. I remember one young man remarking gloomily that he seemed to be all clay pot and no treasure at a great many moments of his life; many people comment frequently on their clear perception of the distinction between the qualities the Holy Spirit gives them and those intrinsic to their nature. (Sharings and testimonies about one's past faults or misery and one's present freedom and happiness are often ended with qualifying statements that one still has one's rough spots and bad days.) The image of the pot acknowledges, metaphorically, that man is made of dust, and that fallibility is to be expected in human life. It posits neither the blame of the bride metaphor, nor the helplessness of the animal metaphors, upon the self. There is no shame in being a clay pot, so long as one knows that one is not the treasure, and takes care that the treasure is made available as best one can. The image of the bride is fitting for the joyful periods of spiritual life, and the animal metaphors for failures which might otherwise convince the individual that he would never "grow up" to be like Christ. The metaphor of the earthen vessel is fit for everyday use, in

the middle ground of experience and self-evaluation.

Not all of the metaphors included in the two diagrams have been discussed here. In particular, not much has been said about the Church, the World, or the devil. This is because the diagrams represent cultural cosmology, and local people do not spend equal amounts of time in all the symbolic regions of their own cosmos. References to Satan and to non-Christians as a class generally take brief and fairly simple forms: a simple verbal or active application of the metaphors listed in the diagram is about all one usually hears or sees of interaction with these symbols. They are important in cognition in a large sense: in the individual's concept of his relationships and responsibilities in the universe. But in the day-to-day use of symbol and metaphor, the imagery representing the relationship between self and God vastly outweighs the rest. In many ways, "right relationship" with other people, and victory over Satan, is felt to result from the proper enactment of relational metaphors with the Lord. There is therefore much more culturally-felt need to think about these relational metaphors than there is to think about the others. Much the same pattern holds in the cultural use of metaphors as "models of": those pertaining to the relationship between the individual and the Trinity take up a great deal more of people's attention than the others. Those which are extensively used in local thought in this manner will be discussed in the following section.

Models of: The Interpretation of Metaphor through Experience

Victor Turner has pointed out that one of the characteristics of religious groups which experience spontaneous or existential communion is that great excitement is generated by the conviction that "the

originally enunciated truth was just such as the devotee had personally experienced.³³ Correspondence between scripture and life begins to work in two directions: not only is life designed according to scriptural patterns or instructions, but its patterns and instructions are understood through reference to life experience. Like Geertz's dam-builder figuring out a blueprint by comparing it with the finished dam, the charismatic may well figure out a biblical passage like John 3.3 ("Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God") by comparing it with what happened to him or to some acquaintances at the time of conversion or commitment to Christianity. Kenneth Burke refers to this interpretation of signifiers through reference to knowledge of their signifieds, obtained in some experiential way, when he argues that not only can one say that "words are the signs of objects," but that "objects are the signs of words."³⁴

Among local charismatics, it seems to be primarily those aspects of religious belief and biblical imagery which are associated with communitas or flow and with the charismata, the "unearthly" experiential dimensions and events of religious life, which are treated as "models of" as well as "models for." Indeed, this is probably a common process with metaphors of experiential states: one's interpretation of phrases such as "dog-tired," "to get carried away," or "three sheets to the wind" (a British and Newfoundland metaphor for drunkenness) are often rooted in some sort of direct or indirect experiential basis. Charismatics are literalist enough to confine this mode of biblical interpretation to a small number of concepts or phrases: they do not tend to see mystical double meanings in passages which can be interpreted in nonsymbolic ways. They therefore interpret the Bible in terms of experience less frequently

than they interpret experience in terms of the Bible, but what it lacks in frequency it makes up for in intensity: in many ways, it is as formative a process in the development of folk belief as its more prevalent counterpart.

The amount of metaphorical thought of the "models of" type which an individual does depends, to a great extent, on how many paranormal experiences he has, and of what intensities and kinds. Individuals like Don Cuff, who have extensive and frequent paranormal experiences which seem to them well explained and described by biblical metaphors, naturally tend to use these metaphors as explanations and descriptions of personal experience, and interpret them through reference to personal experiences, more than others. However, there are certain specific metaphors which are given experiential exegesis by a great many local people, and it is these common "models of" that I shall focus on here. Some have to do with paranormal experiences, such as sensations of "anointing" flowing to or from one's body. Others have to do with strong emotions (e.g., the love of God) which are especially prized, and especially common, in charismatic culture. Several are a mixture of both, or can be used in either sense.

The interpretation of liquid metaphors, in the Bible and in traditional hymns, is often shaped by experiences of anointing and spiritual baptism, with their sensory currents of "electricity" or "liquid love." Many of the hymns local charismatics have taken into their own repertoires contain such imagery, and I suspect that it is the identification of this imagery with personal experience which has endeared the hymns to charismatics. "Peace is Flowing Like a River" is a Marian Community favourite; "I've Got Peace Like a River" is sung

at the Cuffs"; and "Stayed Upon Jehovah" (which begins, "Like a river glorious/Is God's perfect peace . . .") is sung at the Worship Centre.³⁵ The experiential nature of this imagery in charismatic contexts is captured in a number of "choruses" or "praise songs" sung in local groups:

Spirit of the living God,
Fall afresh on me;
Spirit of the living God,
Fall afresh on me.
Melt me, mould me, fill me, use me;
Spirit of the living God,
Fall afresh on me.³⁶

In emic terms, this song, with no specifically liquid imagery, is closely associated with a more explicitly liquid one, which is felt to "say the same thing," as song leaders at the Worship Centre sometimes point out when they follow one with the other:

Come, Lord Jesus, and o'erflow us with Your love,
Come, Lord Jesus, and o'erflow us with Your love,
For we bring our hearts as vessels to Your ever-flowing
spring [or stream]
Come, Lord Jesus, and o'erflow us with Your love.³⁷

Anointing being a rich, complex experience, which can be described in terms of fire or oil or electricity as well as of rivers and springs, some of the songs which are interpreted with reference to it show a deliberate symbolic equation of various divine "signifieds" with a single flowing signifier, or of several signifiers with the divine source of the emotions and sensations of anointing. For example, "Peace is Flowing Like a River" has four verses in the Marian Community songbook, each verse changing only the name of that which is "flowing like a river": peace is followed by "His love," and "His healing." The last verse consists solely of the word "Alleluia"; then the first verse is repeated.³⁸ In the example above of the two songs emically interpreted as saying the same thing, the Holy Spirit melts, moulds, fills, uses, falls upon, and

overflows the believers, and the love of Jesus in the second song is equated with the Spirit in the first.

Predictably, songs using imagery that speaks to charismatics of anointing tend to be sung when people feel anointed. At the Worship Centre, when people sing "His Name is as Ointment Poured Forth,"³⁹ arms are often lifted and eyes closed all over the sanctuary: it is not one likely to be sung first thing on Sunday morning, but an hour or more into Sunday evening, when anointing is more frequently experiential, deep, and affecting most of the participants. Mnemonic association between experiential, musical, biblical, and proverbial metaphors also sometimes signal metonymy at work: Gerard Bruce mentioned "Peace is Flowing Like a River" as one of his favourite songs, and a moment later remembered a quotation with much more imagistic than topical relevance to his train of thought: "once you've been under the glory, the glory spout," a visiting charismatic priest had said, "you never get away from it" (Tape 2, side B). The use of metaphor and symbol as models of and models for can blend and mingle in the processes of thought and ritual action.

Sometimes, in the field, it is all but impossible to tell whether experience is shaping metaphor or metaphor is shaping experience-- or both. One evening at the Marian Community, the group was standing after finishing a song, and Rosemary Rose said:

I sense that Jesus just wants to touch us all as we've been standing here singing and praising; let's just stand quietly and let Him do it. Let His healing oil of gladness and joy pour down over your head and throughout your body.

They stood quietly for some five or ten minutes, eyes closed, praising God quietly in English or in tongues. Worship was full and deep.

Finally one of the pastoral team leaders asked the group, "Does everyone feel that we just got a bath, like we had a spiritual shower--all clean?" They laughed and nodded (f.n. 9/8/81).

At other times, however, experience is clearly the basis for metaphor's interpretation. Steve Clark considers this common enough to speak of as a general trait in charismatic readings of the Bible, not limited to one locale or type of group. Though they are often reluctant to limit biblical passages concerning things they feel they have not experienced, the recognition of experience in Scripture can be a powerful element in charismatic exegesis. He writes in Baptized in the Spirit:

Our difficulty in understanding what it is to be baptized in the Spirit illustrates an old truth which is at the basis of all learning: we can understand only what we have experienced. Very learned theologians and exegetes who have never experienced a community in which everyone was baptized in the Spirit and in which the spiritual gifts are a normal part of life often struggle to grasp a passage in the New Testament that is perfectly clear to some new Christian who has just experienced what the passage is referring to.

For instance, once we have communities in which everyone is baptized in the Spirit, we will be able to read Paul's epistle to the Romans as a clarification of everyone's experience of redemption and not as a great theological mystery that we believe in faith but would never take as an accurate description of what has happened to us. (pp. 99-100)

Probably because it is so widely known, I have heard the Twenty-third Psalm referred to more frequently than any other passage in this regard. A young High Church Anglican, for example, commented that "Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over" had made no sense to him until his baptism in the Spirit. "Then I knew," he explained. He noted that he had seen the verse translated, "fill my cup to the brim": an emendation which he suggested might be due to lack of experience with the "living waters" that overflow in spiritual baptism and Spirit-filled experience (f.n. 7/28/83).

The liquid, cleansing fires of anointing also affect charismatic interpretations of biblical passages which refer to the forgiveness of sin as a cleansing process accomplished by the blood of Christ. Those who have experienced sensations of cleansing and flowing during conversion, or spiritual baptism bring especially concrete interpretations to songs such as this classical Pentecostal chorus from the Worship Centre:

I know a fount where sins are washed away;
I know a place where night is turned to day;
Burdens are lifted, blind eyes made to see;
There's a wonder-working power in the blood of Calvary.⁴⁰

As ecstatic experience involving literal or metaphorical changes in vision, the dispelling of emotional darkness, and impressions of flowing light or ocean waves of love enveloping the experiencer are relatively common in mystical literature, some of these artistic metaphors may have been literally modelled upon the author's own experiences, as St. John of the Cross, a sixteenth-century Spanish mystic, said was true of his poem "Living Flame of Love."⁴¹ Certainly there are some interesting congruencies between mystical literature, twentieth-century hymnody, and charismatic experiential descriptions, and there is perhaps less reason to assume that charismatic experiences are culture-specific than to assume that they are not--especially since they often have strong sensory and perceptual components, and sometimes occur before exposure to cultural patterns of belief, just as "classic" experiential descriptions can be given by people who have not heard anyone else talk about such experiences. As discussed in Chapter II, the data collected and analyzed by sociologist Andrew Greeley suggests that quite a sizeable number of people have had experiences of being "bathed in light,"

sensations of "warmth or fire," joy, deep peace, and the conviction that "love is at the center of all things."⁴² If Greeley's findings are indeed representative, the chances of hymn-writers' having had some such experience of their own in mind when they wrote of peace "like a river glorious" or "fathomless billows of love" are perhaps better than one might think. The Roman Catholic visual image of the Sacred Heart, its top open and flames emerging (as if it were a vessel filled with oil?) was first painted from an ecstatic vision someone had had of Christ.⁴³ Protestant charismatic acquaintances, seeing it in its place over the kitchen doorways of Roman Catholic households, have sometimes transfixed me with their expressions of wonder and recognition, and their quick, emphatic identification with the experience or attitude they feel the picture conveys.

Corporeal metaphors, especially those referring to touching or being touched by God, are often considered "models of" in charismatic culture, though to be touched may have a complicated blend of physical, emotional, and psychological referents in personal religious experience. A biblical passage such as Luke 11.20, in which Christ tells the Pharisees that He casts out demons "by the finger of God," or Matthew 9.20, in which He "felt power go out from Him" when a woman in need of physical healing touched him, may be interpreted by means of experiential referents by charismatics who have experienced deliverance from demons, or healing by the laying on of hands, especially if these experiences involved some sort of sensory component. (A number of local people have reported, to me or to others, that they were thrown to the floor by a demon during the process of deliverance from it, and sensations of warmth flowing into the affected part of the body from the hand of the one praying for

healing are quite common.) The Marian Community has a favourite song which combines physical healing, emotional peace, and the psychological awareness of divine forgiveness for sin, all conveyed by touch:

Lay Your hands gently upon us;
Let their touch render Your peace;
Let them bring Your forgiveness and healing;
Lay Your hands, gently lay Your hands.⁴⁴

All three groups have adopted a Salvation Army-Pentecostal song in which the quasi-physical concept of being "made whole" (an alternate translation for *σωτηρια*, which is also translated "salvation" or "healing"), emotions of joy, and knowledge are likewise conveyed by touch:

He touched me, oh, He touched me,
And oh, the joy that floods my soul;
Something happened, and now I know
He touched me, and made me whole.⁴⁵

Again, it is difficult to say whether the cultural practice of the laying on of hands for physical, emotional, and psychological problems is a cause or a result of such experiential associations with the divine or anointed touch; one can simply note the co-occurrence of song and ritual gesture, and posit a complex, mutually reinforcing relationship between them.

The heart is probably the most common part of the body "touched" in charismatic experiential descriptions, which accords well with the blending of physical with psychological and emotional meanings in the cultural concept of touch and its effects. (If these charismatics belonged to a culture in which the liver or some other organ were regarded as the seat of emotions, they might well speak of God's touch as affecting that organ; unfortunately, the only nonwestern cultures from which I have read accounts of twiceborn conversion were tribal societies of New Guinea and the Pacific Northwest Coast. As both had

had contact (albeit minimal contact) with Anglo-Saxons who use this mode of describing conversion, it is impossible to say whether their reports of being able to feel Christ entering the heart were affected by suggestion or by purely phenomenological factors.⁴⁶ Some local charismatics have stated, upon questioning from me, that they did experience definite, if anomalous, sensory awareness of the presence of Christ entering the heart at the time of conversion, and that the presence has remained since that time. Others seem to regard the image of Christ entering the heart as a metaphor for the beginning of love for Him.

To "touch the heart of God" is a local Pentecostal commonplace describing the goal of worship and prayer of all types (f.n. 3/18/83), and certainly it is germane to charismatic goals as well. The metaphor of the bridegroom and the bride is interpreted by some local charismatics through reference to the experience of mutual "heart-touching" in such activities; some charismatics even use the rich romantic and sensual imagery of the Song of Songs to describe worship and prayer as experiences, as such renowned mystics as Bernard of Clairvaux and Teresa of Avila have done before them.⁴⁷ A Worship Centre member once commented to the Cuffs' group that he had found that "in every church there's a pocket of people who have touched the heart of God" (Tape 6-5, side B), using this metaphor to describe a "real Christian" quality which he sensed about them or observed in their behaviour, or an accuracy of understanding which he felt they possessed concerning the character of God. Charismatic response to the metaphor of the potter and the clay may also focus on the shaping of the heart, as painful experiences (which are often occasions for the use of the metaphor as a model for

response) are sometimes viewed as "deepening" the vessel of the heart, so that it can hold more love, and more of the power of God. Lorne Rostotski, for example, told the Long Pond Pentecostal youth group that the reason he could function in so many of the charismatic gifts is that he has been made humble and compassionate through emotional suffering (Tape 49, side A). This has implications, of course, for the interpretation of the metaphor of God as the treasure and the self as clay vessel, as well.

To have something or someone "on one's heart" is used by some members of the Worship Centre and the Cuffs' group (and various other groups here and elsewhere) as a synonym for the "burden" of intercessory prayer. The worried telephone call to a friend mentioned by Liz O'Brien as a frequent result of a "burden" may include some such question as, "You've been on my heart all week; is anything wrong?" Pastor Gene of the Worship Centre sometimes uses the phrase to describe the combination of concerned thought and painful emotion which can accompany the composition of sermons which he feels God especially wants the congregation to hear: his sense of urgency and intercession in taking God's "message" upon his heart seems to resemble the more common experiences of taking the needs of others upon one's heart. Either kind of burden can produce the kinds of quasi-physical sensations implied in general English metaphorical phrases such as "heavy-hearted" or "That's a load off my mind."

Local interpretations and uses of the metaphor of the Body of Christ, of which Jesus is the head and individual Christians are members, are often clearly and powerfully affected by the experience of being burdened. Whether the burden takes the form of sudden physical pain, reproducing the symptoms being experienced by the one who needs prayer

(as Anne Harkaway and Tom Heffernan recall as an occasional form of "discernment" in the Good Shepherd Prayer Community, and Don Cuff has experienced on a few occasions),⁴⁸ or is a less definite, more emotional weight of concern for someone else's welfare, people often feel that Christ as head sends these "nerve impulses" to the areas of the Body which should participate in supplying the needed healing to affected members. The transient and often abruptly-ended nature of burdens can also contribute to the aptness of the Body of Christ metaphor, for, according to several members of all three groups, the burden lifts when the problem is resolved in the life of the one prayed for, rather than when the one praying is notified that the problem has been resolved. The all-clear is sounded on some level of awareness closer to the nervous system, in experiential terms, than to the conscious mind. (Two charismatics, one at the Worship Centre and one at the Marian Community, neither of whom I know well, have stunned me by describing to me exact spans of time during which they knew that I was in trouble. Paula Hathaway Anderson-Green reports similar instances of "burdens" received and lifted among Southern Methodists and Baptists, but she does not say whether they regard such experiences as a "gloss" upon the metaphor of the Body of Christ.⁴⁹)

Metaphorically speaking, Christ is the food and drink which nourishes the body and its individual members, as well as its head. The experience of taking Communion, which for some members of all three groups can, on occasion, be accompanied by sensations of Presence entering the body in a suffusing warmth similar to the "liquid Love" of anointing, tends to create an interpretive association between the body and blood metaphor, and that of the vine and sap. As the believer is

Both taken into the Body of Christ and takes Christ into his own body, so he as a branch is both part of the vine, and takes its sap into his spirit. Those who have discussed Communion with me (Catholic or Protestant, it makes little or no difference) regard this aspect of experience as a mystery, difficult to describe, and too paradoxical to be fully grasped. As they do with the mutual "embrace" often experienced in full worship, they may use the metaphor of the bridegroom and the bride to augment their descriptions of "being of one body" with Christ in Communion. It seems to be one of the most difficult to describe, and the most mystically-viewed, of all the religious experiences known to the local community.

The Bible as a whole is often viewed as a kind of spiritual food for the Body and its members as well. All three groups sing "Seek Ye First," a song based upon the Sermon on the Mount, which contains the verse:

Man shall not live by bread alone,
But by every word
That proceeds from the mouth of God
Hallelu, halleluia.⁵⁰

People sometimes speak of their quiet time as their food for the day; Pastor Gene once commented, "I love Hebrews. I've been reading Hebrews in my devotions, and when I get up from the table I feel like I'm full" (f.n. 4/23/83). I have several times heard Marian Community members comment while sharing or teaching that one cannot expect to grow if one does not eat--meaning that spiritual growth comes from Bible study. Christianity, or charismatic Christianity, may also be spoken of as fulfilling hunger or thirst. A pastoral leader from the Marian Community told the participants in a newly-formed charismatic group at St. Michael's Parish Church on Bell Island:

Before I came to the Renewal, I was hungry--like when you're hungry and a good feed o' pork and cabbage'll do you for a while, only not for food. (f.n. 9/6/82)

Such experiences of conversion or spiritual baptism as satisfying a "hunger," and more everyday experiences of feeling strengthened and invigorated by Bible study (as people sometimes say that they do) are probably responsible for some of the enthusiasm with which Marian Community members sing:

Unless you eat of the flesh of the Son of Man,
And drink of His blood, and drink of His blood,
You shall not have life within you.

And I will raise him up,
And I will raise him up,
And I will raise him up on the Last Day.⁵¹

This metaphor is also connected, by the bond of experiential referents, to that of the treasure and the vessel. In both images, God is taken into the human heart, or being, or body, and contained there. The administration of prayer with the laying on of hands, when it produces sensations of energy leaving one's body and entering the body of the one prayed for ("It's not my energy," Don Cuff noted) give concreteness to the idea that there is something supernatural contained within one's being: a gift given, to be given away to others. An Anglican man who attends the Worship Centre frequently once commented to me that when the Spirit of the Lord "goes forth" from him to someone else as he prays for them, he sometimes feels the need to "fill up" again by being prayed for himself (f.n. 6/5/83). Thus metaphors of the indwelling Spirit as food, as treasure, and as "power" in the form of living water or oil or fire are all shaped, connected, and informed by their relevance to the same experiential base.

Two comparatively vague biblical descriptions have been fleshed out to become apt metaphors through reference to the experiences of local people. Hebrews 1:14 describes angels as "ministering spirits," which remained an abstract notion in local culture until Jeff Ludlow, a local Neopentecostal, told some of the prayer groups of a vision he had while in India with a missionary team during 1982. The team had been prevented from giving a concert by car trouble, and spent the time allotted for the concert in prayer, using the word of knowledge to pray for the people who would have come to the concert. Jeff explained to the Cuffs' group that he saw this as God's reason for "opening his eyes" to "edify the Body"--i.e., to reassure the other members of the group that their prayers had been heard:

So . . . we prayed and, and one by one, people would pray, and for different things: physical needs, emotional needs, spiritual needs . . . and lots of times real specific things for like one person, you know, and we prayed for a guy who had diseased feet, and we believed for his healing, and all this stuff. And we had no way of knowing of it ever comin' about. That's the thing, see. And we knew we wouldn't. Um, so we just prayed and interceded. While this is goin' on, I, I was praying and, and seeking the Lord, and I, and I looked up, I was just sort of sitting there and I looked up, and the Lord revealed to me what was actually happening in the Spirit while we were praying. There were angels in the room: there was one for each person that was, that was in the group there, praying. And they were up above us, so far up that they were almost like they, they could be standing on the tops of the walls . . . that's sort of how far they were. And they were standing there; I can remember their faces (laughs) because they were so eager in anticipation. Like everything in them--they had their hands out like this (gestures as if waiting to catch an underhand pitch), and I was trying to figure out what in the world did they have their hands out for? Like they were ready to catch something. And then, one of the girls in our group prayed. The minute she had finished that prayer, right immediately it was like there was this cylinder of the healing balm that that person needed, that was contained in that prayer shot up, and went to that angel. Angel grabbed it and he was instantly gone, and administering it. That healing for that person. That's it. Now, isn't that edifying to the Body? When I, when I said that to the Body, we knew that our prayers were being answered; directly. And it was just like blowing

me away: it was like something I didn't even think about before. And I wasn't even--I didn't--when I even shared it with the group I didn't--I said, 'Gang, I don't even know if I can'--because when something happened in the Spirit we have to be able to back it up with the Scripture, and if we can't, that's--you know, then it's not of the Lord. And . . . I said, 'Lord, I don't even know if this is in the Bible, I don't even know if it's Scriptural, I don't--' you know? And I said that to 'em. I said, 'I don't know where to find--I don't know if it's in the Bible or not, but this is what I saw'. (Tape 46-6, side A)

One of the other members of the team later showed him Hebrews 1.14 ("Are they [angels, cf. verse 13] not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them that shall be heirs of salvation?"), which the group interpreted as support for the biblical validity of Jeff's vision. As the activities of both humans and angels in his memorate are culturally defined as forms of "ministry," which is a general synonym for delivering gifts from God, whether they are casseroles from the church (f.n. 6/6/83) or supernatural healings (Tape 6-2, side A), Jeff's vision of "ministering spirits" was easily and immediately accepted into the mental framework within which that biblical phrase (and, indeed, the whole concept of intercessory prayer as a relaying of needs to God and blessings to human beings) is interpreted. (Jeff is held in high regard, in part for his missionary activity but primarily for his character, in all three groups, and his personal credibility probably encouraged the shared predication of his experience onto inchoate biblical metaphor as well.)

A somewhat less spectacular form of "models of" metaphorical thought concerns the difference between the King James terms "condemnation" and "conviction"--or, to speak of the general fields within which these two examples have their emic contexts, the voice of God and the voice of Satan. The subject came up one evening at a Worship Centre Prayer and Share, when a young woman who had recently become a Christian asked

for clarification of the difference between the two. The primary biblical referents involved are Romans 8.1, "There is therefore now no condemnation for them that are in Christ Jesus . . . , " and John 16.8, "He [the Holy Spirit] will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgement," which in some translations reads "convict the world. . . ." Pastor Gene explained to her that "God leads; Satan pushes," and gave several examples from his own experience of difficult diagnoses in which he had to evaluate his "symptoms" carefully to determine which he was experiencing (F.n. 8/11/82). It is often said--usually on the basis of "results" of some kind from personal experience--that guilt is never produced by God, but always comes from the condemnation of the devil, poured into the mind in the form of thoughts. (The process of identifying and rejecting these thoughts is a common subject for sharings at all three groups.) God tends to encourage the believer to do right, rather than reprove him for doing wrong, according to charismatic experiential exegeses. "Conviction" is defined as the sense of sin accompanied by the strong awareness that one is free to get rid of it by an act of surrender to God, repentance, and the acceptance of His power to effect lasting changes of character and behaviour. The Bible does not explicitly define either term as referring to an emotional state or internal experience at all, and certainly provides no directions--metaphorical or otherwise--for telling them apart. The definition of condemnation as feelings of guilt and self-hatred, and of conviction as the realization that a specific type of behaviour should be changed or an act atoned for, has been achieved through the analysis and comparison of subjective experiences. It is shared by charismatics elsewhere, and is generally held as an aspect of folk belief by all three groups, but all

the individuals I have asked about it have derived this definition from their own experiences and the "sharings" and diagnoses of other local people. To be condemned or convicted now function as aspects of local metaphorical speech, with clear experiential referents.

Metaphorical Thought in the Mutual Validation of
Ethos and Worldview

The operation of two types of thought on one set of symbols, the first using their constituent metaphors to interpret experience, the second using experience to interpret their metaphors, goes far to produce the "fit" between the symbol system and the experienced world of human life which Geertz describes as religion's miracle. It also helps to relate metaphors to one another, making their "clusters" within the symbols of Father, Son, Spirit, self, Church, World, and Satan seem experientially accurate. The experiences predicated upon the metaphors of the Spirit--oil, fire, living water, descending dove, power--are unified as memories or memorates, and as social events: clearly, in the charismatic mind, the Holy Spirit may be described using any of these terms. Similarly, biblical metaphors of the Son blend and cohere through reference to the experiences of communion and intercession. The application of relational metaphors both to the intense, brief experiences of full worship, anointing, and the charismata and to the more ongoing or frequent, everyday experiences of guidance and intercession, Bible study and general prayer, also helps to create "fit" between ritual life and everyday life. The charismatic is a member of body and bride, a branch and a soldier and a sheep, in both contexts.

The process of mutual reinforcement between the symbol system and the experienced world seems anything but miraculous from the emic

point of view. The experiences themselves may well be considered supernatural; but the process by which the symbols become realistic and reality becomes meaningful seems natural and--most of the time--easy. "Reading" experience by means of metaphor and metaphor by means of experience is like being bilingual, in that, from the actor's standpoint, it involves no particular magic of transformation, nor any necessary trimming and squeezing of one to fit into the framework of the other. I would argue that part of the reason why this process should appear miraculous from Geertz's standpoint as a crosscultural analyst, and utterly unmiraculous from the standpoint of local charismatics, is that Geertz did not discuss the role of paranormal or ecstatic experience in the accomplishment of the miracle. As Turner points out with regard to communities, the conviction that scripture describes experience and experience reenacts scripture is one of the standard, predictable effects of ecstasy.⁵² In more culture-specific terms, there is nothing remarkable in the literal interpretation of "thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over" as experiential description among people who can and do experience the sensations without being told to expect them. Millions of people have used the Twenty-third Psalm as a "model for" their own religious lives without also using it as a "model of" personal experience. It may well be that the higher amount of "model of" metaphorical thought involved in the charismatic version of Geertz's cross-cultural "miracle" accounts for the ease and fullness with which it is accomplished.

That it has more ease and fullness than Geertz apparently had in mind becomes clear in his description of the relations between ritual and everyday life which he considers typical. He argues:

The movement back and forth between the religious perspective and the common-sense perspective is actually one of the more obvious empirical occurrences on the social scene, though, again, one of the most neglected by social anthropologists, virtually all of whom have seen it happen countless times. Religious belief has usually been presented as a homogeneous characteristic of an individual, . . . But religious belief in the midst of ritual, where it engulfs the total person, transporting him, so far as he is concerned, into another mode of existence, and religious belief as the pale, remembered reflection of that experience in the midst of everyday life are not precisely the same thing, and the failure to realise this has led to some confusion. . . .⁵³

It is precisely that shift between the religion of ritual experience and the religion of the everyday which Keith Collins described as characteristic of the system he left, and has replaced with charismatic Christianity. Certainly, there are variations in the intensity with which religion is experienced as a "characteristic of the individual," but I have watched my informants long and hard and cannot deny that "religious belief in the midst of ritual . . . and religious belief . . . in the midst of everyday life" are precisely the same thing. A difference in mode of expression is not accurately described as a difference in essence.

If religion never "transported" charismatics outside of ritual life, or in individual as well as communal activities, there might well be a difference in essence between the religion of ritual life and the religion of the everyday. The fact that it does is reflected in the way they handle their symbol system and relate it to everyday life, working back and forth between symbol and experience, each shaping and interpreting the other.

Religion as a system of symbols, according to Victor and Edith Turner, is not suspended, as it were, in thin air; it has roots, paradigmatic roots, which shape attitude and action, perception and

interpretation, in a basic and pervasive way. The Turners, as quoted at the beginning of this chapter, describe this as a "root paradigm." Their example, the Way of the Cross, is paradigmatic in the sense that it sometimes seems to affect the choices made over the course of a lifetime, becoming visible clearly in retrospect as a governing principle which was active in a long series of decisions:

Root paradigms are shown in behavior which appears to be freely chosen but resolves at length into a total pattern. They go beyond the cognitive, and even the moral, to the existential domain, and in so doing become clothed with allusiveness, implicitness, and metaphor. (p. 248)

I have looked for this "total pattern" through a synchronic analysis of individual and collective behaviour, rather than through diachronic analyses of life histories, for the simple reason that I have had three years to do this, and not eighty. I have found, however, that the single paradigm which seemed to me to dominate household art, casual speech, ritual activity, and other daily, ongoing aspects of charismatic life also came strongly to the fore in life crises, and seemed to provide a basic, orientative principle for quite a large percentage of the local charismatic community.

The Root Paradigm

The organizing principle which underlies and unifies the charismatic symbol system, binding its entities and their metaphorical relationships into a coherent whole, is the concept of praise. A Marian Community song composed by Pat Riley, a local member, refers to charismatics as "a people of praise"; the Worship Centre's logo (Fig. 17) shows a person with arms raised in the usual praise gesture, under a cross, and surrounded by the letter "C" (for Christ-centred, describing the proper worldview of the charismatic Christian as locally defined).



Fig. 17. The Worship Centre, logo.

Charismatics are generally photographed in this position by scholars and journalists, as Martin E. Marty has pointed out, because it is regarded by some as their prime distinguishing form of visible religious behaviour.⁵⁴ It provides a basic strategy for dealing with most of life's tragedies and ironies, and forms the undifferentiated basis of all the metaphorical modes of relating to God posited by the symbol system: a basis of the expression of love, and the assumption that this love is deserved and returned.

The root paradigm is, as the Turners stressed, consciously recognized, though it may seem too all-encompassing or pervasive to be fully grasped by those whose lives are shaped by it. It is therefore not surprising that the paradigm should find clear, repeated, but almost always partial expression in various local songs. At the Worship Centre, for example, one song declares:

Lord, You're worthy to be praised, and I praise You;
 Lord You're worthy to bow down to, and I bow down to You;
 Lord, You're worthy to be trusted; I put my trust in You;
 I praise You, I bow down to You, I put my trust in You.

Lord, You're worthy of my love, and I love You;
 Lord, You're worthy of my life; I give my life to You;
 Lord; You're worthy, oh so worthy, I give my all for You;
 I love You, I live for You, I give my all for you.⁵⁵

Anne Devine, a Roman Catholic-raised member of the Worship Centre, composed "The Worship Song" during 1982, and it has become a kind of musical metonym for the church's self-concept as "people of praise." Its three parts are sung in sequence or antiphony:

Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

Father of love, our hearts we lift to You;
 Father of love, we give praise to You.
 Praise the Holy Spirit, praise the Son,
 Praise the Three in One.

Lord, we thank You now
 For being so good;
 Lord, we praise You and Your Spirit
 Praise You Jesus,
 Praise the Son,
 Praise the Three in one.⁵⁶

The Marian Community, and quite frequently the other two groups, sing a simple melody known as "the Alleluia," for it contains only this word. "Alleluia" is enough, saying as much in its condensed symbolic form as the detailed, explicit songs such as "Lord, You're Worthy" do in their more linear form. Many of the people I have talked with know that it is a transliteration of the Hebrew for "Praise the Lord," and all seem to associate it with the English version by the bond of common affect (see Tape 12-2, side B, for the melody). The Alleluia is often sung during experiences of full worship, when a concentrated, "summarized" rather than "elaborated" form is appropriate for this sacred and cherished activity.

The act of praising God through the verbal articulation of sincere feelings (avoiding what Gerard Bruce called "lip-service," because it would grieve Him) is central to charismatic concepts of identity and purpose in life. It is also considered a highly practical activity, instrumental in the development of Christlike character, knowledge of God, and the ability to do the miraculous works of Christ. The reasons for praise, the joys of praising, the results of praise as a habitual orientation toward life, and the appropriateness of praise as an activity in the context of a future heavenly identity are explained in detail in literally countless local songs. "Praise Him in the morning, praise Him in the noontime, praise Him when the sun goes down," advises a Marian Community song.⁵⁷ A local dite (informal saying) heard in all three groups interprets Psalms 22.3, "O Thou that inhabits the praises of

Israel," as an explanation for the descent of the anointing or the shekinah, the "cloud of glory" in which the presence of God is said to dwell in several Old Testament references: when people praise God, He comes upon them and among them. This belief is expressed clearly in one of the more detailed musical recommendations of praise as a strategy for coping with life situations. This was sung at the Worship Centre by Jeff Ludlow on May 15, 1983; since that time I have heard several members of the three groups comment that they took it seriously, as a set of instructions for the implementation of a principle inherent in the workings of the universe. The chorus advises:

Praise the Lord; He can work through those who praise Him,
Praise the Lord, for our God inhabits praise;
Because the chains that bind you
Serve only to remind you
That they fall powerless behind you
When you praise Him.⁵⁸

The Turners' example of a root paradigm, the Way of the Cross, provides a paradigm for orienting one's entire life: it is enacted in the decisions which appear to be individually and freely made, within particular situations and over the course of a lifetime, which reveal a pattern in retrospect. The Turners point out that the *via crucis* can be seen to have guided the lives of a number of famous men. The paradigm of praise can also be seen in the major and minor decisions of local people. In the bedrock of an orientation towards life which allowed two of my New Brunswick informants to praise God for the teaching, healing, and love they had received from Him following the death of their son, it is writ large (Tape 15, side B): in the more everyday decisions to praise the Lord anyway when one trips over the vacuum cleaner, it is writ small.

Praise, like worship, has its transitional uses and its spontaneous forms, for it may be performed to help individuals to "enter in" to contemplation of God, or to settle their bruised dignity after tripping over the vacuum cleaner; it may also have a certain irrepressible quality sometimes described as "streams of living water" which "flow forth from his inmost being." As Gerard Bruce explained through the use of the marital metaphor, there are times in charismatic life when people are "singing His praises all the time," wanting to express their love for Him in words and actions. At other times it requires commitment to do so, but is no less valid in ideological terms for the conscious choice required for its performance.

The upward-lifted arms of charismatic praise are an apt expression for several key elements in the complex moods and motivations of praise. Because it is consciously recognized as a gesture of embrace, it accompanies the verbal expression of love for much the same reasons that interpersonal embraces may accompany words of love: specifically, because words are never quite enough (which is crucial to the motivations for praising God in tongues, as well). Its direction upward reflects the affect of praise as well as the standard Judaeochristian cosmology which places Heaven in the sky. "The Worship Song"'s line, "Father of love, our hearts we lift to you" is echoed by a line from "Holy, Holy," which is known to all three groups: "For we lift our hearts before You as a token of our love."⁵⁹ "Hands" is sometimes sung instead of hearts, which is conscious synecdoche: lifting the hands contains the intention of lifting the heart.

On a more subtle, less conscious level, a goodly amount of charismatic folk speech conveys the idea that prayers "lift" people upward toward God. Individuals may ask for "prayer support" from a

group, to prevent them from "falling" during periods of temptation or difficulty, or even ask that they be "undergirded" in prayer, though this is more common elsewhere in North America than here. It is a commonplace in charismatic prayer to announce that one is lifting up the one prayed for to God (cf. Tape 46-7, side A). The gesture of praise is in part a reaching up to clasp hold of that which keeps one from "falling."⁶⁰

In addition to the imagery of flight which is used to describe charismatic Christian life, local people also use the image of walking on water, referring to the biblical narrative in which Peter was only able to do so as long as he had faith in Christ and kept his eyes fixed upon Him (Matthew 14.28). This is the basic modus operandi for spiritual survival in the minds of several people I have talked with, and oblique references to walking on water as typical of normal, everyday Christian living seem to be understood by all. There is therefore a real reason, metaphorically speaking, for reaching upward to embrace God.

Praise is a dense, "summarized" concept in itself, which has aspects expressed by each of the relational metaphors in the symbol system. One praises God by behaving appropriately as a sheep, recognizing the shepherd's voice and following Him; as an earthen vessel, receiving and dispensing His Spirit; as a soldier, by rescuing and caring for captives of the enemy and by using the armour of God to do battle with him; as a bride, by not conversing with the tempting snake but loving the bridegroom singlemindedly; as a branch, by drinking sap from the vine and bearing fruit. Verbal and gestural praise is a kind of symbol for all of this everyday activity: a ritual expression or summarization of moods and motivations and notions about reality which are supposed

to pervade nonritual life. Even more abstract concepts of appropriate human behaviour, such as being holy, having faith, and exercising common sense, are rooted in the paradigm of praise.

Conclusion

Herbert Kuehne, in his doctoral dissertation on charismatic Roman Catholic culture in an Iowa community, compared demographically balanced samples of the charismatic and noncharismatic members of two parishes to assess their degrees and kinds of metaphorical thought with regard to religion.⁶¹ Kuehne's study was based upon a questionnaire asking individuals to list descriptive terms for the members of the Trinity, Satan, the Church, the ideal Christian, Mass, and sin. He therefore missed many of the complex processes of metaphorical thought discussed here, but his data led him to argue that the charismatics were in general much more metaphorical thinkers than the noncharismatics.

He noted:

Laymen . . . acquire much greater facility in describing their God than they ever had before. They come to "know" their God better. They come to "understand," and even to "experience," their God better. In time their expression of Catholic ideology comes to hold more metaphors than the expression of the same by non-Charismatics, who presumably do not "know" God as well. (p. 132)

He argued that metaphorical thought among his charismatic informants was organized upon four basic premises: (1) "Man needs to search for divine revelation," (2) "God acts in daily human affairs," (3) "Charismatics are powerful," and (4) "The universe is ordered" (pp. 93 ff.). While it is quite possible that these four premises loom large in the thought of the particular group with which he worked, they are probably derivatives of the root paradigm, which I strongly suspect that a very high number of charismatics share, as verbal and gestural praise are central to

charismatic religious expression in many parts of the world. In any case, they are analytic and not native summations of metaphorical thought.

However, Kuehne's basic conclusion that charismatics do more metaphorical thinking than noncharismatics is supported by a comparison of the data in this chapter with the findings of David N. Ruth, who conducted a study with over five thousand American Protestants and Roman Catholics.⁶² Ruth showed each individual a series of pictures which he judged likely to evoke religious symbolic associations: primarily pictures of body parts. Although part of the explanation for his results may lie in the failure of the pictures to evoke such associations (for he does not say whether they showed specifically religious actions such as foot-washing, or only feet; tonsured heads or only hair; praying hands or just hands), Ruth concluded:

No Christian corporal symbol is today fully "vibrant." Christianity once supplied both the "strength" and appropriate form for each of the thirty body symbols used in this study. Today the forms are time-weakened, both supernaturally and socially detached. (p. 244)

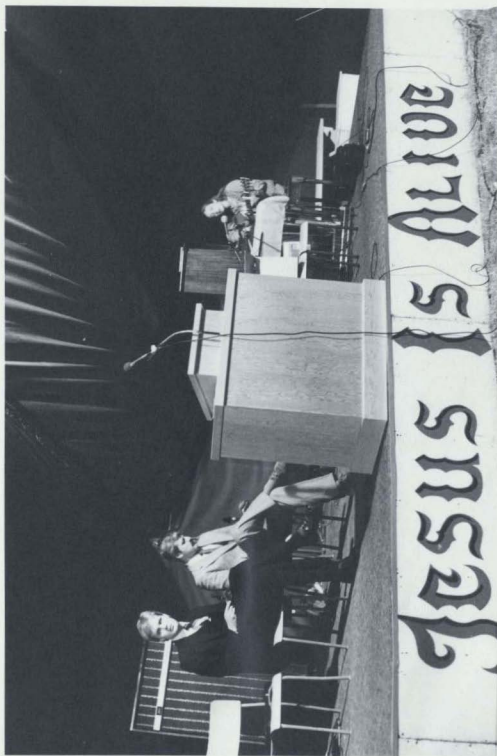
This reference to "strength" and form touches a familiar chord. Quite probably, what Ruth means by "strength" is what charismatics mean by "new wine": the affect and meaning which flow through, are perceived in and conveyed by religious symbol, myth, and ritual when religion works. It is the lack of this "strength" to which charismatics refer when they speak of "dead" churches in which no one seems, to them, to be responding to the Spirit of God, and it is this which charismatic "renewal" renews.

It is when the "strength" wanes that religion ceases to fit Geertz's definition: symbols lose the power to move men; religious premises become divorced from practical reality, and men can no longer

walk on the water of faith. I think Ruth happened upon a deep religious premise, held in common by Christians of many kinds, when he found that the majority of his subjects responded deeply and religiously to Light, much more than they did to any other symbol--and also attributed radiance to any symbol religiously interpreted (p. 244). Recalling Greeley's finding that an experience of "being bathed in light" was among the most common features of mystical experiences reported by Americans, and the predominance of metaphors of light--oil in a lamp, "liquid sunshine," flame, being "aglow with the Spirit"--in charismatic descriptions of mystical experience and religious joy, light is perhaps a better metaphor than "strength" for that which Ruth saw as lacking in the response of his subjects to Christian symbols. Light, living water, new wine, all refer to "currents" coursing once more in the veins of the Body of Christ--the ultimate corporeal symbol to which Ruth sought a response. The bonding of these metaphors together in their corporeal relations leads one back to one of the most basic of all Christian beliefs: the Resurrection. When the Spirit is in the Body, he is alive (Fig. 18).

It is perhaps through metaphor that the truest linkages between charismatic and traditional forms of spirituality are to be made: linkages with more explanatory power than those of simple diachronic development of the one from the other. For the symbols and metaphors used to think about the mythic (that is, the primal, sacred, and ultimate) are held in common. It may be fair to argue that it is from the common stock of symbols that all the various modes of Christian religious folklife branch, and here that their cognitive junctions can be sought. The "junction" outlined above, in which the light which was moving and meaningful to Ruth's subjects is associated with the Holy Spirit in

Fig. 18. A Pentecostal-charismatic reply to "God is dead," here emblazoned in red on a white background. The event is the fourth evening of a seven-day evangelistic crusade, held in a large tent placed by the side of MacDonald Drive, a busy St. John's thoroughfare (August 22-28, 1982). Seated left to right are Swedish evangelist Peter Yonngren (Neopentecostal), Pastor Ronald Osmond of Bethesda Pentecostal Church (classical Pentecostal), and Anne Devine (Roman Catholic: Worship Centre).



charismatic belief and mystical experience, may be a key to the dynamics of charismatic conversion among churchgoers: the point at which the decisive connection is made between the known world and the new religious outlook, allowing its new premises to become "uniquely realistic." The repeated contrasts made by charismatics between the knowledge of the new way and the belief of the old, their new faith in a Christ who is "real to me" and is often asked to "make himself real" to unconverted loved ones, suggest that this is precisely what twiceborn conversion is all about.

These are sweeping and still tenuous possibilities. At the very least, however, it is clear that the dynamics of charismatic thought, on individual and cultural levels, must be studied with attention to its metaphorical dimensions. Otherwise, the possibility of the ethnographer's grasping what Geertz and others have called the native's point of view is considerably lessened, because metaphor is a major part of what charismatics used to think with. If one wishes to dichotomize faith and reason--I don't think many charismatics would do so--it is in metaphorical thought that they meet and mingle, as experiences are given meanings, and meanings are given larger frames of religious reference. I have an easy time of it in that I can perceive what my informants perceive; those who cannot may choose to take Geertz's mode of arriving at ethnographic understanding. In his words:

The ethnographer does not, and, in my opinion, cannot, perceive what his informants perceive. What he perceives, and that uncertainly enough, is what they perceive "with"--or "by means of," or "through" or whatever the word should be.⁶³

CHAPTER VIII

A CONSIDERATION OF THEORIES AND METHODS IN THE STUDY OF CHARISMATIC RELIGIOUS FOLKLIFE

The fieldworker's business is always and everywhere to understand the true inwardness of the beliefs and practices of the people he studies. He is not content to record that infants are suffocated, aged parents abandoned, or enemies eaten. Unless he can also recover the accompanying sentiments, he has failed in his task. It is one thing if a parent throttles his newborn child from sheer brutality, another if he kills it because the mother has died in delivery and a nurse cannot be found, and still another if his tribe has a superstitious fear of twins. And the field worker who consistently sees human civilization as one indivisible whole cannot logically apply a sympathetic attitude to Australian infanticide, Eskimo abandonment of old people, or Iupinamba cannibalism; and a prejudiced attitude to Catholics, Baptists, or Methodists. The touchstone of his anthropological conscience is whether or not he treats the communicant of some other faith than his own with the consideration he professionally metes out to an Indian medicine man or an Eskimo shaman.

Robert Lowie¹

The state of social scientific literature on charismatic Christian groups is perhaps one of the most paradoxical issues in the scientific study of religion at present. On the one hand, there is a small group of theoretical premises which is believed, by many scholars,

to have relevance to the topic; on the other, there are relatively few thorough ethnographies of single charismatic groups, and not a single social scientific work which treats those who call themselves "charismatic" or "Spirit-filled" Christians as forming a single religious category. Most of the field studies which have been done concern single prayer groups or congregations, and Classical Pentecostals and Roman Catholic charismatics have received far more attention than any other groups claiming to be filled with the Holy Ghost. Each of these has been analytically placed in categories including, not other types of Christians, but other "crisis cults" or "revitalization movements" or "ecstatics", depending upon the perspective of the researcher. As neither group is particularly typical of the charismatic cultural spectrum, this selective placement of groups within alien analytic categories leads to two negative results: social scientists may assume that all charismatics have the traits pointed out, in single field examples, by analysts placing them in etic categories, or they may assume that charismatics who do not share these traits are not the real, or pure, or proper kind of charismatics at all. Social science thus possesses a somewhat dubious wealth of literature on why charismatic groups might emerge at particular times; what kinds of people are likely to join charismatic groups; and what cross-cultural categories they may fit into -- all prepared without the benefit of any definition of what a charismatic Christian is.

It would be difficult to find examples less calculated to produce valid generalizations about charismatics than the two kinds of

groups upon which social scientific attention has centered. As has already been argued, classical Pentecostals regard themselves as generally separate from charismatics, though there are important exceptions.² Moreover, they often possess an expressive culture so different from that of charismatics, even when they share regional and socio-economic common ground, that neither group is appropriately moved or motivated by the other's services. (Whether or not the moods and motivations themselves are the same is a subject of cultural ambivalence in both groups, in Newfoundland and in the other areas of the world for which I have information.)³ Even if "Pentecostal" is used (as it is by some social scientists) as a cover term for all those believing in the baptism or release of the Holy Spirit, classical Pentecostals remain theologically and stylistically unique in ways which make them a poor choice for concentrated study designed to yield insights with wider-reaching applicability. Roman Catholic charismatics, though they usually seem to consider themselves part of the charismatic "category" as emically perceived and to be so considered by other charismatics, often seem to perceive themselves as Roman Catholics first and charismatics second, while Protestants often consider themselves charismatics (alternatively, "Spirit-filled Christians" or just "Christians") first and members of a denomination second. In addition to this, or perhaps as part of its operation in the heart and mind, the Catholic sense of calendar time often retains the sacral affect and significance of the

liturgical year; the sense of place in the cosmos may include relationships with Mary, the saints, the souls in Purgatory, and the Pope. There are, of course, other kinds of charismatics who share some of these qualities in the sense of religious identity, religious time, and religious space, or who have equally powerful, though different, qualities of their own. There are also Roman Catholic charismatics who do not exhibit these qualities. Yet social scientific concentration upon Roman Catholic charismatics suggests that, at the least, the desire to gain representative data about charismatics per se has not been uppermost in researchers' minds -- quite probably because charismatics have not been perceived as they generally perceive themselves: that is, as a cultural group. The situation would probably be no better, had social scientists concentrated upon Quaker charismatics or upon Scottish "Baptecostals" -- as Baptist charismatics there sometimes call themselves⁴ -- but it is unlikely that it could have been worse.

This chapter focuses not so much upon a history of social scientific studies in this area as upon a history of ideas and methods. Its aim is, again, ethnoscientific, this time in a reflexive sense: it is an attempt to clarify what people have thought they were studying when they approached Pentecostal and charismatic groups. Assumed and implicit premises in some of the influential points of view, along with some of the explicit conclusions drawn, are discussed in relation to the St. John's data. Studies of Classical Pentecostals are included among those considered here for three reasons: because several notions commonly held by social scientists about charismatics are derived from studies of

classical Pentecostals; because only a few studies of charismatics have as yet been done; and because disciplinary consensus has not yet been reached on whether to treat the two groups as a single analytic category, or as two or more. In addition, since charismatics have been accused ad nauseam of becoming Pentecostals and have even occasionally given themselves that label (usually with reference to the day of Pentecost as the prototype of spiritual baptism, as the term was used in the early 1900's, rather than to the Pentecostal denominations), the term "Pentecostal" is sometimes used as a generic term including all who claim that spiritual baptism continued to occur today. Unless explicitly noted, all references to "Pentecostals" as the subjects of research in the studies cited below refer to classical Pentecostals.

Social Scientific Studies of Pentecostal and Charismatic Groups: Three General Methodologies

There is nothing unique about the dominant research methods which have been used in studies of Pentecostal and charismatic groups, but a brief review of what they are is helpful in understanding the ways in which certain widespread notions about these groups have developed among social scientists. As Thomas Kuhn has pointed out in The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, a method of dealing with a given subject is also to some extent a perspective on that subject -- and what one sees, and does not see, can be greatly influenced by that

perspective.⁵ The first method, common in social anthropology, and in some sociological work, places the group studied in an a priori analytic category, used for the discussion of cross-cultural patterns. Thus Pentecostalism had been described as an example of a crisis cult, a possession trance cult, and a revitalization movement -- terms which will be explained in detail below. The relevant data to be collected and the bases for its interpretation are largely predetermined by the precedents set in earlier studies using the same analytic category.⁶ The second, common in sociology of the positivist, quantitative kind,⁷ involves the formulation of an hypothesis, and the design of a research project in order to test it. Sociological studies of Roman Catholic charismatics have, for example, investigated possible common characteristics among those who join, seeking to identify the factors which predispose individuals to this particular type of religious conversion.⁸ Psychological studies of charismatics and Pentecostals have sought to determine whether glossolalia is a symptom or cause of psychological abnormality: that is, if there is something demonstrably wrong with individuals who speak in tongues, either before the initial utterance or after.⁹ (Possession cult studies assume that there is something "altered" about them during the performance of glossolalial utterance -- that is, that they are in an altered state -- but not all assume that the state causes or indicates psychological aberrance.¹⁰) The third, common in cultural anthropology, folklore, phenomenological sociology, and the psychology of religion, involves relatively flexible designs for

ethnographic study. A topic or focus of interest may be determined in advance or selected on the basis of an early assessment of field data, but what kinds of data are relevant to that focus is largely determined by the individual researcher rather than by standardized disciplinary expectations. Greater attention is generally paid in this third method to the kinds of data called for by Lowie in the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter: to "sentiments" and reasons for behaviour -- Geertz's "powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations." It involves the requirement that studies of "the true inwardness of the beliefs and practices of the people" include careful attention to the conscious reasons people have for doing what they do, to the felt needs they claim religious activities serve, before positing unconscious reasons or unrecognized needs.

This third approach relies heavily upon an openminded dialectic between theory and data. Rather than going into the field with the assumption that glossolalia indicates possession trance, or that Pentecostalism is a crisis cult, the analyst often keeps the possibility open that his particular field example may or may not exhibit the characteristics in question. Through "thick description" and the complementary use of several field techniques (e.g., participant observation, interviewing, quantification, photographic analysis, questionnaires), he attempts to "construct the culture as its people do," in Glassie's phrase,¹¹ before determining whether such statements describe ethnographic reality accurately or not. This approach is

frustrating to those seeking to establish broad cross-cultural patterns, but it produces good data. Though each study may reveal a cultural situation too complex and unique to admit of easy comparisons, it values accuracy of description above elegance of analysis -- a priority which, I think, justifies itself in the long run.

Certainly there exist complementary uses of these three methods. In the study of Pentecostal and charismatic groups, results gained through one approach have often helped to form an initial hypothesis to verify or a theory to try out through another approach. However, the third approach -- time-honoured as it is in cultural anthropology -- has only recently come into use in the study of Pentecostals and charismatics, and its contributions are badly needed.

Crosscultural Analytic Categories in the Study
of Pentecostal and Charismatic Groups

Sometime in 1980, a small index card appeared on the bulletin board in the graduate student offices in Memorial University's Department of Folklore that read: "Folklorist's Motto: Classify and Conquer!" It brought a lot of wry smiles from students who had long since realized how little classification really does conquer, but we hardly have a monopoly on the assumption as part of our disciplinary heritage. The world is full of people whose first approach to a new phenomenon is to search for a known category to put it in; Thomas Kuhn has shown how

tenacious scholars can be about their categorizations once they have been established.

Analytic categories are, as Dan Ben-Amos has pointed out, indispensable for cross-cultural comparison, but they must be continually checked for validity against the "ethnic genres" -- or emic categories -- they are intended to group in meaningful and useful ways.¹² Ben-Amos explained the problem as it affects narrative genres, but his summation of the dilemma is applicable to modes of religious belief and folklife as well. Ethnic genres, being formulated and used by people intimately familiar with nuances of form and function, context and content, inevitably describe the material of the culture in which they occur with greater precision than can scholars' categories, which are formulated and used by people working on cross-cultural bases. The ethnic genres of two separate cultures rarely, if ever, match completely; thus they are unwieldy for cross-cultural comparative use. Yet analytic categories may do more or less justice to the materials of particular cultures, and cannot be said to give equally fair (or unfair) approximations of them all. Neither method of handling traditional narrative is sufficient on its own; they must be used in juxtaposition and alternation if both general and culture-specific patterns are to be understood. In much the same way, the third method used in studies of Pentecostals and charismatics should augment, not replace, the other two. It is a balance between "ethnic" accuracy and analytic comparability which is needed.

One of the most tenaciously held of the scholarly categories in which Pentecostals and charismatics have been placed is that of the

crisis cult or the deprived social group. The two concepts have been linked and interwoven in ways which will be made more clear below.

The General Premises of Crisis and Deprivation Theory

Anthropologists have several times observed that when a society is seriously disrupted, new religious groups often spring up and take hold with a vengeance, sparking passionate commitment. The new groups often hold millenarian expectations (that is, the expectation of an imminent end to the present world order and its replacement with one divinely designed), and may either expect the coming of, or be led by someone claiming to be, the Messiah. The renunciation of any pastimes or possessions considered sinful or unclean; some forms of communalism in property and/or living arrangements; visions and prophecies; and intense emotion during at least some phases of religious gatherings are quite common. The theory that such religious developments are reactions to culture shock and social disruption was first put forward by anthropologists during the late 1930's and early 1940's, but was discussed -- within the context of a much more complex and detailed study -- by James Mooney, in his 1896 report to the Bureau of American Ethnology on The Ghost Dance and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890.¹³ The second influential paper was Linton's "Nativistic Movements" (1943), which argued that the basic motive at work in crisis cults is to reaffirm

group identity in the face of encroaching foreign influences, through the revival or perpetuation of traditional beliefs and practices. He also presented the first taxonomy of such movements, but it has been little used by later scholars; the central contribution of the article has been the basic concept.¹⁴

Using that basic concept, numerous scholars, using numerous terms, have argued that specific religious (or even political or social) developments should be viewed as forms of reaction to social stress. Weston La Barre argued in 1971 that much of the terminology used to describe "obviously related types" tended to focus upon particular facets of their content or function, obscuring fundamental unities. He included under the general term "crisis cults" twenty-five other terms used by previous scholars, including adjustment movement, chiliasm, eschatological movement, millenarism, nativism, reformative movement, religious innovation, rebellion, revolt, revitalization movement, and syncretism. La Barre defines a crisis cult as follows:

A "crisis cult" means any group reaction to crisis, chronic or acute, that is cultic. "Crisis" is a deeply felt frustration or basic problem with which routine methods, secular or sacred, cannot cope. Any massive helplessness at a critical juncture may be a crisis; the recurrent and insoluble problem of death is, in a sense, a permanent crisis. The "cultic" is the indisposition to accept either disruptive feedback or ego-critique of experience, but instead, supported by the wish-needs of fellow communicants, to indulge the appetite to believe. The term crisis cult basically includes any new "sacred" attitude toward a set of beliefs; it excludes the pragmatic, revisionist, secular response that is tentative and relativistic. It is essentially a matter of the affective-epistemological stance taken toward belief. . . . a crisis cult is not defined by the disciplinary language in which it is described, nor can

it be exhaustively described "only" in the terms of one discipline as exclusively "political" or "economic" or whatever. And, finally, the term assumes that there is no cult without crisis, and that much as the body sometimes responds inappositely to stress, . . . so, too, does the mind.¹⁵

La Barre thus casts his net very wide indeed. In fact, he includes both the Reformation and Christianity itself in his list of examples (pp. 11-12). However, others using the twenty-five terms he subsumes under this definition have remained somewhat closer to the usual meanings of "crisis" -- primarily acculturative crisis -- and "cult" in their application of their concepts to human groups and activities. ("Cult" is a problematic term, discussed in some detail below.) Particularly relevant for the understanding of the "crisis cult" approach to Pentecostal and charismatic groups are the following elements in La Barre's definition. (1) Crises can be chronic. (2) The determining feature of a "cult" is resistance to "disruptive feedback" from outsiders and to "ego-critique of experience" (though how one is to judge when another human being is critiquing his own experience but refusing to listen to himself, we are not told). (3) Since "there is no cult without crisis," the researcher who observes what he deems to be cultic behaviour on the part of some group can safely assume that the group is experiencing crisis of some kind. In other words, cults are to crises as smoke is to fire. (4) Because of this relationship between cult and crisis, or as a corollary to it, the crisis may be considered the real cause for the emergence of new religious forms, or for the continuation or reinstigation of old ones. Whatever people may

say about the central motivations for or needs met by their religious lives, the true motivation is "massive helplessness at a critical juncture," which creates "wish-needs" on the basis of which people "Indulge the appetite to believe."

One of the early, and influential, studies to apply these assumptions to the analysis of Pentecostal groups was La Barre's They Shall Take Up Serpents: Psychology of the Southern Snake-Handling Cult (1962).¹⁶ This study of a small branch of the Pentecostal Holiness Church argues that its members, Appalachian white workers recently "displaced" into an industrial region, engaged in religious handling of poisonous snakes in an "inapposite" mental response to the stresses of acculturation and culture shock.¹⁷ A number of other studies, centering on glossolalia rather than snake-handling as the prime focus of analytic attention, assumed that Pentecostals were in a state of chronic crisis due to their low social status, economic poverty, educational deprivation, and/or psychological aberrance or inferiority. (These studies will be discussed below, in connection with other studies of glossolalia.)

The concept of the crisis cult is, as its application to American Pentecostals illustrates, entangled with deprivation theory. This is another, somewhat earlier formulation of the basic hypothesis used in early anthropological studies of religious change in acculturative situations: that the change is due to social, political, economic, or psychological deprivation.¹⁸ Originally, the theory was applied to groups which considered themselves deprived, in comparison with an

invading or encroaching culture: for example, the Melanesian members of the "cargo cults" described by Peter Worsley, whose members looked forward to an imminent reversal of socioeconomic relations between their own people and the Americans, Europeans, and Japanese who had occupied their islands during World War II, to be brought about by the arrival of cargo ships or planes sent by the gods.¹⁹ However, it had also been applied to groups which the researcher considered deprived, in comparison with his own, sometimes unspecified, standards.²⁰ Here, of course, we run upon the rocky shoals of ethnocentrism and class prejudice. Deprivation theory has had its embarrassments upon that and other counts, as will be illustrated below in the discussion of its applications to American glossolalists.

The concept of the crisis cult has been taken in at least three directions, between the beginning of anthropological studies of religious change in acculturative contexts and the publication of La Barre's comprehensive definition. A number of anthropologists have focused upon the role of altered states of consciousness, especially those interpreted as signs of religious ecstasy or spirit possession, in religious modes of coping with crises -- chronic or acute. Anthony F.C. Wallace has developed the concept of the revitalization movement in ways not entirely consistent with La Barre's inclusion of the term under the rubric of the crisis cult.²¹ James W. Fernandez, whose term "reformative cult" was also included there, holds the assumption of crisis somewhat at arm's length, discussing the positive effects of

religious metaphor upon the members' individual and collective sense of identity without arguing that they are necessarily in any more of a crisis than anyone else. Each of these theoretical directions has been used in the study of Pentecostal groups (especially in Central and South America and the Caribbean), such as the Apostolic Faith and Holiness Churches, which derive to some extent from shared roots in the Methodist Holiness Movement and the Azusa Street revival.²² They have also influenced the theoretical approaches used in some studies of charismatic groups. Their variations and uses of the concepts of crisis, deprivation, and cults, and of the four elements cited above from La Barre's definition, are discussed below.

Pentecostal and Charismatic Groups as Spirit Possession and Trance Cults

The analytic link between situations of crisis or deprivation and the occurrence of "trance" or "spirit possession" as a part of accepted religious practice was made by Peter Worsley, who, observing trembling and "speaking in tongues" at Cargo Cult gatherings, put forth the view that these and other expressions of "emotionalism" often develop among the socioeconomically deprived.²³ This thesis was also used by I.M. Lewis in a cross-cultural study, Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism (1971). He makes scant mention of Pentecostalism in his text, but includes four photographs: one of snake-handlers; one of an unnamed Pentecostal

meeting in Los Angeles; one of "ecstasy in the Holy Ghost cult in Barbados," and one of "trance and the laying on of hands" in a Kentucky church, thus implicitly including Pentecostals in his general argument.²⁴ Lewis holds that relatively powerless or stigmatized members of a culture are in a chronic state of crisis, and have, therefore, a chronic need for religious catharsis -- in simple terms, they need a chance to let off steam. In addition, he argues, the forms taken by cathartic behaviour often bring with them some sense of supernatural power, which may compensate for, or in some societies improve, their social status. Both La Barre's Pentecostals and those in Lewis's photographs are (the authors argue) relatively powerless and stigmatized. The theory that the religious use of altered states (and especially of possession by gods, ancestor spirits, the Holy Ghost, or other types of spirits) is a sign of social crisis, like La Barre's more general notion of the cult, was explained with specific reference to Pentecostals and charismatics by Erika Bourguignon, in her epilogue to a volume of case studies. She argued that

... those who suffer greatest inability to modify their own lives in a given society under existing circumstances will be most likely to make use of altered states. In the United States, traditional enthusiastic churches have provided their members in possession trance a way of dealing with two major problems: illness, by offering faith healing, and self-respect, by offering salvation. This represents, in our terminology, microchange, change on the level of the individual, thus helping society to go on without major changes. This offers a safety valve. For the youth counterculture, whether in the drug cult, Krishna movement, or even the Neo-Pentecostal "Jesus Freaks," the situation appears somewhat different: here, the institutional framework in which altered states may be

experienced had to be created first, thus shaping for a segment of the society, however small, a variety of new institutions. These are both ritual groups (cult groups, "churches") and domestic institutions, in the form of various types of communes. The crisis identified by the presence of altered states is not one of illness or self-respect or other relatively specific problems. The crisis is one of life styles, of seeking and developing alternate ways of living and of experiencing life.²⁵

Worsley, Lewis, Bourguignon, and a number of other researchers working with altered states of consciousness in religious settings used two criteria, alternatively or together, to determine their presence. (1), Believers, and ideally, the individual who presumably experienced an altered state, are asked to define what took place; (2), certain facial expressions, patterns of bodily movement, and vocalizations may be used as evidence that an altered state is being experienced. This second method of determining their presence seems to be the more common, though Bourguignon stresses the importance of the first.²⁶ Moreover, the second method may be based upon either believers' definitions of the signs indicating a particular state, or upon the analyst's definitions. The consensus appears to be that a "trance" is any kind of altered state identified by either of these two methods; a "possession trance" is one identified by believers as indicative of spirit possession. "Spirit possession" refers to any state in which an individual enacts the part of, speaks on behalf of, converses with, or seems to physically experience the presence of an un bodied being (e.g., by dancing in a manner culturally associated with possession, by trembling or staggering, convulsions, or other physical signs).

Further, it is generally held that trance and possession trance

are partially learned, and that the behaviour which indicates their presence shows strong evidence of cultural patterning.²⁷ Thus authors speak of individuals in Pentecostal, Apostolic, or Holiness churches learning to speak in tongues or to engage in other forms of behaviour associated with possession by the Holy Spirit.²⁸ Several researchers have pointed out the importance of revelations received during the experience and later related to others as contributors to the development of community ethos and belief, along, of course, with any oracular or inspired utterances given during the altered state itself. These utterances are analytically considered to be the creation of the speaker's own mind -- operating, apparently, in its normal, conscious mode of thought and the composition of speech. "Trance" and "possession trance" are thus given curiously paradoxical definitions. On the one hand, they are treated by the researchers as genuinely altered states, and not as the dramatic enactment of altered states. On the other hand, the scholars argue that the actions performed and the words spoken by individuals in these states are designed to produce specific kinds of social results, and to be effectively under the control of the actor-speaker, just as if he were in his normal state of consciousness. In Bourguignon's words, the states are "utilized in specific ways", and have both social and individual "functions."²⁹

In particular, researchers working with this theory in the interpretation of Pentecostal, Apostolic, and Holiness churches have developed Lewis's pair of common functions (catharsis and the improvement

of social status) into a number of more specific ideas. Felicitas D. Goodman, in a study of an Apostolic church in a small community in Yucatan, describes (in the course of a more involved discussion of congregational dynamics) how the liturgy of the church was shaped in obedience to directions received by individuals in altered states of consciousness. All red items (including the Bibles because of their red-edged bindings) were said to invite interference from Satan, and were painted white; all women were required to wear white clothing in the church; and other changes were made.³⁰ Lewis notes that culturally disapproved forms of behaviour may be indulged in with impunity by possessed individuals, since it is felt to be the spirit acting through them;³¹ Bennetta Jules-Rosette, in a study of an African Apostolic church, describes combined utterances of prophecy and glossolalia which both expressed and enhanced the high status of the speaker as one who is holy and close to God.³² The argument that altered states have social functions, directly related to social causes such as crisis and deprivation, is supported with much more ethnographic evidence of this kind.

Impressive as the evidence is, and as real as the connections may be between the frustrations or fears of the believers and their acts and utterances in religious settings, the concepts of trance and possession/trance are a weak point in the theory. To begin with, the terms are so general as to be almost without meaning: Bourguignon notes that they are intended to summarize previously-used terms, from epilepsy to highway hypnosis, which had been used in ethnographic

descriptions of religious activities.³³ They thus tell one very nearly nothing about the actual state of the experiencer. In particular, they provide no basis whatsoever for distinguishing, as believers of many kinds in fact do, between the deliberate enactment or imitation of "trance" or "possession trance," and a genuinely altered state of consciousness. This immediately distorts ethnographic reality in a very serious way, for within groups which view possession as a real phenomenon, its imitation constitutes chicanery or madness, and a great deal of cultural attention is often given to refining methods for distinguishing between these possibilities.

Several of the authors working with the concepts of "trance" and "possession trance" cite examples of incidents in which an individual was judged as demonically inspired, deluded, mad, or a phony after the community had had time to weigh evidence of one kind or another concerning his altered state. Yet none reflect upon the crucial dimensions that such cases add to the "functions" of altered states as cultural and social elements. For example, Lewis cites the example of an East African woman who, pretending to be possessed by a spirit who spoke through her, asked her husband to slaughter an animal so that she could have some meat. Later he heard her telling friends about her success in obtaining the meat, and divorced her.³⁴ Anne P. Leonard notes in a study of possession trance among the Palauans of the Caroline Islands:

There is a distinction between trance states and insanity. Insanity is not considered to be caused by spirit possession. A person who acts strangely because he is possessed by a god is

not considered insane. Of course, it is sometimes hard for Palauans to judge whether a person is "crazy" or is showing symptoms of possession. Such cases have to be proved one way or the other over time, and are judged individually. A person who behaves strangely, but whose behavior turns out to have some relevance to future events as they occur, will be considered to have special contacts with the gods rather than to be insane.³⁵

These examples could be added to in large numbers. The idea that the exhibition of trance or possession trance behaviour has one, consistently positive social result in a given culture (such as gaining special privileges or raising one's status, either in the general society or in the religious group) is patently simplistic. Moreover, since the conscious manipulation of others through the display of behaviour associated with altered states can, if detected, result in serious consequences, to explain the "function" of altered states as providing individuals with an acceptable mode for the expression of wishes or grievances in the form of inspired utterance is to ignore the grave social risks taken in doing so.

The importance of complex social restraints upon the imitation of altered states, and complex social rules for discerning between desirable and undesirable types of states, for the study of Pentecostal and charismatic groups has likewise gone without discussion. In Goodman's Yucatan study, the prophetic utterances which led to the liturgical changes mentioned above were eventually judged to be demonically, not divinely, inspired. The changes were reversed; the congregation's beliefs and practices were painfully reoriented. Yet Goodman takes no account of this final evaluation in discussing the

cultural view of altered states.³⁶ David Harrell, in his recent history of religious healing and conversion under American Pentecostal and Fundamentalist evangelists, gives several examples of leaders who, when accused of breaking religious taboos considered necessary for the possession of genuine divine power, lost their followers and were branded phonies or servants of the devil.³⁷ Charismatic speaker Mike Warnke, who lives in Appalachia and addresses classical Pentecostal concerns as well as charismatic, recently told an audience that one of the factors which can keep a visitor from joining a Pentecostal church is the sight of a member imitating altered states, "not because the Holy Spirit's messin' with 'em but because they want to impress everybody with their spirituality, and it's just as phony to him as it is to everybody else."³⁸ In my own fieldwork, I have found that complicated sets of criteria for distinguishing the desired types of altered states (suspending for the moment the question of whether they are altered, and in what ways) exist in many congregations. In the Pentecostal church described by Janice Brown (tape 3-1, sides A-E), only certain kinds of glossolalia speech were accepted as "real tongues." In others, Newfoundland Pentecostals have told me, it is considered possible to "receive the wrong spirit" when praying for the baptism of the Holy Spirit (see tape 49, side A). I have never heard what kinds of evidence are used to judge "who" has entered the believer, but the belief is mentioned often enough that there must be methods of some kind. I have also known Pentecostals to reject public interpretations

of tongues as humanly composed, particularly when given by a minister who never waited to see if anyone else "had the interpretation" before speaking, or by someone whom, they felt, wanted to impress others. The social "functions" of altered states become, in fact, more and more dangerous as the amount of human will and creativity involved in the behaviour displayed rises. While it may be fair to say that individuals learn how to exhibit accepted kinds of behaviour, and that through their actions or speech while supposedly in an altered state they may further their own wishes, it must also be added that if it becomes known that they have learned to behave as they do, or that they are furthering their own wishes, they will in many cases be in for serious trouble.

The theory also disregards the amount of persecution which may be meted out to groups giving sacred status to altered states which are considered pathological, demonic, or phony by other members of the larger society. The case of Pentecostals in North America is one example of a social situation in which both the group as a whole and its individual members often suffer negative social consequences as a result of their involvement with altered states, and may attract all three derisive labels. In situations of this kind, to speak of Pentecostalism as providing a way of dealing with illness and a source of self-respect through the use of altered states, as Bourguignon does in the passage quoted above, is to tell only half the story. As noted in Chapter VI charismatics are prone to maintain important relationships with non-charismatics, from whom they are often open to "disruptive feedback."

When the theory's simplifications of the social impacts which altered states can have are added to its loose manner of determining their presence, and the vast amount of room for variation and prevariation which the definitions of "trance" and "possession trance" allow, the amount of ethnographic data offered to support it begins to look decidedly less impressive. It must also be recalled that the theory retains the basic smoke-to-fire relationships posited by La Barre between cults and crises, and that these crises not only include events such as death which affect all human beings, but also circumstances which are not viewed as crises by the people who are presumed to be suffering from them. We are thus left with altered states which are not always altered, serving social functions which easily malfunction, in response to crises which are not necessarily experienced as crises -- or if they are, do not invariably, or even usually, produce "cultic" responses.

Moreover, there is a false chain of causal reasoning inherent in the theory's arrangement of relations between its key elements. We are told to take specific types of behaviour (glossolalia, for example, in the Pentecostal cases and in many others) as evidence of an altered state, and the altered states as evidence of crisis. Concerning glossolalia, Goodman, for example, states categorically:

Speaking in tongues, or glossolalia . . . is an act of vocalisation in trance. It is actually a behavior complex (and learned in this sequence) first of all of a mental state in which a person is dissociated from ordinary reality -- that is, he is largely unaware of what is going on around him. He does not perceive many ordinary stimuli, such as strong light,

heat, sounds, or discourse directed at him. Instead, he has experiences not verifiable by an observer, such as pressure on his chest, floating, disappearance of persons around him, and so on. In physical terms, he is hyperaroused; his body works more intensely than under ordinary conditions, evidencing an accelerated pulse and heart beat, exaggerated perspiration, salivation, tear flow, flushing, and various patterns of motion.³⁹

Whatever the relation of this description may be to the experience of the glossolalists Goodman has studied, it is ludicrous for those I have studied. I have known glossolalists, and been a glossolalist, for five years, and the only circumstances under which I have seen anything remotely resembling Goodman's description has been when visiting evangelists have mingled glossolalia with oratory. Under these circumstances, the evangelist has none of the perceptual dysfunctions Goodman lists, as his thoroughly "associated" manner of crowd interaction -- pointing at individuals, responding to comments -- shows; his hyperarousal is that of any impassioned orator in the midst of a performance crescendo. Moreover, though the evangelist has sometimes attributed his state of excitement to the influence of the Holy Spirit, his listeners have often considered him simply "worked up" -- a judgement one may hear from classical Pentecostal as well as charismatic listeners. I have never seen anyone enter an altered state in order to practice glossolalia, nor have I ever seen glossolalia bring on an altered state. Glossolalia is, among those I have studied, a language of "ecstasy" in the sense of joy, not of ex stasis, being "taken out of" or "beside" oneself.

I am strongly tempted to suggest that types of behaviour other than glossolalia which are used for the analytic identification of

altered states are equally unreliable indicators of their presence. Religious ritual is characterized by a mixing of realities: the Hopi know that the masked Kachinas are really men, yet they respond to them as "really" Kachinas. The Somali, some of whose women participate in the sar cult, which involves possession by spirits who speak through the possessed, take a serious and yet not-serious attitude toward the spirits' demands and pronouncements. According to several ethnographers cited by Lewis, the women are not always held responsible for criticisms hurled at their husbands or at men in general while they are possessed; yet the spirits' demands may at times be considered the women's demands.⁴⁰ It seems quite possible that, even when believers' taxonomies are used (in place of crosscultural taxonomies like Goodman's, above) for the identification of behaviours which signal altered states, the possibility remains that the analyst may treat as "really altered" behaviours which actually have their source in this ritual blend of real and enacted. Henney, for example, cites a tremolo in the voices of Apostolics on St. Vincent Island as evidence of an altered state. If the tremolo has its cultural roots in the Apostolic Church, which was brought to Haiti by North American Black members,⁴¹ it is probably the same tremolo that is used, as standard rhetorical procedure for expressing sincere religious emotion, by North American classical Pentecostals during "agonizing" prayer or preaching. The use of such behaviour, rather than self-report, to identify altered states places the entire argument on a foundation even shakier than it would be if there were some proof that people

actually were in an altered state every time an ethnographer decides that they are.

As for the assumed direct relationship between the behaviours used as evidence of altered states and the crisis or deprivation which supposedly motivates people to engage in them, William T. Samarin addressed the validity of these arguments in relation to Pentecostal glossolalia in his sociolinguistic study, Tongues of Men and Angels.⁴²

Samarin summarized and criticized them as follows:

This assumed cause for glossolalia [as a form of release] has in turn been explained socio-economically. The widely held view is that emotionalism and motor phenomena often develop in social groups that are deprived (Worsley, p. 248). This was applied to traditional Pentecostals because of their position in the social scale of industrialized societies. This, however, was an ad hoc explanation, because there are nonemotional movements, and the neo-Pentecostal [i.e., charismatic] movement includes followers who are far from deprived.

Where there is no socio-economic deprivation, people trying to account for glossolalia assume an "emotional deprivation." Among middle-class westerners, therefore, there is supposed to be a "terrible isolation and loneliness," a definite repression of "religious feelings, aspirations, and ideas" which cannot find adequate expression in "words and wordiness" (Oates 1968: 97, 48, 41). Glossolalia is then a "sudden chaotic breakthrough" . . .

This is all very difficult to prove, of course. One would have to show that glossolalists did in fact have repressed emotions. . . . Another error is to describe glossolalic expression as if it were the release of bottled-up gas. If this were so, then glossolalic speech would always be accompanied by a lot of fizzing and frothing; but it can also occur . . . with great serenity.

. . . another explanation of glossolalia describes it simply as a feature of hysteria. . . . But since the extreme symptoms of hysteria are only rarely associated with glossolalia [in America] today, he must define hysteria merely as an "intense, emotional, spiritual experience." In this way the emotion is inferred from the incidence of glossolalia and then glossolalia is explained by the inferred emotion.⁴³

I would extend Samarin's final assertion of circular reasoning to the whole of the theory that Pentecostal and charismatic groups are forms of trance- or possession-trance-centered crisis cults, by reason of the arguments given in the preceding pages. Unfortunately, the argument produces yet another type of circular reasoning, which affects social scientific perceptions of charismatics who do not show the expected evidences of altered states. One anthropologist of religion, in an informal conversation in 1982, responded to my discussion of this theory: "But everyone knows that people speaking in tongues are in a trance." When I replied that my data flatly contradict this, the anthropologist objected: "But then these people must not really be speaking in tongues." Two linguists, a philosopher, and a social historian of my acquaintance have voiced the same opinions, though I explained to them that I have both personally known and professionally interviewed classical Pentecostal, as well as charismatic, glossolalists in four American states and in Newfoundland, and none of them have ever described speaking in tongues as being associated with anything they would call a trance (see especially Tapes 25-1 and 25-2, sides A and B). Many individuals I know, both Pentecostal and charismatic, speak or sing in tongues while performing tasks of many kinds; mix glossolalia with their native language when uttering complex, articulate prayers; and can turn from "straight" glossolalia to joking or business matters with no sign of a change in their state of consciousness. These people are speaking in tongues, by emic definitions and by Samarin's

linguistic definition,⁴⁴ and they are not in trance ... not even if one takes Bourguignon literally and argues that "trance" can refer to a state as mildly altered as highway hypnosis.

There is a further problem with the theory, as far as its appropriateness for the understanding of North American charismatics is concerned, and that is the use of the term "possession" to describe the experience of individuals speaking in prophecy, having visions, receiving words of knowledge, or doing anything at all under the anointing of the Holy Spirit. The term usually connotes a state which is evoked by various means: researchers cite the chewing of betel, drumming and other rhythmic sounds, hyperventilation, and simple mental concentration as evocative agents, though informants often argue that the state occurs because the Spirit comes, and not as a direct result of these maneuvers.⁴⁵ As noted in chapter two (pp. 182-92), many of my charismatic informants differentiate carefully between the effects of music, lighting, and rhetoric upon their states of mind, and those of divine presence. Some have commented that they are much opposed to any religious service in which these means are used to "psych you up" or to create excitement (f.n. 12/9/81, 1/6/82, 1/10/83). Though they do sing and use ritual gestures as means of "entering in" to the presence of God, they can and very frequently do prophesy, speak in tongues, deliver words of knowledge, and use either ideological faith in, or sensory experience of, the anointing in ministry to others without any preliminaries at all. These behaviours take place over the telephone, when one charismatic

calls another for advice and prayer; in automobiles, as they part after driving home from a prayer meeting; in the doorway, as children request prayer before leaving for school. No ritual means of evocation are necessary.

The term "possession" also usually connotes a state which the experimenter cannot terminate of his own volition. While I have heard numerous reports from classical Pentecostals of cases in which individuals had to be supported or carried home after being baptised or slain in the Spirit, and the ethnographic literature is rich in descriptions of people apparently out of control who attributed their condition to the Holy Spirit, I have never seen this among charismatics.⁴⁶ Those charismatics who have reported seeing such things in Pentecostal groups were very much disturbed by it, and considered the states pathological or possibly demonic in origin. (Newfoundland is currently experiencing more than usual exposure to such states through the ministry of an independent evangelist, Brother Canyon, whose services have even many Pentecostals worried about pathology and demons: I was told at the P.A.O.N. headquarters that his activities have "split the Church.") Charismatics routinely describe the prompting to speak in any of the "word gifts," or to obey any form of divine guidance, whether it be to lay hands upon a sick person in the confidence that the gift of miracles will function or to pick up an extra can of tomatoes at the supermarket -- I am speaking literally -- as a gentle suggestion or request. Don Cuff occasionally feels compelled by strong physical sensations to "get

the message out," but he, as well as every other person I have ever heard discuss their experiences, always has the choice to refuse inspiration. It is because the charismata are under human control, though they feel as if they do not come from the individual himself and at times produce results which he feels certain he could not have produced (such as healing, or accurate words of knowledge) that charismatic meetings proceed "decently and in order" (1 Corinthians 14:40). Individuals frequently comment that they "received" a prophecy while something else was going on, but waited to give it until an appropriate time presented itself.

The charismata do not "possess" people, causing them to blurt things out without regard for timing and appropriateness. Indeed, the criterion of self-regulation and control is so central to charismatic concepts of divine inspiration that they can tell individuals learning to identify it to test it by asking the Lord to give the prophecy, or word of knowledge, or anointing to heal, to someone else. In accordance with the widespread saying, "God leads; Satan pushes," any spiritual force or presence which seemed to compel an individual willy-nilly would probably be judged demonic. I have heard numerous charismatics call God a "gentleman" with regard to inspiration, and use the metaphor of the bride and bridegroom to describe the union of believer and God under the anointing. Any mental suggestion, physical sensation, or state of consciousness which overwhelms the individual's will is then compared to rape. Therefore, to describe charismatic

experience under the anointing, or in any activity they describe as interaction with the Holy Spirit, as possession is at best misleading, and at worst a downright distortion of phenomenological experience and cultural thought.

In point of fact, numerous Pentecostals feel the same way about the role of free will and self-control in the exercise of the charismata and the noncoercive nature of the Holy Spirit. The belief is likely to be expressed, for example, if a member of a classical Pentecostal congregation interrupts the sermon by speaking in tongues, prophesying, or exercising other charismata as if he cannot control himself. One young woman who was admonished by her pastor for this was told, "The Holy Spirit doesn't interrupt himself" (f.n. 5/15/79); another young man was told in another church, "The spirit of the prophet is subject to the prophet" (a slight variation on 1 Corinthians 14.32). The whole of 1 Corinthians 14, concerned with restraint and order in the congregational exercise of the charismata, is used by classical as well as Neopentecostals. In view of such sentiments, it is questionable whether the term "possession" has much widespread validity as a descriptor for North American Pentecostal experiences attributed to the anointing of the Holy Spirit, either. I would argue that the term should be restricted to those experiences and cultural settings in which individuals say that they feel possessed, taken over, out of control. Otherwise, though social scientists using the term may possibly have a less specific meaning in mind, even nonspecialists within the disciplines concerned

will probably continue to think of Pentecostal and charismatic experience in general as having this quality.

The majority of studies interpreting Pentecostal and charismatic groups as forms of trance- or possession-trance-centered crisis cults have been done using the first method discussed above: that is, analytic categories have been used to organise and interpret field data. I suspect that this method's inherent tendency to pre-sort data even as it is recorded, causing the analyst to jump to conclusions about the meaning of certain factors and to screen out others, is responsible for many of the weaknesses I have pointed out. Another relevant factor is probably the theory's central interest in establishing causal chains: crises produce cults with altered states; altered states produce certain kinds of behaviour; these kinds of behaviour help to provide catharsis or compensation for the crises. Sociologist Egon Bittner points out that this fascination with causality in the social sciences rose with their adoption of the style of objectivity used in the natural sciences -- a style which never adapted very well to social realities. Bittner argued:

Objective scientific explanation means, essentially, explanation in terms of lawfully linked chains or complexes of antecedents and consequences. Even when the object of the researcher's interest is the analysis of a structure -- for example, the structure of a molecule -- the attempt involves throughout referenced to causal ties between the elements of the structure and within the structure as a whole, and therefore every why and every how in the sciences searches for answers and explanations of a causal nature.

It is claimed that the introduction of canons of objectivity into science had as its result laying bare material structures

purged of extraneous relevances and stabilized wholly by causal ties. There is no offhand reason why this approach should not be applied to explanations of human behavior and appearance, and to the structure of human relations Learning how to do something may be said to fit into a causal texture of explanations, but it does not seem fitting to say that the knowledge that obtains from doing something is caused thereby. Whereas knowing and believing may be said to be contingent fact, the known and the believed are not. . . . Positivists cannot understand that the realities of society and culture are a function of passion and of judgement, and that without passion and judgement they cannot be apprehended in their true nature.⁴⁷

The Results of Quantitative Research and Objective Testing
Related to Crisis and Deprivation Theory

It is an interesting comment on the relation between the use of analytic categories in the first method and the testing of hypotheses in the second that, when sociologists and psychologists of religion have taken their cue from studies of this kind and attempted to measure various evidences of crisis or deprivation among Pentecostals, the causal chains built between glossolalia and crisis have broken down. Adams Lovekin and H. Newton Malony, in a study reported in the Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion in 1977, measured personality changes among tongues-speakers over a ten-year period, using standard objective tests.⁴⁸ They found that a small amount of change did take place, but it was not change which suggested growing aberrance, or declining ability to cope with the world. The changes were positive: people became better adjusted and more secure, rising from average to

slightly above average. Newton and Malony suggested that membership in a close-knit religious group, rather than the practice of glossolalia *per se*, was responsible for this; nevertheless, the results discredited a lot of assumptions about glossolalists. Sociologists Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Rine, working with charismatics, reported -- also after objective tests -- that their subjects generally were "normally adjusted and productive members of society,"⁴⁹ a conclusion also reached by Gilmore in a study administering the GPI (California Psychological Inventory) to urban Pentecostals from the northwest United States.⁵⁰ Another sociologist administered the MMPI (Minnesota Multi-Phase Inventory) to a snake-handling Appalachian congregation and to a group of "conventional" Protestants from the same area, and gave the results to three clinicians to score without telling them that any of the subjects were snake-handlers. Both groups were found to be within the "normal limits" of mental health. However, when he placed other clinicians in a position closer to that of the field worker by telling them which group was composed of snake-handlers, the clinicians scored the snake-handlers as "abnormal."⁵¹ It is reasonable to suggest that field workers who go among Pentecostals (whether they handle snakes or not) expecting them to be abnormal will perceive them as abnormal, just as these clinicians, for all their training in scoring a standardized test, did. Samarin suggests that precisely this type of prejudice is at work in many of the studies which have used deprivation and crisis theory (p. 43).

The link between cults, crises, and altered states breaks down

even further when it is viewed in light of Greeley's surveys of the general American population. In offering descriptors of various mystical and psychic experiences in questionnaires -- experiences which would be labeled possession trance and trance, respectively, in the terms of the theory above, because of the sense of presence which accompanies the first and does not accompany the second, Greeley found that

The paranormal is normal. Psychic and mystic experiences are frequent even in modern industrial urban society. The majority has had some such experience, a substantial minority has had more than just an occasional experience, and a respectable proportion of the population (who are not Pentecostals, but Catholics and mainline Protestants for the most part) has such experiences frequently. . . . People who have paranormal experiences, even frequent such experiences, are not kooks. They are not sick, they are not deviants, they are not social misfits, they are not schizophrenics, they are not drug freaks. In fact they may be more emotionally healthy than those who do not have such experiences.⁵²

Finally, in Heirich's study discussed in chapter III, Catholic charismatics were compared with a control group for personal and social forms of crisis prior to charismatic involvement. Heirich found that they were, in fact, under no more stress of either kind than were others of the same ages, socioeconomic groups, and professions, in the same communities. He argues that the theories of deprivation and stress involve a fundamental misconception of what individuals are doing when they join charismatic or Pentecostal groups, undergo religious conversion, or are baptised in the Holy Spirit. Heirich defines all of the above as types of religious conversion, which should be seen as means of establishing a new and, hopefully, more satisfying sense of "ultimate

grounding" in existence -- that is, of giving meaning to life.⁵³ I would argue that such steps do not always even involve a new grounding. In many cases, especially when people have grown up with some form of the religion to which they eventually commit themselves through steps of this kind, they are simply acting upon and "making real" beliefs about the universe and about "right relation" to it which they have held, albeit in an abstract way, for some time. However, whether the "grounding" obtained through such experiences is new or newly personal, the assumption of crisis or deprivation beyond the ordinary pressure of death and paradox and the unknown upon human beings is probably unnecessary for the explanation of "real" motives in religious conversion and religious experience.

Although La Barre included Anthony F.C. Wallace's concept of the "revitalization movement" and James Fernandez's concept of the "reformatory movement" or cult under the rubric of his own definition of the crisis cult, both concepts have been developed in ways not entirely in keeping with that definition, and have been applied, in their own rights, to the study of Pentecostal and charismatic groups. Thomas J. Chordas and Herbert Kuehne have both described the Roman Catholic Charismatic Renewal as a revitalization movement;⁵⁴ they and a number of other authors have focused upon the power of new religious groups to reshape and invigorate religious life through the use of metaphor in ritual and artistic performance. Both concepts, that of revitalization and of re-forming or reshaping, thus have important

implications which the concept of the crisis cult lacks. They do not preclude the possibility that what is being reshaped and revitalized is religion, not society per se; they lack the assumption of socio-psychological crisis or "massive helplessness at a crucial juncture"; and they give a different, and closer, kind of analytic attention to the motives people can be seen and heard to express in their new religious lives. Some of the implications in these two concepts, and the directions in which they have led for the study of Pentecostal and charismatic groups, are discussed in the following two sections.

Pentecostal and Charismatic Groups as Revitalization Movements

Wallace, though he expresses agreement with the idea that the terms "crisis cult" and "revitalization movement" are interchangeable, differs with La Barre on three salient points. One, he argues that revolutions and other "secular" forms of social change can fall into the same class as religious movements, whereas La Barre defines a crisis cult, in part, as "any new 'sacred' attitude taken toward a set of beliefs" (p. 11). Two, Wallace considers internal social problems quite as capable of giving rise to revitalization movements as are acculturative strains. He comments in response to La Barre's article:

cultural crisis can result not only from acculturation but also from a growing awareness of worsening internally generated social and cultural problems. . . . it would seem to stretch the concept of culture shock and acculturation beyond the limits of plausibility to view current black revitalization

movements in this country [the United States], and student movements in industrial societies generally, as essentially by-products of culture contact. And surely the growing, and really apocalyptic, movements dedicated to the control of environmental pollution are responses to internally generated processes rather than to the intrusion of alien customs.⁵⁵

He thus brings the whole concept of the crisis cult out of the realm of the (at least implicitly) distant and different, by pointing to signs of it among groups less-prone to strike researchers as less educated or less rational than themselves. Here he goes further than Bourguignon, for she referred to the "drug cult" rather than to "student movements" -- which has very different connotations. This emphasis in Wallace's work, together with his third point of difference with La Barre, have proven influential and useful in studies dealing with Pentecostal and charismatic groups. His third point is that he is interested, not only in arguing for social causes underlying religious activities and in describing the religious "cults" which result from these causes, but in analysing regular stages in the development of cults or movements.

Wallace argues that the processes relevant to a revitalization movement begin with an increase in the stress experienced by many individual members of a society, evidenced by a rise in self-destructive behaviour: alcoholism, suicide, drug use, and increased susceptibility to physical and emotional disorders. As these tendencies become chronic and widespread, the culture as a whole starts to disintegrate. Inter-group relations, morality, kinship and sexual norms break down; apathy and violence increase. If at this point some individual arises who can

convince others that the old way of life is "dead" and shift their interest to "a god, the community, and a new way," a revitalization movement is born.

Wallace's formulation of the processes of conversion to the new movement are of particular relevance to Pentecostal and charismatic groups, in contrast to the trance- and possession trance-centered crisis cult theory. Wallace recognizes several types of conversion, which draw people by different means to the same end:

Some undergo hysterical seizures induced by suggestion in a crowd situation; some experience an ecstatic vision in private circumstances; some are convinced by more or less rational arguments, some by considerations of expediency and opportunity. . . . Like the prophet, many of the converts undergo a revitalizing personality transformation (p. 426).

On the basis of research done after the publication of Wallace's seminal article (1956), described above, one may question the validity of the description "hysterical seizures induced by suggestion" to characterize dramatic conversions at Pentecostal or charismatic meetings — recalling, for example, the experiences of Don Cuff and Mercedes Barry described in chapter III. However, the rest of his description accords extremely well with some of the conversion narratives told and written by Pentecostals and charismatics on this continent and others.⁵⁶ While the kinds of personal stress, and personal awareness of social ills, which he posits as precursors of revitalization do not invariably appear in these narratives, they do appear in a reasonable percentage. Folklorist William C. Clements (and quite a number of my Newfoundland charismatic informants as well) has pointed

out that there is something of a tradition among classical Pentecostals, whereby the narrator of a conversion account describes his prior identity in terms of a "base sinner person."⁵⁷ The "base sinner" is one suffering from and often causing personal and social stress; Wallace's examples of symptoms of stress and cultural disintegration are frequent motifs in traditional Pentecostal testimonies, and do appear sometimes in the testimonies of people who do not identify with Pentecostal tradition.⁵⁸ Thus far, then, with the exception of the necessity for a prophetic leader, Wallace's cross-cultural description and Pentecostal and charismatic self-report are in reasonable accord.

Wallace's next processual stage in the life of the movement, however, accords only with the experience of a small minority of North American Pentecostals and charismatics, for it is based upon his assertion that a single prophetic leader is essential. He argues that a pyramidal organizational structure develops, with the leader -- in intense relationship with whatever supernatural figure he has told the people to place their faith in -- at the top, his closest disciples next, and other followers below. Using Weber's concept of the "charismatic leader" (meaning a leader who is socially credited with a special relationship to or possession of supernatural power, and related only indirectly to the sense in which the term "charismatic" is used by and about charismatics), Wallace argues that the close disciples of the leader must form a "stable institutional structure" in which social confidence is placed if the movement is to survive when its leader dies.

Often, he says, these close disciples are themselves visionaries and/or influential people, which is helpful in the distribution of "charisma" in Weber's sense. Both the Pentecostal movement which gave rise to the various Pentecostal denominations (beginning in the first decade of the twentieth century) and the so-called charismatic movement (beginning in the 1950's and early 1960's) lack a single leader, or indeed much central organization at all: only those Pentecostals and charismatics who consider themselves followers of a particular public figure, such as Kenneth Hagin or Oral Roberts, experience their part of the movement as having a leader and, under him, an organization. I have no statistics to prove it, but I believe this type of relationship between leader, disciples, and followers is found far more on the level of the local prayer meeting and church than in the Pentecostal and charismatic movements on any larger scale.

This contention is supported by the structural analysis done by Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine in People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation (1970).⁵⁹ Gerlach and Hine analysed the classical Pentecostal and charismatic movements as a single entity, comparing them -- as Wallace does in his CA comment following La Barre's essay -- with the Black Power movement and the environmentalist movement. They concluded that the structure of the first is decentralized, both among the Pentecostal denominations as a group and among charismatics: there is no one who can speak for all members, or make decisions binding upon all members. Participants in the movement are self-chosen, and

require no seal of acceptance from a higher authority: one does not become an "official charismatic" or Pentecostal in the sense that one may have official membership in a particular congregation or denomination. The structure is also segmentary: the Pentecostal-charismatic movement is composed of largely independent "cells," which may combine into larger configurations or divide to form smaller groups. It is also reticulate: these cells are connected, not by orientation to a central source of order, but by a web of personal and intergroup relationships.⁶⁰ The relative strength of local "charismatic" leaders and their close disciples is also supported by a ten-year study by psychologist John P. Kildahl, who argues that glossolalists tend to form close, submissive relationships with those who helped them first begin to speak in tongues.⁶¹ While I know numerous glossolalists who began all by themselves, even, in some cases, before meeting any other charismatics, I suspect that Kildahl simply put a slightly-skewed interpretation upon a valid observation. As Lovekin and Malony had observed also, Pentecostal and charismatic groups are frequently supportive of individuals, close-knit, and characterized by warm intragroup relationships. It is generally scholars, not glossolalists, who consider speaking in tongues a central, influential, marked element of religious culture. Emically, it is a part of spiritual baptism or the release of the Spirit, and the beginning of the "personal relationship" with the Trinity described in the preceding chapters. It is the bond formed between people who share that relationship and have been instrumental in supporting one another

in it, not a bond formed between one "ministering" and one seeking the gift of tongues at the time when the ability is acquired, which I believe explains the close relationships with local leaders which Kildahl observed.

Newfoundland examples of this aspect of Wallace's theory may be provided in the cases of Father Phil Lewis and Pastor John Mercer. Both men were considered "charismatic" leaders in Weber's sense by non-members of the movement, and both had a small group of especially close associates who continued to lead their respective groups after Lewis left first Freshwater and later the charismatic movement, and after Mercer left the Worship Centre to go to graduate school. Wallace's comments on the importance of the "close disciples" being credited with the same connection to the divine as the leader are well borne out by the response of these groups to the leaders' departures. The Worship Centre had about a month of services without a pastor, which were led by members of the church board and other longterm, deeply committed members. Several people commented that the church's convictions on the "priesthood of all believers" were vindicated by the satisfying quality they found in these services, which had well-liked sermons and were filled with Presence. In the Marian Community, there had never been much direct dependence upon Father Phil's leadership, and what emotional dependence has been expressed is generally redirected, by the comments of the pastoral team and many other members, to Christ. The Good Shepherd Community underwent the loss of so many of its younger, more

enthusiastic and demonstrative members just prior to and following Father Phil's transfer to St. John's that it is impossible to separate the effects of the two, but it is possible that the smaller size of Placentia-Freshwater, and the traditional importance of priests in local society and culture, made the loss of Father Phil more of a blow to that prayer group than similar losses were to the Marian Community or the Worship Centre.

One further qualifier must be added to Wallace's description of this stage in the development of a revitalization movement as it applies to the Pentecostal and charismatic movements before we return to the rest of his processual stages. That is that, in the St. John's groups and in every other setting I have observed, belief in spiritual baptism and "personal relationship" with God produce social confidence in everybody's connections with the divine. It is a very small minority of charismatics who consider leaders closer to God than they are themselves, and leaders are in general quick to deny that they are. Pentecostal leaders are sometimes not so quick, for belief in special normative anointings upon ministers is more common, both among clergy and laity, than it is among charismatics. This means that, in most charismatic and some Pentecostal (perhaps mostly Neopentecostal) groups, people counsel and "disciple" one another: an individual's relationships of submission, admiration, and dependency may be with fellow lay members, rather than solely with group leaders or clergy. In addition, these relationships can be mutual, and may exist between two or three or

twenty people. Therefore, despite the fact that charismatic groups may indeed have one leader and a number of "close disciples" who take over if he leaves, neither the leader nor these close disciples are usually responsible for the full stability and continuation of the group. They are loved and followed, but people neither rely completely upon their presence nor collapse without them. At least, this has been the case in all the churches and prayer groups I have observed in North America.

Wallace holds that adaptation to resistance from outsiders brings about important modifications in the original revolutionary nature of the revitalization movement. The move away from what Harrell called "the world of tents and shouting" toward middle-class respectability on the part of American Pentecostal leaders in the 1950's and 1960's may well constitute a form of adaptation to resistance. The stress which the Atlantic Services Committee of the Charismatic Renewal in the Catholic Church placed upon loyalty and obedience to the Church at the 1981 conference in St. John's was in explicit response to accusations from noncharismatic Catholic leaders that charismatics were not "real" Catholics. The tendency among my Roman Catholic informants to view themselves as Catholics first and charismatics second predates this conference, as does the presence of the same perspective in the Catholic charismatic periodical New Covenant, published by the National Service Committee of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the United States.⁶² It seems likely, therefore, that this second example of adaptation (and quite possibly both examples) were really cases of

leaders making clear, for outsiders' benefit and insiders' reassurance, aspects of the movement's nature or ideology which had been misconstrued by outsiders.

Finally, Wallace holds that revitalization movements which adapt successfully to resistance and survive the loss of their founding leaders eventually transform the cultures in which they arise (assuming that they attract a majority of the dominant population) and achieve a "new steady state" of cultural integration. As he has included American black movements and international student and environmentalist movements in his definition since these last stages were posited, he might wish to qualify them: there is no guarantee that, for example, the Black Muslims or Greenpeace are going to succeed in changing society or providing workable new orientations to life for the majority of the population. Yet they have certainly achieved relatively steady states within their own ranks, and show every sign of outliving the deaths of their founders. The charismatic renewal does seem to be having an increasing impact upon Christianity in North American society, visible in changing norms for popular religious music and visual art, and in the popularity of the concept of "renewal" in many of the conservative churches.⁶³ But whether it will ever transform North American culture, or the culture of any of the countries in which it is strong, is another question entirely, and one which only future historians can tackle.

The two words in Wallace's term, "revitalization" and "movement", in many ways deserve separate consideration with regard to their

accuracy as descriptors of Pentecostal and charismatic groups. "Revitalization" is close, in connotation if not in denotation, to theemic concepts of revival (Pentecostal) and renewal (charismatic). The first term is used to describe social movements in which large numbers of people in a particular area (local, regional, or national) convert or revert to Christian belief and involvement after a period of apathy or heterodoxy.⁶⁴ It is the phenomenon usually sought by evangelists of the "tents and shouting" persuasion, and the term appears in several Pentecostal and Salvation Army hymns still sung in Newfoundland (and quite probably in the American South, if not elsewhere). Revival is often considered the result of repentance, fasting, and prayer on the part of "burdened" believers, interceding and performing spiritual warfare for their communities or countries. Renewal is a term lacking the geographic implications of revival, and, though it brings about essentially the same results, is often attributed to the sovereign and independent grace of God. Many charismatics attribute the "renewal" of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the charismata as part of modern-day experience to the cosmic timetable of events (as indeed many Pentecostals do as well). In particular, Joel 2.28-29 is viewed as the explanation for the Pentecostal and charismatic movements:

And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions;

And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit:

Harold Andrews once described this passage as the "charter" of the Pentecostal church (f.n. 11/5/82), and it is frequently cited by Pentecostals and charismatics alike. The concept of revitalization comes much closer to emic definitions than does the concept of the crisis cult as it has been applied in They Shall Take Up Serpents, Lewis's Ecstatic Religion, Goodman's Speaking in Tongues, and related studies.

The Concepts of Cult, Movement, Revival, and Renewal

Are Pentecostal and charismatic religion accurately described as cults, or as movements? Are there other categories which fit ethnographic reality more aptly? The term "cult" is best understood in relation to the larger typology of which it is a part: church, sect, denomination, and cult. The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences defines "sect" as referring to groups within a church (that is, an established religion) which reject the compromises and accommodations made by that body to the secular society, and set themselves in opposition to or separation from "important aspects of the secular culture and its institutions." They "emphasize a conversion experience prior to joining," at least until they have been in existence long enough to have children brought up as members, and in some cases after that. They tend to view themselves (to some degree) as a religious elite, and often seem to be "a lower-class protest phenomenon." A sect

offers an outlet for strains and frustrations incumbent upon lower-class status. . . . In allowing catharsis, it at the same time provides a meaningful community, together with a set of values that promotes a personal reorganization of the members' lives and often their eventual reincorporation into the general society. Not only may the sect reconcile the disinherited to their situation through the various compensations of this-worldly community and other-worldly expectations, but it may also bring new meaning to them in its reinterpretation of the life experience. In doing this it may socialize its members in virtues which lead to economic and worldly success.⁶⁵

When this occurs, Richard Niebhuur points out, the sects of the poor may become churches of the middle class.⁶⁶ Whether it occurs or the sect retains its separation from the dominant society, routinization and stabilization may turn a sect into a denomination or "established sect" -- a term used to indicate a greater retention of the original separatism and even militant opposition than is characteristic of denominations.

The term "cult" was introduced into this set of concepts by Leopold von Wiese and Howard Becker in 1932.⁶⁷ According to the Encyclopedia's summation, the cult is

a more loosely organized and more individualistic group than those already discussed. . . . Based on individual concerns and experiences, the cult is often transient, its membership highly fluctuating. Belonging to the cult often does not involve an acceptance of common discipline and need not necessarily preclude membership in other religious groups. (p. 134)

Thomas F. O'Dea, author of the Encyclopedia entry, further associates cults with mysticism, which according to Ernst Troeltsch (who first defined church and sect in 1912) is characteristic of the "educated classes."⁶⁸ O'Dea adds that when the mystic desire to attain

"a personal relationship with God" appears among "the lower classes" it often produces "emotional excesses and a taste for heterodox novelties" (p. 135). This not only sounds like a post hoc definition derived from the Pentecostal and charismatic movements (sects? cults?) but does not square very well with the "emotional excesses" and "heterodox novelties" attributed by various social scientists to the Jesus Movement, the Hare Krishna Movement, and other "cults" whose members are drawn largely from the youth of the North American middle class.

Because the term "cult" has not been defined with the clarity and detail of "sect," we are left with a rather vague differentiation between the two. Furthermore, "emotional excesses" and "heterodox novelties" are exoteric judgements to which "cult" members will often object (as, for example, Catholic charismatics accused of becoming heterodox through their adoption of Pentecostal doctrines and practices often hotly maintain the orthodoxy of their beliefs according to the tenets of the Catholic Church). It seems to me that the Pentecostal and charismatic groups possess many of the traits of the sect, along with the mysticism and decentralization of the cult.

Whether or not they ought to be called "movements" instead is, I think, a moot question. On the one hand, there are a good many Pentecostals and charismatics (particularly in leadership) who refer to them as movements, and do indeed hope to achieve the transformation of their cultures described by Wallace. On the other hand, they are not

extremely evangelical, and do not, as a rule, "count coup" on new converts. Quality is much more important as a cultural value than quantity in charismatic self-assessments: people do not show concern about the small size groups with anything like the frequency or intensity with which they do about the quality of groups' spiritual lives -- particularly their "fruits." When it comes to zeal for changing society and gaining adherents, the Jehovah's Witnesses have a far better claim to the name of "movement" than do charismatics. Actually, when charismatics use the term "the charismatic movement" they usually seem, at least in St. John's, to be referring to the "move" of God's will and the power of the Holy Spirit being "poured out upon all flesh," and not to any particular effort on their own parts to "move" their society. Those who do feel concern about the larger society and want to cooperate with God in revitalizing its spiritual life are a good deal more likely to pray than they are to start publicizing prayer meetings. Indeed, as one New Covenant correspondent recently complained, the existence of a charismatic prayer group often seems to be "the best-kept secret in the parish."⁶⁹ St. John's, also, has many citizens who are unaware that charismatics exist, which cannot be said of the black "revitalization movements," the student movements, or the environmentalists.

On the whole, "cult" seems to be the more accurate term, though its vernacular uses tend to be rather lurid, and this creates serious problems in the use of the term in publications designed for the general

reader. It is the common associations with the word "cult" which are probably reflected in Newfoundland exoteric lore about charismatics: turning out the lights and rolling around in white sheets looking for the Holy Ghost, serving Coca-Cola in place of Communion wine, attracting hippies, being "crazy," and so forth. "Movement" is less accurate, but also less threatening to non-members and less insulting to members, given the vernacular connotations of "cult." Personally, I would stick with forms of emic terminology and call the Pentecostals a denomination, and charismatic members of other denominations members of the Charismatic Renewal. Both groups claim world-wide membership, and can, I think, be accorded "ethnic" generic names instead of crosscultural, analytic names without much loss to those who pursue crosscultural regularities. None of the analytic categories used up to this point seem able to handle charismatic groups without distorting the data by their definitional implications. No natural scientist would ignore anomalous characteristics of a new species in order to make it fit into an older category of fauna, which is essentially what social scientists are doing when they try to jam a new cultural phenomenon into an old cross-cultural category where it does not really fit.

Ethnography Without Crisis and Deprivation Theory

Concepts such as revitalization, reformation, and renewal have been applied, apart from the full complexities of Wallace's model, in

studies which approach Pentecostal and charismatic groups without the assumption that there is anything wrong, either with the participants or with their society. What is being revitalized or renewed or reformed is not society, but religion: that is, the religious outlook, experience, and self-perceptions of the participants. These studies do not assume that participants are in crisis or deprived. This approach involves, not so much turning away from the problem of explaining what these groups should be called and why they emerge, as approaching it from another standpoint. First, these studies use the standard ethnographic approach of cultural relativism, attempting to understand Pentecostal and charismatic religious culture on their own terms. From this basic analytic stance, they examine themes, metaphors, occasions, and genres of performance in order to understand the social and psychological concerns they address, the values they celebrate, and the view of life and identity which they express.

This approach differs markedly from crisis cult theory in that it treats doctrinal belief and liturgical metaphor as containing meanings which are essential for the understanding of the religion's cultural dynamics. La Barre's comparison of crisis cults to the body's "inappropriate" responses to stress -- whereby the seat and nature of the symptoms are deceptive as to their true cause -- assumes precisely the opposite. The kinds of motivating forces posited by these theorists are, by definition, not conscious (and therefore very difficult to prove or disprove). Bourguignon's assertion that altered states provide a

way of dealing with illness and a source of self-respect to Pentecostals, and an important element in alternative lifestyles for young counter-cultural Christians; Oates's assertion that glossolalia is a response to the crisis of loneliness and isolation through regression to infantile communication; Lewis's contention that altered states provide catharsis and compensation for the frustrations of low social status, are all examples of motives presumably unrecognized by those moved by them.

James Fernandez demonstrates the transition in analytic viewpoint which can intellectually relate this next type of study to those which have been discussed above. Fernandez explains his approach to the "reformatory cult" of Bwiti as follows:

In respect to the Fang Bwitist I regard him as coming into the ceremonial of this religious movement suffering from the anomie, the individuation, the comparative deprivation, the status denial, etc. that have long been identified as the psychosocial consequences of rapid change in the colonial situation. I see him, in other words, as coming into the cult with some constellation of feelings of isolation, disengagement, powerlessness, enervation, disphoria, debasement, contamination, and a sense of personal transgression. I load all these disgraceful states upon our unfortunate Bwitist only for purposes of demonstrating the model. It is to be supposed that religious movements, at one time or another, have to contend with all these states though rarely at one time and in the same individual. As a consequence of ritual action, that is a consequence of the operationalizing of metaphoric images which are put forth in contention with these states, we see the Bwitist and the cult group with which he performs as being able to exit from the ritual incorporated, empowered, activated, and euphoric!⁷⁰

Essentially, what is involved is a shift in focus from why people should need a religious method of coping with crisis, or providing revitalization,

to how religious cults, or movements, accomplish this and other ends. From a position like that of Fernander, in which the loading of "disgraceful states" upon the cult or movement member is "only for purposes of demonstrating the model," it is a small step to a position like that of Victor Turner or Harvey Cox, who recognize such states as part of the human experience, and argue that the ability to do something about them is one of religion's most important powers.⁷¹ This places the study of religious cults or movements, along with their visionary and prophetic messages, altered states, and capacity for enthusiasm within the context of religion generally. In doing so it "unloads" much of the disgrace which crisis cult theory does indeed load upon the unfortunate members of religious groups whose beliefs and practices are too new, or too enthusiastically enacted, for some theorists to classify them as "normal" forms of religious life. This is one example of the kind of shift in focus and approach which Lowie called for when he wrote:

My position towards religion as a cultural phenomenon springs directly from my conception of anthropology as a science. Since it is a science it must take cognizance of values because they form an essential part of its subject matter; but it must treat these values objectively -- that is, it must refrain from judgement. Thus, an anthropologist who is studying West African fetishism must stick to what he can see and hear for himself and what he can find out from informants as to the meaning of fetishism to them, but he must not judge it in terms of his own religious standards. This same point of view should certainly be extended to include the religions of one's own day. Yet I have known anthropologists who accorded a benevolent understanding to the Hopi but denied it to Catholics, Morabans, Buddhists, or Mohammedans. This dichotomy of viewpoint strikes me as ridiculous and completely unscientific.⁷²

Lowie adds one further, important point which should be noted before we leave the field of crisis cult theory. He notes that

During World War II many people either found religion for the first time or else returned to their former church for comfort and strength to bear the fears and pressures brought about by war. It should never be forgotten that all religions thrive on adversity (p. 533).

This perspective upon human response to social crises and deprivations, cultural disintegration and personal suffering, puts a different light upon those religious developments which seem, like the Melanesian Cargo Cults and the North American Ghost Dance, to have the explicit relevance to social crises which first gave rise to the causal association of one with the other. Even in these cases, and certainly in less clear ones like the Jesus Movement and the Pentecostal denominations in North America, the link between crisis and religion is less direct and more a part of normal human response than many theorists suggest. Certainly one could say that, in a sense, World War II caused many people to turn to religion, or that massive despair and helplessness caused Native Americans to embrace the millennial prophecies of the Ghost Dance. But this ignores the fact that these circumstances brought people into stark, intensive contact with fears and insolubilities which religions in these societies normally address, such as the existence of evil, injustice, suffering, and death. This perspective makes even the clearest cases of Wallace's model or La Barre's definition appear less radical, less bizarre, and apposite rather than inapposite. If this perspective is taken, it makes sense to look for the dynamics of thought

and feeling relevant to the understanding of a religious group in the expressive culture its members create, rather than in social stresses for which that culture is presumably attempting to compensate.

Studies of Pentecostal and Charismatic Expressive Culture

In the last few years, cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and folklorists have shifted away from attempts to explain why Pentecostal and charismatic groups emerge to examining how they work as folk groups or "part-societies," using expressive culture as their primary source of insight into the relations between human beings and their religious beliefs. The approach used by James Fernandez, discussed in the preceding chapter, is to concentrate upon the metaphors predicated upon individual and collective identity, and how they are used in ritual enactment, song and speech, architecture, proxemics, and other expressive forms to "move" individuals from "disgraceful states" to help them emerge from religious activity "incorporated, empowered, activated, and euphoric!"

Daniel W. Patterson approaches "communion and foot-washing Sundays and river baptizings, . . . Methodist revivals and love feasts, . . . interdenominational camp meetings and singing conventions" (p. 220), and especially the preaching, dance, and song which were part of them, as sources of insight into the ethos and worldview of their participants. By bringing alive the aesthetic qualities of these religious events, he

clarifies the reasons for affective response.⁷³ Sociologist Meredith McGuire has given similar treatment to modern-day American Roman Catholic charismatics in her Pentecostal Catholics: Power, Charisma, and Order in a Religious Movement (1982).⁷⁴ She gives special attention to the various genres of speaking recognized in prayer meetings as carrying special connotative meanings, such as divine inspiration and ecstasy, discussing cultural means of recognizing and describing each genre, and its place in the ritual life of the group. She also devotes two full chapters (about one fourth of the total study) to the discussion of religious healing: its methods, its logics, and its cognitive and performance contexts. In discussing both of these topics, she pays equal attention to active and receptive roles: for example, in the special kinds of listening which are accorded to the genres of speech which are believed to be inspired (pp. 111-124). McGuire reverses the logic used in crisis cult studies: rather than examining social factors in the larger society to shed light on the dynamics of enthusiastic religion, she examines religious culture to shed light on social factors in the larger society. The primary focus of attention remains, however, the religious culture itself.

A number of scholars in various disciplines have studied single performance genres within Pentecostal or charismatic ritual, either to understand the socio-psychological processes which take place when it is performed (taking performance as either an indication or an agent of these processes), or to understand their relation to the larger ritual

system. Psychologist of religion Richard A. Hutch has described glossolalia as a "personal ritual" in which somewhat archetypal ideas and deep emotions are expressed in a kind of metalanguage (1980).⁷⁵ Anthropologist Belle Blum has described it as "a mode of human communication," which has rich generic meanings and messages for other participants and for the speaker.⁷⁶ (Both are referring, at least primarily, to private tongues.) McGuire and Stephen Kroll-Smith have independently written of the act of testifying as performance, McGuire discussing its function among Roman Catholic charismatics in the midwestern United States (as a sign of commitment to charismatic identity and membership), and Kroll-Smith its function among Holiness Pentecostals in the south-east (as a means of "locating individuals ritually in the social matrix of the group").⁷⁷ Both authors thus address the effects of performance upon the individual performer, as a way of confirming or helping to change his sense of religious identity, and upon the audience, as a way of clarifying the place of the performer within the group. Kroll-Smith explains:

there exists within this group a basic tension between being and becoming. Organized around the value of spiritual growth, members are encouraged not to become too comfortable or too secure with their present identity. And yet it is partly on the basis of a present awareness of social place that members organize their conduct; that they decide who has the authority to act in this or that capacity. This interpretation of testimony thus rests on viewing it as a ritual means for addressing the tension between present status or identity, and aspired status or potential identity. (pp. 17-18)

Two folkloristic studies of Pentecostal testimonies have also focused upon their contribution to the cultural processes of being and

becoming. William C. Clements' "The Pentecostal Sagaman" analyses a series of private interviews in which a man who considered himself religiously "backslidden" recounted his life story to the researcher, including both his "testimony" and some of the later events which had shaken his relationship with his god and his church. The entire narrative process is considered primarily as oral art, but secondarily it reveals some of the poignant, painful negotiations which individuals often attempt when the mesh achieved between religious belief and experiential reality is threatened.⁷⁸ Patrick O. Mullen, taking Turner's concept of *communitas* in its normative sense, has discussed the function of testifying as an encouragement to others to seek encounter with God, thus bringing more members into the fold of those who share *communitas* on that basis in a given religious and regional tradition.⁷⁹ Other studies have addressed various social and ritual functions of public conversion, prophecy, and the Roman Catholic charismatic Life in the Spirit Seminars.⁸⁰

Two recent studies, one of classical Pentecostals in the southeastern United States and one of Roman Catholic charismatics in the midwest, have focused upon performance in particularly fruitful and revealing ways. Jeff Todd Titon used "thick description" and superb photographic sequences to convey the atmosphere of a revival meeting, including sermon excerpts, a long interpretation of public tongues, and several people seeking and receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Here the role of analyst is used, not to reinterpret cultural activities,

but to convey to the reader the flavour of performance and of audience response: to render in words as much as the researcher apprehended of how the service felt to its participants.⁸¹ Thomas J. Chordas, using a combination of symbolic anthropological theory and the Austin folklorists' approaches to performance, discussed the Roman Catholic charismatic "movement" as an example of culture in the process of being created -- and created primarily through performance, verbal and enacted, individual and collective, in prayer meetings.⁸² He sees the newness of charismatic religious culture not as a sign that American culture is in crisis, but as an example of creative process which is constantly taking place in all cultures. Following Milton J. Singer and James L. Peacock, he treats performance as an especially clear form of culture as creativity.⁸³

Other studies could be mentioned here, but these are representative of the general focus upon ritual and performance in Pentecostal and charismatic groups. They exemplify the kinds of perspectives and insights which the third method, that of ethnography without etic categories imposed a priori upon the cultures studied, can yield. Certainly the groups presented in these studies lack the points of easy comparison achieved through the use of the same categories to order the data on a number of different field examples. They do not form a set of comparable studies at all, but of complementary ones. As the range of thorough ethnographic portraits of individual charismatic and Pentecostal groups, genres, rituals, and performances widens, these

studies will increase in value, for it will start to become clear on what points they represent widespread traits, and on what points they represent local or situational ones. Eventually, we should have clear and solidly founded concepts of what Pentecostals and charismatics are -- at least within particular societies or countries: how they are alike; where they differ; and how they resemble and do not resemble other forms of religion existing around them.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the theoretical and methodological shift from analytic categorization and the search for social causes to performance analysis and the search for cultural dynamics is the elimination, or at least the minimization, of the glaring discrepancies which have existed between culture members and cultural analysts. Martin E. Marty pointed out in 1975 that the assumptions made by non-Pentecostal researchers about Pentecostals' "real" (though unconscious) motives for their religious beliefs and activities represent a classic case of conflict between insiders and outsiders, known in folkloristics as the esoteric-exoteric factor.⁸⁴ Performance-centered studies, because they treat religious expressive culture as part of expressive culture generally, and erect no classificatory barriers between that of a saint's festival in a Mexican village and that of a Sunday morning service in an urban church, avoid the distortive effects that this kind of framing has had upon the ethnographic picture of charismatic and Pentecostal ritual. The kinds of religious activity viewed as cathartic responses to crisis and

deprivation are, in performance-centered studies, approached as aspects of celebration.

The concept's most complete articulation so far appears in a volume coauthored by folklorists and cultural anthropologists, and edited by Victor Turner. It shares its title, Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual (1982), with a Smithsonian exhibit in which many of the artifacts discussed in its pages appear. Its approach to the ideas and emotions whose intensity and foreignness so disturb some analysts when they are labeled "religion" (and still more when they are labeled as elements of a "crisis cult" or "possession trance cult") are summed up in Turner's introduction as follows:

The word celebration is derived from the Latin celeber, "numerous, much frequented," and relates to the vivacity -- akin to what . . . Durkheim called "effervescence" -- generated by a crowd of people with shared purposes and common values. When artists, craftsmen, songsmiths, and musicians are invited or commissioned to "make" something for a celebration, their work is inevitably informed by lively memories of that effervescence and equally lively anticipations of its next embodiment. In a way such "makers" become the articulators of the otherwise inchoate celebratory "spirit," and the ephemeral events they choreograph, or the permanent artworks -- altars, statues, masks, totem poles, paintings, temples -- they shape or construct, become a kind of shining language in which a society formulates its conception of the universe and its cultural philosophy. It is this heightened awareness and moral earnestness -- in the midst often of tumultuous joy -- that gives the best of celebratory objects a capacity to compel attention, even when they are products of a culture hitherto unknown to the observer.⁸⁵

Celebration, like performance, is a concept which invites attention to the interplay between shared currents of private emotion, and observable qualities in public interaction. As a corollary to

performance studies, a focus on celebration encourages analytic attention to collective activities and to unstructured segments of time in ritual. As a type of focus upon religious experience, it provides a starting-point from which other kinds of experience may be approached: the collective and noncelebratory, like funerals (when they do not celebrate life, or eternal life, as some of course do); the celebratory and private, like praise during "quiet time." Most importantly, it allows what David Hufford has termed an "experience-centered" approach to cultural analysis, which avoids the complicated epistemological problems of trying to deal directly with "natives' inner lives."⁸⁶ As Turner suggests in the paragraph above, the art forms of celebration offer access not only to native symbolic systems, with their rich tools of thought and triggers of feeling, but also present thought and feeling in heightened forms. It is difficult to prove, but I would argue that the thought and feeling of charismatic celebration -- in full worship, for example -- are the same as shape everyday life. In celebration, patterns of metaphorical thought which usually appear only in oblique forms, though they affect everyday thought and action powerfully, are thrown into relief; the root paradigm is brought to the surface. Charismatic celebration does not really put people into a special, framed, ritual domain; rather, it strips away the nonessentials of their ethos and worldview, leaving the central supporting structure and the dominant colours clearly visible.

Whether or not this is true of other cultures, it is an observation

echoed, concerning classical Pentecostal celebration, by Jeff Titon. He notes in his study of revival services in the rural borderlands around Georgia:

Attending a Pentecostal revival is something of an anthropologist's happy dream, for the belief system is spelled out in speech and song for the observer, even as it is made plain to the seekers of the Holy Ghost baptism.⁸⁷

It is surely one of the requirements of religious groups which are still creating their cultures, or which have within them various levels of experience and membership, that they do spell out the belief system. Charismatics, being the intensely metaphorical thinkers they are, do so in metaphorical forms; these are piled one upon another, expressed in half a dozen genres from the density of gesture to the explicit "unpacking" of metaphors which is done in sermons and teachings, in celebratory and other ritual settings. Since charismatics both have the various internal levels shared with Pentecostals -- twiceborn conversion, spiritual baptism, and developing maturity and experience in the nine gifts and nine fruits -- and are also still very much in the process of creating their culture, their belief system is "spelled out" in lavish, extravagant, tapestried forms. It is in the artwork on the walls of homes; in the words of songs sung in church and played at home on recordings; laced through the imagery that colours folk speech. It is an open and evolving system, suited, in its St. John's example and elsewhere in North America, to the complexities of life in a technological and highly rationalistic, pluralistic society. It leaves room for hypothesis and for individual differences; for local variations on

shared themes; for doubt and for experimentation. It is therefore not an easy system to grasp, for all the richness of its display, but its informants are often articulate and well versed in the means of communication appropriate for a rationalistic, pluralistically-minded researcher. Even in ritual settings, where one is, as it were, in the depths of native territory, far from the borderlands where the lived worlds of social scientist and urban charismatic are likely to cross, the language used and the concerns addressed often reflect elements of that shared domain: the concerns of international and local news; community tensions and needs; the analytic patterns of reasoning familiar to the analyst from the depths of his own territory. In few other urban western folk groups, perhaps, is so exotic a world made so available.

This particular kind of performance analysis is not a methodology which can be spelled out in detail. The precedent set by Turner and others focusing upon it at present is similar to the ethnographic approach used by Mead, Bateson, Benedict,⁸⁸ and their fellow theorists in culture pattern in that it requires certain elusive qualities and sensitivities difficult to teach, much less to systematize. Nonetheless, there are excellent models available, and the number of studies demonstrating its worth and practicality is growing.⁸⁹

However, though "cognitocentrism" (the equivalent of ethnocentrism in the study of belief and worldview) is easier to avoid when religion is approached in terms of art than when it is approached in terms of belief, performance-centered studies do not necessarily work well for

all analytic purposes. For example, the everyday operation of religious thought, and the relations between sensory experience, circumstantial events, and interpersonal processes in the development of small-group religious culture, probably would not lend themselves well to a performance-centered approach. These topics have been explored in this study in part because they have not appeared clearly in previous ones. Some possible approaches and theories suited to the future study of these and other aspects of charismatic culture are discussed in the conclusion.

A Note on Song Citation

The majority of the "praise songs" or "choruses" current in local charismatic groups are either known by heart, or sung from xeroxed sheets bearing only the words of songs (and sometimes only some of the lyrics actually sung by the group). There is considerable variation in both texts and tunes between groups. In many cases, recorded music has not directly influenced the versions of a particular song I found; in other cases, more than one recorded version is known by various local individuals. The citations for songs given in the notes therefore list the name of the author, the publisher and place of publication, and the copyright date. When I have been able to locate a published version and/or a recording close to at least one of the predominant local versions, this citation follows the copyright information. The recordings made of local prayer meetings and services, which are listed at the end of the bibliography, contain a selection of the local repertoire for comparison with published and recorded texts and tunes. The format of the notes follows Bill C. Malone, Country Music USA: A Fifty Year History (Austin: pub. for the American Folklore Society by Univ. of Texas Press, 1968).

CONCLUSION

Directions for Future Studies

Three approaches to the study of charismatic culture seem to me to be in particular need of further investigation, in part because they have been misrepresented in the past, and in part because they are of importance to culture members. These are the relations between religion and health, particularly mental health and general wellbeing; between ritual and everyday life; and between the present charismatic renewal and history, both religious and social. These areas are frequently discussed by members of the three prayer groups presented here, and often figure in the processes of reasoning involved in both joining and leaving charismatic culture. A full explication of these processes would require another study almost as detailed as this one, but the importance of these three factors in the evaluation of charismatic culture is clear.

The first factor is perhaps best approached through the methods of ethnopsychiatry, and the wider fields of traditional medicine and medical anthropology of which it is a part. Some work in this area has been done by Ari Kiev and by Frederick James Conway, who both studied classical Pentecostalism in West Indian populations.¹

Ethnopsychiatry deals with cultural definitions of mental health and illness, treatments, practitioners, and the roles of patients and healers in society. If applied to the study of religion, especially religion which involves concepts of mental states and perceptual data

which differ from western rationalist standards to the extent that those of charismatic and Pentecostal religion do, this orientation may well promote both careful investigation and emotional neutrality. Its focus upon the kinds of mental disorders which may be culturally viewed as similar, in symptomatology at least, to the "divine madness" of ecstatic states and spirit possession makes it an ideal standpoint from which to approach the question of how cultures differentiate between various kinds of religious and pathological states. It may also provide a way to build upon trance and possession trance theory, returning to the religious groups studied and investigating etic perspectives more thoroughly, and at the same time obtaining more rigorous and precise phenomenological descriptions of experience. Such descriptions could provide a valid basis for cross-cultural comparison, as the use of etic categories such as "trance" does not.

Ethnopsychiatry shares one of the central features which marks the work of James Fernandez, and of those approaching religion through celebration: that is, an interest in the positive effects which religion can have on the individual's sense of self and relationship to the world. Fernandez' studies of the metaphors predicated upon the self, which through ritual enactment can turn anomie to activation and disphoria to good cheer have as much significance from the standpoint of mental health as from that of symbolism; Turner's studies of Ndembu divination and diagnosis offer numerous examples that show how close the realms of religion and health can be within a culture, and how much of the same symbolism, the same kinds of metaphoric enactment, they may work through.² Celebration studies often focus upon occasions when healing metaphors are

spoken and displayed, enacted and sung, in concentrated and profuse "doses." They are, moreover, often occasions when merriment and awe coexist in alternating and blended forms, and theoretically secular activities such as dancing and fair-going cohere with sacred activities, breaking down the barrier between aspects of personality and culture, bringing integration and wholeness to experience. Such breaking of barriers and integration of domains is, in western psychotherapy and in many traditional mental health systems, an important source of healing in itself. Such a focus upon religious activities and experiences may be of particular value in the study of charismatic and Pentecostal cultures, for -- as my informants have often pointed out to me -- biblical Hebrew and Greek both contain terms which can be translated as "healing," "salvation," or "being made whole," and the three alternatives tend to cohere in their concepts of what religion is all about.

The second factor, the relations between the world of ritual and the world of the everyday in charismatic culture, is congenial to the fields of the psychology, sociology, and phenomenology of religion, already in use by folklorists such as Hufford and Hönko, for the relations have much to do with experience. The nature and functions of religious experience are difficult topics to probe, and a variety of disciplinary perspectives and methodologies are undoubtedly needed. Jack Tyrus Hanford has suggested that a synoptic approach, combining the controls upon impressionistic analysis of positivism with phenomenology's interest in the quality of experience, is both possible and fruitful for the investigation of this area.³ As performance study in folkloristics and symbolic anthropology has developed through complementary foci upon events,

performers, contexts, texts, and audiences, so studies of religion will undoubtedly benefit from a similarly complementary range of foci. As Honko has pointed out in his introduction to the proceedings of an interdisciplinary conference on religion, the interaction between informant and researcher is a cross-cultural encounter, in which each interprets the other, and cooperation between disciplines can help to reduce distortions created in that encounter.⁴ This cooperation is especially necessary when different definitions of reality and reason are being studied, as they must be in the examination of relations between ritual and everyday life in charismatic culture.

The third factor, the placement of the charismatic renewal in local and global historic perspectives, may well be usefully approached in terms of a theory put forward by Victor Turner: that of diachronic alternation between *communitas* and structure. He has suggested that the needs for creativity and for consistency, for release and stability, exist in dialectic in religious systems in culture. Without periodic returns to the "spring of pure possibility," where forms dissolve into free elements and can recombine into new forms, where religious beliefs are experientiable and religious experience can be believed, religion tends to atrophy: forms become frozen and mechanical, devoid of power to move and motivate. Without periods of organization and stabilization, religion would remain too free-floating, formless, and experience-centered: when experience was not present (and it is notoriously inconsistent, as mystic literature in several religions avows), belief would fail without doctrine. Therefore, Turner argues, both within individual lives and communities, and within the wider context of social history, people need alternation

between the two if religion is to have both form and meaning.⁵

I would suggest that this concept has great potential explanatory power for the study of Pentecostal and charismatic religion -- particularly as they occur in western cultures. Kilian McDonnell has noted that both have their greatest success among nominal Christians: those for whom religion is dry and dead, its wineskins empty, its light put out. He explains:

The unbelieving believer is the man for whom the God who is posited as transcendent is remote and unconcerned, and the God who is posited as immanent is seen as merely absent. For the unbelieving believer the God of the pulpit is irrelevant because the whole transcendence-immanence dialectic has broken down; in a word, it is meaningless To these assumptions, often unspoken, of the unbelieving believer the Pentecostals have responded by restoring the transcendent-immanent dialectic, with immanence given more attention; in restoring the dialectic they have restored the mystery.⁶

In Turnerian rather than theological terms, the restoration of the dialectic refers to the Pentecostal and charismatic assertion that belief is experientiable and experience is believable: that the gifts and miracles, spiritual baptism and divine guidance of the New Testament are available today. The "immanent" refers to their stress upon an indwelling and knowable God, and to the centrality of Christ in religious thought and feeling. McDonnell is arguing that Pentecostalism (in which he includes the charismatic renewal) attracts those most in need of a return to *communitas* and *antistructure*, and that it effects in them, not a change in beliefs, but a return of the wine and light that were supposed to be there in the first place.

Classical Pentecostals and charismatics in North America often speak of a desire for balance between "blessing and order" -- a local

phrase -- in their individual lives and in their meetings and services. One charismatic proverb, coined by Anglican rector Dennis Bennett and now in wide circulation, maintains: "Without the Spirit, you dry up; without the Word, you blow up; but with the Spirit and the Word, you grow up."⁷ Turner thus puts a cross-cultural name to what is in this case a native idea about the way religion works, when it works. I would argue that the concept is useful, both for the study of dialectics between spontaneity and order within Pentecostal and charismatic cultures, and for the study of their relation to the larger patterns of social change at work in many areas of the world. Many social scientists' views of religion have been shaped by early experiences of it as dry and dead; Evans-Pritchard as noted above, has argued that this early experience accounts for much of the way in which the anthropology of religion has developed as a body of theory.⁸ Both Pentecostal and charismatic religion are spreading at astronomical rates. Could it be that Christianity itself is showing evidence of a widespread swing back toward *communitas*? I think there is more than enough evidence to justify the investigation of the hypothesis.

Whether or not this is the case, the concept of dialectic between *communitas* and structure may well prove useful in relating charismatic groups to the noncharismatic congregations within which they often exist, as well as to the relatively structure-laden, urban societies in which individual charismatics often live. The less opportunity for the experience and expression of basic, intense, positive emotions -- love, joy, and peace, to take those most dear to my informants as examples -- exists in the larger congregation's ritual life, and in the occupational and personal lives of its members, the more useful this concept may be in

explaining the significance of the charismatic group as a source of *communitas*. One of the effects which charismatics sometimes claim in these circumstances is that congregational ritual becomes richly meaningful to them -- especially, as I have discussed, communion. When charismatic groups and events existing on a crossdenominational basis affect church leaders, *communitas* can pour more directly into the structure of congregational ritual. In either case, it is common to hear people remark that religion seems more like the real thing than it used to: that experience comes closer to what they think Christianity is supposed to be. "New Testament Christianity" is one North American descriptor used to convey the best of what can happen for people, experientially speaking, when meaning flows again through classic forms.

All of my observations of North American and British charismatics over the past five years suggest that much of their religious enthusiasm and effervescence, to use Durkheim's term, derives from their belief that the type of religion they are practicing is not new. Their references to "New Testament Christianity" are one expression of a widespread feeling that they are involved, not in innovation, but in a return to the original pattern. Again, this is part of a cross-cultural category of religious change according to Turner's model -- somewhat akin to Linton's concept of the nativistic movement. Turner explains:

My guess at the moment is that during the present transitional period of history, when many institutionalized social forms and modes of thought are in question, a reactivation of many cultural forms associated traditionally with normative *communitas* is occurring. Social energy is being withdrawn from structure, both prebureaucratic and bureaucratic, and it is cathecting various modalities of *communitas*. New manifestations of existential *communitas* are also taking place; but when those who manifest them wish them to persist in community and seek symbols to safeguard their persistence, such symbols tend to be drawn from the

repertoire of *communitas* groups down the ages and communicated to the present era by writing and other symbolic codes. In this way, there is a cross-influence between new and traditional forms of *communitas*, leading in some cases to the rediscovery of traditional forms that have long been enfeebled or at a low pulse. . . . under favourable circumstances some structural form, generated long ago in a moment of *communitas*, may be almost miraculously liquefied into a living form of *communitas* again. This is what revitalistic or revivalistic religious movements, as against radical or transformist ones, aim to do - to restore the social bond of their communicants to the pristine vigor of that religion in its days of generative crisis and ecstasy.⁹

Clearly, this perspective offers, at the very least, a useful handle on what the natives think they are up to. It may, as well, reveal solid social facts about the reasons for the current spread of Pentecostal and charismatic religion, helping us to understand both its internal dynamics and its relation to the larger sphere.

Summary and Conclusions

The ethnographic portrait presented here has been composed with three governing purposes in mind. It is intended to provide as comprehensive a view as possible of how religion actually works in one Newfoundland folk group, defining religion as a system of symbols, meanings, moods, and motivations, and analysing that system in ethno-scientific terms. It has been conceived as a comparative analysis of three small groups within a larger folk group, demonstrating some of the range of possibilities which exist within that group, and some bases for cultural subdivision as well as for unity. Most fundamentally, it is intended as a case study of an international form of religious culture which is not well understood at present, though scattered

examples have attracted a good deal of social scientific attention, and more studies are being done all the time. This third purpose has relevance both for the disciplines involved in the study of religion in culture -- such as folklife studies, folk religion, symbolic anthropology, and the sociology, anthropology, and phenomenology of religion -- and for the study of Newfoundland religious folklife. It has formed the strongest of the study's governing purposes because it is in this context that the study's results have the most important theoretical and methodological implications.

The comparative and collective study of these three prayer groups, one predominantly Roman Catholic, one predominantly Neopentecostal, and one fully multid denominational, demonstrates the concrete validity of the term "charismatic culture." The members of the three groups as individuals, and the groups as collectivities, are much more alike than they are different. Detailed study of the values, beliefs, experiences, moods, and motivations present in the three groups gives meaning to their common use of the self-descriptive terms "Spirit-filled" or "charismatic." The bases of intergroup friendships and visiting and of common participation in community events and services, such as Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship and Women's Aglow meetings, counseling with 100 Huntly Street, concerts, rallies, and other events, are made clear through the study of ethos and worldview: charismatics in St. John's can mingle in these ways because they are, as local people sometimes put it, likeminded. On the basis of my reading of

ethnographies of local charismatic groups elsewhere in North America, and my acquaintanceships and interviews with charismatics from other parts of the world, I would argue that not only the St. John's groups, but charismatics in general, may fairly be studied as a unified cultural group. According to Florian Znaniecki's definition of a community which can and should be studied as a unit, even the international charismatic "community" could, I think, be fruitfully studied as such. Znaniecki argues:

The people who share a certain set of interconnected systems . . . may be more or less conscious of this fact, and more or less willing to influence one another for the benefit of their common civilization and to influence this civilization for their common benefit. This consciousness and willingness, insofar as they exist, constitute a social bond uniting these people over and above any formal social relations and organized social groups. . . . If the term "community" is limited to the humanistic reality embracing such phenomena . . . as the development of new cultural ideas and attempts at their realization apart from organized group action, . . . there is no doubt but that a "community" in this sense can be scientifically studied . . . as one of the specifically social data.¹⁰

I would argue that, once the term "charismatic" has been defined as referring to a specific type of religious culture, this "community" context should form part of the background for all studies of small charismatic groups, along with any local denominational, demographic, or circumstantial contexts which may appear significant.

The first chapter, tracing the development of charismatic culture in North America generally and in Newfoundland specifically, offers evidence for an explanation of its spread which for some reason has not

been much stressed in the social scientific literature. That is the explanation of translation. So long as the beliefs and personal experiences associated with baptism in the Holy Spirit and its various aftermaths were available in North America only in the rhetorical "dialect" of classical Pentecostalism, these beliefs and experiences were quite likely to be rejected by those uncomfortable with the dialect and its speakers. As lay Anglicans in California began to discuss them in the "native language" of their fellow congregation members; as Demos Shakarian and his early associates began to narrate personal experiences in plush hotel banquetting halls instead of in "the world of tents and shouting;" as David Wilkerson and others began to show that translation was possible even into the language of New York street gangs, it is perhaps no wonder that new sections of the North American population began to regard these once-stigmatized notions as viable. Translation into the native language of diverse hearers was, after all, what the tongues of Pentecost were said to have accomplished in Acts 2.6; perhaps in this rhetorical sense, a change of tongue has often had much to do with Heirich's "change of heart."

Chapter I shows that charismatic culture originally spread -- and continues to spread -- primarily through verbal channels and personal contacts; the dearth of evidence pointing to the influence of television or radio evangelists as agents of its spread is quite striking. In every Newfoundland community discussed (and in the formation of each prayer group as well), charismatic culture diffused primarily along the

lines of existing social networks: networks of kinship, friendship, and common religious concerns. At its most impersonal, it spread by rumour: neither the media nor the official stands of churches have had much to do with the process. Even 100 Huntly Street, the only media source mentioned by any charismatic I have heard describe his own conversion or spiritual baptism, is most frequently a means of putting individuals in touch with charismatics in their own communities. Its counselors in St. John's have told me that they usually try to pair callers and counselors of the same ages and denominations, in order to reduce the discrepancy of worldview (and dialect!) between the two so that the content of communication may be hindered as little as possible. The priorities of the study have not lain in diffusionistic documentation, but variations in the lyrics and melodies of charismatic songs, and the same kinds of changes in legends and jokes and proverbs told among charismatics in widely separated regions also point to the importance of person-to-person transmission in, and of, charismatic culture. If one speaks in terms of processes rather than of products in defining what is "folk" and what is popular or official in religion, as some folklorists do in defining folklore generally, the one thing one cannot call it is pop -- or official -- theology.¹¹

Chapter II, approaching charismatic ritual in terms of its emic purposes, structures, affects, and evaluative criteria, argues that prayer meetings and worship services are not centered upon the evocation of trance or possession states, or upon any states of

dissociation at all. There is no lapse of memory or uncontrolled behaviour in local charismatic meetings. Such "altered states" as are experienced and valued there -- e.g., *communitas* and *flow* -- are cross-culturally familiar, not in the context of possession and trance-centered religion, but of intrinsically rewarding activities and of meaningful, moving ritual. They are states of joyful interpersonal unity and of absorbed attention which are not sought in and of themselves, and are not automatically evoked through ritual enactment, but occur in the process of full worship as it is emically defined.

The whole subject of altered states and religious experiences, given further ethnoscientific attention in the third, fourth, and fifth chapters, should perhaps be studied in relation to mystical experiences and the phenomenology of religion, rather than in relation to social psychological indicators of stress or pathology. What charismatics mean when they speak of being born again, baptised in the Holy Spirit, or anointed accords a great deal better with William James's school of the psychology of religion, and with the empirical findings of Andrew Greeley and Max Heirich, than with crisis cult or deprivation theory.

(ii) Viewed in terms of native experiences, beliefs, interpretations, methods of judgement, and lines of reasoning, these phenomena appear quite complex enough to stand on their own terms, as viable elements in a system of religious culture, without the necessity of recourse to unconscious social or psychological explanations for their power to convince and to move.

Similarly, the charismata as elements of belief, ritual, and experience among St. John's charismatics present a much more complex and interesting picture than that offered in many of the studies to have dealt with them previously. First, they have not been presented as a subsystem of religious folklife: they have been analysed singly, with the gift of "private" tongues far outstripping the others in the amount of analytic attention it has received and the centrality it has been thought to have in Pentecostal and charismatic cultures. St. John's charismatics do not single tongues out as an indicator of sanctification, or of any other type of religious status; it is simply one form of one of the nine gifts, and -- in Father Phil Lewis's words -- the silliest and simplest of the nine. It, and the other gifts, have been shown here in their naturally-occurring forms of interaction, and I think it is clear that they are better understood in context than in an itemized and fragmented analytic framework. Second, the gifts cannot in all instances be explained as the results of emotional excitation or ritual expectation: there are too many occurrences of them outside ritual contexts, or in the experience of individuals who were not seeking or expecting them or even considered them possible. As was the case with Hufford's research findings on the empiricity of so-called "Old Hag" experiences, I would argue that the charismata call for further experiential description before general explanations are put forward. Until we have more data on what happens (and it is clear from the data offered here that various interesting things do happen), it is premature to discuss prophecy as a form of social control, or tongue-speaking as

a form of catharsis. We may find that certain types of religious experience are culture-specific, which would raise interesting questions about the relations between culture and psychophysiology. We might, on the other hand, find that the charismata are examples of crosscultural religious experience which can help us to understand other forms of culture and religion more accurately.

While the non-emphasis of glossolalia among St. John's charismatics -- or other aspects of the gifts' place in religious folk life here -- may not be typical of all charismatic groups and is probably not typical of classical Pentecostals, some part of the discrepancy between published social scientific interpretations of the gifts and the St. John's data may lie in the assumptions of the analysts.

Meredith McGuire commented:

There is . . . a tendency among sociologists and psychologists that membership in enthusiastic movements is itself evidence of pathology. The attitude is comparable to the common sense view that it is unnatural for anyone to believe that strongly in anything. In contemporary society, strongly religious groups . . . are viewed as "kooks," "freaks," "weirdoes." While the application of such labels demonstrates the normative nonreligiousness of the larger society, scientific study of such behavior should remain more objective. . . . Religious behaviors often assumed to evidence pathology (for example, glossolalia, prophecy, faith healing) are, on the contrary, understandable as fulfilling many rich and meaningful functions within the group, given their distinctive belief system.¹³

As is further argued in the discussion of relations between religious experience and religious metaphor in the symbolic system of local charismatic culture, such experiences -- and the beliefs and rituals associated with them in various ways -- are best understood in terms of

charismatic motives. The baptism, anointing, and gifts of the Holy Spirit have native meaning in terms of the culture's root paradigm, as part of the "personal relationship" with the Trinity that charismatics equate with Christianity, symbolized gesturally as an embrace with open arms, and verbally in phrases such as "Alleluia" or its translation, "Praise the Lord." Quite possibly, the academic portrayal of Pentecostal groups as "weirdoes" of one kind or another has had as much to do with academicians' vulnerability to ethnocentrism as with what they have actually seen and heard in fieldwork, and still more with the interpretation of field experience in terms not consistent with native systems of meaning.¹⁴ One of this study's central goals has been to present those systems of meaning, as they exist in one locale and one point in time, so that better use can be made of them in future research.

It is clear also from the St. John's data that the religion of everyday life and the religion of ritual settings do not necessarily differ in quality or even in intensity, especially when the "moods and motivations" of religion are "powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting." Where religious experience plays a part in those moods and motivations, the world of the everyday can often be the setting for very intense forms of religious activity and involvement, but even apart from the experiential factor, everyday events may be interpreted in religious terms and handled in a religious manner. Some have thought that such generalizations could be made only about mystics; others, that they

could be made only about "primitive" peoples, or, in some vague sense, about people in the past. That profoundly sacred religious ethos and worldview are to be found among modern westerners, and, moreover, among westerners about whom it is extremely difficult to generalize in demographic terms, is clear. In this regard, this study contributes to a growing body of social scientific literature on western societies which is beginning to call into question the whole concept of secular or technological man.¹⁵ Andrew Greeley argues in one of these works:

I do not think religion is in a state of collapse, and none of the empirical data I have lead me to believe that it is. . . . the religious crises of the intellectual community by no means affect the religious situation of the mass of the people. "Western man," "modern man," "technological man," "secular man" are to be found, for the most part, only on university campuses, and increasingly only among senior faculty members¹⁶

Somewhere between McGuire's "normative nonreligiousness of the larger society" and Greeley's assertion lies the reality of a changing society, in which believed myth and effective ritual are alive and well in the lives of a sizeable number of people.

The understanding of charismatic culture is important for the study of religion in Newfoundland at present, and, as it still seems to be spreading, it is probably becoming more important. There are several candidates for the Anglican and United Church ministries among the regular participants at local prayer meetings, and the number of clergymen of these and other denominations attending the monthly meetings of the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship seems to be increasing steadily. This means that the norms for "official" religious thought in Newfoundland

pulpits are changing and will continue to change. In addition, the increasing number of lay members of the various denominations who are involved in charismatic events and activities tell new kinds of memorates to friends, neighbours, relatives, and fellow churchgoers: perhaps not tales of deliverance from demons (which few charismatics would tell to anyone but another charismatic for fear of alienating their listeners), but accounts of answered prayer, of divine guidance, or perhaps of successful prayer for physical healing. Social action and personal evangelism, though by no means universal features of charismatic culture, can often increase when charismatic involvement increases. Over time, such changes can affect the entire working definition of what it means to be "religious" which is used in a community. In particular, charismatic culture itself can encourage redefinitions of Pentecostal folklife in terms of religious style versus religious content; it can promote ecumenism; and it can provoke the conscious review of assumptions normally taken for granted, such as dispensationalism or trinitarian doctrine. (What does the third Person of the Trinity do?) Such reevaluations and rearrangements of attitude and belief may seem minor in themselves, and may only have discernible effects upon small numbers of people in a community at any given time. However, they are the stuff of which culture change is often made.

In the context of Newfoundland culture and of culture change, it is interesting and perhaps significant that my charismatic informants are often enthusiastic traditionalists. They do not regard themselves

simply as members of a new religious movement, but also as rediscoverers of an ancient heritage. Mr. Gerald Newbury of the First United Church in Mount Pearl is a case in point. His father was a United Church minister in White Bay, who used to stand on the steps outside his parishioners' homes at night and pray for them without letting them know that he was there. In his own deep and enthusiastic Christian convictions, it is his father, more than the country Gospel singers whose music resembles his own, with whom he identifies (f.n. 5/19/83).

Reverend Joseph Burton's strong identification with the "Methodist roots" of the United Church (Ch. 1), and the sense of alliance with the early Franciscans sometimes voiced by Marian Community members, express the same attitude. And at the Salvation Army Temple on Springdale Street in St. John's, where the Captain is a frequent participant in Full Gospel meetings and often refers to the Holy Spirit in his sermons, several Army members have told me that the services are "like going back forty years" or "just like the old Army" (f.n. 12/12/82).

Becoming a charismatic is not necessarily breaking with tradition, from the viewpoint of the one who does so. Sometimes it is a rediscovery of meanings that are felt to belong to traditional forms -- in Ryan's words, "the recovery of religious meaning and a new experiential understanding of Christian religious symbols." It can therefore be, for some, both a nativistic movement in the sense of a return to the "faith of our fathers," and at the same time an acceptance of new religious options from the wider North American and international context. Certainly it

is a form of culture change, but it is probably also helpful in coping with less voluntary kinds of it, for people seem to use it to connect the present with the past as well as the future.

St. John's charismatics are not devotees of trance states. They are not deprived, they are not sick, they are not all lonely or ex-alcoholics or the children of broken homes. Neither are they irrational fanatics who believe things for which they have no evidence, or who hold their beliefs with a self-righteous vengeance that closes its ears to logical and experimental thought. They are normal members of mainstream local society, with the normal range of problems, griefs, strengths, and weaknesses. They generally seem to honestly love one another, love the Christian Trinity, and believe that the triune Lord loves them. They certainly have paranormal experiences, but they are as practical and in touch with reality in their normal lives as anyone else is; they simply define and experience the universe a bit differently than most of their compatriots do. Even this definition and the experiences which are part of it can be fruitfully understood in terms of symbols and metaphors from the common stock of Christianity in western history and culture, as indeed do charismatics themselves. Far from being reminiscent of schizophrenic or paranoid delusions, or any other pathological form of experience, the charismatic paranormal is very reminiscent of myth, and particularly of saints' legends. In fact, the whole cultural system of charismatic Christianity resembles, in its unity and comprehensive quality, the cultures often referred to as "folk," or peasant,

or even tribal or "primitive" in social scientific literature.

As a folklorist, accustomed to the fact that people use myth to think about the supernatural, about life and death and the first causes of things in the everyday world; accustomed to their use of ritual to interact with and present the supernatural; and to the variety of traditional systems which explain and give meaning to happenstance and causation, I would not need pathological or social stress-dependent explanations to come to terms with the existence of charismatic culture around me, even if it were not my own. I can say this with confidence because I have worked with cultural groups whose paranormal experiences supported worldviews and values radically different from my own, and I did not deem them sick or deprived, either. That religious folklife in which myth works, the supernatural is experientiable, and beliefs and values cohere to make the world a relatively ordered and benign place to live in can exist in the midst of a fragmented, technological gesellschaft is cause for relief, not for retreat into explanations which devalue that folklife as aberrant. It may mean that the countless examples of the destruction of coherence and community before the onslaught of technological and social change is not quite all there is to the story. Some members of our own society, at any rate, seem to be integrating powerfully sacred beliefs and assumptions into the everyday life we share, and finding that shared reality quite as manageable from their worldview as we do from ours -- perhaps more manageable. Considering that we spend much of our professional lives in documenting and celebrating the human ability to create

culturally meaningful works of order and beauty, I think we should feel pleased to find the mythic so close to home.

Notes

Introduction

¹ See David Harrell, Jr., All Things are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in America (Indianapolis: Indiana Univ. Press, 1976), pp. ix-x; Richard Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics: The Origins, Development, and Significance of Neo-Pentecostalism (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976), pp. 4-23, *passim*.

² On Christ in Others Renewal, see tape 30, side A; on Cursillo, see Robert R. Broderick, The Catholic Encyclopedia (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1976), p. 147; on Marriage Encounter, see Broderick, pp. 371-72. Genesis II is a Bible study program involving weekly meetings in small groups, with an emphasis on sharing of personal insights, perspectives, and problems (similar to charismatic concepts of "sharing" in prayer meetings). It was initiated in St. John's in 1981.

³ For a discussion of this tendency in church attendance among charismatics, see Quebedeaux, pp. 75, 118-22.

⁴ Lauri Honko, "Memorates and the Study of Folk Beliefs," Journal of the Folklore Institute, 1 (1963), 10.

⁵ Honko, "Memorates," p. 11.

⁶ Robert Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 69-72.

⁷ See Honko, "Genre Analysis in Folkloristics and Comparative Religion," Temenos, 3 (1968), 48-66; Intro. to Science of Religion: Studies in Methodology, ed. Lauri Honko, Religion and Reason 13 (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), pp. xv-xxix; "Memorates and the Study of Folk Beliefs," 6-19; David J. Hufford, "Ambiguity and the Rhetoric of Belief," Kentucky Folklore Quarterly, 21 (1976), 11-25; "Christian Religious Healing," Journal of Operational Psychiatry, 8 (1977), 22-27; "The Supernatural and the Sociology of Knowledge: Explaining Academic Belief," New York Folklore, 9 (1984), in press (quoted from MS.); "Traditions of Disbelief," New York Folklore, 8 (1983), in press (quoted from MS.); Åke Hultkrantz, "The Phenomenology of Religion: Aims and Methods," Temenos, 6 (1970), 68-87; Juha Penttinen, "Belief, Memorates, and Legend," trans. J. Lombardo and W.K. McNeill, Folklore Forum, 6 (1973), 217-241; "Quellenanalytische Probleme der religiösen Überlieferung," Temenos, 6 (1970), 89-118; "The Religio-Anthropological Method," in Oral Repertoire and World View: An Anthropological Study of Marina Takalo's Life History, Folklore Fellows Communications No. 219 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1978), pp. 36-42.

⁸ Don Yoder, "Toward a Definition of Folk Religion," Western Folklore, 33 (1974), 9.

⁹ See, in addition to the works cited above, "Homocids and Anomalous Lights: Taxonomic and Epistemological Problems," Fabula, 18 (1977), 226-33.

¹⁰ See, for example, Diane E. Goldstein, "The Language of Religious Experience and its Implications for Fieldwork," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, Minneapolis, 13-17 Oct., 1982; Hufford, "Ambiguity and the Rhetoric of Belief;" Patrik B. Mullen, "The Relationship of Legend and Folk Belief," Journal of American Folklore, 84 (1971), 406-13; "Ritual and Sacred Narratives in the Blue Ridge Mountains," paper presented at the VIIth Congress of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research, Edinburgh, 15-19 August, 1979; Daniel W. Patterson, "Word, Song, and Motion: Instruments of Celebration among Protestant Radicals of Early Nineteenth-Century America," in Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual, ed. Victor W. Turner (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982, pp. 220-30; Charles K. Wolfe, Children of the Heavenly King: Religious Expression in the Central Blue Ridge, Library of Congress AFC/L69 - 70², 1981. Works on the same issues by scholars in other disciplines include Johannes Fabian, "Genres in an Emerging Tradition: An Anthropological Approach to Religious Communication," in Changing Perspectives in the Scientific Study of Religion, ed. Alan W. Elster (New York: Wiley, 1974), pp. 249-72; Thomas Fawcett, The Symbolic Language of Religion: An Introductory Essay (London: SCM Press, 1970); Dallas M. High, ed. New Essays on Religious Language (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969); Ralph W. Hood, Jr., and Ronald J. Morris, "Knowledge and Experience Criteria in the Report of Mystical Experience," Review of Religious Research, 23 (1981), 76-84; F. Landa Jocano, "Varieties of Supernatural Experiences among Filipino Peasants: Hallucination or Idiom of Cultural Cognition?" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, Honolulu, May 1970; Meredith B. McGuire, "Religious Speaking and Religious Hearing," ch. 5 in Pentecostal Catholics: Power, Charisma, and Order in a Religious Movement (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), pp. 107-24.

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- 23 Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "The Cut that Binds: The Western Ashkenazic Torah Binder as Nexus between Circumcision and Torah," in Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual, pp. 136-46.
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- 25 Hufford, "Ambiguity and the Rhetoric of Belief," p. 12.
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- 28 Barbara Myerhoff, "Rites of Passage: Process and Paradox," in Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual, p. 118.
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Ch. I

1 "We Have Come Into His House," Words and Music by Bruce Ballinger, copyright 1976 by Canticle Publications, Mission, Kansas. In David and Dale Garratt, Scripture in Song, rev. ed. (n.p.: Scripture in Song, 1979), p. 212.

2 100 Huntly Street is produced by Crossroads Christian Communications, Inc., Toronto, and hosted by United Church minister David Mainse. It airs on CION TV in St. John's, and on various local channels across Canada and in some areas of the northern United States for an hour and a half each weekday morning.

3 Glassie, p. 579.

4 Yoder, "Toward a Definition of Folk Religion," p. 9.

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7 See Pieter H. Vrijhoff, "Official and Popular Religion in 20th Century Western Christianity," in Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies, ed. Pieter H. Vrijhoff and Jacques Waardenburg (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), pp. 217-43; Robert Towler, "Common Religion," in his Homo Religiosus: Sociological Problems in the Study of Religion (London: Constable, 1974), pp. 145-62; Peter W. Williams, Popular Religion in America: Symbolic Change and the Modernization Process in Historical Perspective (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.:

Prentice-Hall, 1980); Yoder, "Toward a Definition of Folk Religion," For an example of the class-oriented use of the term "folk" in religious scholarship by a folklorist, see William M. Clements, "The American Folk Church in Northeast Arkansas," Journal of the Folklore Institute, 15 (1978), 161-80.

⁸ Yoder, "Toward a Definition of Folk Religion," 14.

⁹ Johannes Pakian, Jamaa: A Charismatic Movement in Katanga (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1971), pp. 21, 35.

¹⁰ Yoder, "The Folklife Studies Movement," Pennsylvania Folklife, July 1963, pp. 43-56.

¹¹ See, for example, Jane Faulkner Bouvy, "Folk Catholicism in Indiana," Indiana Folklore, 9 (1976), 147-63; Fish, "Roman Catholicism as Folk Religion in Buffalo;" Robert Redfield, Tepostlan: A Mexican Village, A Study of Folk Life (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1930). Much of the work by British and American folklorists usually classified as having to do with "folk belief," "custom and belief," or "superstition" (or even "folk medicine") involves religious material conceived in this manner. See, for example, Wayland Hand, Magical Medicine: The Folkloric Component of Medicine in the Folk Belief, Custom, and Ritual of the Peoples of Europe and America (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1980).

¹² For discussion of these terms see Vrijhoff and Waardenburg: Williams, pp. 60-72; Yoder, "Official Religion versus Folk Religion," Pennsylvania Folklife, Winter, 1965-66, pp. 36-42.

¹³ For example, the following books by Pentecostals and Protestant evangelicals were for sale by the "book ministry" of both the Good Shepherd Prayer Community, Freshwater, Placentia Bay, c. 1975, and the Marian Prayer Community, St. John's, 1981-83; Donald Gee, Concerning Spiritual Gifts, ed. (London, 1937; rpt. Springfield, Mo.: Gospel Publishing House, n.d.); Kathryn Kuhlman, Standing Tall (Old Tappan, N.J.: Spire, 1973); Rosalind Rinker, You Can Witness with Confidence (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1962); John L. Shertill, They Speak with Other Tongues (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964); John White, The Cost of Commitment (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1976).

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¹⁷ Dayton, pp. 47-48.

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²² Garrigus, "How God Delivered from a Mob," MS. in archives of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, n.d., p. 1. Also in Garrigus, "Walking in the King's Highway," Ch. 12, Good Tidings, March 1940, p. 8, quoted by Janes, The Lady Who Came, pp. 112-13.

²³ Janes gives numerous accounts of congruent inspiration, taken as evidence of divine leadership. See, for example, The Lady Who Came, pp. 120-23.

²⁴ Janes, The Lady Who Came, pp. 12-123.

²⁵ Garrigus, "Walking," Good Tidings, September 1940, p. 6; Eugene Vaters, "An Appreciation of Miss A.B. Garrigus," PAON Archives, MS. n.d.; Janes, The Lady Who Came, p. 123.

²⁶ Victoria Booth Clibborn-Demarest, "Rays of His Splendor," MS. PAON Archives, 1982, quoted in Janes, "Tribute to a Special Lady," Good Tidings, July-August 1982, p. 40.

²⁷ Myrtle Bloomfield Eddy, "Bethesda," Part 1, Good Tidings, January-February 1975, p. 6. Quoted in Janes, "Tribute," p. 40.

28 Harvey Rice, "The Origins and Development of the Pentecostal Movement in Newfoundland and Labrador," student essay, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, PAON Archives, MS., 1973, p. 12. See also Dave Penney, "Health Beliefs of the PAON," Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, MS., 79-783, p. 5. This Archive is hereinafter referred to as MUNFLA.

29 For maps and statistical tables showing the growth and current distribution of Pentecostals in Newfoundland, see Merv Anthony, "Pentecostalism: A Cultural Study," student essay, Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland, PAON Archives, MS., 1982. For descriptions of Pentecostal history and official beliefs in Newfoundland today see John W. Hammond, The Joyful Sound: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador (St. John's: Good Tidings Press, 1982); James, "Who Are We? The Origins and Growth of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland: A Brief Study," PAON Archives, MS., 1981; "You're Pentecostal Neighbour. . .," in Camp Emmanuel '82, supplement to The Pilot, July 21, 1982, pp. 19-24. A valuable autobiography is A.S. Bursey, Personally Speaking (St. John's: Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, 1975). The autobiography of Eugene Vaters, ed. Burton K. James, is forthcoming from Good Tidings Press in 1983-84. For local primary source material on Newfoundland lay Pentecostal thought and official belief, see the PAON's periodical, Good Tidings, 1928 ff., in the PAON archives. For North American primary source material, see The Pentecostal Evangel, 1925-27; The Elm Pentecostal Evangel, 1927-28; The Pentecostal Herald, 1928 ff., also in the PAON Archives. For Newfoundland Pentecostal belief on prayer, see The Prayer Chain Bulletin, 1963 ff., PAON Archives. For the history of the Pentecostal Assemblies in North America, a number of studies are available. See Gloria G. Kulbeck, What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (Toronto: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958); David William Faupel, The American Pentecostal Movement: A Bibliographic Essay (Wilmore, Ky.: B.L. Fischer Library, Asbury Theological Seminary, 1972). Among the studies available on North American Pentecostals are Marion Dearman, "Christ and Conformity: A Study of Pentecostal Values," JSSR, 13 (1974), 437-54; Martin E. Marty, "Pentecostalism in the Context of American Piety and Practice," in Synan, pp. 195-233; Kilian McDonnell, "The Ideology of Pentecostal Conversion," Journal of Ecumenical Studies, 5 (1968), 105-26; Carol Ann Mortland, "The Church of the Saints of the Last Days: An Interpretation of an American Pentecostal Group," Disp. Univ. of Oregon, 1981. See in particular Frank E. Manning, "Pentecostalism: Christianity and Reputation," in Perspectives on Pentecostalism: Case Studies From Latin America and the Caribbean, ed. Stephen D. Glazier (Washington, D.C.: Univ. Press of America, 1980), pp. 177-87.

30 Sandra Harris, "The Outsider," MUNFLA, MS., 76-315/p. 6.

31 Phyllis McCann, "Religious Discrimination in Conception Bay," MUNFLA, MS., 78-302/pp. 9-10. See also Anne Dawson, "Impressions of a Catholic Resident of a Predominately [sic] Protestant Community: Bay Roberts, C.B." Archives of Undergraduate Research in Newfoundland Society

and Culture, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, p. 3. This archive hereinafter referred to as AUMNSC.

32 For this and other commonplace of Newfoundland Pentecostal rhetoric, see Bursey, Vaters, and Good Tidings. For lay usage of religious rhetoric, see the obituaries and testimonial letters in Good Tidings.

33 Ness, p. 120. On testifying as verbal art, see Burns and Smith; Kroll-Smith; Lawless; McGuire, "The Social Context of Prophecy" and "Testimony as a Commitment Mechanism;" Rosenberg, "The Formulaic Quality of Spontaneous Sermons;" Titon; and Wolfe. Also of relevance are Barbara Allen, "Personal Experience Narratives: Use and Meaning in Interaction," Folklore and Mythology Studies, 2 (1978), 5-7; Lawrence Small, "Patterns in Personal Experience Narratives: Storytelling at Cod Harbour -- a Newfoundland Fishing Community," Master's thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972; Sandra K.D. Stahl, ed. Journal of the Folklore Institute, 14, Nos. 1-2 (1977), special issue on personal experience narratives. See also Clements, "The Pentecostal Shaman," Folklore Institute Journal, 17 (1980), 169-95; Mullen, "Ritual and Sacred Narratives," for testimonial narratives recorded in private interviews. For Newfoundland Pentecostal testimonies, see tapes 38-1, side B; 38-2, side A; 39-2, side A.

34 See Carrigus, "Walking;" Vaters, forthcoming; Tapes 3-1, sides A and B; and 21, side A.

35 All quotations from the Bible are given in the King James Version, because it is the most important translation for the shaping of local interpretations of passages, and has contributed a great many images and metaphors to folk speech. The Marian Community uses primarily the Jerusalem Bible, but shares many of the concepts and metaphors from the King James Version current in the rest of the charismatic community.

36 The literature available on this topic is vast. Among the valuable general scholarly studies are William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience (New York: New American Library-Mentor, 1958); C. Grant Loomis, White Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Society of America, 1948); Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (New York: Scribner's, 1971). Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage, supplies information on Marian apparitions; Peter Brown, The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1981), also supplies information on Roman Catholic tradition. For North American legend and memorate, see Paula Hathaway Anderson-Green, "The Lord's Work": Southern Folk Belief in Signs, Warnings, and Dream Visions," Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin, 43 (1977), 113-27; Jan Harold Brunvand, "Modern Legends of Mormonism, or, Supernaturalism is Alive and Well in Salt Lake City," in American Folk Legend: A Symposium, ed. Wayland D. Hand (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1970), pp. 185-202; Donald E. Byrne, No Foot of Land: Folklore of American Methodist

Itinerants (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1975); F.A. de Caro, "Indiana Miracle Legends," Indiana Folklore, 2 (1969), 36-53; Glenn Clark, I Will Lift Up Mine Eyes (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937); Austin and Alta Fife, Saints of Sage and Saddle: Folklore Among the Mormons (1956; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1966); C. Grant Loomis, "The American Tall Tale and the Miraculous," California Folklore Quarterly, 4 (1945), 109-28; Yoder, "Official Religion versus Folk Religion;" "The Saint's Legend in Pennsylvania German Folk Culture," in American Folk Legend, pp. 157-83.

37 See Clarence B. Bass, Backgrounds to Dispensationalism (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1960); Quebedeaux, p. 31.

38 Hollenweger's original study, Enthusiastisches Christentum: Die Pfingstbewegung in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Rolf Brockhaus Wuppertal Zwingli Verlag, 1969), is available at Yale University Library. For an outline of the contents of the full work, see Kilian McDonnell, "New Dimensions in Research on Pentecostalism," Worship, 45 (1971), 214-19. For socio-cultural, theological, and historical profiles of Neopentecostalism and the Charismatic Renewal in the United States, see Quebedeaux; individual Pentecostal and charismatic leaders are discussed by Harrell. Both classical Pentecostal and Neopentecostal-charismatic developments worldwide are discussed by Hollenweger, with several ethnographic portraits. the socio-cultural dimensions and implications of Neopentecostalism and charismatic renewal are the subject of a continually growing body of social scientific and theological literature. Social scientific studies dealing with these developments in various countries are listed in McGuire, Pentecostal Catholics, pp. 228-29 (note 20); Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, has a bibliography of international theological and social scientific literature. Separate bibliographies of works by members and non-members of these religious groups in North America are given in Quebedeaux. Harrell reviews Pentecostal and charismatic periodicals, as well as theological and social scientific works on the American context (pp. 240-54).

39 See Harrell, pp. 146-49; Quebedeaux, *passim*.

40 For data on these and other countries, see Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, part 1, "History," pp. 7-290.

41 David Wilkerson, and John and Elizabeth Sherrill, The Cross and the Switchblade (New York: Bernard Geis Associate Gospel Publishing House, 1963).

42 Nicky Cruse and Jamie Buckingham, Run Baby Run (Plainfield, N.J.: Logos International, 1968).

43 Roy Hicks Jr., Director, One Way Ministries, and Pacific Northwest Director, International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, "Rise and Pray," Rhema Tape Ministries cassette no. R531C, Faith Center Foursquare Gospel Church, Eugene, Oregon, 30 March 1980. For a summary and

discussion of social scientific studies of the Jesus Movement, see Max Heirich, "Change of Heart: A Test of Some Widely Held Theories about Religious Conversion," American Journal of Sociology, 83 (1977), 653-80.

⁴⁴ See Harrell, pp. 182, 186, 229; Québedeaux, pp. 46, 53, 82.

⁴⁵ See Henry Pitney Van Dusen, "Force's Lessons for Others," Life, June 6, 1958, pp. 26-29.

⁴⁶ John L. Sherrill, They Speak With Other Tongues (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964). These three explanations are given, respectively, in Léon Joseph Cardinal Suenens, A New Pentecost? (New York: Seabury, 1974); Edward D. O'Connor, The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church (Notre Dame, Ind.: Ave Maria Press, 1971), pp. 13-16; Québedeaux, pp. 63-64. For general information on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, see Richard Bord and Joseph Faulkner, "Religiosity and Secular Attitudes: the Case of Catholic Pentecostals," JSSR, 14 (1975), 257-70; Thomas J. Chordas, "Building the Kingdom: The Creativity of Ritual Performance in Catholic Pentecostalism," Diss. Duke Univ. 1980; Joseph H. Fichter, The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete (New York: Sheet & Ward, 1975); C. Lincoln Johnson and Andrew J. Weigert, "An Emerging Faithstyle: A Research Note on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal," Sociological Analysis, 39 (1978), 165-72; Herbert J. Kuehne, "An Ethnological Study of Metaphorical Differences in the Ideologies of Charismatic and Non-Charismatic Roman Catholics," Diss. Univ. of Kentucky at Lexington 1978; Meredith B. McGuire, Pentecostal Catholics: Power, Charisma, and Order in a Religious Movement (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982); [O'Connor, Edward D.], "The Literature of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal," in Perspectives on Charismatic Renewal, ed. Edward D. O'Connor (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 145-84. "The Renewal Reaches the World: An Interview with Tom Forrest," New Covenant, July-Aug. 1982, pp. 22-28; Joseph Michael Ryan, "Life in the Spirit: Cultural Values and Identity Changes among Catholic Pentecostals," Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania 1978. Johannes Fabian's work deals with a movement that is perhaps "charismatic" in a Weberian sense: Jamaica cannot be considered part of the Charismatic Renewal (and its members, apparently, do not consider themselves so). Bibliographies of charismatic Catholic literature are listed in O'Connor, "Literature," pp. 183-84. Chordas, p. 216, refers to another forthcoming bibliography, Philip P. O'Mara, "The Books and the Scholarship of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal: An Annotated Bibliography," Catholic Library World, n.d. Sources of particular relevance to the ethos and worldview of the Marian Community because they have been read by several of its members are Steve Clark, Baptized in the Spirit and Spiritual Gifts (Pecos, N.M.: Dove Publications, and Ann Arbor, Mich.: Servant Books, 1976); Pope John Paul II, "The Gifts of Pentecost," Annals for the Propagation of the Faith for Central and Western Canada, June-July 1979, pp. 4-7; John V. McGuire, Catholic and Pentecostal (New Haven: Catholic Information Service, 1972); the periodical New Covenant (Ann Arbor, Mich.: 1971--); Father Joe Nolen, "What Should I Think about the Charismatics?" (Ligouri, Mo.: Ligouri Publications, 1981), in parish bulletins for several Roman

Catholic churches in St. John's and other communities in Newfoundland, 11 Oct; 1981; Edward D. O'Connor, The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church (Notre Dame, Ind.: Ave Maria Press, 1971); Pope Paul VI, To the Catholic Charismatics, trans. L'Osservatore Romano (Boston: Daughters of St. Paul, n.d.); Leon Joseph Cardinal Suenens, A New Pentecost?.

47 Quebedeaux, p. 65.

48 Quebedeaux, p. 67.

49 Pope Paul VI, Pope Paul Addresses Charismatics in St. Peter's: Statement on Charismatic Renewal (Pecos, N.M.: Dove Publications, n.d., n.p.), quoted in Jim Scully, "Charismatic Renewal" (Pecos, N.M.: Dove Leaflets, n.d.), n.p. Dist. in St. John's by 100 Huntly Street Counseling Office.

50 Quebedeaux, pp. 66-68. See also Douglas B. McGaw, "Meaning and Belonging in a Charismatic Congregation: An Investigation into the Sources of Neo-Pentecostal Success," Review of Religious Research, 21 (1980), 284-301, which seems (though the group is unnamed) to be a study of the Word of God Community; certainly one of its affiliates. Sociologists Max Heirich and Michael I. Harrison have also worked with the Word of God Community. See Heirich, "Change of Heart;" Harrison, "The Maintenance of Enthusiasm: Involvement in a New Religious Movement," Sociological Analysis, 36 (1975), 150-60; "Preparation for Life in the Spirit: The Process of Initial Commitment to a Religious Movement," Urban Life and Culture, 2 (1973-74), 387-414; "Sources of Recruitment to Catholic Pentecostalism," JSSR, 13 (1974), 49-64. See also Steven B. Clark (leader in the Word of God Community), Building Christian Communities (Notre Dame, Ind.: Ave Maria Press, 1972).

51 On these and other sources of charismatic publications, see Harrell, pp. 180-83, 243; Quebedeaux, pp. 79-81.

52 See Harrell, pp. 146-49, 180-84, 230-31; Quebedeaux, pp. 69-70, 99-106.

53 Kevin and Dorothy Ranaghan, "Catholics and Pentecostals Meet in the Spirit," in As the Spirit Leads Us, ed. Kevin and Dorothy Ranaghan (Paramus, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1971), p. 129; quoted in Quebedeaux, p. 134.

54 Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, p. 8; quoted in Quebedeaux, p. 135.

55 Quebedeaux, pp. 114-18; see also Heirich; Harrison, "Sources of Recruitment."

56 For definition of the terms, see D. G. Jortsen, "Closed and Open Belief Systems," Second Order, 7 (1978), 41-69; for a description

of charismatic renewal as a decentralized, internally diverse, evolving system, see Quebedeaux, Ch. 5, "Faith and Practice," pp. 107-44.

57 For background material on religion in Newfoundland culture, see Dawson; James Dobbin, "Beliefs of Priests on the Official and Unofficial Beliefs of the Church," MUNFLA, MS. 72-35, tapes F1019c, A1019-1020, C1108-1109 (1972); Alison Earle, From the Governor's Returns: Showing Distribution of Roman Catholics and Protestants in the Various Communities (St. John's: n. pub., n.d.), in Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland; Marian Foster, The Churches in Newfoundland: An Index to the Material Dealing with Religion in the Newfoundland Quarterly (1901-1951) (n.p., n. pub., 1977), in Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial Univ. of Newfoundland; Thomas Fowler, "The Role of R.C. Priests in Mount Carmel; Salmonier, St. Mary's Bay," AURNSC, n.d.; Harris; Y. Hurwitz, "A Comparison of Religious Denomination in Newfoundland and Labrador Communities," MS., AURNSC, n.d.; McCann; Fabian O'Flaherty, "A Comparison Between an English Protestant and an Irish Catholic Community: Burnt Point/Northern Bay, and Gull Island, Ms., AURNSC, n.d.; Sneebea Phillips, "a) John Regular, A Religious Singer and Musician, b) Pentecostal Songs and Instruments," MUNFLA, MS. 78-464; tapes 4815c, C4264 (1978); Virginia Whitten, "Religious Denominationalism at Petty Harbour, 1900-1979," AURNSC, n.d.; Agnes Young, "Folk Religion on the Cape Shore," MUNFLA, MS. 78-193. On Pentecostal and charismatic folklife and belief in Newfoundland, see Sheila Brown, "Folklore and the Everyday Life of a Group: the Catholic Charismatic Renewal," MS., Department of Folklore, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979; A. Gerard Nash, "Faith Healing in the Charismatic Renewal," MUNFLA, MS. 78-298; David Penney, "Health Beliefs of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland," MUNFLA, MS. 79-738, tapes F3988c, C5352; Edmund Wyse, "If I Speak with the Tongues of Men and Angels," MS., Department of Religious Studies, Memorial Univ. of Newfoundland, 1977, in private collection of Dr. Morley Hodder, Department of Religious Studies.

58 On Newfoundland traditions of devotion to St. Gerard Magella, see Marion Bowman, photographs, medals, and religious prints of St. Gerard Magella, MUNFLA, MS. 78-196; A. Gerard Nash, "An Examination of the Religious Beliefs of a Newfoundland Catholic Community -- Branch, St. Mary's Bay," MUNFLA, MS. 78-304, pp. 18-19.

59 Informal forms of address are common among local charismatics, and are used where appropriate in the text.

60 On Catholic belief and practice regarding divine healing, see William A. Christian, Jr., Person and God in a Spanish Valley (New York: Seminar Press, 1972); Smith; Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage, passim in all.

61 Pope Paul VI, quoted by Leon Joseph Cardinal Suenens, "Assessing the Charismatic Renewal," radio interview by Father John Catoir, n. station, n. loc., n.d. (Copyright Modern Cassette Library, Ave Maria Press, Notre

Dame, ind.), Tape no. 37, side B.

⁶² Mrs. Harold Andrews (Sybil), telephone interview, 30 April 1983.

⁶³ [John Mercer,] "The Worship Centre: Discovering God's Love and Sharing it with Others," special church bulletin, 26 July 1981.

⁶⁴ On the roles of women in leadership in classical Pentecostalism, see Lawless; in Neopentecostalism and charismatic renewal, see Quebedeaux, pp. 109-10.

Ch. II

¹ Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," p. 90.

² Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage, pp. 250-51.

³ See Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, Beyond Boredom and Anxiety: The Experience of Play in Work and Games (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975; summary definition in Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage, p. 254.

⁴ "Sweet, Sweet Spirit," Words and Music by Doris Akers, copyright 1962 by Manna Music, Burbank, Calif. In Hal Spencer, Carl Farrer, and Dwight Elrich, comp. Here Comes Jesus: A Youth Hymnal (Burbank, Calif.: Manna Music, 1973), pp. 2-3.

⁵ Bill Bright, Have You Heard of the Four Spiritual Laws? (San Bernardino, Ca.: Campus Crusade for Christ International, 1965).

⁶ Victor Turner, The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure (Chicago: Aldine, 1969), p. 128.

⁷ Joseph Epes Brown, The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), passim; cf. Black Elk, Fwd., pp. xxix-xx.

⁸ On concepts of pollution and purity, see Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966).

⁹ Victor Turner, "Metaphors of Anti-Structure in Religious Culture," in Changing Perspectives in the Scientific Study of Religion, ed. Alan W. Eister (New York: Wiley, 1974), p. 75.

¹⁰ Carol L. Edwards, "The Parry-Lord Theory Meets Operational Structuralism," Journal of American Folklore, 96 (1983), p. 161.

¹¹ See Chordas, pp. 73-104; Hollenweger, pp. 89-90; Kuehne, pp. 30-72.

¹² On the concept of "Indian time" see Barre Toelken, "Folklore, Worldview, and Communication," in Folklore: Performance and Communication, ed. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), pp. 272-76.

¹³ See Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage, pp. 250-51.

¹⁴ Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage, p. 254.

¹⁵ "I Know a Fount," Words and Music by Oliver Cooke, copyright n.d. by the Salvation Army, London. In Praise! Our Songs and Hymns, comp. John W. Peterson (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan-Singspiration, 1979), No. 273; and Norman Johnson, "For Those Tears I Died," Words and Music by Marsha J. Stevens, copyright 1969 by "Children of the Day" Publishing, Costa Mesa, Calif. In 100 Heartwarming Sacred Favorites (Nashville: John T. Benson Publishing, 1976), pp. 134-35; also in Jane Ryan, comp. [The Marian Prayer Community Songbook] (St. John's, Nfld.: NS., Private Collection, 1982), p. 6.

¹⁶ Victor Turner, Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1974), p. 287.

¹⁷ Epigram, in The Note-Book of William Blake, called the Rosetti Manuscript, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (1935; rpt. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1970), p. 241. Quoted in V. Turner, Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors, p. 287.

¹⁸ Hufford, "Ambiguity," p. 18. See also Peter Brown, "Praesentia," Ch. 5, pp. 86-105.

¹⁹ Frederick Dale Bruner, A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and New Testament Witness (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1970), p. 59.

²⁰ Andrew M. Greeley, The Sociology of the Paranormal: A Reconnaissance, Sage Research Papers in the Social Sciences, Studies in Religion and Ethnicity, Vol. 3 (Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications, 1975), pp. 57-59.

²¹ Csikszentmihalyi, pp. 11-38.

²² Turner and Turner, pp. 138-39, 254-55.

23 See Csikszentmihalyi, pp. 11-38; Victor Turner, "Metaphors of Anti-Structure," pp. 74-75.

24 James, p. 193; see also Greeley, The Sociology of the Paranormal, pp. 49-52.

25 "Bless His Holy Name," Words and Music by Andrae Crouch, copyright 1973 by Lexicon Music, n.p. In David Culross, comp. Bread of Life: Scripture Songs (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan-Singspiration, 1979), p. 90.

26 "Let Everything Within Me Cry Holy," Composer unknown, trans. Melvin Harrell, copyright 1963 by Gospel Publishing House. In "Melody Choruses," n.p. In Garratt and Garratt, No. 123.

27 "I Will Bless the Lord at All Times," Words and Music by Vep Ellis, copyright 1967 by Vep Ellis, n.p. In Garratt and Garratt, No. 32.

28 "Let's Just Praise the Lord," Words and Music by William J. Gaither and Gloria Gaither, copyright 1972 by William J. Gaither, n.p. In Peterson and Johnson, No. 79.

29 "I Will Sing Unto the Lord," Words and Music by Dale Garratt, copyright 1972 by Scripture in Song, Mission, Kansas. In Garratt and Garratt, No. 99.

30 "Come My People," composer unknown, in Jane Ryan, p. 5.

31 Fish, "Pilgrimage as Performance."

32 See, for example, Hollenweger, New Wine in Old Wineskins (Gloucester, England: Fellowship Press, 1973); James W. Jones, Filled with New Wine: The Charismatic Renewal of the Church (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); the charismatic periodical New Wine (1969-), published by Holy Spirit Teaching Mission (Later Christian Growth Ministries), Fort Lauderdale, Florida. Cf. also the classical Pentecostal chorus (also sung by the United Church charismatic prayer group in Shearstown, Conception Bay, Newfoundland), "He Poured in the Oil and the Wine" (composer unknown).

33 "Come to Me," Words and Music by Anne Marie Sheehan, copyright unknown. In Jane Ryan, p. 5.

34 "Bind Us Together, Lord," Words and Music by Bob Gillman, copyright n.d. by Thank You Music, n.p. In Garratt and Garratt, No. 185.

35 "How Good is the Lord," [Words and Music by Carey Landry, copyright n.d. by North American Liturgy Resources, Phoenix, Arizona]. In Jane Ryan, p. 18.

36 "His Name is Wonderful," Words and Music by Audrey Meir, copyright 1959 by Manna Music, Burbank, Calif. In Peterson and Johnson, No. 65.

37 For recorded glossolalial utterances, see Felicitas D. Goodman, "Phonetic Analysis of Glossolalia in Four Cultural Settings," *JSSR*, 8 (1969), 227-36; Bennetta Jules-Rosette, "Ceremonial Trance Behavior in an African Church: Private Experience and Public Expression," *JSSR*, 19 (1980), 9-13. William T. Samarin, Tongues of Men and Angels: The Religious Language of Pentecostalism (New York: Macmillan, 1972), is the most thorough sociolinguistic study currently available. The separation of syllables into words in this example, and, of course, the phonetic spelling, are open to question. Some glossolalists "know" where one word ends and the next begins; others do not. On the "mode" of listening given to glossolalial utterance, see McGuire, Pentecostal Catholics, p. 119. My notation of this utterance was checked against a tape recording made by Don Cuff.

38 C.S. Lewis, Mere Christianity (1952; rpt. Glasgow: Wm. Collins Sons, 1977.)

39 "Gentle Shepherd," Words and Music by William J. Gaither and Gloria Gaither, copyright 1974 by William J. Gaither (ASCAP). In J. Aaron Brown and Associates, comp. Gospels Best -- Words and Music (n.p.: Hal Leonard Publishing, 1983), p. 82.

40 "They'll Know We are Christians By Our Love," Words by Peter Scholtes, Music traditional (St. Brendan's). Copyright 1966 by F.E.L. Publications, Ltd., n.p. In Peterson and Johnson, No. 136.

41 Victor and Edith Turner, "Religious Celebrations," in Celebration, pp. 202-03.

42 On the primacy of this characteristic in the cultural evaluation of leaders among North American Neopentecostals and charismatics see Earrell, pp. 181-87, 212-14.

43 "Ho, Ho, Ho, Hosanna," Words and Music by Jason Daniel, copyright by Birdwing Music, Canoga Park, Calif. In Billy Ray Hearn, comp. Communion: A Songbook for God's People in Harmony, ed. Phil Perkins (Canoga Park, Calif.: Birdwing Music, 1978, p. 109.

44 Interpretations related to this one have been suggested by Robert Plant Armstrong, letter received 20 July 1982, and Belle Plumb, "Glossolalia: A Mode of Human Communication," Journal of Anthropology at McMaster, 5 (1980), 1-20.

45 "Lose Yourself in Me," composer unknown. In Jane Ryan, p. 27.

46 "Learning to Lean," Words and Music by John Stallings, copyright 1976 by HeartWarming Music, n.p. In Brown and Associates, p. 174.

47 See Emory Sekaquaptewa, "Hopi Indian Ceremonies," in Seeing with a Native Eye: Essays on Native American Religion, ed. Walter Holden Carr (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 39.

48 "Holy is the Lord of Hosts," Words and Music by Noéne Prince, copyright 1976 by Scripture in Song, Mission, Kansas. In Garratt and Garratt, No. 159.

49 Johann Huizinga, Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture (London, 1944; rpt. Boston: Beacon, 1955), pp. 17-18.

50 Patterson, in Turner, ed., Celebration; see text and fig. 90, p. 222.

51 E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "Religion and the Anthropologists," Practical Anthropology, 19 (1972), 205. (Originally published in Blackfriars, 41, No. 480 [1960], pp. 104-18.) Quoted in Claude E. Stipe, "Anthropologists versus Missionaries: The Influence of Pre-suppositions," Current Anthropology, 21 (1980), 167.

52 See, in particular, the essays contained in V. Turner, ed., Celebration, for examples and discussion of this developing analytic perspective.

53 Greeley, The Sociology of the Paranormal, p. 82, calculates the estimated number of people in the American population who have had some degree of mystical experience, based on his survey data, at twenty million.

54 Greeley, The Sociology of the Paranormal, pp. 75-82.

55 Turner, "Metaphors of Anti-Structure," p. 76.

56 Csikszentmihalyi, pp. 23, 35-50.

Ch. III

1 Turner and Turner, "Religious Celebrations," p. 201.

2 For a representative and well-described autobiographical example see Dave Hunt, Confessions of a Heretic (Plainfield, N.J.: Logos International, 1972). The author is a member of the Plymouth Brethren.

3 Kenneth S. Goldstein; Hufford, "Ambiguity," p. 11.

⁴ Michael Owen Jones, "Folk Belief: Knowledge and Action," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 31 (1967), 304-09.

⁵ A mentifact is "any ideational product of society," as an artifact is a material product. Hugo F. Reading, A Dictionary of the Social Sciences (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 127.

⁶ On the relationship of beliefs and worldview, see Alan Dundes, "Folk Ideas as Units of Worldview," in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, ed. Americo Paredes and Richard Bauman (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press for the American Folklore Society, 1972), pp. 93-103; W.T. Jones, "World Views: Their Nature and Their Function," Current Anthropology, 13 (1972), 79-109.

⁷ See the discussion of social scientific theories and premises dealing with conversion in Heirich, pp. 654-60.

⁸ Heirich, p. 673.

⁹ Greeley, The Sociology of the Paranormal, p. 77.

¹⁰ Honko, "Memorates and the Study of Folk Beliefs," p. 11, comments on the same tendency among his Finnish informants regarding encounters with various types of spirits.

¹¹ For ethnographic descriptions of Life in the Spirit Seminars, see Harrison, "Preparation for Life in the Spirit," and Ryan, "Life in the Spirit," Ch. 5.

¹² For discussion of some classical Pentecostal patterns in accounts of conversion (often an integral part of one's testimony in classical Pentecostal tradition) see William M. Clements, "The Base Sinner Persona in Oral Conversion Narratives," paper presented at the VIIIth Congress of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research, Edinburgh, 15-19 August 1979. An excellent discussion of values, decision-making, and cultural processes in conversion to Neopentecostal-charismatic Christianity is Kilian McDonnell, "The Ideology of Pentecostal Conversion," Journal of Ecumenical Studies, 5 (1968), 105-26. Autobiographical accounts of classical Pentecostal conversion in Newfoundland appear in Mrs. James Elliott, "Letter to 'The Old, Old, Story,'" 15 September 1983, MS., PAON Archives, and in Edmund Osmond, Call of the Labrador (Port Colborne, Ontario: The Moss Press for E.C. Osmond, 1973, Ch. 3. See also Bursey, Vaters.

¹³ On these and related concepts see William James, p. 308; Victor Turner, "Metaphors of Anti-Structure," pp. 66, 69, 75.

¹⁴ Joseph Michael Ryan, "Life in the Spirit."

¹⁵ Actually, it appears that Neopentecostal-charismatic theory is consistent over a wider geographic range than St. John's and

Newfoundland. Chordas, "Building the Kingdom," pp. 45-46, reports much the same kinds of concepts as I found in St. John's. Also, the Neopentecostal-charismatic authors I have consulted are unanimous on the points listed here -- and also on the insistence that, contrary to early Methodist Holiness doctrine and to Newfoundland Pentecostal folk concepts (Tape 21, side A), baptism in the Holy Spirit does not bring about instant sanctification ("Christian Perfection," in the early Oberlin writings). See, for example, Barbara Shull, How to Become a Skilled Intercessor (Lynwood, Wa.: Women's Aglow-Cornerstone, 1978), p. 14.

¹⁶ For other descriptions and discussions of "slaying in the Spirit" (called "dormition" by some of Chordas's informants) see Chordas, "Building the Kingdom," pp. 157-58; tapes 6-3, side A, and 48-1, side A. For its occurrence in classical Pentecostal and early Methodist contexts, see Patterson, p. 222 (Fig. 90); Rice, p. 14; tape 3-2, side A.

¹⁷ See, for example, Honko, Geisterglaube in Ingermanland, Folklore Fellows Communications No. 185 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedatkatemia, 1962); Barbara G. Myerhoff, "Shamanic Equilibrium: Balance and Mediation in Known and Unknown Worlds," in American Folk Medicine, pp. 99-108; Dorothy Spencer, Disease, Religion and Society in the Fiji Islands, Monographs of the American Ethnological Society No. 2 (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1941).

Ch. IV

¹ Thomas Szasz, The Second Sin (New York: Doubleday, 1973), n.p. Quoted in Reader's Digest, January 1983, p. 131.

² Tape recordings of speakers' addresses are usually made by the conference convenors at gatherings sponsored by national or international offices of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal and FCGMFI, and these tapes make up the greatest part of the Marian Community's and the Rostotskis' collections respectively.

³ Widespread Neopentecostal-charismatic beliefs regarding glossolalia are discussed in Dennis Bennett, "The Gifts of the Holy Spirit," in The Charismatic Movement, ed. Michael P. Hamilton (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 15-32; Larry Christenson, Speaking in Tongues and Its Significance for the Church (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1968), pp. 114-18. Informant self-descriptions of experience are quoted in Morton T. Kelsey, Tongue Speaking: An experiment in Spiritual Experience (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954), passim; John P. Kildahl, "Psychological Observations," in Hamilton, pp. 114-18; Samarin, pp. 43-70, 203-10.

- ⁴ Clark, Baptized in the Spirit, pp. 126-28.
- ⁵ Marie Hedderson, "Charismatics: The Roman Catholic Pentecostals," The Newfoundland Herald, 29 August - 4 September 1981, p. 19.
- ⁶ Wyse, questionnaires in Appendix I, n.p. [pp. 25-40].
- ⁷ Wyse, questionnaire respondent, male, age 35-40, in Appendix I [p. 37].
- ⁸ Wyse, questionnaire respondent, gender and age unspecified, [p. 40].
- ⁹ Wyse, questionnaire respondent, gender and age unspecified, [p. 34].
- ¹⁰ See Bennett, "The Gifts of the Holy Spirit," pp. 19-30; Clark, Baptized in the Spirit, pp. 127-28; Hollenweger, pp. 3-4.
- ¹¹ For further discussions of glossolalia, see Watson E. Mills, "Literature on Glossolalia," Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation, 26 (1974), 169-73. For other accounts of preaching in the unknown native language of a listener or region, see Loomis, White Magic, p. 72; tape 49, side B.
- ¹² Joseph Michael Ryan, "'Life in the Spirit,'" p. 188.
- ¹³ Clark, Baptized in the Spirit, p. 127.
- ¹⁴ For interpretations of tongues in "King James English," see Samarin, pp. 169-71; Titon, pp. 588-89.
- ¹⁵ Joyce Senior, undated prophecy, in the personal notebooks of Don Cuff. Used by permission.
- ¹⁶ For example, see [Carrigus], "The Sickle and the Grain," Newfoundland Pentecostal Evangel, (February 1929), p. 2; Mrs. Eugene Vaters, "A Threefold Vision," The Independent Communion, June 1924, p. 2. See also Chordas, "Building the Kingdom," pp. 159-63; Kuehne, pp. 93-95.
- ¹⁷ See McGuire, Pentecostal Catholics, pp. 98-100; "The Social Context of Prophecy," 140-43.
- ¹⁸ For other discussions of prophecy see Dennis Bennett, "The Gifts of the Holy Spirit," p. 17; Ford, 118-19. Some theories concerning cross-cultural social functions of prophecy are offered in Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (New York: Scribner's, 1971), pp. 148-49.
- ¹⁹ Clark, Baptized in the Spirit, pp. 116-21.

20 James P. Spradley and Michael A. Rynkiewicz, Ethics and Anthropology: Dilemmas in Fieldwork (New York: Wiley, 1976).

21 For other discussions of the words of knowledge and wisdom, see Clark, Baptized in the Spirit, pp. 118-16; Ford, pp. 118-19. Bennetta Jules-Rosette does not name the phenomenon, but her transcribed quotations from informants resemble some local instances of these gifts (see tape 46-7, side A) in both linguistic form and social function. See Jules-Rosette, pp. 9-14.

22 Shull, pp. 15-21.

23 Another interpretation of the "binding and loosing" formula is used in the Sacrament of Confession by Roman Catholic and Anglican priests when giving absolution. Here what is "loosed" is the "bondage" of guilt for the confessed sins: to bind seems to be interpreted as "to condemn as guilty," to loose seems to be interpreted as "to acquit." This interpretation is based upon the explanations of lay noncharismatic members of both denominations in St. John's.

24 This possibility is taken for granted as part of general charismatic belief by Ford (p. 123, note 18); it is also discussed, though the term "oppression" is replaced by "influence," by Clark (Baptized in the Spirit, pp. 122-23). The majority of teaching along these lines has been attributed, by individuals at the Cuffs' and the Marian Community, to Pentecostal minister Derek Prince (see Harrell, pp. 180-85 and tape 3-2, side A), and to Neopentecostal minister Jack Hayford (see tapes 46-3, side B, through 46-7, side A).

25 Samarín, pp. 118-19.

26 For comprehensive discussions of the nine charismata, see "The Gifts of the Holy Spirit," special issue of The Bread of Life [Ancaster, Ontario], 5, No. 2 (May-June 1982); Joseph, Michael Ryan, "Life in the Spirit," Ch. v. For significant cultural comparisons with charismatic phenomena and beliefs on prophecy, words of knowledge, and the discernment of spirits, see Anderson-Green; Gregory Gizelis, "The Function of the Vision in Greek-American Culture," Western Folklore, 33(1974), 65-76; Thomas. Ch. 11 and pp. 392-95. For clinical psychological discussion of phenomena resembling interpretation and prophecy among psychics, see Ernest Hilgard, Divided Consciousness: Multiple Controls in Human Thought and Action (New York: Wiley, 1977). An especially important source for local belief is Tape 50, an address given at the 1982 national Canadian convention of FGMPFI in Toronto by New Zealand Anglican lawyer Bill Subritzky, which is locally available on cassettes and, transcribed, in book form.

Ch. V

- ¹ Geertz, pp. 105-08.
- ² See David J. Hufford, "Folk Healers," in Handbook of American Folklore, ed. Richard M. Dorson (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1983), p. 307. For case studies in the Third World, see David Landy, ed. Culture, Disease, and Healing: Studies in Medical Anthropology (New York: Macmillan, 1977). For case studies in North America, see E. Cartley Jaco, ed. Patients, Physicians, and Healers: Sourcebook in Behavioral Science and Medicine (New York: The Free Press, 1965); Edward H. Spicer, ed. Ethnic Medicine in the Southwest (Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1977).
- ³ For example, see Richard and Eva Blum, Health and Healing in Rural Greece: A Study of Three Communities (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1965), pp. 41, 125-27, 176-80, 206-16; George M. Foster, "The Anatomy of Envy: A Study in Symbolic Behavior," Current Anthropology, 13 (1972), 165-202; Loudell F. Snow, "Popular Medicine in a Black Neighborhood," in Spicer, pp. 19-95.
- ⁴ Hufford, "Christian Religious Healing," p. 25.
- ⁵ Dundes, "Who Are the Folk?"
- ⁶ See Hufford, The Terror that Comes in the Night: An Experience-Centered Study of Supernatural Assault Traditions (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); Don Yoder, "Folk Medicine," in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. Richard M. Dorson (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 191-216.
- ⁷ On the concept of the hierarchy of resort, I am indebted to Hope Tounishey and Gerald L. Pocius, Transcultural Health Care Delivery, N2820/Traditional Health Systems, F16470, Winter 1982, Memorial Univ. of Newfoundland.
- ⁸ On prayer for healing in charismatic prayer meetings, see Chordas, "Building the Kingdom," pp. 49-53; McGuire, "Wholeness, Holiness, and Healing," Ch. v, and "Healing, Conformity, Community, Order, Power," Ch. vi in Pentecostal Catholics; Ryan, "Healing: Body Ministry," Ch. iii in "Life in the Spirit;" F.R. Westley, "Purification and Healing Rituals in New Religious Movements," in Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green, Oh.: Bowling Green Press, 1970), pp. 36-47.
- ⁹ Prayer by proxy is part of charismatic folk belief and custom among those individuals who are in the most extensive contact with FCBMFL and may well originate, for these individuals, in that source. It also appears in the Roman Catholic group studied by Kuehne (Ch. iii, note 15) and in the beliefs of an Episcopalian woman described by Sherrill (p. 70).

10 For discussion of this concept and examples of its use in a classical Pentecostal setting, see Snow, pp. 45-49; for Roman Catholic settings, see Roger Baker, Binding the Devil: Exorcism Past and Present (London: Sheldon Press, 1974), Ch. iii, vi; Thomas, 478, 488-93; among Catholic charismatics, see Baker, p. 102; Chordas, "Building the Kingdom," pp. 140-44.

11 On sensory or parasensory descriptions of experience by healers and patients in religious healing systems see Greg Johnson, "A Classification of Faith Healing Practices," New York Folklore, 1 (1975), 91-96. For a discussion of various types of reasoning and belief regarding Christian healing, see Hufford, "Christian Religious Healing."

12 Newfoundland has a strong and varied tradition of folk healing specialists. For beliefs related to birth order and the healing power of seventh sons, see Michael Owen Jones, Why Faith Healing? Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies Paper No. 3, Mercury Series, National Museum of Man (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1972); for Roman Catholic varieties of religious healing specialists, see tapes 12-2, side A, and 13, side A; for Protestant religious healing specialists, see tape 21, side A.

13 This pattern of belief is declared to be the "correct" one by a number of local and international charismatic leaders. See, for example, tape 49, side B; tape 50, side B. Instantaneous healings seem to have been a greater focus of attention among the classical Pentecostal healing evangelists discussed by Harrell; for a Newfoundland example of a "tent meeting" with a strong focus on instantaneous healings see tapes 40-1 to 40-5. For detailed discussion of this evangelist's methods, beliefs, and experiences concerning instantaneous healing, see tape 25-1, sides A and B.

14 "Abba, Father," Words and Music by Carey Landry, copyright n.d. by North American Liturgy Resources, Phoenix, Ariz. In Jane Ryan, p. 27.

15 Ruth Carter Stapleton, The Gift of Inner Healing (Waco, Tx.: Word Books, 1976).

16 For accounts of similar healing sessions and "discernments," see Chordas, "Building the Kingdom," pp. 159-64; Chordas and S.J. Gross, "Healing of Memories: Psychotherapeutic Ritual among Catholic Pentecostals," Journal of Pastoral Care, 30 (1976), 245-57; Clark, Baptized in the Spirit, pp. 117-19; McGuire, Pentecostal Catholics, pp. 133, 138-39.

17 This attitude is unique among the accounts I have read of Roman Catholic charismatic practice. Chordas ("Building the Kingdom," pp. 140-44) and McGuire (Pentecostal Catholics, pp. 134-35) describe lay individuals who "minister in deliverance." Moreover, even the

individuals who have expressed the most fear about casting evil spirits out of people are quite serene about casting them out of the room (in case any are present) as part of the routine opening prayer when leading a meeting.

18 For similar self-analysis and evaluation of religious experiences see James, pp. 313-17; St. Teresa of Avila, The Life of the Holy Mother Teresa of Jesus, in The Complete Works of Saint Teresa of Avila, trans. E. Allison Peers (London: Sheed & Ward, 1944), I, pp. 119-29; 156-65, et passim.

19 For another conceptual system, involving a "manager spirit" with a retinue of lesser demons, used in an American Catholic charismatic prayer group, see Chordas, "Building the Kingdom," pp. 142-43.

20 On the role of this concept in the healing of the memories and deliverance in an American Catholic charismatic prayer group, see Chordas, "Building the Kingdom," p. 140 ff.

21 Pastor Eugene Clarke, telephone interview, 4 January 1983.

22 Randy Dawe, telephone interview, 12 June 1983. For a more detailed typology of visions from the experienter's point of view see Saint Teresa of Avila, The Interior Castle, in Complete Works, II, pp. 309-20.

23 James A. Knight, "The Minister as Healer, the Healer as Minister," Journal of Religion and Health, 21 (1982), p. 104.

24 See Ari Kiev, "Psychotherapeutic Aspects of Pentecostal Sects Among West Indian Immigrants in England," British Journal of Sociology, 15 (1964), 129-38; "The Study of Folk Psychiatry," in Magic, Faith, and Healing: Studies in Primitive Psychiatry, ed. Ari Kiev (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 3-35.

25 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Life Together (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), p. 110, quoted in O. Hobart Mowrer, "The Neurosis, 'Confession,' and Recovery of a Minister," in Religion and Medicine: Essays on Meaning, Values, and Health, ed. David N. Belgum (Ames: Iowa State Univ. Press, 1967), p. 324.

Ch. VI

¹ For examples of tribal, peasant, and pluralistic studies of this kind, see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1922); Redfield, Tepoztlán; Goodman, "Apostolics of Yucatan." See also MacCannell, *passim*.

² For discussions of this problem, see M. Gaboriau, "Structural Anthropology and History," in Introduction to Structuralism, ed. Michael Lane (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp. 156-69; Claude Lévi-Strauss, The Savage Mind, n. trans. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 255-56; MacCannell, pp. 154-56.

³ See MacCannell, pp. 149-59.

⁴ MacCannell, pp. 153-56.

⁵ For example, see Clements, "Ritual Expectation;" Kroll-Smith; Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage.

⁶ E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic Among the Azande (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), pp. 69-70.

⁷ Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," p. 101.

⁸ Glassie, Passing the Time, pp. 578-80.

⁹ "In Him I Live and Move and Have My Being," Words and Music by an anonymous member, Elm Pentecostal Chapel, North Vancouver, B.C.: in oral tradition at the Worship Centre; "In Him We Live," Words and Music by Carey Landry, copyright n.d. by North American Liturgy Resources, Phoenix, Ariz.

¹⁰ For a discussion of this process see Harold Lindsell, When You Pray (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1969); Walter Trobisch, Martin Luther's Quiet Time (Madison, Wis.: InterVarsity Press, 1975).

¹¹ Csikszentmihalyi, pp. 140-42.

¹² This is a Christian (primarily Greek and Russian Orthodox) example of the type of prayer called simran in Sikh tradition and dhikr in Sufic tradition. It refers to the mental repetition of a short prayer, or simply a name of God, as consistently as possible during everyday life. It is supposed to become part of every breath drawn throughout one's lifetime. See The Way of a Pilgrim and The Pilgrim Continues His Way, trans. R.M. French (New York: Ballantine, 1974). Chordas, "Building the Kingdom," p. 24, also reports its use.

¹³ The translation usually given is, "There is no god but God." For examples of its use in ritual and everyday life in Mevlevi Sufic tradition in Iraq, see Ira Friedlander, The Whirling Dervishes: Being An Account of the Sufi Order Known as the Mevlevis and its Founder Jalalu'ddin Rumi (New York: Macmillan, 1975), pp. 26, 93. The formula plays a recurrent and important role in Sufi saints' legends.

¹⁴ Brother Laurence [Nicholas Herman], The Practice of the Presence of God, trans. Donald Attwater (Springfield, Ill.: Templegate, 1974).

- 15 This practice has been known in European tradition long enough to have a Latin name: the sortes Virgilianae. For examples of its use, see Loomis, White Magic, p. 73; Thomas, p. 118. Some local charismatics consider this wrong.
- 16 For Southern Baptist and Methodist descriptions of this type of experience see Paula Hathaway Anderson-Green, "The Lord's Work": Southern Folk Belief in Signs, Warnings, and Dream Visions," Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin, 43 (1977), 113-27.
- 17 Grimes, p. 43.
- 18 Pocius, *passim*.
- 19 "Jesus Loves Me," Words by Anna B. Warner, Music by William B. Bradbury. In Peterson and Johnson, No. 555. On other uses of traditional song, rhymes, and dices in imparting socially valued beliefs to children, see Alessandro Falassi, Folklore by the Fireside: Text and Context of the Tuscan Veglia (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1980); Iona and Peter Opie, *Intro. to The Oxford Nursery Rhyme Book*, ed. Iona and Peter Opie (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967); J.D.A. Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good: Verbal Social Control in Newfoundland, Social and Economic Studies No. 21 (St. John's: Institute for Social and Economic Research, Memorial Univ. of Newfoundland, 1977).
- 20 See Mary Douglas, "The Social Control of Cognition: Some Factors in Joke Perception," Man, 3 (1968), pp. 361-76; Barre Toelken, Dynamics of Folklore (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1979), pp. 267-72.
- 21 "I Love You with the Love of the Lord," Words and Music by Jim Gilbert, copyright 1975 by Lexicon Music, n.p. In Every Singer's Songbook: Hallelujah: 100 Gospel Songs, comp. Ralph Carmichael (n.p.: Lexicon Music, 1978), pp. 31-33.
- 22 Nash, p. 8.
- 23 Herbert H. Halpert, "Definition and Variation in Folk Legend," in *Hand*, ed., American Folk Legend, p. 54.
- 24 "Rejoice in the Lord Always," composer unknown. In Garratt and Garratt, No. 81.
- 25 See Derek Prince, "Can You Keep It?", New Wine, December 1973, pp. 53-55.
- 26 "Because He Lives," Words and Music by William J. Gaither and Gloria Gaither, copyright 1971 by William J. Gaither (ASCAP). In 100 Contemporary Sacred Favorites, comp. James Loucks, II (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan-Singspiration, 1980), pp. 78-79.

27 "Into Your Hands," composer unknown. In [The Songbook of the Roman Catholic Church, Freshwater, Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, 1981].

28 See, for example, Dearman; Bord and Faulkner.

29 Sapir, pp. 152-54.

30 Hafford, "The Supernatural and the Sociology of Knowledge," pp. 6-7.

31 Honko's studies tend to stress the first explanatory model. For examples of the second, see Clements, "Ritual Expectation;" Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter, When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), and the discussion of that work in Robert A. Georges and Michael O. Jones, People Studying People: The Human Element in Fieldwork (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1980), pp. 98-105, 136.

32 Hymes, p. 345.

Ch. VII

1 See Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage, pp. 62-71.

2 Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword (New York: World, 1967).

3 Stanley Brandes, Metaphors of Masculinity: Sex and Status in Andalusian Folklore (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1980).

4 Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cock-fight," in Myth, Symbol, and Culture, ed. Clifford Geertz (New York: Norton, 1971), pp. 1-38.

5 Ward Goodenough, Property, Kin, and Community on Truk, Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 46 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1951), p. 10.

6 Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage, pp. 243-55.

7 On methodology, see Fernandez, "The Performance of Ritual Metaphors," in The Social Use of Metaphor: Essays on the Anthropology of Rhetoric (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), pp.

100-31; Sherry Ortner, "On Key Symbols," American Anthropologist, 75 (1973), 1338-46.

⁸ Barbara A. Babcock, "Clay Voices: Invoking, Mocking, Celebrating," in Turner, ed., Celebration, pp. 58-76; Posen; Key Turner.

⁹ Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage, p. 243.

¹⁰ See A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Religion and Society," in Structure and Function in Primitive Society, ed. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (New York: Free Press, 1952), pp. 153-77.

¹¹ Philip Wheelwright, Metaphor and Reality (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1962), p. 73.

¹² Robert Plant Armstrong, The Affecting Presence: An Essay in Humanistic Anthropology (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1971), p. 10. For legend and ritual concerning the Virgin of Guadalupe, see Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage, pp. 40-52, 76-103.

¹³ Ortner, pp. 1339-43.

¹⁴ Ortner, p. 1341. See also S.J. Tambiah, "Animals Are Good to Think and Good to Prohibit," Ethnology, 8 (1968), 423-59. The phrase is used here in a sense somewhat different from that of Lévi-Strauss.

¹⁵ See Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage, p. 247.

¹⁶ James Fernandez, "The Performance of Ritual Metaphors," gives definitions of the terms and a brief summary of his work with African religious groups. For a full bibliography of this work, see Sapir and Crocker, pp. 228-29.

¹⁷ Fernandez, "The Performance of Ritual Metaphors," p. 107.

¹⁸ Fernandez's most detailed presentation of this idea is "The Mission of Metaphor in Expressive Culture," Current Anthropology, 15 (1974), 119-45.

¹⁹ See Pearl, Cleanness, Patience, and Sir Gavain, Reproduced in Facsimile from the Unique Ms. Cotton Nero A.x. in the British Museum, introd. I. Gollancz (London: Pub. for the Early English Text Society by Oxford Univ. Press, 1923), pp. 37a-55b; D.W. Robertson, Jr., A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 491-93 et passim.

²⁰ Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," pp. 114-18.

²¹ Fernandez applies the term "performative" to metaphor enacted or performed through ritual actions, poetic speech, and other expressive

forms which exist in the "doing" of them. The concept of metaphor as implying "motion (phora) that is also change (meta)" has been stressed by Wheelwright, p. 69.

22 "Prodigal Son," Words and Music by Eugene O'Reilly, CSSR. Copyright n.d. by the Redemptorists, n.p. In Jane Ryan, p. 11.

23 "Father Dear, I'm Coming Home," Words and Music by Dottie Rambo, copyright unknown. Final verse, Words by Gerald Newbury, n.d., private collection.

24 See Benjamin Lee Whorf, "An American Indian Model of the Universe," International Journal of American Linguistics, 16 (1950), 67-72; rpt. in Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf, ed. John B. Carroll (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1956), pp. 57-64.

25 Reverend Evelyn Carter Spencer, untitled address, Camp Farthest Out, Covenant Heights, Colorado, June 1978. Recorded by Audio Enterprises, Tape No. 3, "Carter," side A. Camp Farthest Out is an international network sponsoring interdenominational charismatic retreats for one weekend annually in several American states and European countries, and an international meeting in a different location each year. It was founded in the 1930's by American Protestant author Glenn Clark.

26 Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," p. 93.

27 See Clark, Baptized in the Spirit, p. 99.

28 J. Christopher Crocker, "The Social Functions of Rhetorical Forms," in Sapir and Crocker, pp. 36-42.

29 Saint Joan was burned for heresy because she agreed with her interrogators that her divine guidance was "in" her imagination, yet maintained that it was real divine guidance. There is by no means consensus about this among local charismatics -- a fundamental reason why there is not more widespread use of healing of the memories.

30 Ern Baxter, "Life on Wings," New Wine, September 1973, n.p.

31 Related uses of eagle imagery occur in numerous charismatic songs, but they are too general to have given rise to either or both examples.

32 Crocker, p. 43.

33 V. Turner, "Metaphors of Anti-Structure," p. 75.

34 Kenneth Burke, Language as Symbolic Action (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1966), p. 361. Quoted in Crocker, p. 36.

35. "Like a River Glorious," Words by Francis R. Havergal and James Mountain; Music Traditional ("Wye Valley"). In Peterson and Johnson, No. 343.

36. "Spirit of the Living God," Words and Music by Daniel Iverson, copyright 1935, 1963 by Moody Bible Institute, Chicago. In Peterson and Johnson, No. 90.

37. "Come O Lord," Words and Music by Jack W. Hayford, copyright 1978 by Jack W. Hayford, assigned 1977 to Scripture in Song, Mission, Kansas. In Garratt and Garratt, No. 133.

38. "Peace is Flowing Like a River," Traditional. In Jane Ryan, p. 14.

39. "His Name is as Ointment Poured Forth," Words and Music by A. Cadman, copyright unknown. In Garratt and Garratt, No. 65.

40. "I Know a Fount," cited above, Ch. 11, note 15.

41. Saint Juan de la Cruz, The Living Flame of Love, trans. David Lewis (London: T. Baker, 1934).

42. Greeley, The Sociology of the Paranormal, pp. 63, 77.

43. On the origins and development of devotion to the Sacred Heart, see Pocius, pp. 104-05; 110, note 12.

44. "Lay Your Hands," Words and Music by Carey Landry, copyright 1977 by North American Liturgy Resources, Phoenix, Arizona. In Jane Ryan, p. 19.

45. "He Touched Me," Words and Music by William J. Gaither, copyright n.d. by William J. Gaither (ASCAP), permission from The Benson Company, Nashville. In Brown and Associates, p. 84.

46. See Don Richardson, Peace Child (Glendale, Ca.: G/L Regal Books, 1974); H.G. Barnett, Indian Shakers: A Messianic Cult of the Pacific Northwest (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1957).

47. Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, On the Song of Songs, trans. Kilian Walsh, Cistercian Fathers Series No. 4 (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1971); Saint Teresa of Avila, ch. xx of Life, in Complete Works, I, 119-29.

48. See tapes 12-1, side A; 13, side A; 6-2, side B. See also Rev. Peter Youngren's memorates and general analysis of this phenomenon, tape 25-1, sides A-B.

49. Anderson-Green, *passim*.

50 "Seek Ye First," Words and Music by Karen Lafferty, copyright 1972 by Maranatha! Music, Irvine, Calif. In Garratt and Garratt, No. 96.

51 "I Am the Bread of Life," Words and Music by S. Suzanne Toolan, copyright 1970 by G.I.A. Publishing, Chicago. In Jane Ryan, p. 3.

52 V. Turner, "Metaphors of Anti-Structure," p. 75.

53 Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," pp. 119-20.

54 Martin E. Marty, A Nation of Behavers (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 117-18.

55 "Lord You're Worthy," Words and Music by anonymous member, Elin Pentecostal Chapel, North Vancouver, B.C., n.d.

56 Anne Devine, "The Worship Song," copyright 1982 by Anne Devine, PRO-Canada. Used by permission of author.

57 Marvin V. Frey, "Praise Him in the Morning," copyright Marvin V. Frey, 1977. In Jane Ryan, p. 14.

58 "Praise the Lord," Words and Music by Brown Bannister and Mike Hudson, copyright 1978 by Bug and Bear Music and Home Sweet Home Music. On The Imperials, Heed the Call, Word-Dayspring, DST-4011, 1979.

59 "Holy, Holy," Words and Music by Jimmy Owens, copyright 1972 by Lexicon Music, n.p. In Garratt and Garratt, No. 94.

60 Mr. Al Brown relates the gesture of raised arms to total surrender (Tape 47-2, side A). Titon (p. 583) associates it with the Pentecostal chorus, "I Surrender All." However, its local use is most frequently accompanied by verbal expressions of praise and adoration, not surrender. See also tape 1-1, side B.

61 Kuehne, cited above; Ch. 1, note 46.

62 David N. Ruth, "The Social Reference of Body Symbols," in Rister, pp. 227-47.

63 Clifford Geertz, "'From the Native's Point of View': On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding," Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 (1974), n.p. Rpt. in Meaning in Anthropology, 3d. Keith H. Basso and Henry A. Selby (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1976), p. 237.

Ch. VIII

¹ Lowie, p. 534.

² Exceptions include Pentecostals involved with FCBMFI, 100 Huntly Street, and other cross-denominational charismatic organizations. See Harréll, pp. 144-93.

³ For discussions of similarities and differences between charismatics and classical Pentecostals in the United States, see Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, pp. 3-17; Quebedeaux, pp. 4-20, and Ch. 6. "Classical Pentecostalism and Charismatic Renewal in Contrast," pp. 145-60. For international perspectives see Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, pp. 69-72, and tapes 11-1, 11-2, sides A and B.

⁴ For this and other information on the Charismatic Renewal in Scotland I am indebted to Miss Sheena Findlay, Professor of Social Work, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

⁵ Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

⁶ For a discussion of this tendency see Donald Capps, "Research Models and Pedagogical Paradigms in the Psychology of Religion," Review of Religious Research, 21 (1980), 218-26.

⁷ For a discussion of these and other schools of thought and their differing premises in sociology, see Bittner, pp. 109-18.

⁸ For example, see Harrison, "Sources of Recruitment;" Robert R. Monaghan, "Three Faces of the True Believers: Motivations for Attending a Fundamentalist Church," JSSR, 6 (1967), 236-45. Further citations appear in Heirich, pp. 677-81.

⁹ For discussion of these studies, see Adams Lovekin and H. Newton Malony, "Religious Glossolalia: A Longitudinal Study of Personality Changes," JSSR, 16 (1977), 383-93; James T. Richardson, "Psychological Interpretations of Glossolalia: A Reexamination of Research," JSSR, 12 (1973), 199-206; Samarin, pp. 18-25.

¹⁰ See Erik Bourguignon, "Introduction: A Framework for the Comparative Study of Altered States of Consciousness," in Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change, ed. Bourguignon, pp. 3-35.

¹¹ Glassie, p. 579.

¹² Dan Ben-Amos, "Analytical Categories and Ethnic Genres," Genre, 2 (1969), 275-301, rpt. in Folklore Genres, ed. Dan Ben-Amos (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1976), pp. 215-42.

- 13 1896; rpt. The Ghost Dance Religion and Wounded Knee (New York: Dover, 1973). See discussion in La Barre, "Crisis Cults," pp. 4, 10-11.
- 14 Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," American Anthropologist, 45 (1943), 230-40, rpt. in Lessa and Vogt, pp. 415-21. In the assessment of this article's impact on other studies I follow La Barre, "Crisis Cults," pp. 8-10.
- 15 La Barre, "Crisis Cults," p. 11.
- 16 They Shall Take Up Serpents: Psychology of a Southern Snake-Handling Cult (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1962).
- 17 I follow here La Barre's own summary of the book, from "Crisis Cults," p. 7.
- 18 Lessa and Vogt, Introd., "Dynamics in Religion," in Reader in Comparative Religion, p. 414.
- 19 Peter Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo Cults" in Melanesia, 2nd aug. ed. (New York: Schocken, 1968).
- 20 This assignation of deprived status has been applied in both economic and psychological senses; see La Barre's summary and discussion, "Crisis Cults," pp. 17-26.
- 21 See Wallace's comment following "Crisis Cults," p. 34.
- 22 See the discussion of the development of the Apostolic and Holiness churches in Hollenweger, pp. 21-26.
- 23 See discussion of this approach and its history in Samarin, esp. p. 248.
- 24 Estatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism (Hardmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), Plates 2, 3b, 12a, 12b, 13a, 13b, between pp. 112-13.
- 25 Bourguignon, "Epilogue: Some Notes on Contemporary Americans and the Irrational," in Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change, p. 350.
- 26 Bourguignon, Introd., Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change, pp. 12-14.
- 27 Bourguignon, Introd., pp. 13-14; Goodman, "Apostolics of Yucatán," pp. 185-88; Lewis, Ch. 1.
- 28 For example, see Goodman, "Apostolics of Yucatán," pp. 186-88; Samarin, pp. 23, 98, 100.

29. Bourguignon, *Introd.*, p. 3.
30. Goodman, "Apostolics of Yucatán," pp. 205-13.
31. Lewis, pp. 79, 80, et passim.
32. Jules-Rosette, pp. 4-14.
33. Bourguignon, *Introd.*, pp. 7-8.
34. Lewis, p. 80, following G. Lindblom, The Akamba in British East Africa (Uppsala: n. pub., 1920).
35. Anne P. Leonard, "Spirit Mediums in Palau: Transformation in a Traditional System," in Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change, p. 168.
36. Goodman, "Apostolics of Yucatán," pp. 212-16.
37. Harrell, pp. 69-72; 111-16.
38. Mike Warnke, untitled address, Lincoln Community Center, Fort Collins, Colo., 8 January 1980.
39. Goodman, "Apostolics of Yucatán," p. 185.
40. Lewis, pp. 73-99.
41. Janes, The Lady Who Came, p. 92.
42. Samarin, cited above, Ch. 11, note 37.
43. Samarin, pp. 38-39. Cited here are Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound (London: McGibbon & Kee, 1957), p. 248; Wayne E. Oates, "A Socio-Psychological Study of Glossolalia," in Glossolalia: Tongue Speaking in Biblical, Historical, and Psychological Perspective, ed. Frank E. Stagg, E. Glenn Hinson, and Wayne E. Oates (Nashville: Abingdon, 1967), pp. 97, 48, 41.
44. Samarin defines glossolalia as "strings of syllables, made up of sounds taken from among all those that the speaker knows, put together more or less haphazardly but which nevertheless emerge as wordlike and sentence-like units because of realistic, language-like rhythm and melody." (p. 227)
45. See Bourguignon, "Epilogue," p. 346; Leonard, pp. 169-71; Esther Pressel, "Umbanda in Sao Paulo: Religious Innovation in a Developing Society," in Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change, pp. 310-11. A discussion of related literature appears in Henney, pp. 235-53.

- 46 Trance behaviour is attributed to possession by the Holy Spirit in some of the classical Pentecostal congregations described to me by Pentecostals (from both positive and negative judgemental stances) during this study; see, for example, tape 3-1, side A. See also John Hassé, "The Galy Black Religious Experience: A Photo Essay," Indiana Folklore, 10 (1977), 165-81; Henney, 233-40.
- 47 Bittner, pp. 113-14.
- 48 Lovekin and Malony, cited above, Ch. vii, note 9.
- 49 Virginia H. Hine, "Non-Pathological Pentecostal Glossolalia: A Summary of Relevant Psychological Literature," JSSR, 8, (1969), p. 216.
- 50 Susan K. Gilmore, "Personality Differences between High and Low Dogmatism Groups of Pentecostal Believers," JSSR, 8 (1969), 161-64.
- 51 Nathan L. Gerrard, "The Snake-Handling Religions of West Virginia," Trans-action [St. Louis: Washington University], May 1968, pp. 22-28; Auke Tellegen, Nathan L. Gerrard, Louise B. Gerrard, and James N. Butcher, "Personality Characteristics of a Serpent-Handling Religious Cult," in MMPI: Research Developments and Clinical Applications, ed. James Neal Butcher (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), pp. 221-42. Cited in Samarín, p. 43.
- 52 Greeley, The Sociology of the Paranormal, p. 7.
- 53 Heirich, pp. 673-74.
- 54 Chordas, "Building the Kingdom," pp. 13-15, 34-35; Kuehne, pp. 1-2.
- 55 Anthony F.C. Wallace, comment following La Barre, "Crisis Cults," p. 34.
- 56 For examples, see Nicholas B.H. Bhengu, Revival Fire in South Africa (Philadelphia: Afro-American Missionary Crusade, 1949); quoted in Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, pp. 126-28; Clifton H. Johnson, ed. God Struck Me Dead: Religious Conversion Experiences and Autobiographies of Ex-Slaves (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1969); see also virtually all issues of Voice, the periodical of Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International (Los Angeles: FGBMPI, 1953-).
- 57 Clements, "The Base Sinner Persona in Oral Conversation Narratives," paper presented at the VIIIth Congress of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research, Edinburgh, 15-19 August, 1979. I am indebted to Mr. Peter Narvaez for this citation.
- 58 Voice offers numerous examples; see also tapes 6-1, side A; 18-1, sides A-B.

59 People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970).

60 Gerlach and Hine, People, Power Change, pp. 33-70. See also the summary and discussion of this analysis in Quebedeaux, pp. 73-75; 107-25.

61 Kildahl, "Psychological Observations," pp. 131-32.

62 New Covenant has, however, both contributing editors and authors belonging to Protestant denominations. This stance is therefore the personal perspective of some Catholic writers published therein, rather than an exclusive policy representative of the magazine as a whole.

63 Father Michael Brehl, CSSR, telephone interview 12 August 1981; Pastor Eugene Clarke, personal conversation 24 May 1983. These impressions have been augmented by my own scanning of recent non-charismatic books, radio broadcasts, recordings, and periodical literature in the United States, England, and Canada, 1979-83. The impact of charismatic composers upon non-charismatic radio music (VOAR and VOWR in St. John's) is particularly marked.

64 See Christian Ducquoc and Casiano Floristan, ed. Spiritual Revivals (New York: Herder & Herder, 1973).

65 Thomas F. O'Dea, "Sects and Cults," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968 ed. I follow throughout O'Dea's account of the sources.

66 H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (1929; rpt. Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1954), cited in O'Dea, pp. 131-32.

67 Leopold von Wiese, adapted and amplified by Howard Becker, Systematic Sociology: On the Basis of "Erziehungslehre und Gebildelehre" of Leopold von Wiese (New York: Wiley, 1932), cited in O'Dea, p. 134.

68 Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, trans. Olive Wyon (New York: Macmillan, 1931), cited in O'Dea, pp. 130-31.

69 Donna Bankowski, Letter, New Covenant, June 1983, p. 31.

70 Fernandez, "The Performance of 'Ritual Metaphors,'" p. 113.

71 Turner's position is apparent throughout his discussions of communities; for example, see Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors, p. 267. See also Harvey Cox, The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969), *Introd. et passim*.

- 72 Lowie, p. 533.
- 73 Patterson, cited above, Introd., note 10.
- 74 McGuire, Pentecostal Catholics, cited above, Introd., Note 18.
- 75 Hutch, cited above, Introd., note 15.
- 76 Belle Plumb, "Glossolalia: A Mode of Human Communication," Journal of Anthropology at McMaster, 5, No. 2 (1980), pp. 1-20.
- 77 Kroll-Smith, cited above, Ch. 1, note 11; McGuire, "Testimony as a Commitment Mechanism," cited above, Ch. 1, note 11.
- 78 Clements, "The Pentecostal Sagaman," cited above, Introd., note 33.
- 79 Mullen, "Ritual and Sacred Narratives," cited above, Introd., note 10.
- 80 See Virginia H. Hine, "Bridge Burners: Commitment and Participation in a Religious Movement," Sociological Analysis, 31 (1970), 61-66; Johnson and Weigert; Jules-Rosette; Steven M. Kane, "Ritual Possession in a Southern Appalachia Religious Sect," Journal of American Folklore, 87 (1974), 293-302; McGuire, "The Social Context of Prophecy;" Harrison, "Preparation for Life in the Spirit."
- 81 Titon, cited above, Introd., note 11.
- 82 Chordas, "Building the Kingdom."
- 83 See James L. Peacock, Rites of Modernization: Symbolic and Social Aspects of Indonesian Proletarian Drama (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968); Milton J. Singer, "The Great Tradition in a Metropolitan Center: Madras," in Traditional India: Structure and Change, ed. Milton J. Singer (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1958), pp. 193. For further studies using this approach to performance, see Chordas, pp. 6-13, 63-66.
- 84 Marty, "Pentecostalism in the Context of American Piety and Practice," p. 22. The term "the esoteric-exoteric factor" is taken from William Hugh Jansen, "The Esoteric-Exoteric Factor in Folklore," Fabula, 2 (1959), 205-11, rpt. in The Study of Folklore, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 43-56.
- 85 V. Turner, Introd. Celebration, p. 16.
- 86 Hufford, The Terror that Comes in the Night: An Experience-Centered Study of Supernatural Assault Traditions, cited above, Ch. v, note 6.

87 Titon, p. 583.

88 Margaret Mead, "From Intuition to Analysis in Communication Research," Semiotica, 1 (1969), 13-25.

89 For examples beyond those discussed in the course of this study, see Michael A. Ducey, Sunday Morning: Aspects of Urban Ritual (New York: The Free Press, 1977); Victor W. Turner, "The Anthropology of Performance," in his Process, Performance, and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbolology, Ranchi Anthropology Series No. 1 (New Delhi: Concept Press, 1979), pp. 60-93; Melvin D. Williams, Community in a Black Pentecostal Church: An Anthropological Study (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1974).

Conclusion

1 Kiev, "Psychotherapeutic Aspects of Pentecostal Sects;" Frederick James Conway, "Pentecostalism in the Context of Haitian Religion and Health Practice," Diss. The American University 1978.

2 Victor W. Turner, The Drums of Affliction (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).

3 Jack Tyrus Hanford, "A Synoptic Approach: Resolving Problems in Empirical and Phenomenological Approaches to the Psychology of Religion," JSSR, 14 (1975), 219-28.

4 Lauri Honko, Introd., Science of Religion, p. xxvii.

5 This theory is discussed in several of Turner's works; see, for example, The Ritual Process, p. 129.

6 Kilian McDonnell, The Ideology of Pentecostal Conversion," pp. 109-09, quoted by Joseph Michael Ryan, "'Life in the Spirit,'" p. 184.

7 Quoted without source in Katie Fortune, Guidance Guidelines (Lynwood, Wash.: Women's Aglow Magazine, 1974), p. 21.

8 Evans-Pritchard, "Religion and the Anthropologists," p. 205.

9 Turner, Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors, pp. 172, 251.

10 Florian Znaniecki, The Method of Sociology (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936), p. 99.

¹¹ On process-versus-product definitions of folklore, see Barre Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore, pp. 7-9, 19; on pop theology and the media, see Gregory H. Singleton, "Popular Culture or the Culture of the Populace?" Journal of Popular Culture, 11 (1977), 254-66.

¹² Hedderson, p. 19.

¹³ McGuire, Pentecostal Catholics, p. 251.

¹⁴ Sapir, pp. 114-24.

¹⁵ I would include among these works Cox; Hufford, The Terror that Comes in the Night; Ryan, "Life in the Spirit;" and Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage. Of particular relevance to Greeley's work is John E. Biersdorf, Hunger for Experience: Vital Religious Communities in America (New York: Seabury, 1975).

¹⁶ Andrew M. Greeley, Unsecular Man: The Persistence of Religion (New York: Schocken, 1972), pp. 2-3.

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TAPE RECORDED INTERVIEWS AND EVENTS

Tape Recorded Interviews

All interviews recorded by Christine Cartwright.

1. Brenda, Sister Mary, and Sister Catherine Kenney. "Personal religious history, and founding of the Marian Prayer Community." St. Clare's Hospital, St. John's, September 2, 1981. 2 60-minute cassettes.
2. Bruce, Gerard. "Personal religious history in Catholic charismatic renewal, Placentia, 1972-1981." Wilderness area, Torbay, July 4, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
3. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Clifford (Janice). "Early Newfoundland Pentecostal history; Pentecostal folklife 1950-1965; personal religious history; founding of the Worship Centre, St. John's." Brown's home, St. John's, January 11, 1983. 3 60-minute cassettes.
4. Callahan, Richard (Rick), Leila Atalla, and Wayne Dawe. "Comparative descriptions of the Marian Prayer Community, St. John's, and La Source du Vie, Montreal, Catholic charismatic groups." Home of Rick and Regina Callahan, Mt. Pearl, July 10, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
5. Collins, Keith. "Neopentecostalism: everyday religious folklife." Collins's home, St. John's, May 23, 1983. 2 60-minute cassettes.
6. Cuff, Donald (Don); United Church; Bonavista. "Personal religious history; gifts of the Holy Spirit; country Gospel music ministry; charismatic interdenominational prayer group in Bonavista and at Cuffs' home." Cuffs' home, St. John's, January 6, 1983, and March 1, 1983. 4 60-minute cassettes. Single interview schedule continued over all four tapes.
7. Davis, James, Father (Redemptorist). "Charismatic experience and Belief." St. Teresa's Parish Church, St. John's, August 6, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.

8. Doody, James, Reverend (Roman Catholic). "History and commentary: the charismatic renewal's relationship to traditional Catholicism in Placentia." Sacred Heart Parish residence, Placentia, P.B., January 1, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
9. Drover, Allison. Central Baptist. "Charismatic experience and belief." Mrs. Drover's home, St. John's, March 24, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
10. Gaudet, Darlene (Miss). Roman Catholic; Magish, P.E.I. "Charismatic experience and belief." Student residences, M.U.N. (Atlantic Provinces Catholic Charismatic conference), St. John's, August 9, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
11. Hammond, Mrs. David (Susan). Methodist/Pentecostal; New Zealand. "Charismatic renewal in New Zealand and Britain." Hammonds' home, St. John's, January 6, 1983. 2 60-minute cassettes.
12. Harkaway, Anne (Miss). "Oral history of the Catholic charismatic renewal in Placentia, P.B." Interviewed in automobile en route from Placentia to St. John's, September 19, 1981. 2 60-minute cassettes.
13. Heffernan, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas (Tom and Mary), with Mrs. Mary Barry (MH's mother) and Mr. Gerard Bruce. "Positive and negative experiences in the Catholic charismatic renewal, Placentia." The Heffernans' home in Southeast Placentia, September 19, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
14. Hunt, Mrs. Michael (Madonna). Roman Catholic. "Charismatic Experience and belief." The Hunts' home in Freshwater, P.B., September 20, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
15. Landry, Mr. and Mrs. George (Adrienne). Roman Catholic; Fredricton, N.B.; Acadian. "Charismatic experience and belief." Student residences, M.U.N. (Atlantic Provinces Catholic Charismatic conference), St. John's, August 10, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
16. Mapa, Enrico (Ricky). Filipino. "Conversion: Roman Catholicism to evangelical Protestantism (noncharismatic)." Folklore graduate student offices, M.U.N., May 28, 1982. 2 60-minute cassettes.
17. Martin, Catherine, Ontario. "Conversion: Agnostic to classical Pentecostal." Folklore graduate student offices, M.U.N., March 18, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
18. [Olson, Lee (pseud.)]. United Church; Nova Scotia. "Neopentecostal experience and belief." Interviewer's home, St. John's, March 20, 1981. 2 60-minute cassettes.

19. Pünkakunnel, John Prakash, Father. Roman Catholic; Karaia, India. "Charismatic Experience and belief." Interviewed in automobile en route from St. John's to Tors Cove, Southern Shore, August 14, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
20. Perham, Mrs. Charles (Nora). Anglican; Bell Island. "Neopentecostal experience and belief." The Perhams' home, Mt. Pearl, February 2, 1983. 1 60-minute cassette.
21. Senior, Joyce. Pentecostal; Windsor. "Pentecostal tradition and charismatic belief." Mrs. Senior's home, St. John's, January 12, 1983. 1 60-minute cassette.
22. Welsh, John, Evangelist. Pentecostal; Springdale. "Pentecostal experience and belief." Home of Pastor and Mrs. Donald Young, Bell Island Pentecostal Church, August 15, 1982. See recordings of Evangelist Welsh's sermons and comments, tapes 39-1 to 39-3.
23. Westcott, Dermott (Derm). Baptist. Director, Turning Point Ministries Assn., St. John's. "Personal religious history." Folklore graduate student offices, M.U.N., St. John's, December 19, 1982. 1 60-minute cassette.
24. Wyse, Edmund. Roman Catholic; Placentia, P.B. "Positive and negative experiences in the Catholic charismatic renewal." Home of Edmund and Mary Wyse, St. John's, October 3, 1981. 2 60-minute cassettes.
25. Youngren, Peter, Reverend. Neopentecostal; Sweden. "Neopentecostal experience and belief." Interviewed outdoors on grounds of the Holiday Inn, MacDonald Drive, St. John's, August 24, 1982. 2 60-minute cassettes. (See recordings of Reverend Youngren's classical-Pentecostal-style evangelistic tent meetings, tapes 40-1 to 5.)

Anonymous and Informal Conversations

26. Marian Prayer Community, St. John's. "Four anonymous testimonies." Recorded at prayer meeting, St. Teresa's Parish Church, July 14, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
27. Peace, Love, and Joy Community, Bathurst, New Brunswick. Roman Catholic; Anglophone. "Five testimonies: Mr. Guy Perron, Mrs. Joan Pettigrew, Sister Irene Martin, Sister Paulette d'Entremont, Mrs. Connie LeBlanc." Home of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Ryan (Jane) of the Marian Prayer Community, St. John's, during Atlantic Provinces Catholic charismatic conference, August 10, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.

28. Anonymous Roman Catholic woman, Francophone, of Fredericton, New Brunswick. "Charismatic memorates." Recorded outdoors on grounds of M.U.N., during Atlantic Provinces Catholic charismatic conference, August 10, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
29. Anonymous Roman Catholic lay men and women, charismatic and non-charismatic, in a single extended family, Placentia and Freshwater, P.B. "Comments on the Catholic charismatic renewal." Various homes in Placentia and Freshwater, September 19, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette (see tape no. 13 for conclusion of final conversation).
30. Anonymous Roman Catholic lay man and woman, of Torbay and Placentia respectively. "Comments on Catholic charismatic renewal." Home of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Ryan, St. John's, August 8, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
31. Anonymous Roman Catholic woman, Tors Cove, Southern Shore. "Narrative of dream-vision of Christ." Sacred Heart Prayer Community meeting, Sacred Heart School, Tors Cove, July 21, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
32. Interviewer's summary of unrecorded personal religious history: Father Philip J. Lewis. St. Paul's Parish priest's residence, St. John's, September 10, 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.

Tape Recorded Events and Public Addresses

Catholic Charismatic

33. Atlantic Provinces Catholic Charismatic Conference 1979, Sydney, Nova Scotia. Recorded by Anne Harkaway, August 2-5, 1979. 2 120-minute cassettes; 1 30-minute cassette; 1 90-minute cassette.
34. Atlantic Provinces Catholic Charismatic Conference 1981, St. John's, Newfoundland. Professionally recorded by Norday for the Atlantic Provinces Catholic Charismatic Conference Committee. Holy Heart of Mary Auditorium, St. John's, August 7-9, 1981. 8 60-minute cassettes.

Supplemental ethnographic tapes: Recorded by Christine Cartwright. "Congregational behaviour and comments." 3 60-minute cassettes.

35. Harnett, Richard, Deacon (Rick). Roman Catholic; Nova Scotia. Member, Atlantic Service Committee of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. "Untitled address to special meeting of the Marian Prayer Community." Catholic Social-Action Centre, St. John's, May 12, 1983. 2 60-minute cassettes.
36. Marian Prayer Community meeting, Presentation School cafeteria, St. John's, May 10, 1983. 2 60-minute cassettes.
37. Suenens, Leon Joseph, Cardinal. "Assessing the Charismatic Renewal." Radio interview by Father John Catoir, n. station, n. loc., n.d. Copyright: Modern Cassette Library, Ave Maria Press, Notre Dame, Indiana. Donated by Father James Davis, CSSR, St. Teresa's Parish, St. John's. 1 60-minute cassette.

Classical Pentecostal

38. Peddle, Robert W., Reverend. Pentecostal; Bay Roberts, C.B. Sunday morning service, Bethel Pentecostal Church, Bay Roberts, January 30, 1983. 3 60-minute cassettes.
39. Welsh, John, Reverend. Pentecostal; Springdale, Nfld. Evangelistic Tent Crusade, Bell Island, August 8-15, 1982. 3 60-minute cassettes.
40. Youngren, Peter, Reverend. Pentecostal (theology Neopentecostal, style classical Pentecostal); Sweden. Evangelistic Tent Crusade, St. John's, August 22-28, 1982. 5 60-minute cassettes.

Evangelical Non-Charismatic

41. Canadian Bible Society Praise Gathering, Arts and Culture Centre, St. John's, 1 November 1982. 2 60-minute cassettes.
42. Canadian Bible Society Annual Dinner Meeting, Mary Queen of Peace Parish Hall, MacDonald Drive, St. John's, 3 February 1983. 2 60-minute cassettes.
43. Fost, Dave. "The Holy Spirit in the United Church." College and Careers Group Meeting, The Worship Centre, home of Mr. and Mrs. Clifford and Janice Brown, St. John's, 17 March 1983. 1 60-minute cassette.
44. Simms, Wilson, Captain. Evangelistic service, Sunday Evening, Salvation Army Temple, Springdale Street, St. John's, 2 January 1983. 3 60-minute cassettes.

Evangelical Charismatic

45. The Celebrant Singers, concert, St. Paul's School auditorium, Eastmeadows, St. John's, 27 July 1981. 2 60-minute cassettes. "Partner's Banquet," Holiday Inn, St. John's, 27 July 1981. 1 60-minute cassette.
46. Cuff, Don and Linda, and Mrs. Joyce Senior, leaders. Prayer meetings (crossdenominational charismatic), home of Don and Linda Cuff, St. John's, 18 August, 1982, 2 60-minute cassettes; 25 August, 1982, 2 60-minute cassettes; 5 January, 1982, 3 60-minute cassettes.
47. Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, St. John's Chapter, Breakfast, Lester Hotel, 27 August 1982, Guest Speaker Al Brown. 2 60-minute cassettes. Dinner, 1982 Newfoundland Rally, Guest Speaker Rev. Joseph Burton. 1 60-minute cassette.
48. Rostotski, Lorne and Jill, leaders. Prayer meeting (crossdenominational charismatic), Rostotskis' home, St. John's, 12 August 1982. 2 60-minute cassettes.
49. Rostotski, Lorne. "Practicalities of the Holy Spirit," Long Pond Pentecostal Church youth group meeting, Long Pond Pentecostal Church, 29 May 1983. 1 60-minute cassette.
50. Subritzky, Bill. "Life Story," Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, National Canadian Convention, Toronto, November 1982. 1 60-minute cassette.
51. Subritzky, Bill. "The Gifts of the Holy Spirit." Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, National Canadian Convention, Toronto, November 1982. 1 60-minute cassette.
52. Sunday Evening Service and Afterglow Charismatic Meeting, United Church, Shearstown, Conception Bay, Rev. and Mrs. Joseph Burton, 30 January 1983. 3 60-minute cassettes.

APPENDIX

SAMPLE STRUCTURE OF AN ORAL INTERVIEW

Life History

1. What did religion consist of for you when you were a child? (Going to church; concepts of God, Jesus, angels, the devil, sin, and other denominations; prayers; memorable religious pictures, places, occasions, or experiences?)
2. How did your thinking about religion change during your teenage years? (Did your beliefs change? Did your reasons for believing certain things change? Did you stop going to church, or start to go on your own, or begin to differ with your parents' opinions? Did you get involved in anything you now think is wrong? How do you feel about your teenage years?)
3. Was there a definite moment in your life when you asked Christ into your heart? What important experiences or decision have shaped your way of life or beliefs since you were a teenager?
4. How did you first come into contact with the idea of baptism in the Holy Spirit? How did you react at first? How did you receive the baptism?
5. How did you react at first to the charismatics (or Neopentecostals) you met? Have certain relationships been especially important? What groups and individuals are important for you now in your sense of Christian community?
6. Are there any major struggles you're working through now that are part of your spiritual life? (Spiritual problems or problems you are dealing with through spiritual means)

Current Faith and Practice

1. What is the Baptism in the Holy Spirit supposed to do?
 - a. What did it do in your own life?
 - b. What are some of the different ways you have seen it affect other people?
 - c. How do you know if another person is Spirit-filled? Have you ever doubted whether someone was really Spirit-filled because of certain things they did or didn't do? Have you ever heard much talk about this?
 - d. Have you ever prayed with someone else that they might receive the Baptism? How did you pray? What happened?

2. What does the anointing do?

- a. Have you ever felt the anointing yourself, or have you heard people talk about it? How can you tell when someone is anointed? When the anointing is on a service or a prayer meeting?
- b. Can you describe the anointing?
- c. Does the Lord anoint some people permanently to minister in certain ways, or only in specific situations? What kinds of ministry might He anoint permanently? How is an anointed person different from an unanointed one?
- d. Are there certain things you will not do (such as witness, or lay hands on someone for healing) unless you sense the Lord's anointing upon you? Or do you go ahead in faith whether you feel He has anointed you or not? Are you ever unsure whether you are anointed or not? Do things always work out in a way that you feel is right when you act under the Lord's anointing?
- e. Does the anointing seem to manifest differently upon different people, or does it manifest in the same consistent ways for everyone?

3. How have you learned to recognize God's guidance . . .

- a. in his speaking to your heart?
- b. in circumstances and events?
- c. in the words or actions of other people?
- d. Have you ever thought that God was guiding you to do something, and later decided you were wrong? What made you change your mind? What did you decide had really happened?
- e. Have you ever thought that God was not guiding you, and later decided that He was? What made you change your mind?

4. Do tongues play a part in your personal prayer life . . .

- a. as a form of praise?
- b. as a way of praying about confusing situations?
- c. for other reasons?
- d. Do you sometimes feel you have a sense of what you're saying in tongues (i.e., does the interpretation come to you)?
- e. Do you ever experience feelings of joy or anguish or other emotions in tongues, without knowing what you are praying about? How do you explain this?
- f. Do you have more than one prayer language?
- g. How did you receive the gift of tongues?
- h. When do you pray in tongues? (While driving, in emergencies, in your quiet time?)
- i. Do you "groan" or "groan in the spirit" by praying in tongues in intercession?

5. Do you also give messages in tongues in prayer meetings? How does this impression come to you?

- a. Is there always an interpretation?

- b. Has it ever been understood as an earthly language, or have you ever been present when someone else's message in tongues (or private prayer in tongues) was translated by a speaker of that language? Explain.
6. Do you ever interpret messages in tongues, or sense that an interpretation is right or wrong when it is given? How do these impressions or interpretations come to you?
 - a. Have you ever given or heard an interpretation that you felt was not correct? What do you think about this?
 - b. Has more than one person ever had the same interpretation at meetings you have attended? Have they ever had different interpretations? What do you think about this?
7. Have you ever prophesied? Or have you felt that you could have given a prophecy, but were too shy to do so? What are some of the different reasons why you, or others you know, might not say anything when they received such an impression? What are some of the different ways by which prophecy can be confirmed?
8. What are the Word of Wisdom and the Word of Knowledge? Have you ever given or received such words? How are they different from interpretation and prophecy? Can you give some examples?
9. What is the gift of miracles? Have you ever experienced this in any way? Why do you feel it has happened, or not happened?
10. What is the gift of faith? Have you ever experienced this in any way? What do you feel the gift of faith is for?
11. Have you ever been prayed for for physical healing?
 - a. Were you healed? Instantly or slowly? Did the symptoms ever return? What do you think are the reasons for what happened?
 - b. What are some of the different methods of seeking healing? (Laying on of hands, anointing with oil, private prayer, spiritual warfare, positive confession?)
 - c. What is the gift of healing, as distinct from these ways of seeking healing? Have you ever experienced this in any way?
 - d. What do you believe are the causes of illness?
 - e. Have you ever prayed for healing for someone else? What method did you use? What happened?
 - f. What do you believe are some of the different reasons why people are healed or not healed when they seek healing?
12. Have you ever been prayed for for inner healing or deliverance?
 - a. How was the conclusion reached that you needed this kind of ministry? (Was it you or someone else, or did you discuss it for a while and arrive at the conclusion together?)
 - b. What did you experience at the time you were prayed for?
 - c. What kinds of changes or lack of changes did you experience in the following days or months?

- d. Have you ever prayed for someone else's inner healing or deliverance . . . ?
 1. Silently, without telling them?
 2. Verbally, with them?
 3. As part of a group praying with one person?
 4. Over someone "standing in" in proxy for an absent person?
 5. By yourself, in intercessory prayer?
 - e. What happened in some of the cases you recall?
13. Do you practice spiritual warfare as part of your prayer life? Describe what you do and what you believe happens as you pray.
 14. What kinds of experience would you describe as attacks from Satan? How do you deal with these attacks? Can you give some examples?
 15. What is the discernment of spirits? Have you ever experienced this in any way? How is it different from spiritual warfare or prayer for deliverance without the gift in operation?
 16. Does the discernment of spirits reveal only demons? Angels? Human spirits?
 17. What is being slain in the Spirit?
 - a. Has this ever happened to you? Describe.
 - b. What are some of the different reasons why people are slain in the Spirit?
 - c. Do you think that all manifestations of this are genuine, or not?
 18. Are spiritual gifts sometimes given to people permanently, or always for specific situations? Do you feel that people have "offices" of prophet, or healer, etc.?
 19. What kinds of evidence do you look for when you are evaluating a Christian's reliability as a teacher, a leader, or an exerciser of various gifts?

Everyday Life

1. Describe your home life and relationships with your family members.
2. Are there certain things you do for your family or community, or at work, because you feel the Lord would like you to do them?
3. How do you handle temptation?
4. What kinds of things do you do for fun?
5. What do you think about the world situation at present? Are you trying to do anything about the things you are concerned about? Why or why not?
6. What are some of the topics you pray about in your private prayer life?

7. Are there questions you're studying the Bible on, or thinking through, in your Christian beliefs? How are you working on these questions?
8. Is there such a thing as chance?
9. How do you feel about death? Have you lost anyone close to you, or thought much about your own death?
10. Are there any common activities or ways of behaving that you do not take part in because you consider them wrong for you as a Christian? Have you changed your mind about any "do's and don'ts" over the years?



