JESUS PEOPLE USA, THE CHRISTIAN WOODSTOCK, AND CONFLICTING WORLDS: POLITICAL, THEOLOGICAL, AND MUSICAL EVOLUTION, 1972-2010

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ABSTRACT

JESUS PEOPLE USA, THE CHRISTIAN WOODSTOCK, AND CONFLICTING WORLDS: POLITICAL, THEOLOGICAL, AND MUSICAL EVOLUTION, 1972-2010

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This study is an analysis of an evangelical commune located in Chicago's inner city. Self-described as an "intentional community," Jesus People USA (JPUSA) is one of the remaining collective expressions of the Jesus Movement, an American revival that occurred during the 1960s and 1970s. After considering the reasons for this commune's longevity, I make three core arguments. First, the study of communes in American history shows that in most cases, American communes are often short-lived. JPUSA has continued beyond its 1972 genesis due to various structural mechanisms and an ability to engage and evolve with American culture. The fact that JPUSA has survived to the present can be attributed to what sociologist Rosabeth Moss Kanter refers to as “commitment mechanisms.” However, an analysis of commitment levels among second-generation communards demonstrates that these mechanisms are often problematic. Moreover, longevity will be determined by how the commune is perceived by the evangelical subculture as the commune evolves ideologically. Second, musical subgenres such as Christian heavy metal and punk rock would not have grown in influence if not for the Cornerstone Festival. Furthermore, JPUSA and their festival have challenged mainstream contemporary Christian music (CCM) and redefined the way evangelical popular music is commonly understood. In a sense, the commune and the festival have ruptured conventional understandings of “sacred” and “secular.” Third, JPUSA’s evolution demonstrates how a group committed to certain ideologies can change as a result of pluralism. Thus this community serves

as one case-study in how American evangelical groups must reinvent their collective ethos and re-categorize their cultural products if they are to remain relevant. In so doing, JPUSA's presence challenges "establishment evangelicalism" and problematizes conventional understandings of the classifier "evangelical." JPUSA's commitment to social justice and emphasis on humanizing the Christian gospel (without fully redefining conventional understandings of human salvation) places them in a category best understood as "Evangelical Left."

For Martha, Wesley, and Camden Young

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Origins

Evangelical Christianity has become a powerful force in American popular media, youth culture, and the political arena. The reason for evangelicalism's rise to prominence has been widely researched. Contemporary manifestations of popular evangelicalism remain connected to a mythology that can be traced to one of many expressions commonly associated with the American counterculture of the 1960s, specifically a revival of conservative Christianity among American youth.

The Jesus Movement was a significant American revival that changed the way many youth experienced Christianity. Disenchanted with mainline Christianity, the hippie movement, and the New Left, "Jesus freaks" sought ontological stability. As a result, various conservative denominations adopted the cultural vernacular of both the counterculture and American popular culture as a whole. Jesus-freak fascinations with spiritualism peaked hippie interest while their enthusiasm for conservative interpretations of the Bible appeased traditionalists. Ultimately, conservative reclamation of popular culture was intended to rescue those caught in cultural declination. Thus, evangelicalism became a powerful force, making its mark on publishing, film, television, festivals, and music. The historical lineage of American evangelicalism has continued as a dominant, complex, growing expression of Christianity.

The Jesus Movement: A Continued "Spirit"

While the Jesus Movement made its mark on conservative American Christianity during the 1970s, the effects of the movement can still be seen in contemporary Christian aesthetics,

"new paradigm" churches, surviving Jesus Movement communes, and new versions of the Evangelical Left.[1] Though the topic of American evangelicalism is well represented by a paucity of studies from multiple disciplines, there are few works that cogently breach the topics of the Jesus Movement, "Jesus freak" communes, or the Evangelical Left. Historian Larry Eskridge has noted that in *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* (1984), historian Martin Marty considered the Jesus Movement, but only as an "extended colourful anecdote" for his "larger legitimate point about the endurance and resurgence of evangelical Protestantism in American life in the '60s and '70s…." Marty concluded that "the only Jesus Movement that mattered was made up of middle-class young people."[2] Naturally Eskridge, a contemporary authority on the Jesus Movement, laments the limited importance placed on its larger impact. Marty ventured that "the movement's impact ended in and of itself, arguing that the mantle of evangelical relevance to youth had been taken up by groups like Inter-Varsity, Campus Crusade and the Navigators."[3] Unbeknownst to scholars like Marty, the movement would eventually influence evangelical popular culture and the core ideals would be preserved in Jesus Movement communes and celebrated at some Christian music festivals.

This study is an analysis of Jesus People USA (JPUSA—pronounced jah-POO-zah), a post-Jesus Movement community in Chicago's inner city. Housed in the neighborhood of Uptown, this "intentional community" is one of the remaining collective expressions of the Jesus Movement. Living based on the model provided in the New Testament, members of JPUSA relinquish personal monies and possessions and are supported by various "mission businesses" and a financial model based on a common purse agreement, providing to every communard according to their need.

The community has diverged from the sense of evangelical urgency that characterized early "Jesus freaks" and the innumerable communal experiments birthed during the revival. Still, JPUSA holds to the core principles of the original movement as it combines lived religion (in its model of community), the evangelical impulse for activism and crucicentrism (more specifically Christocentrism),[4] and the hippie aesthetic. Their ideals have become part of a larger conversation at the Cornerstone Music Festival, an annual event created by JPUSA in 1984 (the same year as Marty's publication). Consequently, the festival has evolved into a gathering where shared discourse serves to create new understandings of what evangelical Christianity and faith-based music is or could become.

Evangelical Progression

JPUSA demonstrates how evangelicalism is continually reinvented as adherents work to reconcile pluralism with traditional Christianity and what I will call "establishment evangelicalism." Thus, an examination of this community sheds light on fundamental cultural problems related to pluralism. This is demonstrated at Cornerstone as new music groups change perceptions of artistry and ideology. Analyses of these groups (and the tensions between establishment evangelicalism and various countercultural Christian expressions) problematize—or nuance—current views pertaining to new emerging forms of religious commitment and fanaticism.

Using Cornerstone as a case-study, this project will consider how social discourse affects religious and political belief as members of the community connect with an ideologically diverse population at the festival and negotiate ideology through dialectical processes. Thus, this study emphasizes "lived religion" as contemporary Christianity continues to evolve, exemplifying both reactions to and sympathies with pluralism. The result is an annual gathering that experiences

liminal moments where festival-goers are encouraged to reevaluate long-held beliefs and challenge paradigmatic constructions of establishment evangelicalism and the contemporary Christian music industry.

Using oral history, ethnography, and secondary sources this study will include an analysis of how JPUSA and Cornerstone both experience ideological change. In the end, the study will demonstrate the reasons for JPUSA's longevity, how JPUSA impacts Cornerstone, how Cornerstone contributes to shifts within the Christian music industry, and how the spirit of the Jesus Movement is maintained in JPUSA and expressed at Cornerstone. As such, JPUSA and Cornerstone both demonstrate that conservative (establishment) evangelicalism is being challenged as both the veterans and inheritors of the theologically (and mostly politically) conservative Jesus Movement are intersecting in unique ways with the Evangelical Left.

To some extent, Cornerstone maintains the spirit of the original Jesus Movement, nursing earlier dreams of simple "tribal" faith, now complicated by the rapid growth of individualism, the compressing of evangelicalism and nationalism into one signifier, and the commercialization of popular evangelical music. As a counterpoint to mainstream evangelical festivals, Cornerstone offers an outlet for musicians who would otherwise have been marginalized by the church. The festival has provided a space where burgeoning faith-based artists can experiment beyond the boundaries of the Gospel Music Association's gatekeepers. Cornerstone has nurtured up-and-coming musicians who simply do not conform to what has been traditionally expected from contemporary Christian music. As such, JPUSA has played part in redefining how popular evangelical music is understood, defined, and performed. With a record industry now filled with artists whose beginnings can be traced to the evangelical subculture, it is conceivable that Cornerstone has radically altered how popular evangelical music is represented. But JPUSA's

cultural influence extends well beyond how musical styles and lyrics are perceived by the church.

While the presence of an "Evangelical Left" is certainly nothing new, the flow of otherwise radical ideas has leaked into what was heretofore an unthinkable receptacle: the largely conservative Christian music industry. Philosophies commonly associated with left-leaning politics (as well as postmodern questions pertaining to "truth") now permeate modern Christian music as artists ponder the environment, rather than spout apocalyptic rhetoric; consider the dangers of war and nationalism, rather than proclaim Christian triumphalism; and encourage listeners to mourn poverty, rather than glory in the heavenly streets of gold.

While the Evangelical Left often self-identifies as theologically ecumenical and the Religious Right tends to dismiss the Left as non-evangelical, the Left's ecumenism still tends to be Christian-specific.[5] Despite this, evangelical youth who attend Cornerstone are challenged to think critically—to entertain and embrace existential ambiguity. Tensions commonly associated with pluralism and existential anxiety have resulted in JPUSA's reevaluation of the way *meaning* is understood and presented. Thus JPUSA (and by extension, Cornerstone) have begun to sympathize with postmodern criticism and some claims of progressive Christianity, while avoiding what they consider radically liberal theological positions. This progressive aspect of JPUSA and the festival demonstrates a vastly different collective experience from the typical conservative megachurch or Christian music concert. Ironically, many who attend Cornerstone are affiliated with conservative evangelicalism. Thus, JPUSA is an interstitial group that connects two dichotomies.

Although there is a decided nod to postmodernism and cultural pluralism, JPUSA can be classified as evangelical, if the classification is based on rubrics established by historians of

American religious history. For historian David Bebbington, evangelicalism (as a specific form of Christianity) can be understood based on an ideological quadrilateral. He argues that evangelical Christians have historically embraced four categories essential to the evangelical identity: conversionism, biblicism, activism, and millennialism.[6] For the most part, these essentials are embraced by JPUSA's leadership, though often with ambiguity. And if these categories are dismissed by the community, the evangelical signifier still remains relevant. Indeed, many academics and ministers qualify the term evangelical, broadening it in such as way as to include movements or individuals based on subjective methods of defining the term. Historian Randall Balmer's approach creates an ecumenical template, whereby anyone who has experienced a spiritual "new birth" can qualify as evangelical. While theological particulars are negotiable for JPUSA—as we shall see—the community's core principle involves some form of new birth (spiritual salvation), however nuanced that understanding may be.[7]

Specifically, this study is organized around three core arguments. First, historians of communalism have demonstrated that in most cases, American communes are often short-lived. Moreover, sociologist Noreen Cornfield's study on Chicago's 1970s urban communes demonstrates that many agreed to disband after a certain period of time, amounting to a "voluntary time limitation."[8] Cornfield's study revealed that many *secular* communes were organized around core principles (often activism) and viewed the collective experience as a transitional stage in their lives. As a result, many urban collectives were ephemeral. Despite this, JPUSA has continued beyond its 1972 genesis due to various structural/organizational mechanisms, their ability to engage and evolve with American culture, and a vision of sustained commitment often absent from other groups. JPUSA's longevity (to date) is a result of what sociologist Rosabeth Moss Kanter refers to as "commitment mechanisms," particularly the

commitment of second-generation members and young members who are unaffiliated with the commune's founders. Second, the subgenres of Christian heavy metal and punk rock simply would not have grown in influence if not for the Cornerstone Festival. (Eileen Luhr has aptly noted the significance of religion and popular music in America, particularly the subcultural versions). Moreover, JPUSA and Cornerstone have contributed to what has resulted in a remapping of evangelically-inspired popular music. Third, JPUSA and Cornerstone sustain a vestige of the original Jesus Movement. But despite the conservatism of the original movement, JPUSA and Cornerstone represent the *general* ethos of "emergent" Christianity and the Evangelical Left, and through the festival contribute to a strengthening of new, emerging forms of progressive Christianity.

Both the commune and the festival contribute to a growing counter-narrative to the Religious Right as emergent Christians and others associated with the Christian Left either reclaim what was purest about the Jesus Movement before being absorbed by the Evangelical "establishment" Right, or now locate a livable space where both evangelicalism and cultural pluralism can coexist comfortably, despite paradox and existential tension.

Progression and Accommodation

The result of pluralism (or at least an increasingly multicultural society) is that to some extent American evangelicals often yield to popular opinion—reinventing a collective ethos and re-categorizing cultural products in hopes of remaining both relevant and authentic. While historian Nathan Hatch argues that the populist impulse empowers and sustains American evangelicalism, the movement also thrives in the marketplace; it is indelibly linked to capitalism. Historian Colleen McDannell opines how mass evangelical gatherings often demonstrate "how a commercial American mentality has invaded the inner-sanctum of religion."[9] Thus, in

contradistinction to fundamentalist Christianity, evangelicalism is naturally associated with cultural engagement and accommodation.[10]

This project considers how a community (birthed during what some have considered another Great Awakening) can evolve. Despite its theological inheritance from Jesus Movement evangelicalism, this commune now deemphasizes theological particulars long cherished by conservative evangelicals, creating a significant difference between their community and other Jesus-freak veterans. Moreover, JPUSA's communal ethic and leftism places them outside the parameters putative to conservative "establishment" evangelicalism, thus complicating the oft-held belief that the Jesus Movement was altogether a conservative movement. This community of Jesus freaks, in fact, represents a parallel story to the largely conservative Jesus Movement on the West Coast. Their influence today extends beyond their own walls, inspiring growth with the emerging Evangelical Left.

My findings demonstrate that communities such as this (and their social impact) reveal how the evangelical subculture is rapidly changing and is on the cusp of a new reformation. This coming change has been made possible by a previously established context—a mixture of populist evangelical cultural activism and nuances that have informed fundamentalist retreat and embattlement.

Jesus Movement Legacy

Historians have devoted significant efforts to understand the development of American evangelicalism and its relationship to the modern world and politics. Yet an examination of JPUSA and the Cornerstone Festival reveals that evangelicalism goes beyond what many have considered complex, defying assumptions about the movement from whence it sprang. In *The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius* sociologist Ronald Enroth takes the

Jesus Movement to task, presenting it as adolescent and theologically unsophisticated. Written in 1972 (the same year of JPUSA's genesis), the work does not fully consider the complexity of groups such as JPUSA, nor can it pretend to document the evolution of individual converts or innumerable expressions of the larger movement. Since the book's publication, Enroth has written about JPUSA, implicating the community as authoritarian and abusive; his assessment is largely based on allegations held by former members. The work of sociologist Anson Shupe offers a corrective to Enroth's critique, pointing out Enroth's limited understanding of communally-structured societies and lack of personal contact with JPUSA. *Hippies of the Religious Right* by Preston Shires and *Getting Saved from the Sixties: The Transformation of Moral Meaning in American Culture* by Steven M. Tipton both tend to dwell on the sectarian nature of religion within the context of the counterculture—whether Christian or non. Neither appears to recognize the complexity of trans-communal religious experience. Thus, each provides a reductive view of the marriage between the counterculture and (in this particular case) evangelical Christianity. Despite this, the work of Shires and historian Larry Eskridge problematizes Enroth's original analysis, highlighting the larger cultural impact of the Jesus Movement.

Reinventing American Protestantism by historian Donald Miller adds to the growing consensus surrounding the movement's place in history. Specifically, Miller's treatment of the movement's ecclesial legacy ("new paradigm churches") demonstrates how Jesus freaks institutionalized their attempts to counter mainline liberalism's infectivity to deal with existential anxiety. Moreover, his work accurately accounts for reasons behind the decline in membership within mainline denominations and the increase in conservative evangelicalism, broaching a scholarly analysis of Jesus-freak influence. While his work is noteworthy in its ability to

connect the Jesus Movement to the rise of contemporary "hip" (albeit conservative) Christianity, the study does not delve into rising challenges foisted on contemporary Christian music, the growing presence of emergent Christianity, or the Evangelical Left.

Historian David W. Stowe offers a rich analysis of the Jesus Movement and its relationship to specific personalities within the world of popular music, the Religious Right, and explores connections between evangelical eschatology and political power. He accurately captures the apocalyptic vision that affected various "Jesus musicians," as well as secular artists who held equally powerful faith-perspectives. Stowe's work provides an overview of the historical connection between American evangelicals, Christian music during the Jesus Movement, and the general spirituality that informed the evangelical musical and political ethos. While his work provides valuable historical connections, Stowe's primary focus concerns personalities and historical developments during the 1970s.

Along with Stowe's work, Eileen Luhr's *Witnessing Suburbia* offers the most current analysis of how the Jesus Movement created a national platform by which Reagan-era conservatism generally and the Religious Right specifically grew in power, found favor with American youth, and came to define suburban evangelicalism. Along with other forward-looking scholars such as James Davison Hunter, Heather Hendershot, Jay R. Howard, Mark Noll, and Colleen McDannell, Luhr considers what evangelical Christianity has become, as well as its potential impact on American culture. Oriented around suburban expressions of establishment evangelicalism, her work serves as a glimpse into a world that appears to be collapsing and reorganizing into something unlike Reagan and Bush-era evangelical Christianity.

Overall, scholarship on evangelicalism has tended to either focus on how one defines the *particulars* of belief by which one is labeled "evangelical" (to the exclusion of radical

postmodern nuances of those beliefs) or has examined canonical works, theologians, evangelists, and denominations (to the exclusion of countercultural groups such as JPUSA). The paucity of historical and theological works that dwell on the evangelical identity has effectively demonstrated that evangelicalism is too complex to categorize theologically or politically. However, the ethnographic element of communal studies—foci on individual "radical" communities which self-identify as evangelical—is often mentioned in passing, nestled within larger studies on sects, communes, utopian theory, or biographical works on politically-driven Jesus rockers. Thus, there are few demonstrative works concerning the breadth of diversity within *countercultural* evangelicalism—with exceptions such as Shires, Stowe, Eskridge, and Luhr. Moreover, the few reliable studies on countercultural Christianity, popular evangelical media, or communalism offer little on the Cornerstone Festival or JPUSA.

While most scholars agree that evangelicalism has represented both cultural engagement and retrenchment, few offer analyses on the larger impact of the Jesus Movement, its relationship to the Evangelical Left, or emergent Christianity. The exceptions include evangelical presses such as Zondervan, Baker Academic, and popular publishers such as Harper Collins. Most works, such as *Thy Kingdom Come*, by Randall Balmer, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, by Mark Noll, and *American Evangelicalism* by Christian Smith, tend to focus primarily on the historical, epistemological, and politically populist forces which inform evangelicalism. Thus the interplay between evangelicalism and countercultural Christianity has not been thoroughly studied.

Organization

In my attempt to analyze JPUSA's communal structure, I make use of communal and organizational theories offered in sociologist Rosabeth Moss Kanter's classic *Community and*

Commitment: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective. While her theories of communal sustainability offer cogent reasons for JPUSA's continued presence *since* 1972, in the end, communal structures that have contributed to JPUSA's continuance are counter-intuitive when applied to second-generation communards. For the purpose of cultural analysis, the work of theorist Lawrence Grossberg offers a relatively contemporary frame of reference by which representations of culture and belief (popular or otherwise) can be appropriately "read" against the backdrop of both modernity and postmodernity.

The work of historian Mark Allan Powell has been seminal in its ability to historicize and critique the Christian music industry and contemporary Christian music (CCM). *The Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* provides a needed reference when analyzing music groups affiliated with JPUSA and the world of Christian rock festivals. As an encyclopedic work, Powell's book provides important cultural and historical contexts that can be cross-referenced to other groups (complete with biographical information, song titles, and details pertaining to album releases). Although his book is largely historical (consequently omitting current analyses of what Christian music is *now*) it offers newer ways of defining what amounts to a theologically dualistic genre. Sociologist Jay R. Howard and John M. Streck's *Apostles of Rock* considers how CCM can be appropriately categorized. The work includes a history of CCM and three distinct categories which define the genre: "separational," "integrational," and "transformational." Howard and Streck's categories offer a valuable method for understanding how the purpose of CCM has been historically understood, produced, and consumed.

Musicians who have adopted the "separational" approach have often believed it their responsibility to remain separate from "the world." They often argue that the primary purpose of Christian music—if not all music—was and is to glorify God and to evangelize the lost—a

utilitarian tool for Christian ministry. This category can be connected to what H. Richard Niebuhr referred to as "Christ against culture." In response to the separational approach, seeking to be culturally relevant, "integrational" musicians recognize the entertainment value of music, opting to engage the mainstream market while maintaining Christian belief. As a result, these artists—in hopes of engaging the pop market—often lack the cutting edge (even the countercultural, subversive element) of separational CCM. In this sense, these musicians believe they are engaging the real world while remaining unsullied by the effects of "worldliness," thus exemplifying what Niebuhr referred to as "Christ of culture."

On the surface, separational and integrational CCM are different in their nuanced perspectives on *how* to define and understand which form of music is actually "Christian." Despite this difference, both are considered utilitarian. Both categories (despite the way CCM is understood) are defined by a strict dualism and ultimately, serve the purpose of Christian witness. The debates between these two schools, as pointed out by Howard and Streck, continue to assume that music (or the larger category of aesthetics) can be classified as sacred and secular. For "transformational" musicians, music is simply art for art's sake; music is "valuable because it *is* [emphasis added], not because it necessarily accomplishes some goal."[11] This category mediates the extremes of the other two categories, avoiding both separatism and overt commercialism. In this way, the transformational category of CCM can be connected to three of Niebuhr's categories: "Christ above culture," "Christ and culture in paradox," and "Christ the transformer of culture."

Chapter 2 of my study begins with an overview of the communal impulse (why some are attracted to communal living) and briefly discusses nineteenth and twentieth-century communalism and the connection to the hippie movement and Jesus freaks. It goes on to deliver

a chronological history of JPUSA, beginning with its genesis in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and the birth of the first known Christian hard rock group, the Resurrection Band (later, REZ Band).

The chapter provides a close reading of JPUSA's development. Initially settling in Gainesville, Florida, the group travelled extensively, growing in size as fans of the band (as well as spiritual seekers) followed. Originally dubbed the "Jesus People U.S.A. Traveling Team," JPUSA eventually settled in Chicago's inner city. After occupying a number of houses, the commune's increase in membership and vision for inner-city social outreach necessitated the search for a larger home, one suited to the needs of a group that essentially adopted a conscious understanding of the communal ethic years after its inception.

Chapter 3 details the economic, organizational, and structural elements of life in JPUSA and demonstrates how this commune has succeeded in outliving many of its progenitors. This chapter outlines a day in the life of JPUSA communards and demonstrates how commitment is often short-lived due to perceptions of democracy, control, or negative publicity about the commune; JPUSA was castigated publicly, creating a maelstrom concerning leadership structure and the now discontinued practice of "adult spanking."

Using Kanter's theory of "retreat communes," I argue that tight boundaries serve to reinforce collective and individual commitment (if even to the detriment of individual maturation) to the communal ethic. Using her theories, I contend that JPUSA has outlived its progenitors due to five fundamental commitment mechanisms: mission businesses, a plurality of leadership, a divine calling that transcends work or ideological particulars, external accountability to a denomination, and maintenance of individual identity within a collectivist scenario. In the end, these elements are part of a core purpose connected to what Noreen

Cornfield considers "norms of high involvement," activities made possible by JPUSA's location.[12]

In considering Chicago generally and the neighborhood of Uptown specifically, Chapter 4 analyzes both the history and landscape (both geographical and ideological) that has contributed to JPUSA's longevity to date. When juxtaposed against various expressions of the New Left and Catholic models of social justice, Uptown's legacy of immigrant struggle and poverty demonstrates that the neighborhood continues to be an area in need of organizations willing to offer aid. JPUSA's form of evangelical Christianity (despite the impact of groups such as the Salvation Army) is unique, if not wholly counter to establishment evangelicalism.

Given Uptown's history of poverty, JPUSA's choice to live communally in Chicago was a reaction to problems associated with inner-city, urban life—though the initial thrust was a desire to mirror the book of Acts. The decision to remain an urban, activist group has, I argue, contributed to JPUSA's survival and their continuation as an "intentional community." Put another way, the difference between rural communes, suburban communes, and urban communes has to do with a particular location's ability to influence communards, who then marshal heightened levels of commitment and resources in service to social activism. Urban environments provide more interaction with society (as opposed to rural, separatist communes) and a greater sense of urgency (as opposed to suburban communes, which do not encounter problems associated with homelessness on a daily basis).

Ultimately, JPUSA's location reinforces a series of psychological processes connected to sustained levels of individual commitment to the commune and the neighborhood of Uptown. These processes are realized by what Kanter refers to as "disassociation" (a process that severs competing obligations) and "association" (a process that creates symbiotic relationships between

communard and commune). In the end, the chapter argues that JPUSA's political philosophy and the way they engage culture may prove inconvenient for establishment evangelicalism. Their presence, cultural influence, and urban activism all challenge the belief that the Jesus Movement was merely a faddish youth movement with little hope of impacting culture.[13]

Chapter 5 explores ideologies held by most members of JPUSA, including personal accounts of ever-changing (if often ambiguous) political and theological positions. After providing an overview of the eschatology that informed much of the Jesus Movement (specifically, premillennial dispensationalism), JPUSA's position in relation to this doctrine is considered.[14] While the commune has always, to some extent, diverged from establishment evangelicalism, the two paths aligned during the 1980s as JPUSA (as a corrective to the "hyper-spiritualism" of the Jesus Movement) embraced rigorous models of apologetics. At the close of the century, in response to higher criticism, the commune grew suspicious of what they perceived as modernistic, propositional arguments for faith that, for them, were speculative and counter-intuitive to faith. As a result, JPUSA entered the postmodern arena as the leadership embraced higher biblical/literary criticisms while maintaining a high view of scripture.

Though vocal about what might be perceived as fiscally and theologically liberal, JPUSA exhibits what amounts to a reaction to both the Right and the Left. Though centrist in many ways, the commune's fiscal and organizational structure (inspired by a commitment to aid to the poor) is, according to the leadership council, leftist. Communards use the idea of socialism and the New Testament's model of community interchangeably. When considering JPUSA's political position, categorization becomes difficult, given the complexity of the evangelical rhetorical lexicon, one which includes distinct signifiers. As a result, the commune is an

interstitial expression of evangelical Christianity, offering a counterpoint to both mainline liberalism and establishment evangelicalism.

As a means of vernacular outreach, JPUSA founded a festival intended to mimic the edgy ethos of the countercultural tour de force, Woodstock. A relatively new kind of Christian festival, Cornerstone would eventually challenge the mainstream Christian music industry in art and ideas. Chapter 6 demonstrates how JPUSA has maintained the evangelical heritage of cultural engagement, embracing popular culture as a means of social outreach. A product of both the Jesus Movement and contemporary Christian music (CCM), Christian rock festivals are vestiges of the original movement's intent to reach the lost using the tools of culture (both popular and counter). Yet, the Cornerstone Festival works to challenge an industry that bears little resemblance to early Jesus freaks, let alone the counterculture. Historian Eileen Luhr has pointed out that public space and consumer culture reveals how evangelicals' identities often converge.[15] In response to what Luhr refers to as the "suburbanization of evangelical Christianity,"[16] JPUSA's Cornerstone Festival reestablishes the subversive impulse that inspired Jesus-freak aesthetics and notions of community, while simultaneously rupturing lines of delineation (socio-cultural, theological, and political) which often characterize establishment evangelicalism.

Music groups showcased at the event are at times incompatible with mainstream CCM. For example, popular Christian music has become a respectable artistic niche genre, now enjoying moderate market success. Moreover, CCM artists often use celebrity status in service to humanitarian causes, often bundled as part of the larger category of Christian mission work. Consequently, these artists often play part in what historian Melani McAlister refers to as "enchanted internationalism," an impulse that drives evangelical youth (and evangelical cultural

agents) to engage the global village for the purpose of "missions."[17] In so doing, youth take part in a rite of passage that (perhaps) allows the missionary to experience the exotic Other, comforted in the fact that they will return to the safety of the West or the global North. But while her claim is certainly instantiated by groups within CCM proper, many at Cornerstone part with establishment evangelicalism, particularly when considering the fragile distinction between evangelical missions and cultural imperialism. Over the years, Cornerstone has played a role in redefining how popular Christian music is commonly understood. As a result, evangelical musicians now enjoy a presence in the general market without the signifier "Christian band," a significant development given the rising cultural capital held by evangelicals.

The chapter ends by demonstrating how former members of JPUSA view Cornerstone's evolution over the years—musical and theological—and argues that the festival broadcasts an ideology often perceived as incompatible with establishment evangelicalism. Yet, as Cornerstone counters establishment evangelicalism and the mainstream Christian music industry, it continues to garner support from festival-goers and music groups coded conservative, establishment, and evangelical. Cornerstone and JPUSA are thus unclassifiable in the strictest sense, demonstrating what anthropologist Victor Turner refers to as liminality. However, this in no way absolves us of attempting to locate core principles of JPUSA as related to larger movements or classifications. Avoiding what historian Jason Bivens refers to as "illegibility" allows classification (if only loosely) and, perhaps, makes necessary a kind of rubric that can be applied to JPUSA when attempting to locate the commune within the larger evangelical subculture.[18]

Chapter 7 explores JPUSA's future. In considering the impact of rising generations within the commune, I note how communal structure and the future are perceived by second-

generation communards and members who have joined as young adults. Individual stories of disgruntled members (current and former) provide a tapestry of ideas that, ostensibly, demonstrate both the fluidity of individual perception and the fragility of the commune. I consider how the council maintains what Kanter refers to as "affirmative boundaries" in the face of cultural engagement, negative press, and perceptions of democracy. Both Noreen Cornfield and Hugh Gardner venture that American communards (due to the American premium placed on *personal* space) often expect a certain amount of privacy and individuality, despite their choice to live in scenarios structured around shared property and experience.[19] The chapter highlights this tension and postulates that commitment mechanisms can work in reverse, creating impetus for declining commitment in rising generations.

The testimonies of individuals share a common thread, one that affirms a consistent heritage of communal evolution. While some believe the commune has shifted from evangelical roots, others applaud JPUSA's efforts to remain true to their calling. However, various former communards venture that JPUSA leaders have actually strayed from their original mission. Put another way, some believe JPUSA's choice to self-identify as an intentional community has actually undermined their original missionary impulse. As they have self-consciously adopted the model of "intentional community," JPUSA has instituted a communal ethic that, on one hand, has served it well (in Kanter's sense), affording it long life thus far. On the other hand, the American appeal to the *individual* has influenced other members, many of whom make up the future foundation of the commune.

While my findings confirm that Kanter's theory of commitment mechanisms are valuable for calculating communal longevity, in the end I argue that these mechanisms are relative to time and culture. Second-generation perceptions of communal living actually undermine the purpose

of boundaries necessary for communal dedication and longevity. Along with chapters 2 and 4, this chapter demonstrates that commitment mechanisms that account for JPUSA's ability to outlive other communes birthed during the Jesus Movement have contributed to disenchantment among the second generation, as well as communards who have joined as adults. The result creates a question: Who will lead the commune in the coming years?

The Evangelical Left

This study concludes in chapter 8 by arguing that JPUSA represents a significant expression of the American Evangelical Left. The commune was founded as a Jesus freak community oriented around principles often associated with rightist, parachurch movements such as the Moral Majority, the Christian Coalition, and the Religious Right. Understandably, JPUSA has been read as conservative by journalistic studies such as that of Lauren Sandler. What follows, however, is a study that proves otherwise on some accounts. While JPUSA can be understood as both conservative and evangelical in many regards, their affiliations and overall ethic defies ideas commonly associated with rightist, evangelical conversionist groups and (in some ways) mainline liberalism. JPUSA remains committed to a social ethic quite similar to ideals commonly associated with the New Left, a movement founded by visionaries whose goals bore similarities to the evangelical paradigm. In this fashion, the existence (and influence) of groups such as JPUSA ruptures the way religionists of any stripe are often coded.

A common mistake among historians of religion is to locate possible categorical rubrics for a given group based on preexisting (established) categories. This redundancy serves only to reinforce what we already know and does little to shed light on newer expressions of preexisting phenomena. If we consider JPUSA to be merely part of the broad swath of the American

evangelical experience, we risk a totalizing view of the whole movement, without regard for nuance or dissent. In like manner, if we particularize this group as solely unique to the extent that they can no longer be categorized as evangelical, we must reinvent a new category entirely. While in many ways they remain uncategorizable, this cannot dissuade us from locating *traces* of multiple traditions within the particular.

This work assumes certain causality as it connects multiplicity (as represented at the Cornerstone Festival) to JPUSA and vice versa. Put another way, ideological symbiosis, as it were, holds the two experiences in an orbit, one always feeding off the other. The result is four-fold: 1) JPUSA maintains the original spirit of the Jesus Movement in ways quite dissimilar from other forms of baby-boom evangelicalism, and injects this ethos into the festival. Similarly, the festival refreshes JPUSA by keeping the group culturally and ideologically engaged with a world disassociated from their inner-city sanctum. 2) Given their desire to challenge the mainstream Christian music industry's tendency to maintain a strict dichotomy between what can be considered sacred and secular, JPUSA aligns itself with a music movement largely independent of gospel music gatekeepers. 3) Given their ethic of social justice, various radical associations, and an evolving ideology inspired by existential anxiety, JPUSA is best classified as part of the contemporary Evangelical Left. 4) Given their interest in postmodern theology, a growing suspicion of Christian apologetics, and ambiguous positions on socio-cultural values, JPUSA challenges establishment evangelicalism, thus remapping (albeit both incrementally and on a small scale) the meaning of the term evangelical.

Throughout this study, I use the word "postmodern" as it is used by members of the JPUSA commune. The term is intended to communicate a reaction to modernism. For the sake of this study, the term "modernism" will be understood not as a temporal distinction or as a

valuation of human progress, i.e., "modernization." Rather, it serves as a reference to the Enlightenment's emphasis on humanity's ability to fully ascertain certainty on matters pertaining to science, religion, philosophy, psychology, economic systems, cultural systems, and various subjects related to human ontology. As a reaction to modernism, postmodern philosophy, when applied to JPUSA and the so-called "emergent" church, accomplishes the following: First, it recognizes that competing truth-claims are part of a pluralistic society; Second, it challenges totalizing metanarratives and assumptions about universal truth; Third, it challenges (or at least reconsiders) truth-claims linked to "received" authority—whether written, oral, experienced, or tested; Fourth, it attempts to reconcile Christianity with the aforementioned.

The term "establishment evangelicalism" is intended to convey the presence of an officially sanctioned version of evangelical Christianity.[20] I do not intend to suggest that evangelicalism is a monolith. Indeed, as a movement or an ideology evangelical Christianity is part of a complex historical development which is tremendously diverse. However, despite its many expressions there remains a "core" to what many Americans perceive as "evangelical," regardless of debates offered by theologians and historians. Thus the term "establishment evangelicalism," for this study, is intended to convey what is most commonly associated with evangelical Christianity.

Emergent Christianity represents a "conversation" among evangelicals who are disenchanted with traditional, conservative evangelicalism and the Religious Right. More significantly, emergent represents an attempt by evangelicals to engage postmodernity, cultural pluralism, and literary deconstruction, while retaining Christian belief—even orthodoxy—albeit defined differently. Some emergent Christians describe themselves as "post-evangelical." More often they are considered to be, in some fashion or another, connected to (or at least sympathetic

to) the Evangelical Left, an expression of evangelical Christianity which (while retaining theological positions commonly understood as “evangelical”) parts ways with conservatives on various socio-political and cultural matters, depending on the individual or group.

Chapter 2
Jesus People USA: A History

Introduction

During the late 1960s, there was a revival of conservative, evangelical Christianity among youth in the U.S. While this included youth from a number of backgrounds and traditions, hippie Christians entranced media to the point of making headlines with major publications such as *Time* and *Life*. Commonly referred to as the Jesus Movement, the revival challenged traditional Christian aesthetics while embracing a conservative understanding of the Bible. Dubbed "Jesus freaks," hippie converts represented a group of Christians who displayed similar qualities endemic to converts during the Great Awakenings. Historian Donald E. Miller has considered the impact of the Jesus Movement, arguing that it had the makings of a second Reformation: "Many of the principles of the Reformation were reborn as ordinary people discovered the priesthood of all believers, without ever reading Martin Luther."[1] Similarly, Jesus freaks questioned the authority of the church and reinstated biblical authority, but retained a countercultural aesthetic, often sporting the hippie image while using popular music for Christian proselytizing.

The reverend Billy Graham made the Jesus Movement viable, offering a bridge for countercultural youth to return to evangelical Christianity.[2] For youth, evangelism (proselytizing) surfaced in mediums such as publishing, film, television, festivals, and music, and became a powerful force within American popular culture. This continued the historical lineage of American evangelicalism, affirming what historians such as David Bebbington and

Nathan Hatch consider to be a complex, growing movement.[3] But in the midst of the theologically and socially conservative Jesus Movement, a parallel story developed.

Jesus People USA (JPUSA) is an inner-city commune of post-Jesus Movement "Jesus freaks" located in Uptown Chicago. In many ways, this community is emblematic of the original Jesus Movement. In other ways, they diverge. Founded in 1972, JPUSA has continued to grow and thrive due to ideological flexibility and a model of government based on what the commune refers to as a "plurality of leadership." Their survival can also be attributed to various commitment mechanisms that result in continued dedication from communards. Simply put, JPUSA has continued since 1972 as a result of two factors: collective commitment and individual agency. Moreover, commitment to higher purpose (grounded in models of social justice) has allowed communards to adapt to a series of events that would have otherwise dissolved the group. Collective commitment to purpose does not, however, undermine individuality—communards are able to retain a sense of self within the context of collective purpose. I also argue that for the community to survive beyond founding members, the mantle of leadership must be passed along while preserving similar commitment mechanisms. Though JPUSA has proven successful over the years, the commune's future will be determined by the leadership's ability to maintain its current form of government, remain fiscally vibrant, and retain members—particularly the second generation.

Inspired by the biblical Book of Acts, JPUSA communards have successfully created a unique communal environment.[4] Housing an average of four hundred members, including old hippies, young punk rockers, and "straights," the group embraces a modest form of socialism—all earnings generated by JPUSA businesses are relinquished and placed in a common purse. The total population of the commune can be broken down into three categories: individual

members attached to "nuclear families;" young, single, transient persons; and individuals living in the commune's low-income senior housing. Historian Timothy Miller refers to JPUSA as "one of the largest single-site communes in the United States."[5]

All individual residents of the community are considered part of an extended family, functioning within a larger structure that operates several ministries and businesses throughout Chicago and abroad. The most visible include Lake Front Roofing Supply, Cornerstone Community Outreach (a homeless shelter), Tone Zone (a recording studio), Grrr records (a record label), and an internationally-known music festival—an event reminiscent of Woodstock. The Cornerstone Festival is held on the community-owned six hundred acre Cornerstone Farm outside of the rural Bushnell, Illinois. The fact that such as large post-Jesus Movement commune is still around necessitates an analysis of the community and a brief foray into the historical context from which it arose.

Although Jesus Movement communes such as JPUSA were founded on the basis of evangelical Christianity, this particular group remains conflicted over their religious identity. While moderately evangelical, the community does not identify with the Religious Right, nor does it *fully* identify with liberalism. Their political affiliation places them *outside* of what has largely defined mainline evangelicalism since the late 1970s. And yet, the group not only continues as a "Jesus freak" intentional community—it continues with the approval of its parent denomination, the Evangelical Covenant Church (ECC) and various evangelical publications such as *Christianity Today.*

JPUSA has enjoyed success in the wider culture due to the Cornerstone Festival, *Cornerstone* magazine (a publication that gained notoriety as a cutting-edge evangelical publication), and social outreach. However, as second-generation communards have reached

adulthood, attended college, married, and had children of their own, the possibility for communal longevity remains uncertain, given instabilities associated with increased disenchantment among would-be future leadership. How long, therefore, will this community last beyond its founding generation? Moreover, do American evangelicals influence JPUSA's ability to navigate both communal and societal pressures that affect their potential for sustainability?

This is not a work of sociology (I am not a sociologist), nor is it a work of anthropology. Rather, this is a socio-cultural history that seeks to understand this community's sustainability, its potential for longevity, and its relationship to evangelical Christianity using personal testimonies, historical data, and the work of sociologist Rosabeth Moss Kanter as a theoretical anchor. In her classic *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective*, Kanter has argued that two types of communes exist. "Retreat" communes isolate themselves from society while "service" communes exist for the sole purpose of engaging society to bring about some sort of greater good. While both types embrace a larger purpose, service-based groups work to create sustainable organizations able to meet the needs of persons unaffiliated with communal groups. Kanter argues that for a service commune to remain vibrant, various "commitment mechanisms" must be established. These mechanisms are

> specific ways of ordering and defining the existence of a group. Every aspect of group life has implications for commitment, including property, work, boundaries, recruitment, intimate relationships, group contact, leadership, and ideology. These pieces of social organization can be arranged so as to promote collective unity, provide a sense of belonging and meaning, or they can have no value for commitment….Abstract ideals of brotherhood and harmony, of love and union, must be translated into *concrete social practices* [emphasis added].[6]

Commitment mechanisms function to create a symbiotic relationship between the individual and the community, strengthening a collective ethos that inspires both the individual and the community to realize (concretely) a larger purpose. It comes as no surprise that communes in

the U.S. have often been met with skepticism due to communitarian dalliance with socialism or millenarianism. And it comes as no surprise that communes in the U.S. have often been associated with rogue, wild-eyed leaders who would lead their followers to early graves.

Communalism

Historian Doug Rossinow's work highlights the existential crisis of meaning that inspired many countercultural activists during the 1960s, arguing that some young existentialists "concluded that the way out of anxiety was through disruptive, challenging political activism." Countering the merely cerebral, various youth sought practical answers in hopes of yielding concrete results. For Rossinow, "The sense of anxiety and the need to comfort it, the preference for the concrete over the abstract, the importance of decision and personal responsibility, the attractiveness of situational ethics, the desire for a sense of vital life, and, above all, the search for a life of authenticity in touch with the 'really real,'" peppered American campuses and rallied youth to action.[7] In some cases, intentional communities (or, we shall simply say communes) provided solace for those who sought escape from a meaningless, materialistic world. In other cases they provided a template for a form of social activism that, for them, only existed in the *minds* of the Old Left or in the *rhetoric* of Christian preachers whose doctrine often trumped the needs of the poor. Communes provided a quick fix for those whose earnest desire for change was never fully met.[8]

Communitiarianism has been widely practiced in American culture (particularly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) and continues to fascinate sociologists, historians of American religious history, and the American Studies community. Collectivist experiments built on seeking the divine tend to reveal something about the American quest for purpose within the context of a shared experience, despite rugged individualism. Studies on American

communalism often highlight struggles associated with collectivist experiments—tensions common to organizational structures which combine democracy, individualism, and community.

There appears to be something about the very idea of community (or a communal ethos) that attracts adherents. The concept of community often refers to local expressions of citizens who gather, share particular occasions (church, dinners, celebrations), and reaffirm social myths and values. At times, however, some are attracted to living in an intentional community, agreeing to share resources and live modestly in service to some higher purpose. This sort of group (whether referred to as a commune, collective, co-op, etc.) is defined as a "relatively small group of people who have created a whole way of life for the attainment of certain goals," according to Barry Shenker's study on intentional communities.[9] Sociologist Anson Shupe has observed that humans seek a deeper experience in life, and often do so in community:

> Monasteries, religious retreats, and communes are perceived by many as exotic or antisocial. After all, they reject many of mainstream society's norms. Yet the existence of such groups suggests that for some persons, a *communal imperative* exists. They have a desire to reach beyond "normal" society for something deeper and more spiritually rewarding.[10]

Despite any so-called "communal imperative," studies on communes demonstrate that collectivist experiments often dissolve, though many have continued, remaining relatively interstitial, marginal to the wider culture. These enjoy little socio-cultural relevance or simply fail to offer any sort of "lighthouse effect"[11] for the larger culture. While communities such as the Shakers and Oneida Perfectionists left their mark on American culture, they did not last, nor did their presence affect the way the majority of Americans actually live.[12] Thus few communities have enjoyed consistency, longevity, or significant social influence. While the more notable examples such as the Mennonite and Amish (those which are communal) continue, defining their groups *against* the dominant culture, they remain cozy leftovers of a bygone era,

are anachronistic, and are products of older expressions of Protestant Christianity. However, these examples (while interesting when considering notions of *Christian* communalism) cannot be appropriately analyzed for their longevity in the face of pluralism in contemporary U.S. society.

Arguably, the more intriguing examples of twentieth-century communes have been those founded on the basis of a countercultural ethic established during the 1960s. While these groups were ubiquitous and often garnered media attention (if only for curious rubberneckers) most were ephemeral. Although most countercultural communes were short-lived,[13] it is indisputable that the thousands of communes[14] which developed during the "era" of the Sixties (1960-1975) became a bit of a maelstrom for cultural theorists—a "watershed moment in American communal history," according to historian Timothy Miller.[15] But despite the demise of so many communes, many have either survived or reorganized, attempting to recapture the zeitgeist of the "the Sixties," often functioning as "arks" (retreating from a doomed society) or "lighthouses" (exemplifying how society should live).[16]

Offshoots of "hippiedom," Jesus Movement communes retained the hippie aesthetic and adopted conservative evangelical theology. Miller has observed that "so many of them erupted that the Jesus movement communes may have been, in terms of shear numbers of communes and of members, the largest identifiable communal type during the 1960s era."[17] Few remained successful.

While it is difficult to pinpoint the reasons so many communes failed, recognizing the initial draw of communal living might provide insight into the reasons for failure. But success is "self-defining," argues sociologist Barry Shenker. While some communes completed their purpose, disbanded, then self-defined their experiment as "successful," others attempted to meet

long-term goals.[18] Regardless of the criteria used to determine communal success, the overarching goal remained the same—communes during the 1960s represented a core human desire for community, engagement, and dependence.[19]

In the beginning, various Jesus freak communes were sponsored by local denominations such as Calvary Chapel of Orange County, California. Others spawned larger networks, the largest and most notable being the now defunct Shiloh Youth Revival Centers.[20] As these urban service-based communes developed, they were often met with challenges such as zoning laws pertaining to multiple-occupancy-status. However, some found favor with the authorities as they were granted the status of "legal family."[21]

As one of the largest and most significant communal groups to emerge out of the hippie movement, throughout the 1970s Shiloh was "a remarkable example of the manner in which the Jesus People movement had grown and prospered," writes historian Larry Eskridge, becoming "one of the largest communal groups to emerge out of the hippie counterculture, much less the Jesus movement." By 1977, the group had over one thousand adult members in their headquarters near Eugene, Oregon, managing a network of nearly fifty communal houses across the U.S. Along with multiple properties (to include farms and apartment buildings), Shiloh sponsored travelling ministry teams, published a monthly journal, operated a credit union and medical clinic, and owned a two-engine airplane. "Shiloh had a *net* worth of probably more than $2 million dollars," writes Eskridge, "and was running an annual budget of more than $3 million dollars."[22]

Despite its ubiquity and apparent force within the Jesus Movement, Shiloh did not last beyond the 1980s. In the midst of high turnover in membership, the community "remained viable by changing its programmatic emphases in response to altered circumstances," notes

sociologist Marion S. Goldman. However, board members became increasingly disappointed with how founder and leader John Higgins handled business. By 1989, the group officially disincorporated.[23]

Kanter has provided a model from which other historians of communitarianism have gleaned knowledge. She offers a clear thesis of how and why communes succeed and fail. As a service commune, JPUSA is a case-study that supports Kanter's thesis of sustainability. Along with the numerous businesses and ministries operated by JPUSA, the series of events which led to their current residence have contributed to reinforcing high levels of commitment from individual communards. The community balances an inward focus (bolstering individual identities) and an outward focus (providing rescue services to persons in their neighborhood). In keeping with their vision of activism, communal structure is such that the symbiotic relationships between individual communards, the commune, and the neighborhood of Uptown strengthen communal solidarity. JPUSA's genesis set the stage for their raison d'être.

The Birth of Jesus People USA: Brady Street Hippies

Just as the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco, California, is commonly associated with hippies, Brady Street in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is considered ground zero for one of the most significant Jesus freak communes of the Jesus Movement. JPUSA formed out of a larger group located in Milwaukee, headed by Jesus Movement evangelist Jim Palosaari. Along with wife Sue Cowper, Palosaari assisted Linda Meissner to form the Jesus People Army (JPA) in Seattle, Washington.[24] Meissner later joined forces with the controversial Children of God, leaving Palosaari to form a counterpart to JPA. Jesus People Milwaukee (later renamed Christ is the Answer, under the direction of evangelist Bill Lowrey) formed in 1971 after a "Jesus march"

in the city, culminating in the founding of The Jesus Christ Power House, a coffee house in the countercultural neighborhood of Brady Street. John Herrin Sr., formerly affiliated with the Advent Christian Church, Assemblies of God, and the Methodist church, and Dawn Herrin (now Dawn Mortimer) were profoundly attracted to Jesus People Milwaukee. Then on February 18, 1972, at the age of seventeen, John Herrin Sr.'s son, John Herrin joined the Milwaukee group. The Palosaari's then founded Jesus People Europe, which spawned the community's first band, The Sheep.[25]

Jesus People USA (JPUSA) began in 1972 as a traveling "Jesus music" group. Jedidiah Abdul Muhib Palosaari, son of Jim Palosaari, recalls that his dad wanted to "spread the wealth and John Herrin [Sr.] wanted to leave with a group of people and start his own thing with JePUSA [sic]." Jim Palosaari "decided to just go ahead and bless that, and send them out."[26] (From here on, when referring to John Herrin Sr. I will include the suffix. His son will be referred to as John Herrin or simply Herrin—the son has never used the suffix.)

The Jesus People U.S.A. Traveling Team began touring with approximately sixteen members, travelling the United States in a painted school bus with the word "Jesus" painted on the side, holding "ad hoc revivals in small towns"[27] referred to as "Jesus rallies."[28] Glenn Kaiser (who joined in 1971), Herrin, and the Jesus music band Charity (later the Resurrection Band, then REZ), eventually developed its own identity and purpose.[29] The group ended up in Gainesville, Florida, seeking to evangelize, using a combination of rock music and street witnessing. Their first "home" was merely the beginning of a series of temporary houses. The first was "located at 2032 NE Terrace,…a large, ramshackle house which had previously been owned by the Vietnam Veterans against the War." After this, the small group relocated to 216

SW Second Street, a house previously owned by the Hare Krishnas. Community member Jon Trott has recorded the changes undertaken by the young group and perceptions held by outsiders:

> With the house also came an old synagogue next door which served us as a coffeehouse; in addition, we briefly ran the one-night-a-week "Harvest House" coffeehouse located in the basement of Rawlings Hall dormitory on the University of Florida campus. Meanwhile, the church folks had a hard time relating to us Northern hippies.[30]

The band picked up various followers (between twenty and twenty-five)[31] who felt "transformed" by what they heard and experienced. The music group continued touring and, after extensive travel, was forced to consider the future. Longtime member Tom Cameron recalls events that inspired the community's decision to relocate: "They [the band] never expected to be gone as long as they were gone, so they lost their lease on the place…so the first six months I was with them we lived in the big red Jesus bus driving around the upper-peninsula of Michigan doing concerts."[32] John Herrin's account of the journey provides an account of travelers whose purpose shifted:

> So we ended up kind of retracing some of our steps of where we had been earlier in the year and doing some concerts. And then when we got up to Duluth, MN. We kept getting more and more invites to come across the upper peninsula of Michigan. So we spent that whole winter [of 1972] just going from little town to town across Michigan and it was a great time. I mean you know everybody just had a little simple bedroll. Matter fact we'd left…pretty much everything we owned (which wasn't much)…in Florida, cause we thought we were going to be back in about three weeks. But we ended up staying up here and went from town to town, and I remember like a little town called…its name is Ontonagon.[33]

Herrin recalls rumors that the West Coast Jesus Movement was making its way to the Midwest, creating unsettling feeling about "Jesus freaks" within various small towns. Suspicion of incredulity notwithstanding, the music group was well received in Ontonagon. Herrin notes how their group of Jesus freaks must have, at the time, appeared to be a "pretty raggedy looking bunch" to rural, middle-American towns. However, the young JPUSA found kindred spirits in

each town and enjoyed favor with people up north, according to Dawn Mortimer (formerly Dawn Herrin).[34]

In February of 1973, JPUSA was "once again in the middle of revival in Michigan. As the weeks rolled by, the towns of Ontonagon, Houghton-Hancock, L'Anse, Baraga, Ironwood, and Marquette experienced the Jesus movement's full power."[35] A local newspaper in the Houghton-Hancock area of Michigan wrote an impressionistic entry, descriptive in the sense of small-town exposure to something already occurring on a national scale: "A large bus and several cars with Jesus painted on the side roll into the Houghton-Hancock area. Thirty-six freaky-looking kids spill out onto the streets. The girls with ankle-length dresses and long-haired boys fortified with armloads of papers scatter and start rapping with the closest passerby...."[36]

Figure 1: Commune members performing in froth of the "Jesus bus." (c) 2010 Cornerstone Press/Jesus People USA Evangelical Covenant Church; All rights reserved.
For interpretation of the references to color in this and all other figures, the reader is referred to the electronic version of this dissertation.

The article goes on to identify the young JPUSA as "people from all backgrounds" including college students, high-school drop-outs, and "'heavies' who have smoked, and dropped shot their way out of reality." The common denominator, the article reported, was the transformative aspect of conversion to Jesus. The account also demonstrates how JPUSA diverged early on from other communes that were often isolationist. The article's account, however, offers a description which captures the zeitgeist of the larger Jesus Movement:

> Each morning the group assembles to pray and study the word of God. Classes include studies in Romans, Apologetics, Old Testament Survey, Life of Paul, the Study of Cults, Christian Leadership and various leading Christian teachers. The afternoons are spent on the streets witnessing person to person. In the evenings, the group gathers for rallies which feature the "Resurrection" Jesus Rock Band... Their purpose is to help build up the Christian community here. The Jesus People U.S.A. have worked with all kinds of churches, schools, and many different Christian organizations. They are available for programs in churches, youth groups, ladies circles, classes, and prayer groups. Jesus People U.S.A. is a ministry totally supported by the faithful giving of people concerned about the "drop out" generation.[37]

Herrin has particularly fond memories of their time spent in Ontonagon:

> And I remember we went out that afternoon passing out flyers—of course this is the dead of winter—you know at least probably late February or something in the upper-peninsula—so cold and snowy in this little town. We're passing out flyers to the kids after school and then that night we held our first rally there and I remember thinking "you know, I don't know if anybody's going to come to this dinky town." And here we are in the middle of nowhere and its freezing cold outside….There [were] probably about eight hundred people showing up that night at that gymnasium. And this is a town of a thousand! I'm thinking "holy cow where did all these people come from?"[38]

These experiences were formative on a different level as the band considered increasing their own power of the countercultural vernacular. Between the late 1960s and early 1970s, Jesus Movement music groups were either folk-based (often simply dubbed "Jesus music") or mirrored the mainstream pop music of the burgeoning (though infant) Christian music scene. Quite distinct from the young Jesus music scene early members of JPUSA were influenced by the rock music stylings of Jimi Hendrix, Cream, and Led Zeppelin. The following paragraph

provides a significant historical record of the formation of what would amount to the first official Christian hard rock band.

> We had kind of switched the band from being a little more of a folk rock kind of a sound—almost a Crosby Stills and Nash kind of an early sound—to where Glenn's heart always was [Glenn is a member of JPUSA's REZ Band]…a full blown rock and roll band for the Lord. And we really switched it over and I started playing drums in the band that fall of '72, and we…traded in all the acoustic instruments for electric ones and just went for it. So we ended up travelling all through that winter and early spring, and we ended up in Chicago on a break.[39]

John Herrin's account of the group's transition from folk rock to hard rock is reminiscent of Bob Dylan's shift to electric. Although early Resurrection Band history is not marked by the same controversy as with Dylan, the shift laid a foundation which would significantly impact how popular evangelical music would be conceived.

The band's decision to adopt hard rock as a genre would later prove seminal in the history of Christian rock as they went on in 1978 and 1979 to produce "two blistering hard rock albums that surpassed anything the Christian music culture had produced," writes Mark Allan Powell, author of the *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*.[40] Furthermore, the change in genre represented a stylistic orientation, later inspiring the creation of JPUSA's Cornerstone Festival, an alternative to festivals considered to lack the edge of the counterculture (discussed in chapter 6).

The group remained on the road for approximately one year, wondering about their end-goal. Early JPUSA faced a crossroad as they questioned whether they were simply on an extended mission trip or divinely inspired to remain together as what they would later come to understand as "intentional community." Touring to perform revival concerts eventually led the small group to Chicago.

Settling in Chicago

In *Chicago Politics Ward by Ward* (Indiana University Press) David K. Fremon provides a history pertinent to political battles and mythologies. Chicago's history as an industrial city provides a trajectory of both the rise and fall of neighborhoods and persons. A bastion of international culture, Chicago is known for gothic structures, the University of Chicago, high-rise apartment slums, Victorian houses, ghettos fraught with gangs and drugs, homelessness, and great factory systems.[41] Given its cultural climate and political history, it is little wonder that a group of Jesus freaks chose to commune in the city of big shoulders.

For some founding members, the choice to settle in the city was unexpected. John Herrin is a bearded, earthy sort with long hair. His demeanor is disarming, indicating his familiarity with being interviewed (and his abilities as a leader). His gravelly voice only accentuates one who has weathered storms, though unjaded. Herrin's persona is more like that of a ranch-hand than one who has spent his life with a ground-breaking hard rock band based in a major U.S. city. A lover of backpacking, his rough exterior is perhaps a byproduct of inner-city community life as well as frequent visits to JPUSA's property in Bushnell, Illinois—Herrin likes to hunt on the Cornerstone Farm. This veteran and founding member cherishes his life at JPUSA, noting the simplicity of life lived without collared shirts or slacks, and a job that places him at the pulse of the music industry as he directs one of Christian music's more noteworthy festivals. For Herrin, JPUSA's journey has been both tumultuous and rewarding.

Although stopping in Chicago proved serendipitous, the group's original intention did not include an urban setting. Herrin recalls thinking "if we are going to find some place to put down roots we [want] to live in the country where our kids [can] run around barefoot in the grass and…do whatever young hippies do."[42] But the pastoral ideal of communalism did not come to

fruition for JPUSA, at least in the conventional sense. While they chose to live in Chicago, the commune was able to secure land in a rural area. Around 1977 a reader of JPUSA's publication, *Cornerstone* magazine, offered 230 acres of land near Doniphan, Missouri, to be operated as a "retreat center and farm." Veteran member Jon Trott writes: "What old hippie, saved or not, had never dreamed of having his own cabin snuggled in the woods? We accepted the offer and soon reported in C-stone [*Cornerstone* magazine] that we'd begun constructing a massive log lodge."[43] For years the community used the center for vacations and communal retreat functions. In recent years, the caretaker of the land became ill. Moreover, in 1991 JPUSA purchased land in Bushnell, Illinois, to host their annual Cornerstone Festival (discussed later). The timing was right—JPUSA sold the retreat center circa 2005.

While they have had ample opportunity to enjoy country living (albeit intermittently), JPUSA's home has, since the beginning, been oriented around offering outreach within an urban environment. Originally part of their travels, Chicago was simply considered another event—but the community needed a base from which to work and plan the future.[44] Originally, JPUSA planned a brief stay, but remained for about two weeks in an "old converted" building which was at one time a "gambling house of some sort," recalls Herrin. The council was approached by the head of the Chicago Full Gospel Businessmen's Association who offered the group modest living space in a local church on Chicago's north side (the basement of Faith Tabernacle). The group compared life on the road (offering rock concerts and Bible studies to teenagers) with the problems besetting the inner city. After talking with "all kind of folks with a lot of different problems," members of the travelling team considered divine guidance: "Maybe God wanted us to stay in Chicago, maybe that's why we came here…."[45]

JPUSA felt Chicago provided a supportive environment for what they sought to accomplish. The city has a history of various social movements and, according to Herrin, some city officials exhibited a "Catholic understanding" of intentional community, social justice, and offered a supportive environment for JPUSA's choice to live communally. But why would a commune feel *less* supported in another city? The Jesus Movement had essentially been endorsed by the Reverend Billy Graham and the idea of Christian communalism was hardly groundbreaking. But the idea of a Jesus-freak commune still appeared anathema to many in the mainstream. In light of this, Chicago appeared welcoming. JPUSA's *Cornerstone* magazine captured public sentiment:

> To the public mind a commune is either a group of drug subculture freaks, or radicals who have copped out on reality, living in cloistered protection. Most people rarely think of the possibility of a community living by Christian standards.... [They] are probably repelled at the idea of having to share their lives with so many other people. However, we have found it highly rewarding as well as demanding.[46]

Despite perceptions, JPUSA adopted a communal model and continued an identity in keeping with Jesus People Milwaukee's original vision: a "discipleship school, street-witnessing, and rallies with the band."[47] Having been an elder with Jim Palosaari's Jesus People Milwaukee, John Herrin Sr. (originally referred to as "Papa John") assumed the leadership role of Jesus People USA from the beginning. Herrin Sr.'s "Papa John" designation hinted at the authoritarianism often associated with communal life. Although Herrin Sr. was considered the primary elder, JPUSA maintained the council model previously established in Milwaukee, including deacons and deaconesses: Dawn Herrin (now Mortimer), Richard Murphy, Glenn Kaiser, Karen Fitzgerald, Mark Schornstein, Janet Wheeler, and Denny Cadieux. However, it was clear the bulk of responsibility fell on one man—the death-knell of many communes.

Finding himself attracted to another communard's wife, Herrin Sr. fell into disrepute with the community after refusing to repent. Encouraged to seek help, Herrin Sr. was asked to leave the community on March 18, 1974. This led to a change in the community's leadership structure. The council had been active under Herrin, Sr. However, after the elder's departure, the council carried a new sense of power as the idea of a plurality of leadership emerged, later proving pivotal in JPUSA's success as a community. JPUSA decided they would never operate under a singular leader again. Richard Murphy and Glenn Kaiser became the new leaders and the council carried a renewed sense of authority.[48]

Finding a tenable organizational structure proved challenging as JPUSA entered a new chapter in their history. Along with Glenn Kaiser and Richard Murphy, the council would later grow to include John Herrin, Denny Cadieux, Victor Williams, Tom Cameron, Neil Taylor, and Dawn (Herrin) Mortimer. Jon Trott, former writer and contributor for JPUSA's now defunct *Cornerstone* magazine, has considered the difficulties faced by the group during the early years:

> The older members of the community searched the Scriptures for answers to what had taken place. It wasn't as though there were plenty of people to ask. Christian community among evangelicals is almost unheard of, and was even more so in the mid-seventies. The Book of Acts, which had provided a sort of blueprint for living in community for the Jesus People, painted plurality of leadership as a norm."[49]

Glenn Kaiser and Richard Murphy relied on the Book of Acts and their own sense of collective need. The community was, argues Kaiser, people who simply needed one-another to live the Christian life effectively.

Although the fall of a singular leader often signals a community's downward spiral, JPUSA regrouped, seeking to avoid the pitfalls of what they considered isolation and extremism. Moreover, they began to experience "sociological detritus," notes Trott, as the community began

to evolve from a group of single hippies to married couples having children, becoming "settlers rather than pioneers" as they chose to live in houses rather than a bus.[50]

Figure 2: JPUSA, circa late 70s down near Montrose Beach at Lincoln Park, Chicago, IL. (c) 2010 Cornerstone Press/Jesus People USA Evangelical Covenant Church; All rights reserved.

For a commune that developed during the Jesus Movement, the idea of settling down was, in many ways, at odds with the millennial thrust held by many Jesus freaks. According to research conducted on JPUSA between 1974 and 1975, the community exhibited a sense of balance largely absent in the Jesus Movement. David Frederick Gordon argued that balance was a major theme in JPUSA's theology and lifestyle: "structure and spontaneity, submission and love, criticism and praise, teaching and worship, and recreation and work."[51] Gordon's findings

note the oft-held belief that early Jesus People (the larger movement) were often "presented as proof-texters who quote Bible passages out of context, accept every word of scripture as literal truth, and generally have a simple-minded approach to the Bible." Challenging this, Gordon found that those in the JPUSA community actually recognized that "the Bible is ambiguous and requires interpretation, that context is crucial to understanding passages, that the Bible does not contain all answers (although it does contain all necessary answers), and that careful study of the Bible and commentaries is necessary for full understanding…."[52]

Even in its early stages JPUSA demonstrated a measure of flexibility crucial to their survival, particularly in the milieu of innumerable failed communal experiments. Having chosen Chicago as home, JPUSA had to identify lodging suited to their long-term goals. Faith Tabernacle's basement served immediate needs, allowing them to grow as the search for a permanent home began.

The Search for Home

After their inception on Brady Street, JPUSA engaged a world already experiencing a groundswell of countercultural ethics and "spiritualism." For this young community any sense of "home" was associated with temporary scenarios structured around countercultural evangelism—life on the road in a "Jesus bus" and a lengthy stay in the basement of a church. After growing out of Faith Tabernacle, JPUSA landed in a house on Paulina Street in the Ravenswood neighborhood of Chicago. The quarters were cramped. Lacking space, the community had to rent a number of storefront offices to run their burgeoning businesses.[53]

Figure 3: A community gathering in the basement of the house on Paulina Street. (c) 2010 Cornerstone Press/Jesus People USA Evangelical Covenant Church; All rights reserved.

By 1977, the growing community needed more space and purchased a two-story house across the street—a new dwelling quaintly dubbed "the Yellow House." While these living conditions did not appear optimal they were, after all, part of a shared experience encountered by other Jesus communes and houses. That is, although living conditions might have appeared anathema to even the American petite bourgeoisie, those who entered this world did so freely, viewing it as their only hope.[54] Life was not lived in a bubble. JPUSA's impact was felt in other neighborhoods, creating an awareness of other like-minded communities.

The leadership had been developing a relationship with another intentional community on Chicago's south side. New Life was an African-American-based community that saw in JPUSA a vision similar to their own. Cognizant that the Jesus Movement was largely white, JPUSA

longed for an interracial community, though careful not to co-opt an existing body. In 1978 New Life elder Ron Brown, his community, and the leaders of JPUSA decided to merge.[55]

Even in the early years, JPUSA's modus operandi was one which included flexibility and adaptability. In his research on JPUSA (1978), sociologist David Gordon advanced an argument that the community's ability to value both the individual and the communal contributed to balance:

> One reason that this particular Christian identity is so compelling is that it simultaneously locates the individual at each of these various levels [a hierarchy involving God, Jesus, and various Christian expressions]. Each identity focus gains reinforcement and legitimation from the others. The search for personal identity becomes intertwined with God's will and with the fate of the world.[56]

As will become evident later in this work, communities succeed when there is a higher purpose that inspires and motivates communards. But having a purpose is not enough, as Kanter has demonstrated.

The successful commune must maintain structures (Kanter calls them "mechanisms") that collapse both higher purpose and personal identity into one holistic being. That is, when the goals of the community and the "reinforcement and legitimization" of the individual become synonymous, both communard and community become indelibly linked, thus driving commitment to the extent that leaving the community seems unthinkable. Gordon's observation is revealing. Although JPUSA has evolved over the years, his findings suggest an early commitment to affirmation of individuals *within* a communitarian context.[57] In this case, individuals were affirmed in their own unique expressions (such as unconventional aesthetics) and were provided a grand mission with which they indentified and to which they committed.

It became evident that Uptown would become JPUSA's mission field. Considering the diversity of the neighborhood, JPUSA's *Cornerstone* magazine offered a depiction of the area, highlighting Uptown's historic multicultural milieu:

> Uptown truly is unique. It is the home of the most complex culture of people anywhere. Carlos Plazas, Ph.D., Executive Director of Edgewater Mental Health Center, states, "For many years Uptown has been considered a kind of port of entry for people who are coming from different areas of the country and even different countries of the world….For example, at this moment there is a 40% white population, 30% Latin American, 20% from different countries in Asia, about 18% are blacks, and 8% native American people."[58]

Based on David Fremon's analysis, Chicago is "the most segregated major city in the nation." There are "two Chicagos—one black, one white."[59] And yet, those from disparate backgrounds live within walking distance. Overall, the wards appear to be largely organized around community need, business, class, race, and ethnicity. Considering the demographics of Uptown, Fremon writes: "The rich and the poor live here, and it is uncertain which group will dominate the area over the next decade." Gentrification has been "given a boost." Charges have been made that "historic district status was being used as a tool to force low-income people out of the area." It is no surprise that "poor people abound in uptown." The 46th Ward has been "a port of entry and home for transients ever since the first apartment hotels appeared in the 1920s."[60] Thus, given the cultural and political climate of the 46th Ward, it is little wonder that JPUSA's fledgling REZ Band considered the needs of Uptown when seeking a permanent home base.

By 1979 the community relocated again to 4707 North Malden, a move that marked a new chapter in their epoch. The local paper, *Uptown News*, commented on JPUSA's purchase:

> A Christian missionary group has purchased the Chapman hotel, a former halfway house at 4707-4711 N. Malden, and says it plans to help Uptown's poor and needy. The

> religious order, which calls itself Jesus People, U.S.A., bought the hotel complex at an undisclosed price [it was approximately $300,000] from the owners of the Traemour and Stratford nursing homes--two institutions which have been in and out of hot water with state officials because of building code and health code violations. The Chapman also has a history of housing code violations.[61]

As the 1980s unfolded, JPUSA discovered new, increasing needs in Uptown. The poor had already been a concern. However, the sense of urgency increased as the homeless population in Uptown reached critical levels. Writes Jon Trott:

> As "Reaganomics" took hold in the early 1980s, homelessness suddenly became one of Uptown's most noticeable features. Entire families had nowhere to go. The total number of those we provided dinner for grew (to between two hundred and three hundred a day), and the complexion of those eating with us changed as well, from predominantly single men to entire families. The vast government cuts in housing programs also created a tremendous demand for temporary shelter of any kind. It was obvious that housing had become Uptown's most pressing problem, and we were compelled toward finding solutions.[62]

The 1980s proved difficult for JPUSA, as will become evident later in this work. President Reagan's policies were "immediately visible on the street here. Whole families were homeless" due to the Reagan administration's "chopping" of the welfare system, argues Trott.[63] The rising population of homeless persons and the dispossessed seeking aid made the search for real estate ongoing. And yet, the politics of the day crystallized the community's purpose as they undertook what amounted to swaths of social justice crusades via protest and critical journalism in their publication, *Cornerstone* magazine. Their recognition of social inequity went beyond ivory tower musings over class-struggle, resembling the practical activism of the New Left. Along with considering (and often challenging) economic policies supported by fiscal conservatism, in grassroots fashion the community became publicly vocal, resulting in a growing influx of homeless families seeking refuge in JPUSA's lobby.

In 1980 the community moved yet again. As is the case with communes experiencing growth and mission (particularly urban-based groups), appropriate real estate—space—is always problematic. Much like the "blessing and curse" scenario of churches no longer able to efficiently accommodate their congregations, successful communes[64] must also reckon with problems associated with growth: local expansion or the creation of satellite groups. JPUSA chose the former.

Once again, JPUSA packed and moved, relocating from the house on Malden Street to 4626 N. Magnolia, only one block away. "Though the building's front facade rose in beautiful castle-like minarets," writes Jon Trott, "its rooms were studies in squalor, infested with both rats and cockroaches."[65] The community made their new home livable within two weeks. But this new home was dependent on the community's ability to negotiate with the socio-economic culture emerging around them. In 1984, JPUSA delivered a "mail-out" that referred to the rising housing crisis, stating, "A mother losing her welfare check needs us to watch her five kids for three months, another mother having to move out of a bad living situation has to have a place for her two children until she can move. We continue to feed 200<->250 people from the streets each day; also many additional food baskets go out….The need for emergency housing seems to be on the upswing with people coming nightly for a place to sleep. We will be helping with the overnight shelter when it opens again this winter." According to Jon Trott, by 1985 "nearly fifteen-thousand units of low-income housing vanished in Uptown."[66]

The outcome of gentrification was felt by JPUSA as they attempted to clean up the mess created by urban renewal initiatives.[67] The needs of low-income persons in Uptown began to reach critical mass. Recognizing the dire situation, communards noted: "Winter is nipping at our

heels; it may be discomforting for us now and then, but for others their very existence is at stake. This is one of the reasons we, as a community and church, provide emergency housing."[68]

By the end of 1985 a developer purchased a number of buildings with the hope of turning Uptown into an "upscale neighborhood," providing a "20 percent tax break" to the developer. By 1986, housing occupied by "nearly forty Laotian and Cambodian families"[69] had been marked for gentrification. Protests began, but with little affect, notes Jon Trott. He writes:

> This was the first any of the families had heard about being evicted. Fearful but determined, they told us about their plan to stage a march on the developer's offices. On August 16, 1986, we stood at the end of Malden and watched as a determined band of refugees holding signs came toward us. We added 150 JPUSAs to their number, armed with our own signs: "Uptown NOT Yuptown," said one. Seeing us, one of the march leaders burst into tears. "Many of us were afraid to come. The police in our country…" He didn't need to say more.[70]

The march did little but yield a gesture of recompense—one thousand dollars relocation money offered by the developer in an attempt to sell a cleaner political image. The *Chicago Sun-Times* highlighted what was felt by the displaced, quoting a member of Uptown's Lao Association: "We have started rebuilding our lives here….Sometimes I start feeling: What is the promise of America if hard work doesn't mean anything, if someone with more money can come and push you out."[71] Rent was doubled and poorer residents were forced out.

As the problem escalated, JPUSA joined forces with various religious and social service organizations to form the Uptown Task Force on Displacement and Housing Development.[72] The community began discussions with former SDSer (Students for a Democratic Society) and Black Panther supporter Helen Shiller, choosing to align (as a community) with her campaign for Alderwoman—a close race ending in Shiller's victory, which was attributed to JPUSA's collective vote. David Freemon has noted that "[i]n the end, it might have been an unusual constituency which decided the election. Jesus People U.S.A., a religious group with many

members living in the ward, supported [Jerry] Orbach throughout his career. They suddenly switched to Helen Shiller in the run-off. Orbach supporters charged that a city official had offered the Jesus People's construction firm city contracts if Shiller was elected—a charge the group denies."[73]

JPUSA would later feel the effects of their decision to support Shiller as other evangelicals voiced dissatisfaction over the community's socialist leanings, now made quite public.[74] But despite evangelical dissention toward JPUSA, communards believed the socialist position to be in line with Christian teachings, particularly when distinguishing between candidates whose positions on class-struggle only reinforced what communities like JPUSA had already suspected. Those on the evangelical Right often belied their affirmation of "Protestant uplift," more *fearful* of would-be-Trotskyites than *empathetic* toward classes who lived on the receiving end of unchecked corporate power. Orbach argued that "every vacant building in his ward either was renovated or scheduled for rehabilitation." Shiller countered, arguing that "Orbach was attempting to drive out low-income people and senior citizens," and that his funding came from "large developers."[75] For members of JPUSA, this proved serendipitous. The politics of gentrification forced JPUSA onto a path that inspired grassroots activism, eventually leading to their current home and well-managed shelter for the homeless. But the journey was far from over.

Two worlds came into conflict as the neighborhood's new, upscale residents found the lines of dinner guests and homeless persons "unsightly." In 1987, JPUSA pastors sought new solutions, locating a new site (a two-story 21,000 sq. ft. industrial building) that operated as a meeting place for Sunday services and their hot meal program.[76] The beginning of 1988 marked

the occupation of a building at 939 Wilson, which housed the Crisis Pregnancy Center (which included free screening and alternatives to abortion) and the offices for *Cornerstone* magazine.[77]

On October 8, 1988, JPUSA, the Chicago Union of the Homeless, and the Heart of Uptown Coalition constructed a tent city, hoping to create a public stir and raise awareness over the concerns of housing and gentrification. Complete with pup tents and houses constructed out of wood scraps and cardboard, the make-shift town included outdoor grills and fire barrels. The tent city became a social outcry as lean-tos sported messages, one amounting to a written gesticulation against the virulence of city developers: "We refuse to freeze to death quietly."[78]

The last evening of the tent city brought with it the presidential debate between George Bush and Michael Dukakis. Chris Ramsey, co-manager of JPUSA's homeless shelter, notes community-perception as the debate was watched on a portable television in the make-shift town: "The sheer irony of sitting outside in October, temperature in the fourties [sic], watching our Presidential candidates talk about what is important to them would have been laughable if it wasn't such a serious matter." Jon Trott notes that "[n]either candidate mentioned homelessness."[79]

Helen Shiller and Jon Trott were both arrested and the problems were not resolved, despite news coverage provided by Channel 9 (WGN). As Ramsey began patrolling the evenings, looking for homeless persons in need of rescue, JPUSA's 4707 N. Malden location (the first-floor lobby) housed fifty to seventy men and, by summer of 1989, ninety women and their children. As the house became overcrowded, their own faith and commitment was tested: "How long would we love our neighbor when he smelled like urine and liquor, cursed at us, or defecated on the floor?"[80] Trott recalls that despite the difficulties, the homeless became real—they had names, personhood. Now JPUSA simply needed more room.

In late 1989 an old hotel (formerly the Chelsea), located on 920 West Wilson Avenue, was placed on the market. John Herrin recalls the events that led to JPUSA's acquisition of the property, stating that the previous owner was the "classic slumlord," who operated a building which violated city codes. Unwilling to deal with the city's expectations, the former owner left, creating a situation where the building had no official owner on record, resulting in bankruptcy. A violation of safety protocols, the old hotel was occupied by a large number of low-income senior citizens; the city stepped in, drawing media attention to what amounted to gross negligence on the part previous owners. According to Herrin, JPUSA approached the city in an effort to place a bid on the property. Given the multiple liens, city officials decided on a public auction, seeking to award the building to the highest bidder. JPUSA feared what could have been potentially competitive. Herrin expected local developers to enter the picture. And they did.[81]

> We got approached twice by a big named developer in the area [asking us] to go away. I got a call one day and a guy wanted to know if he could meet with us. And…I didn't know who he was. And I said "well sure, come on over." And we met and he basically made an offer saying "…we know that you guys are interested in this building too, and all your going to do is drive the price up, and you're going to hurt us all. But there's no way you're going to buy it, because we have deep, deep pockets." So he basically wanted to know how much money it would take for us to go away. He was trying to buy us off and we were like, "whoa dude, whoa hey, you've got to leave….We were here praying, "Maybe God will provide this building for us." And I don't think what you're doing is legal and I think you need to go. So, please don't call."[82]

After being confronted by the developer on more than one occasion, Herrin believed JPUSA was in a battle with big money. Although thought to be a lost cause, the community decided to appear in court. Herrin recalls the moment vividly: "There were people standing all the way around the edges. I thought, 'Oh brother, there's like two hundred people here to bid on this building. We're sunk, you know, we're sunk.' But of course, there had been so much media attention…." A $100,000 cashier's check was required to register as a bidder, which JPUSA

had. An attorney (who represented a buyer) requested that the judge postpone the proceeding for thirty days. The judge denied the request, opening the bid at $250,000, which was cheaper than what JPUSA had originally offered. JPUSA accepted the offer, no one raised the amount, and 920 West Wilson Avenue became the community's new home. They moved in 1990.[83]

Now settled and able to bring what would be titled "Friendly Towers" up-to-code, JPUSA could realize its larger goals as a community. The question of JPUSA's success is partially linked to location, one which is the product of a lengthy journey in the quasi-romantic sense of pilgrimage. It is easy to see how communards (at least the founders) are profoundly connected to a home they discovered after years of struggle—a promised land, as it were. Both the new building and the inner city provide JPUSA with a sense of purpose. But JPUSA's struggle is not unique. The Midwest has a history of revivalism and social reform, making JPUSA part of a larger story.

Conclusion

Although JPUSA was essentially founded by the Herrin family, the council structure is one which now allows shared leadership. Moreover, the mantle of leadership is handed down. And although JPUSA's primary critic, sociologist Ronald Enroth, has intimated at a sort of family business controlled by the founders, I find JPUSA to be a collective in the sense of shared responsibility. This is not to suggest that veterans do not enjoy benefits. Egalitarian in its attempts, remnants of class creep in, as with any group. Newcomers must prove they are serious about committing to the community before enjoying special privileges, while veteran members (those who have weathered JPUSA's epoch) take vacations to visit family or hunt wild game on the Cornerstone Farm. However, there is no difference between the living quarters of new

members and veterans. For the most part, each is small and modest, though filled with more than is typically found in a convent or monastery.

Why does a community birthed during the Jesus Movement continue to succeed while seeking to maintain the ethos of the original movement? Has JPUSA's genesis and journey provided clues to their strength? Does their location contribute to member retention? Given what has transpired in Chicago's Uptown over the years, a space has been created—one which welcomes a community attempting to make a difference. The community was created by members dedicated to locating a final home, and in so doing, sought and found a sense of purpose in Chicago's inner city.

The reasons for JPUSA's choice to live in Chicago and perceptions of communal life within the context of Uptown are varied. For Herrin and Trott, Chicago's Catholicism and its openness to religious groups (even communally-based) provided comfort and resources—and they believe it was divine guidance. For Glenn Kaiser, the strength of JPUSA is the result of historical context and an ability to coexist with "disparate subcultures;" all pray, worship, question, eat, and live together in a tight-knit group. Their community is based on "the old country church model," argues Kaiser. His depiction of daily life in the commune suggests that some are drawn to the authenticity of *community* often lacking in postindustrial society. He argues that JPUSA *works* because it is built around individuals who care about one-another, enjoy cooking together, mourn when someone dies, and rejoice when a baby is born. Kaiser likens relational dedication to a small town "barn-raising."[84]

JPUSA has been able to remain an active force of neighborhood rescue in Chicago's inner city while maintaining influence on spectators and musicians at their festival (discussed later). While categorizing the community remains challenging it is, in my estimation, possible to

locate their core impulse—one best exemplified in the Evangelical Left, a socially liberal branch of evangelical Christianity. The following quote best captures the connection JPUSA has to the "spirit" of social movements such as the New Left. Social theorist Howard Zinn has suggested that the New Left tried "to create constellations of power outside the state, to pressure it into humane actions, to resist its inhumane actions, and to replace it in many functions by voluntary small groups seeking to maintain both individuality and co-operation."[85] An enclave of resistance to establishment economic positions on capitalism, JPUSA's alignment with Jesus Movement Christianity nuances how evangelicals are commonly understood. The community is dedicated to avoiding the status quo of the evangelical subculture, challenges corporate greed, and interpositions where government leaders and programs prove incapable or unwilling to provide assistance to "the least of these."[86] The group equally affirms the individuality of communards and absorbs unique qualities brought by newcomers. This is accomplished by assimilating new cultural and ideological trends, allowing the commune to remain socially and culturally relevant. But how does the community's desire to serve as a counter-narrative to mainstream, establishment evangelicalism actually work?

While JPUSA considers itself to be socialist, they only remain self-sustaining due to an agreement with *industry*—a connection to the capitalistic model. Put simply, JPUSA businesses thrive as a result of the free-market. The primary difference is in the allocation of wealth within the commune; all assets earned by individuals are relinquished to the community. As will become clear, the various businesses and ministries of this community fulfill a yearning that began in the hearts of those converted in Gainesville, Florida, at Resurrection Band concerts. Over the years, the group has grown in number and ambition, allowing for its social mission to

transcend mere rock concerts or street evangelism. Thus, a kind of überdedication defines the community's core impulse. But how can it continue?

Kanter's theory of commitment mechanisms aids us in determining what accounts for communal success. The two primary types of communes (retreat/isolationist and service-based) provide a means by which we can assess the efficiency of communal experiments. The latter version enjoys greater longevity due to increased levels of individual dedication and communal relationships to mainstream culture. Many communes birthed during the Jesus Movement have folded. The communes still in existence operate differently, franchising into smaller house cooperatives—a model which JPUSA does not seek. Kanter's thesis of sustainability offers cogent reasons for JPUSA's current success, possibilities for longevity, and dangers which might befall the community. The next chapter explores life within JPUSA's commune. I consider how the community is structured, how it might be categorized by other evangelicals, and how JPUSA's form of socialism appears to work.

Chapter 3
Observing Community Life: A Continued Enclave of Resistance/Assistance?

Introduction

When one considers the hippie commune, images of rural farms spring to mind. In the case of JPUSA, urban collectivism is a more accurate description. While older members of JPUSA—many of them veterans of the Jesus Movement—continue to provide leadership, the commune's urban location contributes to the retention of members and serves to attract new members eager to find a sense of purpose. In this case, a sense of purpose can be found in measures concerning outreach to homeless persons in the neighborhood of the 46th Ward. As a result, JPUSA's location contributes to communal sustainability.

Chicago's 46th Ward is what David K. Fremon describes as an area which invokes images of "derelicts, flophouses, vacant lots, storefront day-labor agencies, resale shops, and taverns, with a social worker on every corner."[1] This hardly squares with the staid, romantic sentiments of communes often associated with *Walden Two*.[2] The ten-story Friendly Towers is located at 920 West Wilson Avenue, a neighborhood which has improved over the years, though still considered dangerous.

In this chapter, we explore daily life in JPUSA and consider reasons communards have been attracted to communal life, the importance of JPUSA businesses, and strengths and weaknesses of the community's governmental structure. We will also consider communal life as perceived by the founders, second-generation members, and former members, allowing individuals to tell their stories, each providing both historical and impressionistic (at times

anecdotal) accounts of community life. We end by returning to the question of sustainability and longevity, thus exploring possible reasons for this group's survival since 1972.

First Impressions

The front of Friendly Towers is relatively unassuming when one considers that this is the location of one of the more significant vestiges of the Jesus Movement, and is home to the first known Christian hard rock band. Sporting a blue awning with white lettering that simply reads "Friendly Towers," JPUSA's building conveys a welcoming message in subcultural[3] form, complete with planned graffiti on the walls and psychedelic images in the windows. While some individuals standing near the entrance often seek spare change, veterans of JPUSA recall the early days when homeless individuals camped on the doorstep of the community. The front door opens to a hallway covered by an ornate ceiling—a relic of what was once a hotel—ending at a locked door; people are buzzed in by those holding post at the front desk. Regardless of the time of day one can expect to see a gaggle of activity involving a mix of old hippies, young punk rockers, "goths," and senior citizens making their way to the senior's dining room or back to their ninth-floor apartment room. At times, one notices persons whose social interactions carry the unmistakable signs of mental illness. While an outsider might write the scene off as chaotic, it is readily apparent that all are members of a tight-knit community dedicated to shouldering the burdens of one-another, many displaying a certain sanguinity one might expect from utopian hopefuls.

Figure 4: JPUSA's current home, Friendly Towers

With the exception of senior citizens (discussed later), all communards live rent-free in small, modest apartments. Unlike commercial apartments and motels, multiple persons who walk the halls of Friendly Towers are treated in ways reminiscent of family members interacting early in the morning or late at night. Put another way, communards often exhibit a kind of familiarity with one-another in such a way that constant greetings or common civilities are not needed. As I observed children run down the halls I was struck by how parents and grandparents trusted fellow communards. It is always possible that there is a transient sort, like myself or a drifter-seeker, who does not warrant such trust. This was clear as I approached communards. I have known various members for years—particularly those in leadership—and enjoy friendship with them. However, various communards appeared wary of my presence. Initially friendly, the unfamiliar seemed glad to see me and were generally inquisitive. As each conversation wore on,

and they realized I was conducting research, I sensed a wall of suspicion develop—or at the very least careful rhetorical editing. This is understandable, given the history of how JPUSA has been represented in journalistic accounts and scholarly research (discussed later in this chapter).

At first blush, each floor of the building functions as its own "neighborhood" and appears to be structured based on a kind of necessary stratification. JPUSA veterans and leaders occupy their own floors, allowing comfortable interaction between families and children who have lived and grown up together for many years. However, after further investigation it becomes evident that the only floors truly defined by occupant status are those which house the founders. This is simply a byproduct of time in residence—newcomers are, understandably, housed in rooms unmarked by years of committed inhabitants who have added all the flavors of home, such as various expressions of personal décor.

Individual apartments often reflect the personality of the tenant. Communards decorate dwellings (small as they may be) with images familiar to both the cultural mainstream and subcultures: bookshelves constructed to accommodate limited space; mounted deer heads temporarily displace minds conscious of the inner city; guitars and pictures of religious icons share flat, vertical spaces; wooden frames combine the utilitarian and the romantic in bunk-bed, kitchenette combinations; apartment entries display artwork depicting music groups, hippie sentimentalities, political affiliations, biblical references, and gothic iconography reminiscent of a mausoleum, complete with plaster of Paris tombstone hinting at fascinations with the macabre. Indeed, while JPUSA shares money, food, and space, individuality is prized as a countercultural badge of honor.

While JPUSA living quarters demonstrate in part the depth and breadth of this commune, conversations with individual communards reveal levels of interpersonal relationships that

contribute to the familial environment. Late one night I was able to interview Otto Jensen, a young man who had recently moved to JPUSA with his wife. Our pre-interview conversation allowed a connection to occur, one built on reciprocity as we discussed ideas pertaining to music, the church, and theology. The exchange was cut short; our discussion took place in front of an apartment whose occupant rightly requested that we take our rather loud conversation elsewhere; he had to wake up early. This gentleman voiced interest in our topic—apparently hearing every word from inside his room—and reminded us of his work schedule.[4]

This exchange differentiates JPUSA from other Jesus Movement communes of the 1960s and 1970s. Earlier communities stayed up late to discuss religion, attended rock concerts, and often slept until the afternoon.[5] Although some members of JPUSA keep late hours to talk politics or religion, the organization maintains a consistent work ethic. In this case, responsibility and structure appear to be the byproduct of age and maturity. Unlike early Jesus-freak communal experiments, JPUSA no longer focuses on full-time street evangelism. Instead, communards focus on responsibilities to various businesses (domestic and foreign) that sustain the community. Indeed, there are other post-Jesus Movement groups that engage the wider culture. Among all of the Jesus Movement experiments, the Children of God (now the Family International) has become ubiquitous, displaying a website that carries all the familiar attributes of mainstream evangelicalism. With the exception of James D. Chancellor's observations in *Life in the Family: An Oral History of the Children of God*, they remain somewhat ambiguous when answering questions pertaining to daily life and practice, taking care to avoid rhetoric that might implicate the group in practices already deemed unseemly by media depictions.

In contradistinction to early Jesus freak communes or other contemporary groups such as the Children of God, daily life in JPUSA is for the most part mundane and without incident.

Meals are prepared in a central kitchen and are served in a central dining hall; those who live in senior housing have a separate dining room. Communards can choose to have meals in the main dining area or, as is the case with many veteran communards, retreat to individual apartments after going through the food line. Along with the primary kitchen and communal dining room, each floor of the building has its own common area (sofas and chairs) and a small kitchen, complete with a table and chairs. Aside from meals prepared for the commune, individuals are free to prepare additional meals. If newcomers miss a meal and do not have a supply of their own, peanut butter and bread are always available in the main kitchen facility.

Figure 5: JPUSA communards eating a late-night snack

The urban environment of Uptown Chicago contributes to JPUSA's service-based orientation. Given their mission, it would be difficult for the community to adopt a retreat or isolationist model. However, retreat has never been the organizing principle of JPUSA. JPUSA's choice to settle in one location and to focus on communal sustainability differentiates the group from the Children of God, as well as other groups birthed during the original movement. Sociologist of religion Steven Tipton has considered communal experiments that engaged society. Unlike 1960s isolationist communes, groups studied by Tipton were engaged with the broader culture, yet remained interstitial. Much like JPUSA, communards analyzed by Tipton often worked among non-communal persons, though their purpose was not wholly related to idealized notions of social uplift.[6]

JPUSA's overall purpose (as will become clear) differentiates the group from early communes defined by isolationism. This places them outside of a common mythology, one associated with Calvary Chapel, Vineyard, and Shiloh Houses, evangelical fellowships which sympathized with the Jesus Movement. While these organizations had both communal and non-communal members, each asserted an ethic common to the period: revivalism linked to apocalyptic urgency. Although many early members of Calvary Chapel lived in communes, the denomination has become one of the models of *establishment* non-denominational evangelicalism. These three flagship organizations of the Jesus Movement all exemplified a near sectarian revivalism during the 1970s and 1980s, later becoming part of establishment evangelicalism. When compared, JPUSA occupies a very different space, one somewhere between the isolationist impulse of groups such as the Children of God and Tony Alamo's Alamo Christian Foundation,[7] and the middle-American establishment evangelicalism of Calvary Chapel and Vineyard.

Despite their own unique subcultural existence, JPUSA remains open to the public, offering Sunday services to the local neighborhood. Moreover, services at Friendly Towers are frequently attended by those who are not members of the community, to include visitors from colleges such as Moody Bible Institute. Thus JPUSA has an ability to locate a middle-ground, while still retaining the spirit of the Jesus Movement.

The neighborhood of Uptown Chicago has changed over the years. Many of the homeless have been relocated due to gentrification and gang activity is in decline. However, my own impressions concur with Fremon's description of the 46th Ward. As I walked down an alley to visit Cornerstone Community Outreach (JPUSA's shelter program) I was struck by how dilapidated the area still appeared to be. The signs of poverty were unmistakable, as were the signs of mental illness and general hopelessness. My effort to photograph the shelter's sign was met with obscenities from a man who joined the line for the evening dinner. The scene inside the shelter was little different from the one on the street. Single mothers, children, and a few men, filled the dining room waiting to eat. Middle-class volunteers received instructions from a JPUSA communard who co-manages the shelter with his wife. As I tried to return to Friendly Towers before nightfall (hoping not to brave the streets alone), I considered the commitment it must take to keep JPUSA communards engaged in such a massive effort. The decision to commit one's self to such extremes involves an attraction to a way of life which antedates the attraction of any particular group.

The Draw of Community

Members of JPUSA are attracted to a life of service and communal living. But given the nature of collective living, what is the attraction? Why do people (especially Americans) remain fascinated by communal living while simultaneously valuing individualism? This answer is, I

maintain, connected to the way communalism is commonly understood. Following the logic of historian Timothy Miller, how does one determine the communal ethic? Does this include street gangs, tribal villages, and terrorist cells? Does it include apartment communities? Miller has observed that while Americans remain unflinchingly individualistic, the communal ethic continues to attract interest. Americans continue to consume books and documentaries that depict communal life, maintains Miller. Yet there remains a conflict between communalism and individualism. Indeed, the communal way of life still captures the imagination, but does so in the shadow of negative media depictions of collectivist "cults."[8]

While the communal ethic continues to fascinate many, popular understandings of communal living tend to be overly reductive, linking collectivist efforts to cultish hippie experiments or obscure nineteenth-century millenarian sects. When considering the reasons for attraction or revulsion to the communal ethic, we must consider the way in which communes can be appropriately understood. Kanter has observed that contemporary North American communes can be placed into two categories: "retreat" (defined by negative boundaries) and "service" (defined by affirmative boundaries). The former seeks to retreat from the evils of the world, are peopled by isolationists, and often lack the proper commitment for sustainability. The latter engage society, are mission-minded, operate based on shared values, and often prove more successful than retreat communes.[9] A twenty-first century example of a service commune, JPUSA's structure is inspired by the writings of Jean Vanier, Catholic founder of L'Arche communities, an outreach that provides a home for disabled persons. Vanier's *Community and Growth* (1979) has been a seminal document in the community's organizing principles and sustains commitment mechanisms. Their public statement demonstrates commitment to those in need and indicates religious inclusiveness:

> L'Arche enables people with and without disabilities to share their lives in communities of faith and friendship. Community members are transformed through relationships of mutuality, respect, and companionship as they live, work, pray, and play together. In these ways, L'Arche USA gives witness to the vision that people of differing intellectual capacity, religion, and culture can come together in unity, faithfulness and reconciliation. While some of our communities were founded in the Roman Catholic Church tradition, today L'Arche USA communities are ecumenical and welcome people of all faiths."[10]

While JPUSA draws organizational inspiration from L'Arche, they maintain stricter boundaries of religious distinction. Vanier remarks that "the secret of L'Arche is relationship: meeting people, not through the filters of certitudes, ideologies, idealism or judgments, but heart to heart; listening to people with their pain, their joy, their hope, their history, listening to their heart beats."[11] JPUSA, however, adopts a modest ecumenism. While theirs is not as far-reaching as L'Arche, they uphold the spirit demonstrated in Vanier's work. Members of JPUSA are drawn to a life of service toward those less fortunate, though their service is not solely toward the disabled. Moreover, while they differ from L'Arche on pluralism, they also differ from other, like-minded urban co-opts.

In 1957, Reba Place was founded as a Christian communal house. Initially, the group included three people who shared in all aspects of life and possessions. After occupying one house just north of Chicago, Reba Place has grown into "several communities and many ministries," according to their online statement. Members currently live in an "urban village" in Evanston, IL. This community has "a mix of apartment buildings, single family houses, and commercial buildings sheltering a variety of cooperative ventures," seeking to share life and to live simply together in households.[12] The difference between Reba Place and JPUSA concerns location and purpose. While both groups seek cohabitation and simplicity, JPUSA's location warrants specialized outreach to the homeless. Although Reba Place shares JPUSA's vision of

collective living and social justice, the location of Uptown forces JPUSA to engage their local neighborhood and society in ways communes such as Reba Place cannot. Thus, Kanter's thesis of "commitment mechanisms" applies to the particularity of JPUSA.

Geographical location, persons in need (many of whom wander in and around Friendly Towers), and a sense of practical urgency (as opposed to the abstract millenarian urgency embraced by early Jesus Movement communes) all reinforce a concrete sense of purpose for JPUSA. Simply put, JPUSA is what Kanter refers to as a "service commune." "The orientation of this group of communes," writes Kanter, "is toward service to a special population; they have a mission."[13] But this does not suggest that Reba Place is not a service commune. Citing the Georgia-based Koinonia (founded in 1942) and Reba Place, Kanter argues that these communities have adopted a model of affirmation rather than negation, defining themselves by a set of values and belief-systems, insisting that "all members share them."[14]

> Service communes often control information across their boundaries as part and parcel of their mission to serve. They incorporate new information from the outside that will further the group's ability to perform its service. Rather than finding the continual intrusion of communication from American society to be threatening, a service commune may consider it useful "data."[15]

Although both JPUSA and Reba Place share many commonalities, their respective locations create different impetuses for activism and different levels of social engagement. Later in this study, the way in which JPUSA has incorporated the tools of society to realize its most immediate goal of helping the poor will become evident.

Individual Stories

Members of JPUSA maintain that life in the commune amounts to divine calling, one which includes a crucible of sorts. Their stories often combine recollections of quaint memories

of family life and the truculence associated with inner-city poverty and shared living. Nathan Cameron, a second-generation member and son to founding member Tom Cameron, appears to be correct in his own assessment of what attracts new communards. The most significant attraction JPUSA offers is that it conveys an interstitial lifestyle, attracting curious nomadic "travelers." They hear about it from friends, states Cameron, and though people do not always come as a result of JPUSA's Cornerstone Festival, they often show up to get a meal after the event and, at times, choose to remain, if only for a brief stay.[16]

The stories of older community members highlight JPUSA's connection to the Jesus Movement. Curtis Mortimer, now sixty-six, is married to Dawn (formerly Dawn Herrin). Pleased to learn of a continued presence of "Jesus People" he joined JPUSA in 1992. During the original Jesus Movement Mortimer was a student at Saint Paul Bible College in St. Paul, MN, with the Christian Missionary Alliance, where he trained to be a minister. He became disappointed early on with what he viewed as a false image often put forth by clergy, but also believed the Jesus Movement was a passing fancy, a fad for that time. Every generation, he recalls, had young people who were disenchanted with the church—dropouts and antiestablishment types seeking meaning. For Mortimer, the concern was with plastic pastor-parishioner relationships, where authenticity was never fully realized.

Mortimer discovered a group of Jesus People sometime between 1970 and 1971 in a country farm house, where he became the "expos facto teacher." Following the teachings of theologian Watchman Nee (also known as Nee Shu-tsu and Henry Nee),[17] Mortimer gained a background in the concept of community and multiple eldership. Since Nee taught against the proliferation of denominations, Mortimer's first Jesus People group avoided becoming a new church, hoping to live as part of a larger order.

His discovery of JPUSA proved beneficial for both the commune and Mortimer. Now having lived with JPUSA for a number of years, Mortimer notes that the leadership council exhibits an ability to interpret communal rules based on *individual need*—an important distinction from other collectives oriented around one leader with a single mission. (discussed at length later the study). For Mortimer, this is the primary factor that contributes to JPUSA's sustainability—individualism within collectivism. Many who are drawn to JPUSA, he maintains, are persons who are disillusioned, seeking acceptance. Mortimer acknowledges that first contact is often made when seekers attend JPUSA's Cornerstone Festival.[18]

Crisis and quest are themes that appear in many stories told by communards. At fifty-four, Dorena's 4 ½ years with the commune has met a deep need. Wounds of the past, she argues, are resolved within the context of group acceptance. Her gothic attire contributes to the subcultural aesthetic which is ubiquitous throughout the community. The daughter of an itinerant preacher, Dorena rebelled and dabbled in the occult. Though she lived in a large home in California, she notes that her life felt empty. This led to her eventual conversion to Christianity. But despite her newfound faith, she felt estranged from God. A history of cancer in her family, Dorena received her diagnoses a few years back, was healed, and believes it was a miracle. After an abusive marriage and a number of family deaths, she considered joining JPUSA, a decision which would reunite her with her daughter who had already joined the commune. Aware of sociologist Ronald Enroth's critique of the community (discussed later) she was compelled to examine life in JPUSA before forming an opinion. After a few visits, Dorena joined, believing communal living to be a model established by God, in contradistinction to the materialism of her former home in Orange County, California. JPUSA's mission is an important

one, according to Dorena, as the community attracts suicidal addicts who are seeking healing and a sense of belonging.[19]

Now twenty-three, Raye Clemente has been a member for 3 ½ years, though she moved out and returned six months later. During her spiritual quest, she considered Buddhism and Unitarianism, ending her search with Jesus. While Clemente accepted Christianity, she remained conflicted, hoping for an expression that was not, in her words, greedy and Republican. Though struggling with how her faith was traditionally represented in the mainstream evangelical world, she did not want to let go of her faith in Jesus. JPUSA offered an environment that met needs establishment evangelicalism could not. This initial kindred spirit was felt at the Cornerstone Festival. For her, work with the homeless is part of her personal mission, even if she chooses to leave the community. As one who has struggled with depression, Clemente finds a sense of purpose in social outreach, allowing her to have more love for herself, the universe, and God.[20]

Like Clemente, co-pastor Neil Taylor viewed life as unfulfilling until his conversion to Christianity in a "Jesus house" in Jacksonville, FL. For him, the concept of community was attractive. And like others, he was attracted to JPUSA because of the REZ Band. Although his father accused him of throwing his life away after joining in 1972, Taylor believed that he had "narrowly escaped Hell." Most early communards, notes Taylor, were broken people.[21]

A need for training inspired the community to seek extra-biblical texts for theological guidance, unlike many Jesus Movement isolationist communes marked by anti-intellectual experientialism. The early days of JPUSA involved listening to various teachings and recordings in an attempt to gain an ideological foundation, in hopes of avoiding what communard Jon Trott refers to as a "super experiential" ethos common among other Jesus Movement communes. Training was mixed with practical application as members spent hours sharing their faith and

meeting the needs of various persons outside of their immediate community. Stories provided by the founders demonstrate how the initial draw of community life involved a *crisis moment*, some sort of epiphany, then a sense of divine directive leading to full commitment, one which provided a strong familial base often lacking in pre-communal life. Taylor is now one of the lead pastors in JPUSA.[22]

Tom Cameron was a "directionless college student" who needed to dedicate himself to some sort of spiritual vocation. After joining in 1972 as a "roadie" for the REZ Band (as was the case for most early members) Cameron and other early communards assisted the band with the heavy lifting associated with touring concerts. His account reveals how JPUSA's journey was marked by changes oriented around the music group. For the first six months, Cameron simply travelled. The community was, in his estimation, simply on an extended mission trip into the upper-peninsula of Michigan. After losing their lease in Gainesville, Florida, JPUSA remained nomadic, living in a big red Jesus bus, driving around and doing concerts.[23]

Cameron is now a community pastor, as well as producer and director for JPUSA's Grrr Records, a record label originally designed solely to produce musicians living in the community, though that has changed in recent years. A graduate of Northwestern University Law School, Cameron serves as in-house counsel for the community and typifies JPUSA's ability to balance community need with individual circumstance.[24]

Most members of JPUSA are attracted to environments defined by a sense of community and purpose. To that end, individuals have constructed their lives around serving others. Hoping to live with like-minded persons, Lyda Jackson joined the community in 1975 when it was still located in the basement of Faith Tabernacle, an evangelical church in Chicago. Feeling that life "in community" was both a religious and vocational conviction, she began her life in JPUSA by

serving in the kitchen, mending clothes and taking in part in street evangelism. Now fifty-three years old, Jackson coordinates volunteers at Cornerstone Community Outreach, JPUSA's homeless shelter. As a member of the board of directors for the Communal Studies Association, she is quite aware of the pitfalls with which intentional communities struggle. But for her, the attraction of community—particularly JPUSA—is rooted in both the divine and the practical.[25]

A native of Modesto, California, Joshua Davenport has always been restless, seeking life on the road. He has been in and out of JPUSA since he was nineteen. Davenport came to a place in his life where he was "angry with organized religion." Feeling stagnant and trapped in a system adopted by his family (one which he did not fully understand), Davenport sought something new—an unfamiliar place where God could be found—if God was real to begin with! Now thirty-one, Davenport considers stability a viable option, hoping to remain settled in JPUSA. He and his wife are attracted to the way the commune supports their ministry, their marriage, and their music, amounting to an "overwhelming sense of family." Simply put, JPUSA is a place where they feel safe.[26]

Susan (her real name has been withheld) was drawn to JPUSA as a result of having been involved with a communal experiment on the south side of Chicago. Although this largely African American group was not linked to the Jesus Movement, they wanted to live out a life of faith in a communal context. In 1976, New Life Fellowship secured a house and tried to "live out the Bible." Despite all efforts, their small size made the attempt difficult; they felt they were ineffective. After meeting JPUSA, members of New Life Fellowship found similarities, visited the community, and later combined efforts by joining JPUSA in 1978.[27]

Living between two uniquely American dichotomies can be challenging for anyone, particularly if your leftist heart has been nursed by the Religious Right. Colleen Davick is from

Dallas, TX. She converted to Christianity at the age of eight and attended Bible College. In the aftermath of college she experienced a "wandering period," attempting to decide on a place where she could serve a purpose—a job that "meant something." After a period of self-analysis, Davick was drawn to community-living: "I wanted a deeper way of living besides…the typical American—live in your house in the suburbs, do a job—I wanted something, a deeper experience than that. I figured after coming to visit here, that…I would find that deeper experience here."[28] Aware that JPUSA's community had something to do with REZ Band, *Cornerstone* Magazine, and Cornerstone Festival she viewed JPUSA as a "cool place to go," one offering a deeper way of life. Davick joined in 1992 and notes that JPUSA fulfilled a personal need and continues to represent a divine call for her. She has never seriously considered leaving.[29]

Many communards join while they are relatively young and find they must balance their commitment to two different families. While some parents of young communards may remain suspicious of a group that chooses to raise children in abject poverty, others are actually sympathetic to expressions associated with the Jesus Movement. Aaron Tharp is twenty-two. His parents—affiliated with the Vineyard church—had no conflict and simply asked him to research the community before joining. Tharp moved to JPUSA in 2008.

According to Tharp's estimation, one-fourth to one-third of JPUSA communards are in their twenties. Many are homeless by choice, wanderers, choosing to join for a variety of reasons. Tharp works on the "home crew" (where many newcomers begin) washing dishes, sweeping and mopping floors, doing the laundry, and cleaning restrooms. (Newcomer women assist seniors and prepare food—although there are male members who are in food preparation.)

Tharp argues that although he does not make a paycheck, his inspiration is simply to give his friends a nice clean home.[30]

The stories of individual communards demonstrate that the attraction to life in JPUSA is a result of many factors that motivate some to adopt such a radical way of life. As these stories have demonstrated, those who live in JPUSA all share common experiences. Although not all revealed struggles with depression or other elements of crisis, all who were interviewed indicated that JPUSA offered something which non-communal life could not. For these communards, a life built on shared property (in hopes of realizing a larger purpose) highlights the differences between their version of Christianity and establishment evangelicalism. Put another way, travelers and those living on the margins of society are attracted to JPUSA precisely because the commune reestablishes the subversive element of social activism (as well as spiritual longing) that attracted many converts during the original Jesus Movement. But while the spirit of the movement is sought after and celebrated, JPUSA's structure is such that it has afforded the commune the ability to survive longer than their progenitors.

Community Businesses

JPUSA is good at assimilating culture, adapting to its environment, and remaining flexible enough to alter its approach when warranted. The fact that JPUSA has undertaken numerous business enterprises and ministries over the years (some successful and some not) reveals a desire to try new methods of producing income and engaging society through various outreaches. Some leaders have self-identified as socialist and communist. Yet there remains a commitment to engage the free-enterprise system for the financial good of the immediate community (JPUSA) and the broader community (the homeless population in the 46th Ward).

Many seem to revel in the idea that they remain virulent socialistic anti-capitalists while simultaneously enjoying the fruits of the free-market. While this dichotomy appears either contradictory or simply pollyannaish, this "agreement" with capitalism can simply be attributed to the way American society is already structured. JPUSA's choice to live in an urban area (thus unable to live off the land) necessitates a relationship with industry. How then can they be considered socialist?

It is possible to reconcile the two systems simply by considering their economic structure on the micro level. That is, although the community must engage industry to generate income (since the government will not provide all needs), their common purse arrangement places them in a different category. Essentially, when considering matters pertaining to daily life in JPUSA, the council acts as the government, deciding *how* monies are distributed and to *whom*. Granted, this still amounts to a church-funded scenario (a conservative business-friendly thrust) with little acquiescence to the State. But in the absence of socialism on the national level, JPUSA leaders have chosen to employ socialism within their own community, maintaining a system of government based on the New Testament. Thus, the community is able to operate mission businesses (much like the tent-making venture of the apostle Paul) while meting out monies according to individual need.

The most notable JPUSA businesses include Lakefront Roofing and Siding Supply, Belly Acres (a t-shirt printing company), Friendly Towers low-income housing for senior citizens, Grrr Records (a record production and promotion company), and Tone Zone recording studio.[31] Tone Zone is a commercial recording studio managed by Stu Heiss' younger brother, Roger. The studio accepts outside business and does not discriminate based on religion, though they are careful not to record musician who engage in illicit activities. The studio avoids artists who use

misogynistic lyrics and other material deemed offensive, arguing it is not in the interest of the client to offend the recording engineer, though secular or non-Christian lyrics are generally acceptable.[32] Grrr Records signs a number of artists, earning most profits from revenue generated by the Resurrection Band and the Glenn Kaiser band. With the exceptions of Tone Zone, Grrr, and Lake Front Roofing, the other primary ventures either profit very little or are considered forms of ministry.

Lake Front Roofing Supply began in 1985 and is considered JPUSA's primary source of income. (The company advertises its religious affiliation). The company has dedicated clients but must deal with competition; advertising is largely accomplished through word of mouth, signage, and radio stations. Ads mostly target the "user," not the contractor, creating "leads" and relationships, generating work for customers. This has been successful, maintains Chris Spicer, a leader in the company who joined JPUSA in 1983. Lakefront currently has five locations: three in Chicago, one in Schereville, IN, and one in Waukegan, IL. The company also operates a business in Romania. Nehemiah American Romania Company (NARCOM) is a distribution center that deals in roofing supplies and other products. NARCOM functions as a "mission business," allowing JPUSA to maintain a location that partners with Osana Foundation, an orphanage which cares for various children with AIDS. Given Lakefront's multiple locations, many employees are not members of JPUSA and are paid a salary. JPUSA employees are paid a "virtual payroll," which goes back into the community purse.

The company will often refer customers to contractors, stating that they "know the good guys," who are defined as "an insured, professional and licensed contractor that agrees to our Contractor requirements." Lakefront's Contractor Referral Program is a free service intended to

satisfy home and building owners.[33] The web advertisement reassures the potential customer that they are ethical and will offer free advice:

> "We Know the Good Guys!" is a free Chicagoland roofing referral service sponsored by Lakefront Roofing & Siding Supply. Everyone benefits- Homeowners and Building Owners, Contractors, and Lakefront! Re-roofing your home or building doesn't happen every day. It usually only occurs once every 15-20 years. We work hard to help homeowners and building owners with free advice. In return, the business is usually placed with us, through the contractor.[34]

JPUSA continues to expand its borders, trying new ventures considered culturally relevant to their overall mission or potentially lucrative for the community. Other current companies include Lakefront Self-Storage and a skateboard shop, scheduled to open in the near future.

Over the years, JPUSA has attempted a wide array of business ventures. The list of "experiments" is at least a tell-tale sign that this community seeks every possible method to remain fiscally responsible. At the most, this list is a veritable tribute to a community dedicated to succeeding. The variety of businesses is both diverse and interesting: typesetting, a boutique store, carpentry, painting, moving, masonry, tree planting, hog farming, insect extermination, carpet cleaning, roofing, saw sharpening, electric, clothing design, sheet metal, window repair, human resources, cabinets and office furniture, printing, Guatemalan window products, self-storage, a skate board shop, and candy sales. Throughout successes and failures, members have garnered skills important to the vitality of maintaining their own dwelling. While it is true that members are required to work for JPUSA-owned companies, and while there is a common purse that dictates an individual's ability or inability to function outside of communally-established structures—lodging, food, healthcare, etc.—JPUSA's emphasis on individualism within communitarianism creates a certain measure of freedom.

Communards are allowed to take modest "side jobs" (within certain limits) to earn extra money for a trip or a television by agreeing to complete a fellow communard's kitchen duties, haul equipment at a local bar, perform carpentry, or other minor tasks.
However, they are not permitted a full-time career in a non-JPUSA business, unless it serves the community.[35] For example, some communards who are certified nurses work in local health establishments and relinquish their salary to the community purse, with the exception of a modest food allowance. If a position offers benefits, the member may accept coverage. And while JPUSA businesses only offer health coverage to non-community employees (such as Lakefront satellites) communards who work at the Cornerstone Community Outreach shelter are required by the city to carry medical coverage.[36]

All JPUSA businesses exist to support the commune's larger purpose, one which communards believe to be humanitarian service. "Employees" of those businesses who are members of the community understand that their work will not yield cash rewards to them as individuals. And yet, all subjects interviewed have affirmed a sense of dedication. Higher purpose notwithstanding, one wonders how a worker's dedication can remain unfettered when confronted by American materialism. Kanter has recently considered the future of corporations, suggesting there are emerging "vanguard companies" operating on a level that exceeds merely maintaining the bottom-line, seeking to instill certain values and hoping to contribute to changing the world for the better. Thus some Americans, particularly the younger generation, often demonstrate what amounts to a growing commitment to social justice, even at the expense of material gain.[37]

Kanter implies that the same social convictions which inspire communities like JPUSA (purpose that transcends materialism) might become more prevalent throughout corporations.

But while this research implies the possibility of a "mission-minded" future where corporations might consider the needs of society over monetary gain, what is more intriguing about Kanter's research (for this study) is that it reaffirms that longevity (whether in business or community) is determined by values that transcend the immediate goals of a particular business or community. This forms strata of values-based commitments that hold units (large and small) to standards defined by the needs of the collective over and above the individual, while simultaneously affirming the validity and importance of individual need and circumstance. Financial stability makes it possible for the commune to help individual members overcome their own personal struggles (at times breaking community restrictions to consider needs on a case-by-case basis), thus freeing them to look outward to the extended community of the 46th Ward.

Community Ministries

Although JPUSA can be largely understood as a social outreach mission, their initial mission has always concerned their version of Christian evangelism. But their understanding of evangelism is broader than other evangelical mission groups, particularly those formed during the Jesus Movement. After touring the country, JPUSA extended its idea of Christian outreach to include social justice in Chicago's inner city. The various ministries indicate a commitment to both Christian evangelism and caring for practical human needs. The following list of ministries is as diverse as JPUSA business ventures: discipleship training to community members, care for the elderly, street witnessing, housing for the homeless, soup kitchen, low-income senior housing, Big Brother/Big Sister (Mentoring), outreach to Mexico, Cambodian Outreach, Bosnian Outreach, Romania Outreach (Business supporting missions in Romania), Guatemalan Outreach, Pro-life Action Counsel, Crisis Pregnancy Center, new women's shelter building for homeless women, host for youth groups, a boy scout troop, Imagine DAT Model hobby building with kids,

Cornerstone Festival, Grr Record company, and *Cornerstone* magazine, an edgy publication (1971-2003) that offered analyses of music, film, and articles pertaining to theology, philosophy, culture, sexuality, global events, and various controversial topics often not found in other evangelical publications. Various music groups include styles such as rock, heavy metal, punk, rap, black gospel, Celtic, and goth: Resurrection Band (REZ), the Glenn Kaiser Band (GKB), the Grace and Glory gospel choir, The Crossing, Cauzin Efekt, Crashdog, Brothers & Sisters United, Seeds, Sheesh, Ballydowse, Scientific, Leper, The Blamed, and Aracely.[38] These ministries are all important to individual communards. However, with the exception of the Resurrection Band, *Cornerstone* magazine, and the Cornerstone Festival, none serve as the primary motivation for life in JPUSA.

Just as Lakefront Roofing Supply is the primary source of income for JPUSA, their shelter program, Cornerstone Community Outreach (CCO), is the motivating mission for JPUSA communards. Functioning as a primary commitment mechanism, the shelter program inspires communards to persevere in community life as they work for the communal paradigm, shouldering the responsibility of caring for those who need food and shelter. Obtained in 1989, CCO (a non-profit organization) seeks "to raise the quality of life for low-income residents of the United States and the rest of the world through social, educational and economic development programs that include: development & preservation of decent & affordable housing for the poor, job training & creation, educational & social programs, and feeding & sheltering the homeless."[39]

CCO offers housing for single women and men, single mothers and their children, other family units, and women who have been abused. (Note that CCO's housing for single mothers is not considered a battered women's shelter). However, it has become "Uptown's own version of

the Salvation Army," according to former Alderman Jerome Orbach.[40] There are two large buildings under the umbrella of CCO. One operates as the cafeteria and houses women and children while the second houses families, functioning as a daytime "drop in center" for single men. A twenty-four hour shelter, CCO's buildings house between three hundred and four hundred persons, serves three meals per day, and averages one hundred twenty-five persons for breakfast, lunch, and dinner.[41]

A member of JPUSA since 1976, Sandy Ramsey manages the shelter program along with her husband Chris and cites the Bible as inspiration for what is viewed as a divine mandate to feed the poor. According to Sandy Ramsey, the free-market social policies known as "Reaganomics" created a dangerous scenario, resulting in an increase in Chicago's homeless population during the 1980s. Ramsey and Trott have both argued with clarity that many individuals and families who experienced homelessness in Uptown during this time could not be categorized by stereotypes often associated with homelessness or urban poverty. Substance abuse, addiction, and mental illness were not the causes of poverty or homelessness for those affected by Reaganomics. Families who became homeless once held jobs, but could only afford low-income housing.

According to Ramsey and Trott, Reagan's policies displaced a number of persons largely atypical of those living on the streets of Chicago. As a result, JPUSA began to house a growing population of homeless persons in 1987. In an effort to increase public awareness, JPUSA and their alderman held a "tent city" in the 46th Ward as a sign of protest; the local alderman and Jon Trott were arrested. Once the tent city ended, homeless families remained, finding their way into JPUSA's lobby and their living rooms. The Department of Human Services (now, the Chicago Department of Child and Family Services) started "dropping people off unofficially." The

community struck critical mass when the need outweighed what JPUSA was able to provide. Approximately fifty men huddled in JPUSA's lobby and one hundred women and children were fed nightly, sleeping on floor mats in the community dining room and various couches. This was further complicated by the lack of funding. In 1989, elder Neal Taylor spoke with the commissioner of Chicago's Department of Human Services, indicating the difficulty. The result was a grant of $75,000.00. The shelter was a natural outgrowth of human need as JPUSA's community became overwhelmed with individuals seeking shelter on their "doorstep," in their cafeteria, and at times, their apartments.[42]

JPUSA's commitment to provide practical assistance to persons in need is evidenced in their assisted living program. Along with outreach to homeless persons, care for the elderly also distinguishes JPUSA from Kanter's "retreat" communes. It differentiates the community from earlier Jesus Movement communities in its concern for long-term care for every individual, thus distancing JPUSA further from the evangelical millenarian preoccupation with cosmic immediacy (the salvation of souls in preparation for the end of time). Simply put, JPUSA's care for the elderly demonstrates their ability to suspend musings over the end of time. Those in leadership have adopted a holistic understanding of the Christian mission, one which includes multiple areas of social justice.

When JPUSA purchased Friendly Towers they agreed to take on the responsibility of senior housing units already part of the building. In so doing, the leadership council inherited a number of structural problems which, in the interest of low-income seniors, had to be resolved with expediency. Now up-to-code, the building houses approximately one hundred senior citizens. JPUSA staff members are responsible for cooking meals and cleaning the rooms. According to David Baumgartner, the manager of senior housing, residents are expected to pay

$430.00 for rent and $25.00 for food allowance per month. Fifty-one units, writes Baumgartner, "receive subsidies from the low income housing trust fund, 4 are subsidized by the Chronic Homeless Initiative Grant (HUD & low income housing)" and "1 unit is a CHAC Section 8 voucher."[43]

Seniors are not expected to attend JPUSA events. Many do not attend events planned for senior citizens, choosing to remain in their individual rooms. Eileen Freed is sixty-eight and has lived in a senior unit for four and a half years. She moved to the community needing an inexpensive place to live. Freed is on Medicaid and notes that a physician and psychiatrist both visit the community, tending the needs of seniors. As one who desires excitement and personal connections, Freed's favorite part about living in JPUSA is the activities. For her, other living situations would prove boring. Life in JPUSA offers her a number of community events, to include JPUSA's church, theatrical plays, and rock concerts. Since she does not have family of her own, JPUSA's community fills a need.

JPUSA businesses and ministries all provide a backdrop for a community seeking and finding purpose. Although Kanter establishes a difference between retreat and service communes, it should be understood that all communes are founded with purpose in mind, as historian of religion Timothy Miller has demonstrated. One difference between JPUSA and the many communes once peppered throughout the U.S. is the way in which higher purpose is finally realized. Often, communes have fizzled because they were simply unable to move beyond the bottom level of the Maslowian pyramid. The psychologist, Abraham Maslow, believed that humans could not proceed to higher levels of need (such as fulfilling existential questions or finding purpose) unless the basics of human need were met first.[44]

The Necessities of Life: Basic Needs and Commitment to Community

The success of communes is often determined by ideological commitment or the way government is structured. Often the way a commune is structured and governed will determine success or failure of daily operations, and thus the success or failure of the group. JPUSA's leadership structure and businesses have provided administrative elements which make sustained living possible. The result of successful businesses and shared property is a community that is not impoverished, though they live modestly.

Members of JPUSA are all assigned to a family, creating a structure of multiple extended families within the larger community. For example, each council member will have ten to fifteen couples and single persons assigned. Extended families serve to maintain accountability for individuals who would otherwise become somewhat anonymous in a community of four hundred members. For JPUSA, this is detrimental to spiritual protection and development. New members are particularly dependent on their assigned families to learn about their respective roles in the community, as well as guidance on matters pertaining to communal life. However, some communards have noted that this level of familiarity (particularly when it involves persons with whom one is unfamiliar) can amount to uncomfortable erasures of personal space. In some cases, adult members of extended families have, according to some second-generation members, overstepped their boundaries, assuming the role of parent—even when a child has sought out their own parent.[45]

The extended family will often meet for dinners, celebrate holidays, picnics, and take vacations together. While this may appear to be, in some sense, a replacement for an individual's real family, it should be noted that communards often visit their biological families, if they have the money. Thus, finding money or gaining approval from the council to be given

money is to some extent one of the only ways a communard can venture outside of Uptown. But individuals can retain a modest fiscal independence. While members do not make a salary, one is able to earn pocket change for things such as travel or eating at restaurants. Jobs outside the community often pay a modest allowance for lunch money. Some members use this food allowance to pay others to do in-house chores such as kitchen duty. And if a member needs to purchase a costly item, they go to the coordinator's office which handles the money, seeking approval for the purchase. Although potential members who are in debt are often discouraged from joining, there are exceptions where one can take a job.

Nevertheless, there is a mentor-mentee relationship established to guide new communards or simply offer general emotional support to older members. Guidance and support also extends to the extent that one's personal life is directed by assigned families. For example, if couples wish to marry, those individuals must seek permission from family heads, who then seek permission from the leadership council. As with mainstream society, young couples date and consider marriage. However, young couples must consult the elders before proceeding further. While couples hoping to marry may also seek guidance from biological parents, JPUSA's requirement for communal approval functions as a safe-guard, since the effects of individual actions may impact the larger community on some level. As Kanter has demonstrated, tight boundaries ensure stability and guard against organizational disorder.

While authoritarian, the community's context necessities a certain austerity. Newcomers often exhibit elements of dysfunction or, at the very least, are in need of guidance. In many cases newcomers are vocal about their own reason for joining JPUSA—to find healing through reorienting their lives under the guidelines of communal living. Thus, expectations pertaining to intimate relationships are in line with the boundaries which often define Christian communes.

JPUSA leadership allows freedom while also ensuring the cohesive nature of a community dedicated to rehabilitating those otherwise considered social outcasts. In considering the testimonies of former members, the rules concerning relationships (while often perceived as stifling) were originally intended to avoid potential mishaps from allowing "damaged" persons to form close bonds before they were fully prepared. However, as with other policies this one is gradually changing. JPUSA leadership often considers each circumstance and individual separately.

In many regards, there is a continued sense of inter-relational attachment within the community, one which emphasizes how every communard impacts the community on some level. But given society's premium placed on materialism and individuality, why would one be attracted to a situation that requires giving up one's sense of a guarded self? For JPUSA, communal living deemphasizes material possessions and personal agenda in hopes of indentifying with the poor. Moreover, while individual needs are considered (everyone is allotted items or money according to their need), the overarching goal is to realize the larger goals of the community (helping the poor), which amounts to an emphasis on the community over the individual. Perhaps this is precisely the attraction. Young communards have noted that mainstream society's pursuit of individuality merely serves to bolster an ideology of self-reliance. The result, according to JPUSA, is a society that has an inward focus rather than outward, a position which encourages social apathy.

While there are rules in place designed to govern what is expected of communards, each situation dictates a different response as JPUSA leaders nuance the rules based on individual need, handling each situation one person at a time.[46] But the general mission remains a commitment to identifying with the poor. One's choice to adopt this life is not taken lightly.

The JPUSA Covenant (written in 1986 and revised in 1989) outlines the community's financial expectations and functions as an official document, noting a communard's responsibility to the community:

> JPUSA is taxed as a large partnership according to the Internal Revenue Code, section 510(d). Each provisional member becomes a partner upon signing this covenant. All income goes toward food, housing, utilities, and maintenance costs, as well as our stated community purposes of evangelism, helping the poor, and discipling believers, all of which are paid for by our financial department.[47]

While members of JPUSA do not equate their way of life with model Christianity or best possible practices, they maintain that their method of social activism simply exemplifies an impulse found in Jesus specifically and humanitarianism generally. Founding member Dawn (Herrin) Mortimer believes the church has misunderstood the totality of the Christian mission. The mainstream evangelical church often evangelizes, she argues, without regard for the poor. When considering whether the concept of evangelism includes social justice, Mortimer replies with shock: "how can it *not* mean that?"[48] While JPUSA communards indeed recognize the presence of other socially active communes and churches, the general feeling is that many Christian churches often define evangelism as a spiritual endeavor, to the exclusion of social justice, an equally "spiritual" practice.

Mortimer argues that if "secular" society considered sharing resources (doing with just a bit less) they could better contribute to eradicating poverty.[49] But given what is essentially a vow of poverty for JPUSA communards (though members enjoy the basic necessities of life), matters such as healthcare prove challenging. Attempting to identify with the poor, members are expected to use the free medical services offered by Cook County Hospital. New members are informed that they need to either take care of themselves or go to Cook County Hospital, though some retain coverage from their parents. Since many are merely passing through, the community

cannot afford to take on every health issue. If a newcomer has a need which warrants a procedure not offered by Cook County Hospital, they may discuss options with an elder after having lived in the community for one year.[50]

The community faces challenges when considering medical treatment, problems best resolved with universal healthcare, argues Dawn Mortimer. When asked which presidential candidate she favored, she noted President Barack Obama stating "Is there any other?" Mortimer argues that identification with the poor is an essential part to life in JPUSA. For her, the act of becoming poor helps communards to understand how the homeless are often treated.[51]

Noting that JPUSA lives based on the ideal—"everyone according to their need"—Mortimer recalled a situation where it was suggested that money ought to be divided up according to needs of the Crisis Pregnancy Center. The response of one worker (it is unclear whether this was a member of JPUSA or a volunteer) caught Mortimer off guard as they shouted "That is Communism!" Mortimer was, in her words, "dumbfounded." For her, this was simply a biblical principle, one which is organic, "lived," as outlined in *The JPUSA Covenant*.[52] Pastor Neil Taylor has explained that while the letter of the covenant is not absolute in its authority, the "spirit" of the document informs communal commitment:

> The two week stay is still suggested for any visitor, especially if they are thinking of staying long term. At this point, we do offer P-12 [a training program][53] as a 10 month internship with JPUSA. The term commitment document was an attempt to say to those who have lived long term in the community that we should all continue to assess our commitments to life in community. The document became lifeless or ineffective as something we could manage and/or keep up with, but the heart of the document is still very much alive in that all members of our community are encouraged to stay in touch with their commitment to life here.[54]

The spirit of *The JPUSA Covenant* is explicit, according to Taylor. He states: "We have seen many 'covenant communities' draw up a detailed covenant, then attempt to live that

covenant out, resulting in either outright failure or (what's worse) sterile religious legalism. For ourselves, we find a covenant more an outgrowth of relationships than their cause."[55] While the covenant is binding in terms of relationship, the council does not dictate lifetime commitments. Every few years individuals read and sign term commitments but are not required to commit for life. If someone breaks a term commitment, the breach of contract is handled on a case-by-case basis. Moreover, if someone wants to return to JPUSA after breaking their term commitment, leaders proceed cautiously as they consider the request.

Term commitments serve as part of the glue that encourages members to give serious consideration to communal life and all responsibilities attached to that life. Simply put, the community counts on every person to contribute to jobs that keep JPUSA functioning. Term commitments serve as a covenant—built on tight-knit relationships—intended to ensure that communards are fully aware of the cost associated with breaking the commitment.[56]

When one chooses to leave the community, even if a term commitment has not been broken, the loss is felt as the larger extended family views the break much like a marriage ending in divorce. Kevin Frank left JPUSA in 1998. For him, members who leave the community often experience emotional trauma and create pain for a community essentially operating as family. He writes:

> …in a way it was like being married to 500 people (there were about 500 members when I joined). And the understanding was that you would stay there for the rest of your life. That wasn't always preached in so many words, but it was clearly the subtext. And to leave was to break your commitment to your brothers and sisters, like a giant divorce. At the time I first joined, (1982) the people who left did so in the middle of the night. And it was never addressed. A person, or family, would be gone and you would hear whispers of "so-and so split the ministry." It was a big deal, but very hush-hush…no one in leadership said "So-and so left to sin" but that was the subtext.[57]

For Frank, living communally was about dedication to one's "brothers and sisters." He recalls that during the 1980s and 1990s, sermons in JPUSA were often preached about commitment to the cause (a directive received from the Lord to live in this unique way), without looking back. "To answer that call," writes Frank, "meant a sort of vow to living your life together." Many communards tend be ephemeral. However, if one wishes to "move beyond visitor status" one has to "pledge to devote your life to 'the ministry.'" Frank states that while official oaths are not taken, voicing a sense of divine calling amounts to a serious commitment.[58]

Some former members recall acerbic responses from those in leadership and continue to struggle with what amounts to a difficult separation. However, even Frank has recognized the change in the community over the years. In recent years, communards leave under better terms. "Like a divorce," he writes, "it could be amicable and it could even be for the best, but it was always messy and never easy. Through the years I was on both sides of the divide. When members would leave, I would feel hurt and abandoned….And then when we left, we made people feel abandoned." Frank recalls that his own departure was met with a party, involving story-telling, the sharing of memories, and the signing of a big book. The community has, in Frank's words, come a long way from the "splitting in the middle of the night" years.[59]

It is evident that life in JPUSA—how the commune treats those who decide to leave—has changed over the years. Stephen (his real name is not revealed) left JPUSA in 2002 to pursue a Ph.D. He is now an atheist. For both Stephen and his wife, the separation was amicable: "[I] spoke with Pastor Neil the day I told the community we were *leaving*. I told him first. I asked about how we could raise money to leave and they gave me all the opportunity necessary for us to get enough money to move. I never felt judged. People were still as kind as ever. I think it was a very healthy departure."[60]

Unlike many other communes, as an “intentional community” JPUSA emphasizes personal choice to join or leave. Officially, *The JPUSA Covenant* makes allowance for anyone to leave and suggests a level of assistance from the community:

> Any individual member may end his or her membership and leave the community at any time. We encourage anyone wishing to do so to communicate with older members of the community as to his or her reasons, not so we can "convince" him or her to stay, but so that we can together pray over God's continuing will. As that person's Christian family, and as friends who have lived and learned together, we want to be honest and open even in a time that may be taking us different directions. A person who has come for "rehabilitation" purposes and decides to leave or give up their faith in Jesus Christ often finds it hard to face fellow believers and tell them the truth. Nonetheless, we would rather have their departure be with good wishes and our prayers.[61]

Kevin Frank’s recollection implies that there have been two types of commitment: explicit, official term commitments and implicit expectations from the community. Kanter has argued that these multilayered mechanisms are key components which contribute to the longevity of organizations. Along with Kanter, historian Timothy Miller maintains that communities organized around high-commitment and authoritarian structures (of varying degrees) might contribute more to the longevity of communes, particularly religious ones.[62] However, in *Children of Prosperity* Hugh Gardner takes issue with this thesis, arguing that less-structured communes actually enjoy greater longevity.[63] But while his argument concerns overall communal longevity, his argument may have merit when considering JPUSA’s particular situation.

The ways in which JPUSA maintains boundaries, then changes those boundaries, may contribute to a pattern of disenchantment, or at least, a lack of complete dedication. In the early years greater pressure was placed on commitment both in public sermons and in *The JPUSA Covenant*. But as evidenced by former members and Pastor Neil Taylor, expectations have softened. Various JPUSA communards have felt tension when choosing to leave. And, many

have noted the family-like nature of JPUSA, the emotions associated with separation (inasmuch as it feels like a divorce), and attendant feelings of angst. Thus while the power of commitment often inspires founding members to remain dedicated, rules associated with commitment have not always worked for those who join as adults or for second-generation communards (discussed further in chapter 7). Put another way, the expectation of commitment or "covenant" (though to some extent now softened) does not work in the same manner as with early Jesus freaks who were part of a larger movement already considered marginal. These early members did not perceive communal commitment as confining as those who joined during the 1980s, a period when communes were viewed with suspicion, given cold-war fear. Kanter's theory accounts for JPUSA's success since 1972. However, it is here where Gardner's counter-thesis may prove true, accounting for why non-founders often bristle at notions such as lifelong commitment and covenant contracts.

Education

One mark of a healthy commune is in its ability to procreate, with the hope of continuing the ethos of the group through successive generations. Although JPUSA is not retreat-based, they have chosen to educate their children within the community, using Christian curricula such as the *A Beka Book* and *Pace* systems. In recent years more youth have begun to leave the community to attend college. When Tiana Coleman was growing up, families often found it difficult to accept the emerging second generation's desire to seek higher education, struggling to understand why youth would opt to leave JPUSA's ministry to go to college, when parents chose to focus on ministry exclusively. Over the years founding members have shifted their views, encouraging their children to seek God's will, whatever that might be. Founder John Herrin has pointed out that young members are often asked to give serious consideration to their future, thus

preparing them to make informed decisions while they are still young. A practical man, Herrin is cognizant of the financial hurdles one must face in the "outside world" without having established a proper credit history, something the average JPUSA communard will not have upon leaving the community. Thus, elders encourage rising adults to decide whether community life is truly for them, earlier rather than later; decisions to leave often involve higher education.[64]

If a communard decides on higher education, tuition is up to the individual. Many receive scholarships or decide to take out student loans. This often implies they will not return to the community as it would be difficult (if not impossible) to fulfill financial commitments to loan institutions while living a life of voluntary poverty and shared property. If one chooses higher education, the expectation is that one will leave the community after graduation, though some have applied for FAFSA loans and have returned, as with Tiana Coleman.[65] Higher education is encouraged, though its effects are felt within the community. While some choose to attend college while living in the community, many leave, opting to experience college away from JPUSA. Over half do not return.[66]

Over the years many communards have decided to leave JPUSA, either in response to how they perceive covenant membership or simply out of a desire for higher education. Others have grown disenchanted with JPUSA's general leadership structure and governmental policies. But these perceptions have also been reinforced (negatively) by lengthy battles with which JPUSA has had to contend. As with any community, problems with personnel and negative press are inevitable. In JPUSA's case, negative press is often a result of disgruntled former members.

Controversy: Ronald Enroth, and Perceptions of Community Government

As with many communes, JPUSA's epoch also includes a number of controversial episodes resulting from testimonies made by former members. The word commune often carries a pejorative connotation. Americans who have been raised on the concept of rugged individualism often struggle with the idea of shared property, particularly within a religious context. In the case of JPUSA, dissent from disgruntled ex-communards and various publications have been the cause of conflict for the commune over the years. Like most organizations, JPUSA has its own history of dissent, allegations of abuse, and media sensationalism.

JPUSA's public castigation is in part a result of negative publicity created by publications by an academic and a journalist. Sociologist Ronald Enroth's *Recovering from Churches That Abuse* contained allegations from former members who note incidents of abusive situations that happened in JPUSA's past. Enroth's work was later scrutinized by sociologist Anson Shupe, who argued that Enroth's methods were unsound as he affiliated with the victims and never visited JPUSA to observe the community first-hand. Thus, Enroth's findings, according to Shupe, did not conform to acceptable sociological methodologies. However, Enroth still holds that his work concerned persons abused by churches, thus necessitating a different methodological approach.

Other publications surfaced that sensationalized life in JPUSA and focused on allegations held by disgruntled former communards. On April 1 and 2 of 2001, journalist Kirsten Scharnberg published a two-part article in the *Chicago Tribune.* Scharnberg's account of JPUSA included testimonies provided by former members who shared their perspective on what amounted to excessive control by JPUSA's leadership. Moreover, the journalist questioned the

community's business practices. She concluded the article by highlighting Enroth's book, musing over decline in JPUSA's membership, particularly as it applies to older members who have chosen to leave the community. While Scharnberg notes that Ruth Tucker, a professor at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, Il., defended JPUSA, her account also included oppositional statements by Paul Martin, director of Wellspring Retreat and Resource Center, who allegedly received requests from former JPUSA members in need of treatment. Martin argued that JPUSA "displays virtually every sign that I watch for in overly authoritarian and totalistic groups."[67]

Critiques of the community created a veritable firestorm. Furthermore, Enroth's assessment of JPUSA, albeit intended to bring forth the stories of former members, was met with other suspicions. Paul Larsen, former president of the Evangelical Covenant Church, argued that Enroth's study was based on a bias which was a "middle-class one, aimed squarely at a group of people living as a countercultural community…."[68]

The publications by both Enroth and Scharnberg affected the community in a number of ways, disaffecting current and former members and sparking suspicion among counter-cult organizations. Disgruntled former members have included references to both Enroth and Scharnberg on various websites. However, JPUSA has had an equal share of supporters. Letters were written in response to the *Chicago Tribune* articles, intended to educate the public (as well as Enroth) on how communes are structured and why some forms of communal government are often misunderstood. Historian Timothy Miller, an expert on American communal history, wrote an official response to the *Chicago Tribune*, as did other academics, church leaders, and members of JPUSA. "Most Americans, young and old," writes Miller, "are devoutly unwilling to give up their personal possessions and privileges in favor of living from a rather threadbare

common purse." After establishing a disconnect between the lifestyles of many American clergy and those in need, Miller (while admitting that JPUSA is not perfect) exonerates the community, stating that

> by any rational standard there is little public evidence of major wrongdoing in the organization. Members are free to join and free to leave; the poverty in which they live is pretty much shared equally; the vast wealth that the organization is accused of amassing is greatly less, on a per-capita basis, than that of the average American family. $2 million per year is hardly a luxurious income for 500 persons [which includes monies funneled into aid for the homeless].[69]

Various academics representing the Communal Studies Association also submitted a letter to the *Chicago Tribune*, pointing out that former members of any group are frequently bitter, particularly if their lives were defined by total immersion into the community in question. What is most telling about the Communal Studies Association's letter is that it challenges one of the more frequent accusations presented by former members of JPUSA. Most former communards have noted their struggle with the authoritarian nature of JPUSA—its undemocratic governance and their unelected leadership council. In defense of JPUSA (and communal experiments generally) the Communal Studies Association makes two arguments that de-sensationalizes JPUSA's form of government. In contradistinction to what some Americans may believe, "religion and democracy are not co-terminous," and "[c]lergy in some major denominations are not democratically chosen."[70] But for many ex-members of JPUSA, the absence of democracy (within religious contexts) is tantamount to cultism.

While these arguments appear to exonerate JPUSA, they do not fully engage the underlying thrust of ex-communard discontent. The way in which these former members perceive structure has (at least in their words) indicated that they are measuring communal life against the norms of life in the U.S. (discussed later). When those norms are breached by authority figures, members of communes or other religious groups are considered to have been

"victimized." But this consideration is rooted in the mind-control paradigm, largely held by organizations such as the Cult Awareness Network and the American Family Foundation.[71] JPUSA communard Jon Trott has commented on this in the edited volume *Bad Pastors: Clergy Misconduct in Modern America* (2000). In considering the mind-control debate as related to new religious movements, observes Trott, psychiatrist Robert Lifton has been a key figure for both the school of mind control and how cults are generally understood. In considering Lifton's concept of the protean self, Trott challenges both Lifton (and to a certain extent, Enroth's application of Lifton), noting that mind-control theories which suggest hegemonic power are founded on principles associated with individualism. He writes:

> What Lifton, in all his articulate (one might say romantic) longing, seems to be saying is that the human self is not a reality grounded in any absolute truth, but rather a self-defined entity. The problem (among others) with this is that one ends up with the self defining the self. Further, as a self defines itself, it inescapably begins defining *all* selves. Lifton does not escape this tendency. And in spite of discussing his protean model for an entire book, he is unable to formulate how human beings find self-definition. This view is profoundly individualistic, and nowhere in *Protean Self* does Lifton explain just how such men build a family, church, or society together.[72]

Despite Trott's challenge to the mind-control paradigm, the perceptions of former members of any organization are often widely varied and held in wide regard by counter-cult groups. A quick internet search will reveal the number of sites dedicated to ex-JPUSA, one of which concerns "JPUSA diaspora." The reasons for anger and disappointment are varied. Some register concerns over how leadership roles are decided. Some have quipped over JPUSA's fiscal policies. Others have struggled with the lack of privacy which accompanies communal life. One dispute arose over different visions for the community's future endeavors, where many were disappointed with the leadership's decision to rule against a suggestion to form JPUSA's church into one similar to Willow Creek.[73] The council viewed the idea as incompatible with

their vision; a megachurch format would have undermined their ethos of maintaining an open door to various subcultures. For members of the council, the megachurch model sends a message to the neighborhood which is simply counterintuitive to what JPUSA is about. These decisions created divisions within the rank-and-file members.[74] But disputes over the future of the community proved less damning than the alleged testimonies of former members who felt abused.[75]

Disputes over leadership and power resulted in the public airing of grievances.[76] One website offers statements made by former members of JPUSA. One has argued that there are hidden items in the JPUSA Bylaws and Constitution which are not made public. According to this person, "Power is concentrated in such a way that one's landlord, pastor, CEO, one-purse manager, community leader—even (for some) marital counselor—are found in the same 8 members." Leaders control romance and marriage, according to the website, and the finances are under strict governance. This former member writes:

> Financially, the community is represented to outsiders as living out of "one purse." What is not mentioned is the reality that the purse-strings are held by those same eight leaders (who hold perpetual terms of office). What would have been an individual's bank account, salary, pension, unemployment compensation, and the payments that would have been made into Social Security—as in any other para-church or missionary organization—are all combined into that purse. Leaders have no financial accountability to the members who earn the money that goes in to their purse….The leaders' unquestioning faith in their "plurality of leadership" has made them accountable only to themselves.[77]

Indeed, many have argued that the community uses excessive control and secrecy. In response to the above statement, Trott argues that communal life and the American life are not always synonymous. He writes: "What the paragraph really wants to do is to transform JPUSA from a uniquely surviving communal group which is an alternative to the American Dream into a standard congregationally-governed church. [This] isn't what most of us want. If we HAD

wanted it, we could at almost any time simply rise up and take it…it seems obvious to me that a Christian communal life in America is threatened most by the same forces threatening Evangelicalism itself."[78]

The paragraph to which Trott refers also argues that JPUSA has not been forthcoming. Contrary to those who argue that the leadership structure is not made public, the bylaws are defined in *The JPUSA Covenant*. In a section containing information on finances, the document outlines the commune's tax status. The document states that while JPUSA is tax exempt as a community (with the exception of the businesses), individual workers within the community (since they produce profit) are not. Thus, each communard is allotted an equal share, and the taxes on that share are paid by those in leadership. However, if that share reaches a certain threshold, the communard is responsible for paying taxes. The document clearly explains the communard's relationship to the community and to income:

> While members are allocated a share of the JPUSA net income every year they do not receive this amount in the form of salary. Most of this income goes toward food, housing, utilities, insurance and maintenance costs, as well as our stated community purposes of evangelism, helping the poor, and discipling believers, all of which are paid for at the community-wide level by our financial department. In addition, members may individually requisition money for entertainment or specialized needs from the money office as funds are available. Members do not need to separately report these discretionary monies on their tax return as these amounts are included in the pro-rata member's share of JPUSA income.[79]

Regardless of particular arguments brought by former members (especially those concerning statements made by Enroth and Scharnberg), most critiques of JPUSA have been rooted in understandings of community governance and boundaries, the very things which account for longevity. The same forces that threaten communal living, argues Trott, also threaten evangelicalism; he identifies those forces as materialism and the Christian Right. For Trott, those influenced by these forces live based on the myth of a lost Christian America and

often preach that the nation must return to that myth. In so doing, rightists secure military and monetary safety, securities which communes do not offer. The result, argues Trott, will be churches governed by leaders who appear more like "CEOs running corporations." In short, Trott contends (along with historian Timothy Miller) that those who have complained about JPUSA's style of government, their financial structure, or their lack of privacy and property, simply do not understand communal living. Thus, these individuals are ill-equipped to forego the safety-net offered by the forces of American materialism.[80]

Trott's argument notwithstanding, disagreements that led to dissent are connected to how power is perceived within JPUSA. Council member Neil Taylor admits that JPUSA does not adhere to congressional polity. But the sense of openness and flexibility, he argues, comes from working in a *plurality of leadership*. In 1974 the council had to start listening to each other, taking part in multiple meetings marked by compromise, often ending in tabling an issue or coming to a decision by consensus.[81] Like Taylor, most current members view this structure of government (rarified as it might be) as good for the community. Moreover, other former members recall positive experiences and have observed that negative perceptions are merely the result of living in a community defined by voluntary poverty, shared property, and service to the poor, all of which require various levels of sacrifice.

When measured against what is considered normative by American culture, maintains Jon Trott, it becomes easy for communards to perceive their experience and growth as stunted. Trott argues that many within JPUSA have assumed that democracy might lead to a better community. He goes on to note that history proves otherwise, proving that pastors and elders feel that "politicking" will lead to ill-conceived leadership, products of a popularity contest.[82]

Ironically, one ex-member site points out that Jean Vanier has written about healthy leadership structures in *Community and Growth*, a formative document in the life of JPUSA:

> Structures call for mandates and accountability; they define how leaders are voted or nominated and for how long. They set out how major decisions are to be made and by whom. They define the limits of power and the areas of responsibility. They define also the relationship between the leader and the community council. Such structures can sometimes appear heavy, but they are necessary for a healthy community life. If each and every person is called to be responsible for the community, then all must know how decisions are made, *even if not all can participate in the process of decision-making* [emphasis added].[83]

Vanier's position on power and structure is intended to create a salubrious environment, in his estimation. The ex-member website interprets Vanier's guide as a means to *limit* the terms of those in leadership, i.e., "they define the limits of power." But given the totality of the paragraph, it would appear that Vanier affirms a governmental structure similar to that of JPUSA.

While their communal government has been perceived as problematic (resulting in disgruntled members) other ghosts haunt JPUSA. And while communes indeed function counter to the American mainstream, those which have engaged in radical practices often garner greater attention from would-be naysayers.

One of the more controversial chapters in JPUSA's history involves the practice of adult spanking. When the community was in its youth, they sought leadership in the wake of John Herrin, Sr.'s departure. Jon Trott writes: "One thing we had preached, and then had the unfortunate opportunity to practice, was the direct and honest confrontation with sin. The confrontation with J. W. Herrin[84] had reinforced our belief that forcefully confronting sin, whether in ourselves or others, was a necessity." In 1974 Jack Winters, pastor to a suburban

charismatic community Daystar, attempted to fill the void left by Herrin, Sr.[85] Trott has written an account pertaining to why and how the practice of "adult spanking" came about:

> Jack Winters' weekly class, which usually dealt with counseling, healing, and deliverance, eventually wandered into some pretty interesting territory. His teaching, according to those who were there, went something like this: *This is a rebellious generation--young, rebellious people who didn't grow up having any discipline or love from their parents. Sometimes, they need to go back and experience discipline to deal with that rebellion in their lives. You need to go back and walk through those steps, receiving parental discipline to heal the rebellious adult*. In short, what Winters was talking about was giving spankings to "rebellious" adults![86]

According to communard Curtis Mortimer, this practice came about during a time when psychological theories such as regression therapy—where one regresses into infancy then matures—were in vogue. For JPUSA, the practice of adult spanking was viewed as a method of ensuring humility before God. It was also chance for adult communards to submit to the authority of senior leadership and to purge sin. But spankings were not only reserved for the rank-and-file. On one occasion, two JPUSA pastors drove to Daystar to request discipline. Against spanking children, Dawn Mortimer blames herself, recalling that she viewed the practice with suspicion but was concerned about the community's need for concrete leadership and teaching in the wake of her former husband's departure—members trusted Winters.[87] Trott notes that in the years that followed, the practice waned to the point that members did not avail themselves to the "discipline" nor was the practice widely discussed. In 1978 Trott noted:

> Glenn Kaiser announced to the fellowship that Winters' teaching had been in error and that we were discontinuing the practice. His rationale was that (1) the teaching was outside the evangelical mainstream, that no one else we knew of (besides Winters) was practicing this teaching, and that JPUSA didn't want to be involved with anything which would bring reproach to Christ; and that (2) that people were using "getting the rod" as a cheap alternative to serious repentance, which ought to be about stopping wrong behavior and pursuing righteous behavior.[88]

Complaints by ex-members notwithstanding, the structures and practices of JPUSA are not dissimilar from Catholic monasteries, convents, or nineteenth-century Protestant communities that required complete devotion from adherents through corporal punishment. Given that their purpose was not defined by American democratic practice, these religious enclaves chose to install leaders based on criteria established by ecclesiastical mandates. The call to complete devotion, the concentrated power on a few non-elected council members (installed based on character and spiritual maturity rather than democratic vote), member term commitments, and positions of power held in perpetuity, are part of a larger tradition which defines intentional community. But while some practices continue (in the spirit of communal living) and some practices have been discontinued, there remains a disconnect between some former and current members, each asserting that some practices were never part of JPUSA's structure or practice.

In the end, many of the controversies (particularly allegations of abuse) are based on perceptions of breached boundaries. Kanter's work on successful communes reveals that boundaries must remain in place and a level of communal "strictness" must be observed.

> Whereas retreat communes impose no limits, service communes that work effectively tend to impose many limits. The model of discipline and direction is an appropriate one. Service communes define behavior that is acceptable; they make coherent choices of life style and expect them to be adopted; they do not shy away from making demands, developing organization, and creating rules—though not all the rules may be formalized. The group has work to be done. Whether decisions are participated in by a whole group or by single individuals acting for the group, it is important that decisions be made. Even helping individuals with their own growth is interpreted as requiring the imposition of limits, the acceptance of order from the group.[89]

Despite arguments against these levels of boundaries made by of Enroth and sociologist Hugh Gardner, structural and ideological boundaries and high-commitment values are often necessary for a commune to survive, at least when considering the founding generation.

Sustainability

Kanter has argued that what determines a commune's ability to sustain itself is "how strongly they build commitment." She writes: "The primary issue with which a utopian community must cope in order to have the strength and solidarity to endure is human organization: how people arrange to do the work that the community needs to survive as a group, and how the group in turn manages to satisfy and involve its members over a long period of time…commitment thus refers to the willingness of people to do what will help maintain the group because it provides what they need." She goes on to suggest that these commitments are realized when the individual expresses or fulfills something that is fundamentally part of their core selves (in JPUSA's case, an allowance of individual aesthetic expressions), while still developing commitments to the extent that communards can no longer meet their deeper needs elsewhere. For Kanter, "Through commitment, person and group are inextricably linked."[90] This should not, however, lead the reader to assume a lack of agency on the part of JPUSA communards. JPUSA's choice of the signifier "intentional community" is intended to distinguish the commune from isolationist groups; those who remain, do so voluntarily. Those who choose to leave are now encouraged to develop life-skills which will serve them outside of communal structure.

In considering long-term sustainability for JPUSA, there has been resounding agreement among leaders and rank-and-file communards. The commune's relevance is connected to their overall mission. Communities generally need "a general and specific mission," notes Taylor. He recalls Jean Vanier's assertion that each community must have a general and a specific mission, providing examples such as Mother Teresa's mission to the lonely and the dying in Kolkata (Calcutta) and Benedictine communities whose general mission concerns prayer. For

JPUSA, the general mission has been about offering an open door and an open heart to anyone. While JPUSA maintains general rules, they apply them based on the individual, often allowing nuanced interpretations of community guidelines.

Many communards have noted that JPUSA's longevity can be attributed to its flexibility and ability to accommodate culture. Although it is widely held that communes often disband because they are built solely around single charismatic leaders, Taylor believes that the communes often fold due to ideological inflexibility, arguing that JPUSA has always been able to adapt to culture. He has observed that the community's flexibility contributes to its strength and cultural relevance, though his examples of tolerance are largely oriented around aesthetics rather than politics or religion. Over the past forty years, every decade brings a new generation for the commune. With each one brings new stylistic expressions, such as spiked or green hair, body piercings, tattoos, and those who avoid bathing in an attempt to identify with those who do not have running water.[91] However, communard Susan argues that increasing flexibility (when manifested as greater freedoms for youth) might have contributed to a decrease in membership among second-generation members. Simply put, they leave hoping to enjoy what has been denied.[92]

Aesthetic freedom notwithstanding, the immediate concerns of Uptown tend to generate sustained commitment that accounts for JPUSA's continuance over recent years. But in the early days there was a different kind of immediacy, recalled Lyda Jackson. Ready for the rapture, she fully anticipated that she would not die. This is what fueled the early Jesus Movement. However, JPUSA's vision changed as they attracted persons who needed practical assistance. The doctrine of the rapture remained, but was not formative in daily purpose; the mission to the local community transcended doctrinal particulars such as millenarianism. Thus, JPUSA differs

from other earlier communes in that the needs of the neighborhood made it necessary to move beyond esoteric musings about the end of time. Instead, the community focused their attention on the homeless, a decision which inspired the creation of their multiple businesses and ministries.[93] One communard has stated that those who remain in JPUSA all feel the same desire to serve the homeless in their neighborhood, exemplifying commitment to both God and location. For communard Raye Clemente, a community is strengthened when it looks outside of itself, focuses on *external* needs, and develops rescue scenarios such as JPUSA's primary mission to the homeless shelter.[94]

Nathan Cameron feels his life is interwoven with others in the community. As a result, he remains committed, recognizing the integral connection between all members. Like a link within a larger chain he believes his absence would affect others. If Cameron ignores his responsibilities or if he leaves the community, a ripple effect would occur. That is, everyone's place in the community fits into a larger whole. When one leaves, the loss is felt by all and duties and businesses must adjust to compensate for the loss. This is why term commitments are valued as leaders count on communards to be there when needed.[95] This sense of inter-connectivity is precisely what makes leaving JPUSA a daunting possibility for those who derive a sense of identity from the overall mission.

For Neil Taylor, the focus on evangelism has been central in retaining members who are committed to one cause—but he qualifies how he defines evangelism. Unlike other Jesus Movement communes, Taylor does not define evangelism in the narrow sense of ministering to the soul. While part of JPUSA's goal is to lead individuals to Jesus, leaders view the concept of mission work as holistic. Unlike premillennialist evangelicals (particularly those during the Jesus movement), Taylor also defines evangelism as the ability to maintain an open door to new

people, young mothers, prostitutes with children, etc. This was distinguished early on, notes Taylor. "Back in those early seventies…we were learning about how to…live out the gospel, how to visit the widows or the shut-ins, and continue to care for them." He credits Dawn Mortimer—who had twenty years of life-experience on the rest—as the leader who provided the community early on with a sense of ideological balance, imbuing the commune with a sense of urgency to engage matters concerning social justice.[96]

Commitment to social justice has inspired the community to continue their efforts to identify with the poor. But as some boundaries erode, various luxuries have found their way into Friendly Towers; large flat screen televisions are now enjoyed in many JPUSA apartments. Communard Ami Moss is concerned that materialism might cause the community to become less concerned with what is going on in the outside world. She noted that Jean Vanier (JPUSA's primary influence) warned the community that materialism might prove to be their downfall.[97] Aside from any potential materialism that might emerge within the community, there remains a sense of dedication to one-another that attracts those seeking a sense of community. While many come and go, older members appear to be bound to those whom they consider to be family.

This family has some of the dynamics of a small town, where communards help those who might experience crisis. People rally around members who are in need, a scenario similar to an "old-fashioned barn-raising," according to various members. This aspect of community is undergirded by a sense of continuity of communal vision. Put another way, communards collectively share in goals outlined earlier in this chapter. But mission by itself is not enough. Along with Neil Taylor, communard Tom Cameron notes that cultural adaptability has greatly contributed to JPUSA's ability to sustain an ongoing commitment serving God and the neighborhood of Uptown. According to Cameron, the attraction to JPUSA is the commune's

persistent attempts to provide a place where persons can live life in service to God. But how this is expressed has changed over the years.

Although many who come to live in JPUSA are largely transient persons whose stay may range from one month to one year, the commune is able to remain healthy while meeting the needs of individual travelers. Leaders are able to adjust to what amounts to a community in a constant state of flux, simply because the core members remain committed to a life of service. Moreover, transient persons, to some extent, provide JPUSA with new lifeblood (culturally) as well as a work force for communal businesses.

Cameron's assessment of communal strength is largely sentimental, though apparently accurate. Two cultural worlds inform JPUSA's modus operandi. The first (discussed at length in chapter 6) concern's Neil Taylor's assessment of JPUSA's evolving ethos of aesthetics; the community has for many years accepted all manners of sub and countercultural expressions. The second concerns JPUSA's sentimentalities for simple living, where identities are not continually fragmented by post-industrial scenarios such as suburban living—a model which for JPUSA, isolates the self and ruptures community. Cameron describes their vision in a manner reminiscent of a bygone era:

> In some sense, this has some of the dynamics of a small town fifty years ago. If your husband or your wife comes down with a serious disease or something, [there are] half a dozen people at your door ready to help you with whatever things you need help with.[98]

While the combination of subcultural aesthetics and 1960s rurality might appear anachronistic, the mix seems to work.

Freedom to express individual aesthetic taste, familial ethics, and the small-town feel have all contributed to and strengthened JPUSA's larger mission. That is, these aspects of the commune made bearable what has otherwise been a threadbare existence. But ultimately, their

ability to sustain this existence has been reliant on those in leadership, as well as how that leadership is understood. As former members have argued, the leadership's overly authoritarian hand hastened the departure of many communards and exacerbated the already ticklish situation created by Ronald Enroth and the *Chicago Tribune*. Despite this, the majority of current and former members, as well as innumerable studies on North American communes, demonstrate the significance of a plurality of leadership. This is evidenced by any organizational scenario where the sole purpose or mission is built around the dream of one powerful individual.

As noted earlier, JPUSA's original patriarch, John Herrin, Sr. ("Papa John"), fell into disfavor with the community, forcing the community to reconsider their leadership structure. Both Neil Taylor and Curtis Mortimer (husband to matriarch Dawn Mortimer) note that the move from a single-leader model to a plurality of leadership (nine co-equal council members/pastors) was an important move, one resulting in consensus-based decision making, rather than majority-rule democratic vote.

Mortimer maintains that a number of factors have contributed to JPUSA's survival thus far, and has identified what he believes to be five core reasons (foundations) for JPUSA's continued existence and their potential for longevity:

1. Mission-businesses solved the problem of finances, eliminating the need to solicit donations.
2. The shift from a single-leader model of governance to a model of multiple eldership—nine members (other communards feel they are well represented as the council is occupied by men and women, each coming from different backgrounds).
3. The community operates based on individual need. The person with the most needs gets the most resources (everyone according to their need) not on the basis of "we each get equal." All accept this, with compassion for those who need extra resources. This also includes an emphasis on personal decision-making (choice to remain or leave).
4. A shared sense of calling and purpose—ministry, not just a paycheck. For example, the *Cornerstone* magazine went out of print, reallocating the magazine budget so JPUSA could purchase a new building for the shelter.
5. External accountability (affiliation with the Evangelical Covenant Church).

Mortimer has observed the direct relationship between the mission businesses and the shelter, one which reinforces a collectively agreed upon purpose. Put another way, the relationship between mission businesses, social outreach, and the authority granted to the council, is predicated on a higher purpose which transcends the mundane. That is, the mundane is necessary to carry out God's plan to rescue persons in need. Mortimer recognizes that at times, communards seriously consider the reasons for their modest lives and common purse arrangement. He notes that "if they have that sense of commitment and that sense of ministry, that's when they're happy to go to work…they have that sense of ministry that their work is definitely supporting our work at the shelter." For Mortimer, the shelter is the life-blood of JPUSA, encouraging commitment which makes communards healthy and happy. Moreover, the shelter attracts outsiders seeking to engage in social justice measures. JPUSA takes advantage of this by offering training programs such as Project 12, a new undertaking that prepares youth for inner-city service and educates outsiders on life in JPUSA.[99]

The two pillars that appear to provide a practical foundation for JPUSA—purpose and the plurality of leadership—is a reoccurring theme throughout the community. Glen van Alkemade runs the sheet metal department of Lake Front Roofing Supply. Before joining JPUSA, van Alkemade was a civil engineer with Illinois Department of Transportation. After reading the Bible on a dare, he found it persuasive, reached a personal crisis, then took a leap of faith and began attending Methodist churches. Finding his career wanting (diverging from the values learned in his discipleship group), he sought change. Van Alkemade agrees with what appears to be a consensus among members. Basing his understanding of community structure on JPUSA's oral history, he considers the shift from a single strong leader model to a plurality of leadership model as the "make it or break it moment" the community. For van Alkemade, JPUSA is a

"large, motley, rag-tag, unruly, difficult-to-lead group" which needs to be led by a council defined by the same set of descriptors. The dynamics which define the leaders and the rank-and-file members matches well, according to van Alkemade.[100]

Van Alkemade believes that group decision (consensus) often ranks closer to optimal survival ability. This model ends with better decisions, though reaching consensus often takes longer. If consensus is not reached, the topic is tabled. At times the result is years of deliberation with no decision in the foreseeable future. Van Alkemade does not view JPUSA as a democracy and believes their brand of government contributes to strength and sustainability, pointing out that communism only works when *group need and individual need are balanced* (individualism within collectivism). He clarifies, however, that this only works with smaller groups.[101] Timothy Miller has provided accounts of communes that grew weary of decision by consensus, but reminds us of the Quaker-founded Alpha Farm, a consensus-based group which began in the early seventies and remains vibrant.[102]

Regardless of the manner in which decisions are made, commitment remains a matter of choices made by those who feel connected to others who hold all things in common—particularly the overarching goals of the collective order. But how communards perceive and interact with one-another has always been both a strength and weakness for any commune. Veteran communard Chris Spicer emphasizes that JPUSA's foci on humanity and Jesus—two core organizing principles—are unwavering. However, he notes the paradox of community in an oft-stated aphorism: "the joy of community is all the people and the curse of community is all the people." Spicer argued that the primary reason for failure in other communes is that they changed the focus.[103]

Ironically, others in JPUSA maintain that the ability to change is a major contributing factor to sustainability. Second-generation communard Tamzen Trott has argued that JPUSA always seems to be open to what is new—what the younger generation is about—holding to what they believe Jesus requires. For example, the *Cornerstone* magazine (1971-2003) was one of the more significant reasons JPUSA remained culturally relevant for so many years. Part of its purpose was to push boundaries and challenge ecclesial comfort-zones held by establishment evangelicals, encouraging them to re-examine their own paradigmatic assumptions.

Like many others who have lived for years in the community, Stu Heiss (former guitarist for REZ Band) argues that God's grace caused JPUSA's success, leading the community down a path which resulted in a sustainable structure. The community has always been about discipleship and evangelism, impulses which remain, according to Heiss, "important grounding points for the community" that keep them from "withdrawing into [their] own world and becoming cut off from the larger community."[104] Communities err when they withdraw from the world, observed Heiss. He is aware of the failings of earlier Jesus Movement communes, as well as millenarian tendencies which undermined planning for the future. When considering the doctrine of the Rapture,[105] Heiss appeared forward-looking, and yet withheld any sense of finality with regard to the end of time: "As God has revealed himself and as history is played out and cultures changed, I think that JPUSA has adapted, and that's part of the reason why that there's still vitality." He argues that the beginning of the death of any social group is attempting to "stop history," seeking to maintain a particular way of living without regard to the larger culture.[106]

Founding member Wendi Kaiser echoes this sentiment. Considering JPUSA to be "world Christians," she notes that flexibility is key, but within a broader understanding of culture

and Christianity, one connected to the larger tradition. Her opinion of American Christianity hints at JPUSA's aversion to narrowly defined boundaries: "One of the things that really distressed us is confusing patriotism with Christianity and confusing the American-Manifest-Destiny-we are-the-second-Israel type of mentality into Christianity, and we just can't go there. We just can't go there at all."[107]

Cultural engagement and relevance notwithstanding, this community has sustained itself due to multiple variables. The five foundations provided by Curtis Mortimer might account for JPUSA's survival thus far. If so, these reinforce communal purpose and dedication. Financial stability, a council marked by diversity, respect for individual need, and the immediate sense of purpose, all contribute to the commitment mechanisms necessary for a healthy, sustainable commune. While Mortimer provides five reasons for success, the concept of a plurality of leadership has been noted several times as part of JPUSA's vitality. But Kevin Frank feels differently.

Frank left JPUSA in 1998 and views their structure as overly controlling. Early JPUSA was grass-roots, without clarity of planning or structure. Trial and error marked JPSUA's early processes, according to Frank. While he concedes that leaders have done their best, he maintains that what emerged was a government with too much power:

> To be fair, I think the leaders did the best they could, under the circumstances (being untrained and learning on the job), but of course, mistakes were made. In hindsight, I think it was not a good idea for a small group of leaders to make all the decisions for everyone else. The same few people decided where you lived, where you worked, how much spending cash you could (or couldn't) get, when (if) you could date, or marry, or have kids. Basically your boss was also your landlord, your counselor, your pastor—everything. That was just too much power for one brother to hold over another (or another several hundred.) I'm amazed that it worked as well as it did, truth be told. A testimony to the grace of God.[108]

Frank has voiced what other disgruntled former members have—the desire for privacy and allegations of excessive pastoral control. While history demonstrates the effectiveness of authoritarian structure (such as convents and monasteries), Frank does not link communal government to success, arguing that JPUSA's location and spiritual focus accounts for their longevity. Indeed, the fact that the commune is urban-based allows members to come and go freely. Location also forces the community to maintain an outward focus on the poor, thus avoiding insularity or self-preservation. His assessment concurs in part with others: location and a focus on the needs of those outside the community contribute to sustainability. Furthermore, location attracts drifters in ways rural communes do not.[109]

The fact that there has been high turnover—that membership has been in constant motion over the years—has been observed by current members who note that a large percentage of communards are represented by "travelers" or "nomads" often seeking purpose. But location is not the sole reason, though their location proves more accessible. Many travelers, according to most of my interviewees, have heard about JPUSA over the years through REZ Band, *Cornerstone* magazine, or Cornerstone Festival. But while location in-and-of itself might not serve to attract members, it clearly serves to retain many of them. The revolving door of travelers provides fresh workers to occupy positions paramount to JPUSA's survival. As newcomers arrive, they take post on kitchen and house duty, freeing other members to expand into other parts of JPUSA interests. Thus, Uptown's location indeed contributes to an organicism which nurtures the community's lifeline.

Conclusion

In their unique, atavistic manner, JPUSA has succeeded in maintaining the zeitgeist of the Jesus Movement. The compelling thing about this group is that they have managed to

maintain something which has long expired. Original Jesus freaks were absorbed by the Right. Yet, this community has, in some ways, revitalized (if only partially) the dreams of the New Left. But they have outlived other groups which attempted similar endeavors.

Kanter has demonstrated that retreat communes often fail to build "enduring groups" due their inability to "institute many commitment mechanisms" and because they establish "negative boundaries that tend to disperse whatever commitment members initially bring to the group."[110] Furthermore, groups without structure or a core organizing principle have often relied on one immovable and unchallengeable person or idea. Or they eliminate all boundaries, resulting in communities deemed unsanitary and financially bankrupt. Retreat communes become easily dichotomized, either adopting an inflexible dogma or rupturing boundary distinctions altogether. Both extremes have undermined the ability for this type of commune to continue.

JPUSA has survived since 1972 largely due to one core organizing value—commitment to Jesus—and subsequent commitment mechanisms. These mechanisms are necessary for the sustainability of service communes generally and are paramount for the continued success of JPUSA specifically. With a few exceptions, JPUSA communards have argued that their dedication to the community and its survival are intertwined with each member's relationship to five fundamental mechanisms: mission businesses; the plurality of leadership; individualism within collectivism; a divine calling that transcends work or ideological particulars; and external accountability to a denomination. Although some have (understandably) argued that ultimately JPUSA's success is a result of divine favor, examples of divine favor were concretized with a list of the aforementioned commitment mechanisms.

JPUSA's location has played a significant role in maintaining sustainability and reinforces the five commitment mechanisms in the following ways: First, as argued in chapter

one, Chicago provides an environment marked by social justice and is friendly to communal groups; Second, the inner city creates a sense of calling and purpose which transcends both work and ideology; Third, JPUSA's decision to come under the umbrella of a denomination helped them avoid cultural or social isolationism. The Evangelical Covenant Church's flagship university and seminary, North Park, is located within a mile of JPUSA. Thus, the proximity of JPUSA's "parent" helps the community remain committed to its own values and to the values of the larger church culture.

An analysis of JPUSA's organizational structure, their many social enterprises, and the stories of individual communards, accounts for why this particular community has survived since its 1972 genesis. But more than this, glimpsing the inner-life of the group illuminates a communal ethic which has extended beyond the original Jesus Movement. Moreover, this ethic (as encapsulated in JPUSA's earlier years) portended decline of the establishment version of Jesus Movement evangelicalism (its association with the Religious Right), creating a path for the continuance of the Evangelical Left in postmodern Christian expressions such as "emergent" Christianity.[111] As an example of the Evangelical Left, JPUSA's social ethic bears similarities to the activism of the New Left. The next chapter will consider how the community's location has contributed to their position on social justice, continues to galvanize commitment from members, and inspires an ongoing ideological evolution.

Chapter 4
Big Shoulders, Big History: Why Chicago?

Introduction

The city of Chicago has provided an environment that has sustained JPUSA and contributes to their longevity. After traveling throughout the Midwest, performing rock concerts and evangelizing, JPUSA's decision to settle in one location allowed the community to grow in number and to expand its concept of ministry. Specifically, the location of Chicago's Uptown neighborhood has influenced the community's development and ethos.

As an urban commune, JPUSA has been able to locate itself within a particular context often unrealized in rural-based groups. As noted in chapter 2, this community experienced a number of residential scenarios before securing their current location. Despite initial instability, JPUSA stabilized as they purchased their current residence, Friendly Towers. During the 1980s, JPUSA's location exposed them to low-income families in need of housing. The result was an early recognition of practical human need.

JPUSA's urban location has also played a role in securing a denominational affiliation. Given that many Jesus Movement communes were disconnected from the institutional church, this was a needed connection, serving to garner favor with the evangelical subculture as JPUSA would later seek to establish a relationship with the larger evangelical community. This relationship was necessary as both the *Cornerstone* magazine and the Cornerstone Festival primarily advertised to the institutional church, albeit subcultural expressions of it.[1]

Chicago provides a welcoming place for communities such as JPUSA. The city's history of radicalism and reform efforts provide a unique and welcoming context for experimental groups. Moreover, the significant Catholic presence in the city offers sympathy for collectivist groups seeking to live based on models of shared living and social justice.[2] The history of

Chicago sets the stage for a place marked by a legacy of radical politics, religious fervor, and progressive politics. In short, geographical location has played a significant role in JPUSA's various commitments and to their longevity.

Revivalism, Social Reform, and Evangelicalism: Historical Context

Historians have pointed to an impulse of religious populism that has often characterized the American Midwest. Historian James Davison Hunter has demonstrated how geographical location and situational scenarios play a role when considering the differences between mainline and conservative Protestant denominations.[3] But if conservative evangelicalism tends to be more concentrated in the Midwest and the South, what is it about Chicago that provides a good home for JPUSA, a group that essentially embraces an evangelical theological position, but is wholly different from the politics of establishment evangelicalism? Do they see the city as a mission field or simply a welcoming environment to live out their own ethos while serving the poor as a consequence of their presence? Although Chicago is also home to a number of conservative evangelical institutions (Moody Bible Institute, Willow Creek, etc.) does the community enjoy favor with their evangelical neighbors, or are they viewed as merely another socialist commune that has added the evangelical distinguisher? Although many members such as Jon Trott now avoid this classification (see chapter 5), perhaps part of the reason for JPUSA's ability to succeed and gain acceptance as a valid expression of Christianity in Chicago has to do with a larger history of struggle layered over years of Midwestern radicalism and populism.

The American Midwest has often been viewed as fertile ground for Protestant revivalists, Catholic relief movements, and populists both Right and Left.[4] But as historian George Marsden has argued, earlier attempts to make American life better were often inconsequential, despite attempts to organize. Citing evangelists such as William Jennings Bryan, Marsden points to a

pattern that emerged during the Progressive Era—that "both parties [Republican and Democrat] were preaching moral reform and each presented a vision of America as the land where God's will should be done." Thus, the focus remained on political rhetoric more often than socio-political action.[5] These similarities (at least with conservative evangelicals) continued until the 1960s. Socio-politico-economic problems continued as evangelicals disengaged from social measures rooted in pure humanitarianism.[6] During the nineteenth century, evangelicals were engaged in social justice in ways that contributed to the liberal/conservative divide that was to come. In the midst of rising anonymity for the individual who was lost in a sea of industry and the changing cultural landscape due to immigration, organizations such as the YMCA and the YWCA attempted to offer assistance.[7] But evangelicals soon retreated from social matters, leaving a space to be filled by organizations such as the New Left; evangelicals would not reengage until the rise of the Religious Right. But the upper Midwest would soon become home to a number activist groups.

Chicago's history of radicalism and social activism is fitting for a study on communes as well as urban poverty.[8] It is little wonder, the problems which beset the 46th Ward, let alone the greater Chicago area. In some ways, there is no better place than Chicago for an urban religious commune.[9] In other ways, Chicago's dualistic soul calls for a community which splits the difference between radical populism and establishment evangelicalism—a dichotomy which might signify JPUSA's ethos and tightrope which they must navigate. There is a mixture of business, politics, and religion that has become characteristic of Chicago's ideological landscape. Marsden demonstrates how John D. Rockefeller and D .L. Moody (the Charles Finney[10] of his

day) both contributed to a mythology pertaining to religion and political struggle in Chicago's history.

Although Christians in Chicago's earlier years sought to Christianize (read Americanize) society, the goal of making life better simply for its own sake ended with new theological positions intended to counter the Social Gospel. Social reformers such as Moody (a dispensational premillennialist) believed the world would decline before the rapture of Christians and the millennial reign of Christ.[11] This position has been held in high regard by many evangelicals since the doctrine was popularized by author Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970) and reenergized by Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins's *Left Behind* series (1990s).

JPUSA's social activism in Chicago has always distinguished them from other evangelicals, particularly during the 1980s. And while JPUSA adopted a rigorous biblicism[12] during the 1980s (a position which endeared them to evangelical apologists such as Norman L. Geisler), the community's political philosophy and emerging eschatological skepticism has slowly distinguished them from the establishment evangelicalism which has come to define Chicago.

Conservative Evangelicalism in Chicago

Between October 26 and October 28, 1978, Chicago became ground zero for the planks of conservative evangelical Christianity. Founded in 1977, the International Council on Biblical Inerrancy (ICBI) began a series of summits intended to clarify various theological matters. Three hundred members met in Chicago to discuss and adopt the *Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy*. The papers delivered at the conference were edited and published by Norman L. Geisler (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981). Jay Grimstead, founder and director of the Coalition

on Revival,[13] stated that the document was a "landmark church document" that was created. It represented the

> largest, broadest, group of evangelical protestant scholars that ever came together to create a common, theological document in the 20th century. It is probably the first systematically comprehensive, broadly based, scholarly, creed–like statement on the inspiration and authority of Scripture in the history of the church."[14]

Figures such as D. L. Moody have had an enormous influence on evangelicalism. But this particular event continued the heritage, and in many ways connected institutional (read "establishment") evangelicalism to Chicago. Summit II met between November 10 and November 13, 1982, in Chicago "to discuss guidelines for principles of interpreting the Bible." Those in attendance adopted the *Chicago Statement on Biblical Hermeneutics*. Papers were edited by Earl D. Radmacher and Robert D. Preus and published in *Hermeneutics, Inerrancy, and the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984). Summit III met between December 10 and December 13, 1986. The *Chicago Statement on Biblical Application* was adopted. Papers were edited by Kenneth S. Kantzer and published in *Applying the Scriptures* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987).[15]

While Norman Geisler's participation in these historical documents is noteworthy, he is an important figure when considering JPUSA's community and their position in the history of evangelicalism in Chicago. Geisler has been involved with JPUSA for a number of years, offering various lectures at Cornerstone. He also sided with the community during the Enroth controversy (see chapter 3).[16] JPUSA's affiliation with Geisler and their own collective affirmation of the *Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy* helped solidify the community's position with other evangelicals.[17] However, the community's location continued to inspire a

different political trajectory than other evangelicals who can be considered conservative and establishment.

Daley and Conflict

Chicago is a city known for its history of religious reform and relief efforts. But these waned as new models of Christian activism (salvation of the soul) replaced progressive understandings of evangelical social justice.[18] As a result, government agencies and radical movements were left to fill the gap.[19] After World Wars I and II, Chicago's social need intensified, but the resolve was far from settled.

Post-war Chicago experienced a massive upsurge of southern immigrants, many settling in Uptown. Between 1945 and 1959, seventy-seven percent of the homes built in Chicago were outside the city limits.[20] Immigrant workers and other minorities remained in the inner city and would become the backyard of Chicago's elegant Lake Shore drive façade. "Uptown ranked second among Chicago neighborhoods in population density," writes historian Roger Biles. Twenty-seven percent of the areas dwellings, according to the Census Bureau, lacked sufficient plumbing and thirty-eight percent were considered deteriorated, making Uptown "one of Chicago's most abominable slums."[21] During the 1960s, years of tension over racial inequity and poverty resulted in riots and attempts to escape the ghettos.

A city besieged by poverty and noted for a multicultural population, Chicago grew to national notoriety as an urban nexus of poverty and prosperity, heavy-handed governance and political malfeasance. An acclaimed big city boss, Mayor Richard J. Daley's rise to power during the 1950s was both solidified and questioned during the 1960s. While his form of government quelled the unseemly elements of Chicago's underworld (at least in perception),

Daley's tenure in office was both celebrated and ridiculed. Unable (or unwilling) to resolve the crisis of poverty and racial inequity, Daley's administration exacerbated racial tensions, ending with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s failed public attempts to resolve mounting problems and subsequent riots. Despite his projected liberalism, Daley's policies were welcomed by conservatives. However, he outraged New Left "yippies"[22] who viewed his continued affirmation of middle-class values and support of U.S. foreign policy as indicative of the hypocrisy they sought to embattle.[23]

Insurmountable problems concerning race and poverty were not fully addressed by the Democratic machine of Daley. Consequently, Chicago's public image contributed to civil disobedience, which grew on a national scale. Civil unrest ensued at the 1968 Democratic National Convention where yippie protestors brought national attention to the New Left, ending with the indictment of the Chicago 8 (later the Chicago 7), a group of yippie protestors found guilty of violating the Anti-Riot Act of 1968. The preceding events culminated in the Days of Rage, riots launched by the New Left's "Weatherman" in 1969.

Social Justice and New Left Similarities

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, evangelical activism was, for the most part, confined to a war over family values. The very idea of radical evangelical activism (of the leftist variety) was fleeting at best. In the aftermath of decades of inner-city turmoil, JPUSA offered Uptown a combination of radical activism, outreach measures similar to the Catholic Worker model, and the evangelicalism of D.L. Moody. What made new forms of activism necessary was the failure of the New Left. Todd Gitlin writes that "The New Left, like its predecessors, failed to create lasting political forms; when SDS [Students for a Democratic Party] was torn apart, so was the chance for continuity." Consequently, "the New Left failed to produce the political leaders one

might have expected of a movement so vast," writes Gitlin. "The millennial, all-or-nothing moods of the Sixties," he contends, "proved to be poor training grounds for practical politics."[24] Similarly, many Jesus freaks of the Seventies were ill-prepared to organize sustained efforts toward social justice. Furthermore, post-Jesus Movement evangelicals during the Eighties (many of whom were part of the Jesus-freak exodus from culture) translated activism in service of the Religious Right during the Reagan years.[25] Thus JPUSA occupies an interstitial space, one informed by New-Left ideals and a Christian understanding of justice, which can be traced to the Catholic worker model and nineteenth-century progressivism.

As discussed in chapters 2 and 3, JPUSA leadership began to view their calling as a firm commitment to those living and surviving in Uptown. There vision, however, can be traced to other luminaries—but they were not evangelical. In Chicago, The Catholic Worker and Social Gospel organizations have arguably offered more aid to the homeless than traditional evangelical models. Historian Randall Balmer suggests that during the nineteenth century, those who adopted dispensational premillennialism tended to "withdraw from campaigns of social reform…to devote their full attention to preparations for the Second Coming of Jesus, which entailed cultivating inner-piety and trying to convert others to the faith." Balmer goes on to highlight the exodus of evangelicals from public life and service, stating, "In the face of mounting social ills, evangelicals shifted their attentions from the long term to the short term—because the time was so brief, they believed, until the return of Jesus." Thus evangelicals such as D. L. Moody (an evangelist who had tremendous influence on American evangelicalism) viewed the world as wrecked and abandoned social reform for its own sake, focusing instead on "individual regeneration"—salvation of the human soul.[26] In contradistinction to a man considered the quintessential evangelical, JPUSA adopted what one could consider an

unabridged version of the gospel, one broadly conceived, treating salvation of individuals in a holistic manner.[27] But their antecedents prepared the way for a social consciousness long absent within evangelical circles.

Viewing the social reform efforts of the Old Left as flawed, those within the New Left focused on individual persons, taking up what Todd Gitlin refers to as "practical moralisms."[28] These activists viewed their forerunners as outdated and overly focused on the economics of the proletariat, arguing that the American middle class "seemed impersonal, bureaucratic, and inhumane," according to historian James J. Farrell. A pacifist, Marxist, and Christian Socialist, Dorothy Day (1898-1980) was a key figure in American Catholic social justice. Farrell points to the revolutionary publication of both Day and the French peasant intellectual Peter Maurin: "The *Catholic Worker* decried the assumption of American capitalism (and of American labor) that work could be understood mainly as a commodity rather than as a means of fulfilling people's spiritual and material needs." Maurin considered Pope Pius XI's argument that raw materials leave the factory "ennobled" while workers come out "degraded."[29] Their teaching provided a model for hospitality houses, Christian communal living, and ethics based on the teachings of Gandhi. Among other social outreach measures, Day founded the Chicago House, which provided shelter for over three-hundred individuals nightly.[30] In many ways, the New Left drew inspiration from both Day and Maurin.

Although the Left seemed largely divorced from evangelicalism during the 1960s, many of the forerunners were grounded in the same impulse that inspires JPUSA. Alive and well at the YMCA at the University of Texas, a leftist faction grew. Inspired by the writings of Albert Camus, theologian Paul Tilich, Reinhold Niebuhr, H. Richard Niebuhr, and Martin Luther King, Jr., the SDS sought to alleviate existential anxiety through finding a sense of purpose, hoping to

realize what the Old Left could not.[31] Although the SDS community and the members of the Christian Faith-and-Life Community at the University of Texas were influenced by Marx and Camus, historian Doug Rossinow argues that many within the movement believed the humanistic ethos was in line with Christian doctrine.[32]

Chicago's homeless population benefitted from social philosophies that originated with New Left activists and social theories taught by the Catholic Left. The problems associated with Chicago's Uptown[33] have warranted action on the part of social outreach groups such as JPUSA. The SDS established models for collective activism that were *collectivist*, but not totalitarian. Rossinow notes that during the formative years of the New Left, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the SDS encouraged the concept of a "redemptive community." In the search for authentic examples of humanitarianism and humanness, new left radicals believed that the search for human authenticity occurred "in a communal context."[34] When the options were considered (the isolationism of a free-market system and the conformity indicative of collectivism) a middle way was considered, one that would alleviate the crisis of meaning by providing a sense of community without totalitarian control. JPUSA exemplifies this as they attempt to locate a balance between the individual and the community; their location contributes to a sense of self. A rural scenario might have undermined their sense of purpose which is driven by the post-industrial needs of those living in Uptown, as well as their unique balance between individual and community.

Although countercultural communes have often been rural, Chicago was one of many urban environments which allowed the politics of the counterculture to emerge. Faced with problems associated with the "depersonalization" of individuals—which often accompanies urban poverty and defines the landscape of Uptown—various youth during the 1960s and 1970s

sought to pool their resources, hoping to counter a climate that came to define many parts of Chicago and American society.[35] Sociologist Noreen Cornfield considers how during the counterculture, Chicago's communes attracted dedicated adherents to what amounted to ephemeral experiments. She writes:

> During the 1970s, hundreds of young adults in the Chicago area sought to demonstrate their moral convictions by living in secular, urban communal households. Few of these communes survived after the end of the Vietnam War and the decline of the protest movements of the 1960s. Although the communes were temporary, their histories broaden our vision of social possibilities.[36]

These "moral convictions" concerned a recapturing of many of the same impulses that defined the New Left. Moreover, the temporality of these communes and the exodus of urban churches (as they retreated to the suburbs) created a space for evangelicals such as JPUSA to experiment with leftist ideas within an evangelical framework. Thus Chicago contributed to a context that warranted evangelical missionizing within a leftist political orientation.

In considering JPUSA's activism and political affiliations (as related to problems associated with Uptown), it is possible to trace some elements of the New Left to JPUSA. Although JPUSA adopted a theological statement that placed them firmly within the ranks of conservative evangelicalism, the community's focus (even when they looked for the second coming of Christ) had been on feeding their neighbor, both spiritually and physically. Moreover, despite their conservative tendency to focus on spiritual salvation, JPUSA chose to adopt a more holistic model of the gospel (discussed in chapters 3 and 5).

While there have been various attempts at resolving the problems in Uptown created by poverty, few groups have succeeded. However, JPUSA has engaged in different forms of activism in Uptown since the 1970s. Gentrification, states one communard, has been the cause

of relocation for a number of homeless persons. *Cornerstone* magazine provides one example of JPUSA's perception of the housing crisis in Uptown that warranted immediate action:

> As "Reaganomics" took hold in the early 1980s, homelessness suddenly became one of Uptown's most noticeable features. Entire families had nowhere to go. The total number of those we provided dinner for grew (to between two hundred and three hundred a day), and the complexion of those eating with us changed as well, from predominantly single men to entire families. The vast government cuts in housing programs also created a tremendous demand for temporary shelter of any kind. It was obvious that housing had become Uptown's most pressing problem, and we were compelled toward finding solutions.[37]

Historically, Chicago's social outreach measures have been taken up by groups such as the Hull House,[38] JOIN,[39] Heart of Uptown, and various denominations rooted in pietistic traditions, such as the Salvation Army. But JPUSA's mixture of evangelical spiritualism and leftist activism informed how the commune related to other city activists. As discussed in chapters 2 and 3, JPUSA's direct response en-masse to the problem of homelessness in Uptown occurred during the Eighties. Trott's recollection reinforces author Todd Gitlin's 1970 account of Uptown,[40] demonstrating how Gitlin's analysis of Uptown is applicable to subsequent years. Trott states that

> [b]y the mid-eighties, homelessness had become not only a neighborhood but a national problem. This was glaringly obvious in Uptown, where in the best of times homeless men and women are easily visible, wandering down Wilson or Broadway streets. In the wake of budget cuts, homelessness became epidemic.[41]

While JPUSA recognized the need for action, their affiliation with other radical groups came slowly. Trott recalls the sense of urgency that marked Uptown and various events which inspired JPUSA to action:

> Between the years of 1970 and 1985, nearly fifteen thousand units of low-income housing vanished in Uptown. Then-radical Todd Gitlin…wrote in 1970 of his group's efforts to stop gentrification in Uptown. He thought they had succeeded in halting the construction of a community college which would have required the leveling of much of

> Uptown's core low-income housing. Heart of Uptown picked up the fight that Gitlin's group (JOIN) left behind, but by 1980, Truman College was a reality and 1,500 apartments were history.[42]

The connection to such groups came later. JPUSA's initial perception of Heart of Uptown created distance between the two groups. JPUSA was misguided, according Trott:

> We believed the worst about Heart of Uptown without once sitting down and talking to them, grappling with their zealous rage at what was happening to Uptown's poor. Perhaps, like many "good" Christians, we tended to equate conservative politics with conservative morals. And we couldn't help but react to Heart's adversarial approach to politics. We also—and this hurts to admit— reacted to their harsh exteriors, their unpolished language and angry tone. But if we had listened, we would have learned.[43]

JPUSA learned to cooperate with different organizations that held a common goal. Over the years, the social and political climate of Uptown has been the primary reason for JPUSA's willingness to join forces with a variety of activist organizations. Groups such as JOIN and Heart of Uptown responded to a growing crisis, both locally and nationally. "Uptown's history" writes Trott, "was not unique. Both in Chicago and elsewhere, the one-sided struggle between the poor and building speculators has gone on for decades. Low-income neighborhoods fell into the hands of landlords who milked poor renters but didn't keep up the buildings."[44]

JPUSA's mission in Chicago is synonymous with those who sought social justice over eschatological eagerness. Founder John Herrin recalls how the commune viewed outreach in the early days and why they chose Chicago. "It was just a big town and it was [a] really different environment," notes Herrin "and most of the churches in the inner-city (at least on the north side here) were really struggling to stay alive then." As the population changed, it became more diverse. Parishioners who had become mainstays either aged and passed away or moved to the suburbs, Herrin recalls. Churches once peopled by a couple thousand parishioners grew sparse,

later attracting forty in attendance on Sundays, maintains Herrin. JPUSA believed God had bigger plans for the commune. They found themselves "in a big mission field," notes Herrin.

> And it was a different mission field, you know? We weren't…necessarily talking to high school kids. We were talking to all kind of folks with a lot of different problems. But we began to feel that maybe, maybe God wanted us to stay in Chicago, maybe that's why we came here….[45]

For Herrin, the impetus for settling in the inner city was unresolved social issues. As the population became more diverse, and as churches moved to the suburbs, a gap was left—and it needed filling.

Groups like JPUSA continue to meet the needs of areas such as Uptown. However, they often adopt a different political outlook when compared to suburban, evangelical Christianity—particularly those associated with post-Jesus Movement, baby boom congregations.[46] Although the Evangelical Left is not a new movement, leaders such as Trott continue to embrace a leftist ethos and perceive the American pursuit of wealth as destructive to both workers and communities such as the 46th Ward. JPUSA's predecessors laid the foundation which continues in Uptown, as well as evangelicalism. Author Todd Gitlin's account of the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago includes an assessment of how the event still impacted American culture in 1987 (the year of the book's publication). He writes: "Two decades later, the polarizations etched into the common consciousness that week [August 25-30, 1968] are still working their way through American politics."[47] Gitlin's account reveals an impulse that grew and continues to inspire social activists on the Left.

The trajectory established by the New Left galvanized those who sympathized with both leftist activism and evangelical Christianity. Evangelical author and activist Jim Wallis decided to combine an evangelical theological orientation with a social position commonly associated

with the Left. As one who felt the impact of the earlier movement, Wallis was able to enter the evangelical conversation pertaining to social justice with a sense of authenticity. Early in his life, Wallis became disenchanted with how Christianity was presented—a personal belief with little social relevance. After returning to his faith, he resolved that "God is personal, but never private."[48] In *God's Politics*, he writes:

> The religious and political Right gets the meaning of religion mostly wrong—preferring to focus only on sexual and cultural issues while ignoring the weightier matters of justice. And the secular Left doesn't seem to get the meaning and promise of faith for politics at all—mistakenly dismissing spirituality as irrelevant to social change.[49]

It is this combination of progressive politics and suspicion for both Right and Left that characterizes JPUSA's position, though like Wallis, they most often associate with the Democratic Party. The position of Wallis and JPUSA, however, still bears more resemblance to the Left than to contemporary liberalism. "It is precisely because religion takes the problem of evil so seriously," writes Wallis, "that it must always be suspicious of too much concentrated power—politically *and* economically—either in totalitarian regimes or in huge multinational corporations that now have more wealth and power than many governments." But he remains equally suspicious of religious claims, particularly when "claims of inspiration and success invoke theology and the name of God."[50]

While many in the New Left were not religious, like Wallis, their lack of faith in institutions led to an increased faith in radical activism, taking matters into their own hands. In the case of JPUSA, this extends beyond soup kitchens and shelters. For leaders such as Trott, it has become necessary to align with leftist forces in Chicago and to challenge the Religious Right. During the 2004 presidential election, Christian Coalition's Pat Robertson (*The 700 Club*) stated, "I think George Bush is going to win in a walk. I really believe I'm hearing from the

Lord it's going to be like a blowout election in 2004. The Lord has just blessed him….It doesn't make any difference what he does, good or bad."[51] Trott works to inform both Christians and non-Christians that there is an alternative to the Religious Right, the Secular Left, and mainline, liberal Christianity.

JPUSA's activism includes events traditional evangelicals might find unsettling. Trott recalls how the commune once engaged in "protesting American arms dealers gathering at O'Hare Airport for an 'Arms Bazaar' where third world nations showed up to buy; peaceful protests outside abortion clinics;…protests against Bush's illegal war in Iraq; counter-demonstrations against the 'God Hates Fags' people (Fred Phelps);[52] and political involvement with Helen Shiller once aligned with the Black Panthers and SDS."[53]

A progressive alderwomen in Chicago, Shiller has been noted for her activism in the 46th Ward. Votes cast by JPUSA communards were "the difference in her first being elected in 1987."[54] Moreover, the community's affiliation with Shiller has served to distinguish the community from other conservative evangelicals.[55] This connection did not come easily. Despite any potential alienation from the larger evangelical subculture, JPUSA has adopted their position quite consciously, given their location and what is perceived as an immediate need.

JPUSA worked with "Organization of the North East, a group made up of every progressive and ethnic group in the Uptown /Rogers Park area," and remained actively involved in issues concerning housing, jobs, race, class, and gender.[56] Although the community does not officially align with any political party, JPUSA's activism charts a direct path to their leftist progenitors.[57] Historically the New Left responded to a set of crises while challenging the

methods of the Old Left. In like manner, JPUSA challenged the theoretical approach of the Religious Right and establishment evangelicalism.

There are problems concerning any urban setting beset by mass influxes of people. This along with free-market capitalism creates both a multicultural environment and economic tension. In considering the landscape of mid-twentieth-century American religion and politics, historian George Marsden has emphasized the importance of the liberal/conservative divide and clarifies the primary differences—ones which have theological and political implications:

> On the liberal side of the divide were those Americans who placed their strongest emphasis on the values of openness, pluralism, diversity, and mutual tolerance of differences. If these Americans were religious, they typically subordinated theology to *ethical concerns* [emphasis added].
>
> Various resurgent conservatives, on the other hand, tended to talk more of finding ethical absolutes, which reflected long-standing Christian and Jewish teachings concerning the family, sexuality, discipline, and the importance of moral law.[58]

This quote emphasizes a strict dichotomy often characteristic of this period of U.S. history. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that two champions of the divide (Moody the conservative and Day the liberal) have had an impact on students and practitioners of evangelism and social justice who were influential in Chicago. Although Dorothy Day can be classified as a liberal, she is more often viewed as a leftist anarchist, believing that anarchy was a model for accepting responsibility for both self and community, thus promoting a decreased reliance on a distant state power. However, she advocated individual responsibility within communal contexts—that is, a mixture of individualism and communitarianism, a model which JPUSA has embraced.[59]

JPUSA's emphasis on balancing the needs of the individual and the community has informed their work ethic in their many community businesses. Workers strive for excellence to achieve a greater good (funding for the community and its social outreach programs), and in so

doing, find non-monetary value in the goods produced.[60] According to historian James Farrell, the *Port Huron Statement* was the first manifesto of the SDS, which, among many things, "called for the end of the depersonalization that reduces human beings to the status of things." Furthermore, it called for "human independence" while warning against "egotistic individualism." This imbued a sense of humanism into the SDS.[61] JPUSA's valuation of humanity exceeds the monetary payoff often sought in mainstream society. Moreover, communards such as Trott consistently cite American capitalism as one cause for the poverty and depersonalization often associated with post-industrial society. While the community's sense of humanitarianism is mostly informed by the Bible, it is JPUSA's *location* which has ultimately inspired their activism (JPUSA's tent city and the birth of the shelter was program were discussed in chapters 2 and 3).

Location and Situation

Chicago's history of radical politics, evangelical Christianity, and Catholic sympathy toward social initiatives and communes has in many ways influenced the way JPUSA operates. Uptown's history of poverty, violence, cultural and racial diversity, class struggle, and deep religious faith has created an environment largely defined by a sense of urgency.[62] JPUSA communards have, in their own words, chosen to adopt a life of voluntary poverty in an effort to identify with the poor. *Cornerstone* magazine underscores the urgency which characterizes Uptown Chicago:

> Who is Uptown? Uptown is alcoholic. Uptown is dope addict. Uptown is walking down the streets with your hands in your pockets. Uptown is gangs of all shapes and sizes. Uptown is old people…living all alone. Uptown spells divorce, and trying to get work at the "daily pay" places.[63]

The neighborhood has changed over the years, but the basic problems associated with poverty remain. Based on my observations of the area over the past few years, I have concluded that this part of Uptown remains entrenched in a way of life that is a result of poverty. When arriving at 920 W. Wilson Avenue one finds JPUSA's Friendly Towers, an unassuming structure when considering the social influence of Cornerstone Festival, *Cornerstone* magazine, and REZ Band. My own visits have been relatively uneventful, though upon arrival it becomes clear that the culture is very different from my native suburbia. While sitting in my rental car, I caught the attention of a group of men standing on the sidewalk. I was clearly an outsider. While waiting for the men to properly assess me and my car, I pretended to check messages on my cell phone, hoping to avoid exiting the vehicle. After the men lost interest, I set about my way, only to be greeted by others on the street hoping for spare change. Cliché as it may sound, most of my visits have included individuals seeking whatever assistance I could offer.

Streets in the neighborhood are peppered with various apartments and stores, including a number of ethnic restaurants and food markets. Store-front signs are mostly in the native language of the merchant. Block after block, there is a mixture of store-fronts, old gated houses, and alleys. The visual elements of just one street (which goes on for miles) are complimented by the smells of fresh food and dumpsters. Motorists invite pedestrians into their sonic worlds of oversized stereo speakers, only to be outdone by the inevitable siren of a rescue vehicle. And pedestrians threaten motorists who are not driving with caution.

This scenario merely indicates urbanity, not poverty. However, the dilapidation is clear when one looks at various buildings and the unending supply of metal trusses used for building repair, measures which never quite appear to be complete. Moreover, the ever-present population of seemingly troubled pedestrians indicates that mental illness is fairly ubiquitous

throughout this part of Chicago. As some individuals pass by, speaking to themselves or mumbling incoherently, others are clearer in their intentions, albeit startling. In one case, a man and woman were, it appeared, waiting for the bus. The cries of their child (who was no more than five) were met with boisterous threats from the father to remain silent.

For a suburbanite, it is difficult to find any sense of equanimity within this milieu. And perhaps years of exposure to inner-city poverty does little to quell anxiety or to emotionally callus those who live here. The needs of this population (the tensions endemic to overcrowding and poverty) have been in place since well before post-war migrations northward. Nevertheless, this crisis scenario is unique in that it continues in the wake of the Daley years. As with any third-world scenario, the neighborhood attracts those on a mission. The ever-present notion of crisis necessitates JPUSA's service-based nature as a collective group. For Kanter, the orientation of a service-based commune is toward "a special population; they have a mission."[64]

While mission and duty both contribute to the dedication found in individual communards, the needs of a neighborhood cannot account for the success of an entire group. The location of JPUSA has also afforded the community the ability to maintain a connection to the establishment via their parent denomination, the Evangelical Covenant Church, and their international headquarters and flagship-university and seminary, North Park.

Cultural accommodation might also play a role in JPUSA's longevity. The community is able to nurture longstanding convictions while holding those convictions under the microscope of public opinion, always re-examining their assumptions, unlike other communal experiments which began during the Jesus Movement. Jon Trott recalls how others never fully flourished:

> Nationally, the Jesus movement was less and less visible. The Children of God, the Way International, and others had made inroads into the Jesus People's [the larger movement] ranks, yet regarding attempts at communal living, the number one result was not cultism but *eventual disintegration* [emphasis added]. The widespread disappearance of nearly

> all the Jesus communes was a sign hard to interpret, many commentators suggesting that such communes—along with the movement overall—had merely been a "fad."[65]

The Children of God did not entirely disintegrate. However, the controversies[66] that drew media attention forced the group to relocate its efforts abroad. While they continue as The Family International, the group exhibits meager cultural influence.[67] But why were such communes viewed as a fad? Why did they disintegrate?

The power of commitment is significant when applied to particular locations, each representing different socio-cultural needs, warranting different forms and levels of commitment. Success (particularly when considering the context of Uptown) is achieved when high inter-communal expectations (and the erasure of competing commitments unrelated to the commune) are coupled with the affirmative boundary-distinction of the service-oriented commune. JPUSA's urban location makes necessary this sort of Kantnerian distinction. For example, historian Timothy Miller's account of rural communes portrays persons seeking detachment from society, each group committed to constructing and maintaining a life defined against a post-industrial, mechanistic, materialistic world. In so doing, the main "struggle" for purpose involved fulfillment (thus sustainability) primarily for communards.

In the case of urban, inner-city communes, the struggle for purpose (the sacrifice of one's personal agenda and privacy) surpasses therapeutic experiments for self-actualization or attempts to realize the ideal community, an impulse often characteristic of rural collectives. Inner-city communes such as JPUSA find fulfillment and purpose by extending the sense of struggle and purpose to helping those living in the neighborhood (assuming the commune's purpose or significance is defined by a desire to help the less fortunate).

The significance for how a community defines purpose is indelibly linked to one's relationship to a particular location. Kanter has connected two processes to sustained commitment: disassociation and association. The process of dissociation involves an individual's detachment from other competing obligations and responsibilities. The process of association attaches an individual (and by implication, their identity) to communards and to the overall objectives of the community, thus solidifying a symbiotic relationship—the communard needs the community and the community needs the communard.[68] Without this relationship, the communard might not find a sense of satisfaction (at least as they have defined satisfaction) and the businesses and outreach programs would not function. Ultimately, the problems associated with Uptown and JPUSA's mission to handle those problems is what often attracts new members.

As demonstrated in chapter 3, new members often join the community hoping to find emotional healing or a sense of purpose. Communard Raye Clemente notes her desire to serve Jesus and the homeless while also maintaining a subcultural ethos, as well as a relatively liberal political position.[69] Joshua Davenport was "angry with organized religion."[70] Otto Jensen had been seeking a new model of church.[71] Each communard has a need that has been filled. Thus longevity may be a result of how groups negotiate the particulars of both the individualism of the mainstream and the collectivism called for in the Book of Acts. In a 1976 issue of *Cornerstone* magazine, Jon Trott cites Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who argued that Christians have a duty to be citizens of two worlds. According to Bonhoeffer, "The disciples of Jesus must not fondly imagine that they can simply run away from the world and huddle together in a little band."[72]

JPUSA's location is such that they are confronted daily with situations that necessitate activism. For Trott, "the truth of the above quotation [by Bonhoeffer] is a constant burden of

balance to us. The balance of not becoming a sheltered cloister of Christians blessing each other, or going the other way and getting into such a social gospel that there is no spiritual feeding or security within ourselves."[73]

JPUSA's success thus far can also be attributed to their ability to negotiate their ideological positions. Moreover, given their location in Uptown, the community does not risk socio-cultural isolation, a scenario that could be a luxury or a handicap depending on the goals of the group. But is the location of Uptown (and attendant situations which determine ideology) enough to sustain them? Can JPUSA (or any community) achieve a New Testament semi-utopia? Kantner has argued that communal enclaves of "warm, close, supportive relationships—[do] not always occur according to scenario. Reality modifies the dream." That is to say, although JPUSA's ideological position occasions an on-going negotiation with the parent culture (one which allows ideological accommodation in the interest of relevance and sustainability) their choice of lifestyle might be in conflict with what is expected by establishment evangelicalism. Kantner has pointed out that "the assumptions they [a community] make about what is possible and desirable in social life challenge the assumptions made by other sectors of American society."[74]

JPUSA's lifestyle challenges the mainstream in that its presence is inconvenient for establishment evangelicalism. First, the community's continuance as a visible, urban expression of the Jesus freak movement serves as a reminder that the countercultural revival thought faddish by sociologists has had an impact far-reaching and incalculable. As a result of this miscalculation, there are relatively few studies on the larger movement. Second (and more importantly), JPUSA's voluntary poverty, political position, and public presence at Cornerstone all form an image of a type of evangelical quite atypical. The Jesus-freak impulse has survived

(in the form of JPUSA) and remains theologically evangelical to some extent, but is wholly structured as an alternative to the American Dream.[75]

The interplay between urban rescue mission and international music festival places JPUSA in a unique situation when considering the larger evangelical subculture as it challenges the status quo. However, their alternative to the American Dream, radical as it may seem, could be viewed as yet another example of faith-based relief organizations, a largely conservative thrust. In considering President George W. Bush's national push for faith-based initiatives, Jon Trott notes that to assume that this initiative is right-leaning is predicated on two assumptions. The first assumption is that communes such as JPUSA are primarily inspired by Marxist principles that question free-market capitalism. Trott maintains that while Karl Marx had valid points concerning capitalist models of production and trade, JPUSA was initially inspired by the model of living established in the Book of Acts, not Marx. At first glance this indeed suggests that JPUSA's economic structure is more closely associated with rightist positions classified by the faith-based initiative. The second assumption, however, is that the faith-based initiative (though inclusive in its language) is conservative by virtue of its affinity for *religion* as an answer to social problems rather than non-sectarian governmental measures. Trott disagrees with the second assumption in two ways: First, he does not believe that government-funded religious efforts undermine the separation of church and state. Second, he believes that the measures become conservative only when they marginalize the efforts of other religious groups, noting President Obama's encouragement of faith-based social programs. Thus government, in the context of the U.S., serves a plurality of religious efforts. The matter becomes problematic, maintains Trott, when Christianity is privileged for the purpose of government hegemony. He writes:

> Where it would get dicey is if Evangelicals, or Catholics, or even Christians got the best seats at the table simply because of their identity religiously speaking. That said, I was deeply offended when, at an Evangelical Press Association convention a few years ago, the Bush White House sent a speaker to pitch us Evangelicals. His riff was disgustingly manipulative, consisting of a warning to us that if we didn't make sure the Republicans kept the White House (must have been in 2003 or 2004), all that Faith-based [money] would go the way of the Cuckoo Bird.[76]

Regardless of how faith-based relief efforts are positioned on the political spectrum, JPUSA's particular efforts are inconsistent with how establishment evangelicalism perceives social aid, the allocation of wealth, and the American Dream generally. Other inner-city rescue missions (such as Catholic agencies) do not necessarily challenge the American mainstream. In some regards, these agencies do the "dirty work" others are unwilling to engage. However, groups such as JPUSA that highlight what the American Dream fails to do (by emphasizing poverty and free-enterprise's inability to create jobs and wealth) actually challenge the myth of the dream.

Throughout the late 1970s and 1980s, *Cornerstone* magazine emphasized how JPUSA perceived the American Dream. The following suggests that the United States had misguided priorities when considering the family. "And man said, 'Let the laborers under the leaders be gathered together in factories and let their children be raised in Day-Care-Centers'; and it was done."[77] The magazine also emphasized the ill-attempts at resolving poverty:[78]

> We expected the roaches, the rats and the mice. We expected the slum landlords offering poor plumbing and no heat, all for only $200 a month. Somehow we take it for granted. We, the fortunate, have learned the art of x-ing out entire sections, cities, and countries from our conscience. And Uptown is no exception.[79]

Uptown has sensitized JPUSA to poverty and mobilized communards to explore causal links (both real and assumed) between poverty and the sufferer. That is, JPUSA (particularly *Cornerstone* magazine) considers all potential factors when looking at urban poverty and

homelessness: drug and alcohol abuse, mental illness, violence, cycles of inherited oppression, racism, unemployment, urban renewal, gentrification, and failed church and government social programs.

Location also plays a role in JPUSA's combination of socialism and capitalism. Indeed, the community self-identifies as socialistic while also engaging in free enterprise. However, this "agreement" with capitalism can be attributed to the way American society is already structured. JPUSA's choice to live in an urban area (thus unable to live off the land) necessitates a relationship with industry. Moreover, their choice to fund their social programs with private monies (though some government assistance can be accounted for) is necessitated by the government's inability to fully eradicate poverty. But regardless of the reasons for JPUSA's free-market agreement, how can they be considered socialist?

It is possible to reconcile JPUSA's socialism and capitalism by considering their economic structure on the micro level. That is, although the community must engage industry to generate income (since the government will not provide all needs), their "common purse" arrangement places them in a different category. In essence, JPUSA's council (which decides how monies are distributed and to whom) acts as the government—at least when considering matters pertaining to daily life in JPUSA.[80] Indeed, JPUSA's method of feeding and housing the poor amounts to a position that in some sense actually affirms the free market's right-leaning position; the community relies on self-initiative and private funding (their own) rather than state-based welfare provisions. But in this manner, JPUSA also exhibits the anarchical ideals of the New Left; the community distrusts both corporate and governmental powers and seeks to concentrate power and resources within their own local collective.

Howard Zinn's assertion that the New Left served to "to create constellations of power outside the state" in the interest of "voluntary small groups" reaffirms the Left's tendency to disassociate with any version of totalitarian control.[81] In this manner, any form of collectivism which seeks dissociation from big business or big government casts its collective vote toward anarchy or at the very least a micro-version of a socialistic enclave. While this suggests that JPUSA offers little allegiance to the dominant political parties in the U.S., most communards—though often self-identifying as independent—continue to resonate with principles established by liberal Democrats.

Conclusion

The Midwest has a strong history of evangelicalism, populist activism, and social reform. It is, notes poet Allen Ginsberg, the vortex. Given Chicago's particular history it comes as no surprise that a radical group would choose to call this city home. Impoverished neighborhoods still exist, warranting action from groups willing to serve. Uptown has been viewed as a port of entry for persons from a variety of cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The migration of disparate ethnic groups and the massive influx of Appalachian "hillbillies" into Uptown created a multifaceted neighborhood, one which confirms why scholars envisage the causes of urban pluralism, poverty, and the impact of Chicago politics. However, to accept how the inhabitants (particularly the homeless) are often portrayed does a disservice to the persons who suffer and undermines efforts to humanize them.

The structure of JPUSA is influenced by the New Left's emphasis on the noble individual and the Catholic Worker model of community. The core ethos is reinforced by the community's location. Thus the communards cannot retreat into isolationism because they cannot ignore the

poverty of Uptown. Based on Kanter's arguments, groups such as JPUSA continue precisely because of their location. The environment is such that cultural accommodation and engagement become natural results of a relationship between the group and the "outside world."

As a community, JPUSA successfully survived because Chicago's own backyard was in need of tending. Their ability to move with the flow of a neighborhood defined by pluralism and socio-economic tension tested the metal of the group. The result has been a level of activism largely absent within establishment evangelicalism. But JPUSA's ability to maintain their evangelical allegiance has, in many ways, endeared them to the more conservative strands of evangelical Christianity. Still, their decidedly radical approach to social justice and sympathies with the Evangelical Left is a departure from mainstream "establishment" evangelicalism, begging the question: Which form of evangelical Christianity will dominate the twenty-first century? Moreover, does JPUSA's affiliation with social measures and activist groups grounded in New Left principles portend newer, more radical versions of political and theological positions within the commune? The next chapter will explore the evolving ethos of the JPUSA community and its possible implications for the greater evangelical subculture.

Chapter 5
Theology, Politics, and Culture

Introduction

Religious movements in the U.S. have often influenced how persons of faith define and understand ideas such as culture and social justice. Complicating the matter, communes (whether religious or secular) have often exhibited limited social activism, or their levels of engagement have been structured as oppositional to mainstream society.[1] JPUSA's choice to remain an activist group defies common understandings of communalism, particularly groups identified with varying strands of millenarian belief. Moreover, JPUSA problematizes the very idea of evangelical Christianity during a time when evangelicalism is largely bifurcated. In the case of this community, one would think that solidarity with their parent culture (evangelicalism) would serve to endear JPUSA to evangelicals who have historically attended the Cornerstone Festival. While the community's parent denomination continues to support JPUSA in word and conservative evangelicals continue to attend Cornerstone Festival, it is clear that neither solidarity nor ideological consistency plays a significant role in JPUSA's longevity to date. In fact, the council's ability to reinvent their public image has kept the community fresh, even if controversial.

Studies on the sustainability and longevity of intentional communities have shown that in most cases, groups structured around a charismatic leader or an inflexible ideology were often short-lived. When the leader dies or the ideology diverges from the dominant culture, the community either disbands or remains relatively sectarian. In contradistinction, JPUSA has avoided these scenarios. Their activism (which has for the most part kept communards

committed to humanitarianism) is connected to their decision to avoid the single-leader model and a collective effort to remain culturally and ideologically relevant.

This chapter will demonstrate how eschatology, soteriology, and political affiliations have defined evangelical social justice in the U.S., surfaced in the Jesus Movement, and came to influence JPUSA's ideological evolution. I consider how the millenarian impulse influenced evangelical approaches to society during the 1970s and 1980s. The chapter demonstrates how this impulse was revitalized during the Jesus Movement, was celebrated in popular evangelical music, and is now beginning to lose force as various evangelicals now question narrow eschatological and soteriological positions. I argue that while traditional evangelical theology defined the larger Jesus Movement, JPUSA cannot be considered normative when compared to the parent movement. In sum, I contend that theological and political adaptability has contributed to JPUSA's longevity and social impact. Moreover, JPUSA's strong emphasis on social justice and democratic affiliation distinguished them from early Jesus-freaks who preached the gospel in preparation for an imminent rapture.

Placing JPUSA within Evangelicalism: Modern to Postmodern

Broadly speaking, the Jesus Movement included four different expressions. These have in some fashion or another contributed to remapping the landscape of American evangelicalism: Evangelical new paradigm churches such as Calvary Chapel and Vineyard; isolationist communes such as the Children of God and Tony and Susan Alamo's Christian Foundation; mainstream communes such as Shiloh houses; and groups such as Jesus People Army (JPA) and JPUSA's parent group, Jesus People Milwaukee. My findings demonstrate that JPUSA cannot be counted among the post-Jesus Movement, new paradigm evangelical mainstream. Nor can they be counted among communes commonly associated with doomsday isolationism. While

isolationists constructed enclaves attempting to question a bereft culture before the advent of the apocalypse, JPUSA (though moderately millenarian in earlier years) was more interested in practical matters of justice. And although David Gordon argued that during the 1970s JPUSA exhibited the same millenarian tendencies as other Jesus freaks, the community has changed.[2]

JPUSA evolved into an interstitial group, one that remains simultaneously anti-establishment and connected to the wider culture. They are unimpressed by the evangelical marketing machine (though they respect all expressions of Protestantism and Catholicism) and view isolationism as dangerous to both the individual and the larger church culture. Simply put, the members of JPUSA can best be understood as *practical contemplatives.*[3]

JPUSA communards have always sought to put Christian faith into practice by serving the poor and continue to question the Right, the Left, and their own community. Communards maintain that they are free to discuss ideas openly, yet continue to follow biblical teachings on community. Moreover, the affiliation with the Evangelical Covenant denomination earns the community a measure of respectability.[4] Although leaders remain committed to the tenets of evangelical Christianity, some continue to tread lightly.

Leaders and rank-and-file members of the community often form belief based on a combination of spiritual experience, biblical exegesis, and recollections of their own religious past. Though an outspoken liberal, Jon Trott (wearing an Obama shirt and jokingly referring to himself as an "Obamagelical") recalled how in his youth, he was unable to resolve his own existential crisis. Offering advice, Trott's pastor, a mainline liberal, suggested that "there are many roads to Rome," and "what matters is your sincerity," whatever your belief. He responded to his pastor with a quick retort: "So, when you say God, you don't know what you mean." His pastor did not resolve the matter. "He [the pastor] did not live on the planet of anxiety that I

lived on."[5] Jon Trott exemplifies the crisis that beset various youth attempting to find a spiritual foundation during the Sixties and Seventies.[6]

Many JPUSA communards have attempted to find a space somewhere between the ambiguity of theological liberalism and the certainty of theological conservatism. But for Trott, conservative responses to the world also indicate a near-flawed theology. For him, early Jesus Movement converts were sold a bill of goods. The initial humanitarianism of the Jesus Movement, he notes, was eclipsed by theo-political powers (read Religious Right) that championed visions of empire (a Christian one), fears of a New World Order,[7] and a sense of immediacy concerning the personal salvation as the end approached.[8] As the Religious Right came to power, Jesus freaks were converted to a different Jesus, argues author Brian McLaren.[9] But JPUSA was able to avoid entanglement with the Right while maintaining a relatively conservative theological position. Given their historical evolution, how can we classify the community theologically? Does their propensity to evolve preclude any evangelical orientation?

Along with historians Mark Noll and Donald Miller, Axel R. Schaefer argues that evangelicalism (even of the conservative sort) is too complex to categorize. The categories of evangelicalism (fundamentalist, non-denominational, pentecostal, charismatic, orthodox, emergent, and to a lesser extent, mainline) remain porous and conflicted, in part due to the forces of pluralism. Given the multiple political and theological beliefs that make up those who claim any or all of these classifications, it is difficult to understand what qualifies as "membership" within each tradition. Schaefer considers the fiscal conservatism of the post-Sixties evangelical culture and the rise of liberal evangelicals, suggesting that the New Right "tapp[ed] into the anti-liberal sentiment and moral concerns of Evangelicals" and that "its embrace of *laissez-faire* is

one of its weakest planks, because capitalism itself helped undermine 'traditional values.'"[10] As a result, the *language* of liberalism was used to co-opt Jesus freaks.[11] Baby boom evangelicalism was initially defined by its embrace of conservative theology and its rejection of a materialism largely associated with laissez-faire capitalism. But the anti-materialism often associated with Jesus freaks faded with the rise of Reagan-era conservatism and the Jesus Movement's more significant cultural legacy, contemporary Christian music. It is this sense of internal conflict that makes the category of evangelicalism nebulous.

Religious and social historian D. G. Hart has argued that evangelicalism, as a movement, does not truly exist precisely because of its amorphous nature. While the evangelical spirit of the nineteenth century is not dismissed, Hart argues that evangelicalism is merely another form of fundamentalism. The difference is that this form of fundamentalism (conservative Protestantism) is culturally engaged, lacks collective agreement, has no central authority, and is driven by popular opinion. For Hart, the qualifier "evangelical" is simply an adjective used to describe the zeal of a particular kind of Protestant Christian.[12] Historian Nathan Hatch, however, has argued that decision by popular opinion without central authority is actually what has strengthened evangelical Christianity and, in fact, qualifies it as a movement.[13]

For JPUSA, the signifier "evangelical" was paramount to their communal identity during the 1980s. Without it, the group would have remained a fringe group with little hope of attracting large numbers to the Cornerstone Festival. Throughout the 1980s, Cornerstone offered lectures and workshops (scheduled by Trott) designed to train Christians in biblical apologetics (a distinctive for both evangelicals and fundamentalists), using the works of C.S. Lewis, N.T. Wright, Flannery O'Conner, Francis Schaeffer, and Josh McDowell. During this era of Cornerstone, JPUSA remained unflinchingly evangelical and theologically conservative.

As with many nineteenth-century evangelicals, service to the poor (in this case, Uptown Chicago) contributes to how JPUSA communards derive meaning, an ontology which extends to their quest to connect with the divine. Moreover, while many are unconcerned with the particulars of belief—content to serve the needs of those living in the 46th Ward—some fully engage critical theory.

JPUSA's activism has distinguished them from establishment evangelicalism since the community's genesis. With exception to minor musings over how God metes out salvation, communards (especially the council) have historically been theologically conservative, thus complicating our ability to locate them within a fully left-leaning ideology. However, arguments made by Hart and Hatch notwithstanding, there is an upsurge of self-identified evangelicals who part ways with ideas traditionally (if even stereotypically) associated with evangelical Christianity.

Emergent Christianity is an ongoing conversation concerning postmodernity. Emergent Christians find solace in public iterations such as www.emergentvillage.com and in leaders such as Tony Jones and Brian McLaren.[14] In many ways, both emergent and the Evangelical Left are similar with respect to their counter-rightist activism. Despite the growth of rightist allegiances, groups affiliated with the Evangelical Left and emergent Christianity have delineated the evangelical approach to culture in such a way as to allow those who adhere to various beliefs a certain margin of error, thus inspiring humanitarianism within those who would otherwise maintain an upward gaze colored by an imminent doomsday.

Although humanitarian efforts can be indentified in denominations such as the Salvation Army, as well as various nineteenth-century evangelicals, the Evangelical Left is unique in that it defines itself against mid-twentieth-century evangelicalism. Now uncertain about particulars,

these evangelicals (and JPUSA's communards) live with theological ambiguity, though as we shall see, the Eighties marked a period of theological certainty for the commune. But regardless of the zeitgeist that defined JPUSA theologically, their *impulse* remained rooted in faith, one which encouraged the communards to live as Jesus. Given their emphasis on practical human need—and attendant beliefs that the State (along with JPUSA businesses) should finance the general welfare in service of morality—how can we determine where an evangelical impulse ends and a social gospel impulse begins? Put another way, can we consider JPUSA evangelical in the traditional sense of the term?

Historian David W. Bebbington's classic method of determining what qualifies as evangelical is a useful model for analyzing JPUSA's theological positions. For Bebbington, the essentials of evangelical belief include a dedication to Christian conversion, biblicism (a high view of scripture), crucicentrism (the belief that the crucifixion of Christ atoned for the sins of humanity), and activism.[15] At least throughout the 1980s, JPUSA exemplified all four and could be considered evangelical. But were they part of the evangelical subculture?[16]

As members of the Evangelical Covenant denomination, JPUSA has enjoyed a certain ecclesial respectability necessary for survival. While other Jesus freak communes have continued without evangelical approval (discussed later), to a certain extent JPUSA might need continued affirmation from an institution which represents the evangelical parent culture. Certainly both JPUSA's Cornerstone Festival and their inner-city mission both provide a sense of purpose. But their overarching purpose has been strengthened and nurtured at the festival.

Although evangelicalism may lack collective agreement (according to Hart), the movement (if we can call it that) has gained significant cultural traction which now extends into the cultural mainstream. This is evidenced when one considers how evangelicals during the

1960s and 1970s viewed the more radical Jesus-freak communes which peppered the U.S throughout the Seventies. Traditional evangelicals measured the viability of Jesus freak groups based on ideological expectations common among self-defining evangelicals. As a result, various Jesus freak groups found themselves affiliating with the larger parent culture, hoping for evangelical acceptance.

In the interest of evangelical solidarity, the Cornerstone Festival has allowed JPUSA to muster a public image for the evangelical community, thus reintegrating the commune (annually) into the parent movement. Without the festival, JPUSA would no longer attract travelers (at least not as many), and would lose both public affirmation and its larger socio-cultural influence. Put another way, to continue under the umbrella of evangelicalism, JPUSA must please an evangelical constituency which is at the very least, moderately conservative. But what accounts for the disparity between JPUSA and their more conservative affiliates?

Reconnecting Youth to…Something

Preston Shires has argued that youth throughout the 1960s were alienated by both Christian fundamentalism and liberal Christianity.[17] Fundamentalism was anachronistic, judgmental, and according to historian George Marsden, culturally isolated.[18] On the other hand, liberal Christianity did not provide answers to existential anxiety, often failing to deliver on promises to aid the needy. Shires notes the collective effort to combine the best of two worlds. He writes: "The eventual unity and common purpose shared between countercultural Christianity and evangelicalism surpassed that shared by the Beats and the Old Left…so much so that whereas the Old Left and the New Left disagreed on the means and purpose of reaching a

non-capitalistic manner of life, countercultural Christianity and evangelicalism eventually became unified both in goal and practice."[19]

The "common purpose" shared by countercultural and establishment evangelicals extended into the 1970s, climaxing to form what would later become a new movement. Shires maintains that the inability for the Old and New Left to agree on strategy worked to evangelicals' advantage, particularly as the Right came to new power during the 1980s. He continues:

> And even though historians speak of evangelicalism in the latter 1970s without reference to the Jesus movement, it is the melding of these two initially somewhat distinct movements that explains why the "evangelicalism" of 1980 was radically different from the "evangelicalism" of 1965.[20]

Adherents to New Evangelicalism and Bill Bright's para-church organization, Campus Crusade for Christ, actively sought to recruit youth who were (in the estimation of conservatives) equally dissatisfied with watered-down liberalism and the culturally obscure, recalcitrance of fundamentalism.[21] In response, evangelical Christianity was given an intellectual boost. Apologists such as Francis Schaeffer attempted to provide polemics rooted in Scottish Common Sense Realism while remaining unrestricted by the fundamentalist bogeyman of anti-intellectualism or a politic of separation.[22] Schaeffer's god, according to Shires, was one who was identifiable by those disenchanted with all other human constructs, one that "middle-class youth could both have a feeling for and be intellectually proud of; and, not least in importance, he was a God who opened up infinite possibilities for human creativity by liberating the individual from naturalistic philosophy and the technocratic lifestyle naturalistic philosophy had imposed on society."[23]

Speaking the language of the counterculture, Schaeffer tapped a rhetorical strategy that resonated with Jesus freaks. "Freed from the machine and connected to the infinite," writes

Shires, "the human experience became a never-ending adventure. This was full-fledged expressive individualism."[24] JPUSA embraced this early on. Schaefferian apologetics served JPUSA communards who, throughout the 1980s and part of the 1990s, sought intellectual reasons in support of faith—though as we shall see, Schaefferian apologetics would later be jettisoned.

Freedom of aesthetic expression and freedom to experience the divine became emblematic of the early Jesus freak. This distinguished the Jesus Movement from conservative, calvinist-based evangelicalism and mainline liberalism. But unlike JPUSA, many early Jesus freaks were unconcerned with the need to intellectualize God. Embracing the pentecostalism that attracted youth disenchanted with religious theoreticals and socially disengaged parishioners, Jesus freaks on the West Coast quickly became quintessential examples of baby boom, Jesus Movement evangelicalism. Excluding groups like JPUSA and other expressions of the Evangelical Left, West-Coast expressions of Jesus-freak rightism became the staid mythology of Jesus Movement lore.

Practical Differences

While during the 1980s JPUSA reengaged apologetics rooted in the Enlightenment, others continued to find truth in spiritual experience. Historian Donald Miller notes that new paradigm, post-Jesus Movement churches provided a middle ground between liberal Christianity and fundamentalism. But this middle ground is different from Francis Shaeffer's version. In Miller's estimation, most groups classified as "new paradigm" offered answers to existential crises while also encouraging pentecostal expression. As such, these groups were therapeutic, individualistic, and anti-establishment. Furthermore, the emphasis on experience (to the exclusion of an overly analytic model of theology) created a situation where the post-Jesus

Movement church could be classified as both primitive and (ironically) postmodern. Miller compares baby boom evangelicalism to enlightenment-based philosophical models that traditionally dominated Western Christianity since the Eighteenth Century. The result, argues Miller, has been that "religious debates have been relegated to discussing the truth or falsity of *beliefs*, making religion 'disembodied,' cerebral matter."[25] He goes on to highlight how new paradigm Christianity has reacted to this, arguing that

> …many assumptions of Enlightenment thought have been challenged. The clay feet of rationality have been revealed, and postmodern philosophy is questioning the authoritarian character of any claim to a universal epistemology, or theory of knowledge. Given this philosophical context, new paradigm churches can be viewed as cultural pioneers of sorts. They are attempting to reintegrate bodily experience into religious life.[26]

These claims appear to establish the presence of a postmodern, evangelical criticism which actually antedates expressions of emergent Christianity. But while Miller maintains that new paradigm churches have somehow pioneered the now common acceptance of the so-called "crisis of representation," they were not so willing to dispense with a biblicist position on divine authority or encounters with the Holy Spirit. The Jesus Movement emphasized hyper-spiritual experientialism. Thus, a kind of "course correction" was needed, according to Jon Trott. Unlike their progenitors, JPUSA attempted to balance a moderate pentecostalism (emblematic of Jesus Movement congregations) with Reformed apologetics—despite JPUSA's Arminian position. In so doing, they embraced the teachings of a number of authors, apologists, and philosophers such as Francis Schaeffer, C. S. Lewis, Blaise Pascal, A. W. Tozer, Søren Kierkegaard, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Walker Percy, and G. K. Chesterton. Council members have noted the wide influence of foundationalist scholars. Indeed, Glenn Kaiser is correct that rank-and-file communards remain disinterested in theory, but over the years JPUSA pastors have used foundationalist apologetics to offer a sense of ideological security to seekers within the

commune. Still, literary rootedness did not dissuade early JPUSA communards from a skyward gaze.

Jesus Freaks: The Waiting

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) were politically active, but many hippies remained anti-intellectual and apolitical. Thus the hippie ethic was consistent with fledgling Jesus Movement converts who sought experience over intellect, body over mind (or at least, a collapse of mind-body dualism), and a soon-to-come messianic figure. Those who would have once affiliated with New Left concerns over social immediacy redirected their attention to otherworldly matters: transformation of the self, ecstatic religious experience, and the end of time. This millennial urgency informed Jesus freaks' aversion to the "wisdom of man" and inspired an exodus from mainstream culture. Recalling H. Richard Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture*, sociologist Ronald Enroth has argued that Jesus freaks were "casebook examples of Christ-against-culture approach."[27]

The anti-cultural position of many Jesus freaks allowed a focus on "ultimate concern"[28] and personal encounters with Jesus through the Holy Spirit. While many were only moderately pentecostal (particularly those associated Calvary Chapel) converts and communes inherited two distinct impulses: the hippie movement's intrigue with mysticism (which translated into pentecostal emphases on direct encounter with the divine) and the countercultural quest for a new age (exemplified in the belief in a secret rapture[29] of Christians). The former influenced the latter.[30]

Disenchanted with staid denominationalism, early Jesus freaks were drawn to an experience-driven form of Christianity.[31] Thus, the pentecostal connection (and attendant

apoliticism) should not be taken lightly. Grant Wacker has argued that "pentecostals were ahistorical, first, in their lack of interest in the history, and second in their conceptualization of the relation between Scripture and the cultural context in which it arose. There was, however, still another form of ahistoricism which helped sustain and insulate pentecostals from outside criticism. They were ardent *millenarians*. [emphasis mine]"[32] This description could also be applied to the Jesus Movement.

Jesus freaks are similar to pentecostal Christians and can be located within the larger tradition of experience-based millenarianism. Even the more moderately pentecostal Calvary Chapel emphasized direct contact with the Holy Spirit and an inevitable climax to human history, a teleological position common to many forms of Protestantism. As the charismatic movement[33] rose to significance with churches like Vineyard (offshoots of Calvary Chapel), the larger Jesus Movement placed greater importance on the doctrine of the Rapture as new converts awaited the second coming of Christ. The result was a focus on evangelism, relegating social justice to subaltern status. But the precedent had been set earlier on. Wacker writes: "It is indisputable that pentecostals were strongly influenced by an apocalyptic eschatology drawn indirectly from Adventist and directly from Plymouth Brethren traditions. They looked for the imminent rapture of the saints, followed by the return of the Lord and the events described in Daniel, Ezekiel, and Revelation."[34]

Although Jesus freaks practiced an altered version of Christianity to fit the vernacular of the counterculture, they retained the primitivism of ecstatic, embodied religion and a view of global events often intertwined with a dispensational premillennialist[35] interpretation of the end of time. Lonnie Frisbee was a hippie who converted to Christianity at the beginning of the Jesus Movement. After Pastor Chuck Smith hired Frisbee to act as hippie outreach pastor for Calvary

Chapel (ground zero for the Jesus Movement), Frisbee quickly became iconic of the West-Coast Jesus freak. He encouraged a skyward gaze, preaching a combination of Christian spiritualism (portents and futurism[36]), the revolutionary hippie aesthetic, and evangelical millennialism.

Dispensational premillennialism, a doctrine fleshed out by nineteenth-century minister John Nelson Darby,[37] found a growing audience in post-1960s Jesus Movement mythology and doctrine. Darby's doctrine reached beyond the nineteenth century into the twentieth as author Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* influenced both the Jesus Movement and the emerging "Jesus music" (later, Christian rock). Early Jesus freaks were concerned with immediate conversion of souls as they prepared for the Rapture. Looking for signs of the end, Frisbee viewed the Six-Day War between Israel and the surrounding Arab nations as evidence for the imminent return of Christ.[38] Fascination with apocalyptic literature and global events, while not new, developed at a rapid pace as books, movies, and music affiliated with the Jesus Movement told the same story: the end was near.

Authors and musicians joined the foray, each offering warning of impending doom and clues intended to help consumers decipher global events. Throughout the 1970s, Jesus rockers such as Larry Norman sang about the Rapture while author Hal Lindsey encouraged unconditional support of Israel, believing that Americans were expected to play a role in unfolding prophetic events, thus ushering in the return of Christ, the reign of the anti-Christ, and the battle of Armageddon. Historian Preston Shires notes Lindsey's preoccupation with the Middle East's role in divine plan. For Lindsey, "The affairs in the Middle East had foreordained roles to play out: Israel, the Arab nations, the Soviet Union, Europe, and China were spirito-politico entities…." Moreover, "God allowed for Arab antipathy toward the Jews to escalate so that in the near future an Arab-African confederacy headed by Egypt would attack Israel."

Lindsey maintained that "biblically grounded Christians stood against Arab nations." For him, this alliance would end in a battle involving Russia. The anti-Christ would promise peace, only to later bring deception. "Part of the reason countercultural Christians would move rightward in their political orientation," argues Shires, had little to do with domestic policies, but "a great deal to do with world affairs."[39] For early Jesus freaks, unconditional support for Israel was, according to Shires, "perhaps the first shepherding of Jesus Freaks *toward a political position* [emphasis added]."[40]

Songs influenced by politics of the end were grounded in a deeper, populist response to a chaotic world. But they also represented a particular interpretation of historic events related to biblical prophecy. Historian David W. Stowe has argued that through the teachings of Hal Lindsey and Calvary Chapel's Pastor Chuck Smith, "the theology of Rapture and Armageddon [became] one of the central threads in the music and belief of baby boom Christians, touching the music of everyone from [Jesus rockers] Larry Norman and Keith Green to Bob Dylan."[41] Norman's classic "I Wish We'd All Been Ready"—part of the track to the film series which mirrored Lindsey's work—highlighted the sense of urgency with which evangelicals dealt; it was the anthem of the Jesus Movement's rapture theology and became the earworm for fundamentalists and evangelicals during the 1970s.[42]

Stowe has observed how a sense of urgency defined evangelicals throughout the 1970s and influenced a number of Jesus rockers, noting Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* as a significant influence on apocalyptically-minded Jesus freaks. Having sold twenty-eight million copies by 1998, Lindsey's novel, writes Stowe, "popularized and condensed a body of thought about the end of the world that reached back over a century." Inspiring numerous imitators, Lindsey's work "shaped evangelical belief over the decade."[43] Stowe maintains that the

attraction of Lindsey's book was in its attempt to connect global events to one interpretation of biblical apocalyptic literature. Considering the events which, for many, reified pre-Jesus Movement millenarianism, he notes a series of events that inspired a generation to continue their skyward gaze: "All that remained to complete prophecy was a rebuilding of the Temple on its original site in Jerusalem, where the Muslim Dome of the Rock currently stands." Events intended to set into motion history's end "seemed imaginable in the late Sixties," notes Stowe. He writes: "The rise of an Antichrist promising to bring world peace; the bodily ascent of Christians to heaven, called the Rapture; seven years of persecution and disaster—the tribulation—presided over by the Antichrist; a final show down between Israel and her enemies—Armageddon—in which Jesus would return to lead Israel to final victory. Then would come the millennium—a thousand years of peace. Lindsey's book was colored by his experiences with the Jesus People…."[44] But while the greatest impact of this teaching can be seen in Christian media, the influence on grassroots efforts to *missionize* can be seen in Jesus Movement communes and the street proselytizing of Jesus freaks, prevalent throughout the 1970s and early 1980s.

It is within this milieu that JPUSA evolved from a skyward-looking group of Jesus freaks to a community eager to plumb the depths of biblical foundationalism, in reaction to hyper-spiritualism. Although JPUSA was influenced by millenarianism in the 1970s, the community adopted a more nuanced eschatology as the 1980s wore on. For founding member Glenn Kaiser, JPUSA has always sought to meet the "real on-the-ground needs of people […] not mere thought and theory."[45] Although Kaiser asserts that the community has, essentially, kept their feet on the ground, historian David Frederic Gordon's research on the community suggests that early JPUSA communards exhibited the same dualism adopted by Jesus freaks on the West Coast (the

world was evil and retreat was necessary), and they believed the Rapture was imminent. In 1978 he observed that

> [t]hey [JPUSA] routinely made comments indicating the imminence of this end of the world…Planning for the future on both the group and individual levels is kept at a minimum. No one in this group whom I questioned on the matter had any personal plans for the future. The group as a whole did little to support itself financially and made plans for housing new members only when they became hopelessly overcrowded.[46]

Kaiser is partially accurate that the community has always wedded a sense of practicality to what is otherwise a skyward gaze. Gordon's work, however, demonstrates a similarity between JPUSA and the Jesus-freak ethos of the Seventies. But the community has changed. As I have argued in chapters 2 and 3, JPUSA's ability to engage the wider culture in grassroots fashion distinguishes them from other Jesus freaks. This is evidenced by their commitment to the shelter program, annual planning for the Cornerstone Festival, and dedication to community-owned and operated mission businesses, for which self-sufficiency is a prime mover. And while they once embraced the hyper-spiritualism of early Jesus-Movement converts, JPUSA recognized the need for a grassroots activism inspired by theological depth.

More Shifts toward the Practical

Although JPUSA's community began during a revival largely associated with conservative evangelicalism, leaders of the commune experienced a number of changes which eventually affected their own self-definition. While JPUSA has always remained sympathetic toward the doctrine of the Rapture, the rightist leanings of Hall Lindsey and Campus Crusade for Christ leader Bill Bright[47] clearly delineated between JPUSA and baby boom evangelicals of the Seventies and Eighties. Still, JPUSA communards continue to believe in the Second Coming. What differentiates them from other rapture-minded Christians can be found in how immediacy is defined and how levels of social engagement (activism) are understood. Like other

evangelicals, JPUSA's expectations pertaining to the end of time (the date-setting) changed. The following demonstrates how early JPUSA adopted a position of eschatological immediacy, later becoming more flexible as communards accepted teleological ambiguity. Glenn Kaiser writes:

> In the very early years we were more leaning towards classic Calvary Chapel/Jesus Movement pre-trib [pre-tribulation[48]] rapture. And over some years, simply came to think that He will come when He comes and we needn't fret nor accent much more in terms of detail which seem more mystery than crystal-clear in the Bible. We're happy to discuss various positions among the churches but it's not a major issue to us, just that He is indeed returning at some point and that day "is closer than when we first believed."[49]

JPUSA's response to anti-intellectual, Jesus-freak experientialism influenced their views on culture and eschatology. As they sought a "muscular intellectual world" rooted in Modern, Enlightenment-based apologetics,[50] the community de-emphasized the hyper-eschatological foci held by the followers of Hal Lindsey.

While the communards remained cautious of their forerunners who held (in their estimation) unbalanced biblical views, the community never fully dismissed pentecostal theology or the doctrine of the Rapture. However, their attempts to engage apologetics in defense of their faith[51] still distinguished the group from other mainline baby boom evangelicals which emerged out of the apocalyptically-minded, experience-oriented Jesus Movement.

JPUSA began to define urgency and human need in terrestrial rather than celestial terms, though they have never discounted the importance of Christian conversion for the individual. But when compared to the larger Jesus Movement—or the zeitgeist which defined much of conservative evangelicalism during the 1970s and 1980s—JPUSA diverged, emphasizing that eschatological *ambiguity* necessitates moral and social *responsibility*. Thus, these communards can be understood as persons who strive to connect two worldviews, remaining both socially and apocalyptically minded. They attempt to find a middle ground between an ethos of social

engagement for its own sake (the homeless need to eat) and apocalyptic hope (often inspired by a sort of "kingdom now" ethic, though never fully undermining a literal post-apocalyptic kingdom).[52] Otto Jensen and his family joined the community in January of 2008. During our interview, Jensen revealed that it was a seminar at JPUSA's Cornerstone Festival that challenged his eschatology.[53] Jensen's response indicated that his concern for social justice trumps teleological theory, a belief held by most members interviewed. Musings about the Rapture in relation to practical matters of justice now relegate the doctrine to a secondary, non-essential for JPUSA leaders. Recent interviews confirm that the community has shifted its focus from an apocalyptically-inspired model of outreach to a humanitarian (even if biblically-inspired) model of social justice. The community's call to a sort of practical evangelism and its careful handling of abstract assumptions concerning the end of time contributes to communal commitment and a sense of ultimate purpose.

The Power of Pluralism

Although Calvary Chapel (the quintessential Jesus Movement church) is similar to JPUSA on the basic doctrines of Christianity, the differences can be seen in how the two groups have historically related to culture and society: the former evolved alongside New Evangelicalism's cultural crusade while the latter chose to distance itself from the socio-cultural "machine"[54] created by the evangelical subculture. Whether JPUSA is truly new paradigm or emergent remains a matter of perspective, though they can be considered, as I have argued, a strong example of the Evangelical Left. What is clear, however, is that post-Jesus Movement evangelicalism is changing. Some groups are reacting to and some are operating in concert with American culture.

The turn of the century marked a shift as JPUSA began to question the validity of Christian apologetics.[55] Seeds had already been planted during the 1990s as JPUSA leaders (to include Trott) became disenchanted with what they viewed as flawed enlightenment models of propositional truth. For leaders like Trott (who serves as a researcher for the commune), arguments pertaining to foundational truth were no longer applicable within a world now defined by postmodern rupture and literary deconstruction. Despite Trott's earlier propensity *toward* Christian apologetics, he is now forthright with his own ideological struggle, well aware of the problems commonly associated with religious certitude. While Trott still laments the ambiguity of liberal Christianity, he remains biblically progressive, explaining his position as an attempt to "remove my own cultural bias, unexamined assumptions (by examining them), and so on."[56] This view is evident at Cornerstone where seminars have shifted toward emergent theology.[57] While Trott fully affirms the Apostle's Creed, as with emergent Christians he entertains a postmodern understanding of the faith, stating

> My biggest struggle was and in some ways still is the hiddenness of God…living communally, I think we were tapping into elements that evangelicals at that point weren't tapping into…now I think even emergent is getting passé…but obviously the church is undergoing a shaking along with everything else under this new kind of poly-cultural reality that we're all having to embrace, whether we like it or not. I like it.[58]

At century's close, Cornerstone seminars became more reflective of the postmodern fascination held by a growing number of evangelicals. This proved positive for JPUSA and Cornerstone, ensuring a continued evangelical orientation (without the restrictive baggage of conservative evangelicalism) as emergent Christianity grew. Trott was not alone in his departure from apologetics. But this did not sit well with some. According to Trott, various counter-cult communities and the apologetics community now feel JPUSA has "drifted."[59] This observation has also been made by JPUSA's fellow evangelicals. The *Phantom Tollbooth* is an online

magazine that publishes a variety of music, books, and movie reviews, as well as various interviews and resource links. The magazine has been involved with the Cornerstone Festival for a number of years. Shari Lloyd and Linda LaFianza, editors for the magazine, have pointed out that although JPUSA has always been politically democratic, their theology has changed. When the editors consider JPUSA and Cornerstone's theological position, they note that the theological shift is clear.

Before the advent of emergent, JPUSA bore positions similar to those of an "evangelical Baptist," according to the *Tollbooth* editors. Loyd and LaFianza have stated that this position was reinforced by JPUSA's choice of lecturers. However, in February of 2010 Loyd and LaFianza stated that "in the last three or four years, there's been a swing into emergent church beliefs and the seminar speakers are more theologically liberal…." But while emergent theology has consistently grown in influence, "nothing too formal was ever announced or stated."[60] The festival's original slogan was "Cornerstone: Raw Truth." While Trott admits this sounds modernistic, he still believes the phrase captures the festival's core ethos—"provocateurs," forcing people to "reexamine or examine for the first time your unexamined assumptions."[61]

JPUSA's ideological evolution is part of a larger historical struggle involving Christianity and social activism. Moreover, their changes (resultant reactions to and in concert with pluralism) parallel how those within establishment evangelicalism have wrestled with notions of culture and truth. These questions were raised during the 1960s as Christian SDSers sought ways to put faith into practice and as Jesus freaks awaited the Rapture. As the Jesus Movement ended, many chose to affiliate with right-wing consensus.[62]

The Divine Call to Culture: Right or Left?

Evangelical Christianity has largely been considered a conservative cultural force, despite the rise of the Evangelical Left. Although historians such as Randall Balmer have aptly noted the problems associated with reducing evangelicalism to political coalitions,[63] the Religious Right (particularly evangelicals), nevertheless, accounts for a great number of those who supported Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush. The more controversial issues that have defined the Right have been abortion and gay marriage. While JPUSA identifies with some rightist ideas (e.g. the abortion issue) these remain systemic—the community is not drawn into the conservative vortex based on single issues.[64]

Communes are noted for either excessive rigidity or various expressions of anarchy. In the end, communal longevity is linked to values formative in the lives of communards (keeping them engaged in the ethos of the community) and to the ability to shift appropriately with the culture, even when that shift signals a differentiation from a conservative consensus on social issues. Various communities feel JPUSA has drifted, particularly when considering their position on feminism.[65] Jon Trott recalls how many have reacted to various changes in JPUSA and the festival:

> I know for a fact that big chunks of the counter-cult community and the old apologetics community think we drifted. And probably where I've seen that again is with the women's issue. I have been fairly vilified by some people for my ideas about women, which to me is like, ya know, I guess if anything it probably feeds my pride. It makes me happy to be disliked by people that believe that way.[66]

JPUSA ordains women and holds that gender roles are not absolute. Both men and women share an equal voice. The community has always differed somewhat from conservative evangelicalism on the matter of gender roles—though a true egalitarian position has evolved over time. Regarding roles in ministry, Trott writes:

> We, I think, were influenced more by the charismatic movement…folks such as Katherine Kuhlman…and Catherine Booth…not that we were always crystal clear on this stuff. Things early on were often foggy. Carl Parks of Spokane's Jesus movement, for instance, had done a book with his wife that was horrendously male-centric...and though we didn't' buy it, neither did we react as I would…today. Keeping in mind that our movement was only a few years old….[67]

JPUSA's views on marriage have also changed over the years. For them, messages preached in the early days were often mixed. Around 1978 the standard teaching involved male headship—wives were to submit to husbands. Tapes by Bible teacher Bob Mumford affirmed this position, calling for submission to husbands "even if the husband was asking them [wives] to do something contrary to scripture." The sin would fall on the husband. "The reaction from JPUSA," writes Trott, "was immediate and harshly negative."[68] Communards noted the teaching as "off the wall" and countered that Christians "must never violate his or her conscience, no matter who was telling them to do this or that." Trott considers how JPUSA's views on gender have changed: "I think these seeds helped move us inexorably toward rejecting 'gender role' teachings in marriage as well as in the pulpit. By the mid-80s," notes Trott, "I was consciously aware of Christian feminism, and starting to seriously interact with it. I think my own journey helped, but wasn't definitive, in other persons' journeys here [in JPUSA]." During the 1980s, JPUSA's *Cornerstone* magazine published an article on the ERA amendment, moving the community moderately leftward. JPUSA "recognized the validity of the feminist critique of history as well as social structures of inequality that history contributed to. They did not support the ERA, but stopped demonizing it, recalls Trott—a significant move for evangelicals.[69]

JPUSA offers seminars on gender egalitarianism and sexuality at the festival, and partners with Christians for Biblical Equality, an organization that encourages the equality of all women, men, ethnic groups, economic classes, and age groups. Moreover, their activism

extends to civil rights and social harmony as they continue to invite Dr. John Perkins, an African-American minister and activist for racial reconciliation, to lecture at the festival.[70]

The move to the right or the left remains a nebulous dichotomy, a complexity which JPUSA recognizes as inexhaustible. For example, various members of JPUSA believe that resolving poverty and adopting a holistic view of life—which includes valuing single mothers—will help limit abortions.[71] Unlike arch-anti-abortionists, leaders interviewed contend that there are incidents (such as rape or the safety of the mother) which may warrant abortion. Communards, however, remain conflicted as they seek to wed a moderate theological position to a socially liberal conscience, a position negotiated by those in the Evangelical Left.[72] Issues such as abortion, however, have kept the community from complete alignment with any thoroughgoing liberalism. For Trott, JPUSA has often been difficult to classify, noting that any "historical snap shot" of the commune would yield conflicting assumptions about their political allegiance. Unwilling to align fully with either major political party or philosophy, they remain in many ways politically enigmatic. However, Trott recalls that as evangelicalism moved "very consciously to the right" as a whole "we found ourselves moving left" though abortion "was one [issue] that probably held us from moving more rapidly to the left."[73] But the community began to change yet again as many second-generation communards entertained different views on abortion.

While many second-generation communards challenge staid understandings of cultural issues, older members continue to combine leftist ideals of social justice with a relatively conservative cultural ethic. Colleen Davick joined JPUSA in 1992. She was raised in a conservative Christian home and attended a Bible college in Texas, but sought something deeper than a suburban life defined by work and home. Inspired at the Cornerstone Festival to consider

a different way of life, Davick shed a world where "if you're a Christian, you're a Republican." While she agrees with the overall Democratic position of the community, Davick argues that Jesus did not seek to change people politically, thus reasserting the Jesus-freak dichotomy of the spiritual and the practical, highlighting particulars that have influenced and differentiated post-Jesus Movement "new evangelicals" and communities such as JPUSA.[74] In this manner, Davick's position is not unlike veteran members who seek to maintain the revivalistic element of the Jesus Movement, while simultaneously evincing a quasi social-gospel ethic.

Both the Jesus Movement and evangelicalism have wrestled with the extent to which Christians should engage society, and to what extent the spiritual and the practical can be appropriately balanced, though many recognize the practical *is* spiritual. But establishment evangelicalism (at least during the Seventies and Eighties) continued to vilify activism related to the Left. Any vestige of an evangelical social conscience actually served as jeremiads, calling the nation back to its mythical roots. That is, for many conservatives, social action meant sharing the gospel and bolstering Christian nationalism.[75]

While dispensational eschatology influenced the social conscience of early Jesus freaks and their megachurch offspring,[76] JPUSA's conscience, on the other hand, was and is pragmatically driven. Chicago was viewed by the community as a mission-field, as we have seen in chapter 4. Glenn Kaiser's mission-field—his account of a "gospel calling"—avoids polar extremes seeking to feed both the body and the soul. In the end, he errs on the practical: "JPUSA was and is about people before a particular doctrine—the core issue that Bible doctrine guides us to [is] LOVE in ACTION and that means meeting real on-the-ground needs of people around us, not mere thought and theory…today persons in our midst need love and practical help…yes, the Gospel, but it's a seamless garment for Jesus…so must be for us."[77]

The Seventies and Eighties were paradoxical for evangelicals. In some ways they were culturally engaged—the Christian Coalition and the Moral Majority rose to power, marshalling a certain amount of socio-cultural capital which empowered the Religious Right. In so doing, many conservative evangelicals sought to engage culture on moralistic grounds as gay rights, abortion, feminism, and school prayer served as social issues which mobilized the followers of conservatives such as Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell, D. James Kennedy, and Focus on the Family's James Dobson. Those on the Right remained culturally disengaged on matters concerning social justice. Instead of emphasizing humanitarianism (with exceptions such as Compassion International and World Vision), evangelicals offered what they believed to be an answer to existential crises—the gospel of salvation from sin (for them, the primary cause of social ill). This has, arguably, kept evangelical denominations relevant, though some liberal pastors and theologians have argued that unless Christianity becomes more socially conscious, it will die.[78] However, baby boom, "new paradigm"[79] churches—contemporary, culturally engaged congregations—are actually growing, while the more socially conscious, mainline liberal congregations struggle to retain parishioners.[80]

In considering the power of the Right, JPUSA's greatest divergence from the original Jesus Movement, Jesus freak communes, and modern, establishment evangelicalism, involves their levels of and reasons for cultural engagement. For Jon Trott, the Right was incongruous with what he viewed as biblical. "It was sort of a watershed moment for me. And I wish I could tell you the year….It was one of the early years of the Moral Majority," notes Trott. "The Moral Majority had just formed in the early eighties….And we were at a meeting with the Christian Legal Society which was really an interesting mix of lawyers...there was a significant presence by the Moral Majority that year and Cal Thomas[81] actually got up and spoke…all four planks of

the platform that he said they were…these were the biblical planks of what the Moral Majority is about." Trott was surprised by what amounted to a forthright admission by the Right on matters he considers to be anti-Christian. Trott recalls that one of the first "biblical planks" asserted was a "strong military." His response reaffirms both his and JPUSA's departure from official articulations of what defines much of the Right's core:

> Now I'm not necessarily a pacifist. I'm a philosophical pacifist. But operatively, I understand the possibility anyway, or the cerebral possibility anyway, of just war. You know, a concept of a just war….I've never seen one….that said, as he [Cal Thomas] unpacked what he meant by that (which basically indicated that America needed to be armed to the teeth so that we could be the policemen for the world and keep evil at bay). I felt every atom of my being going, "this is so unbiblical, this is so unrooted in any Christian understanding of what reality is." I check out of this. I reject this.[82]

Trott recalls the community's vituperative denunciation of the Reagan administration and maintains that JPUSA "began to see a number of very troubling trends among the right wing….The right wing has traditionally been…a nationalistic movement. It's a movement for empire…we intuited that. We felt there was something amiss."[83]

Although many Protestants and Catholics contend that there is a biblical basis for war (established in the Old Testament), Trott considers historical context, rejecting arguments which apply ancient political models to contemporary U.S. society. "In the Old Testament, Israel was a theocracy. America is not a theocracy," he maintains. "It never has been a theocracy. It's a modern democracy…yes the Puritans were in on it early in the game. But that concept very early on went by the wayside."[84] But despite the left-leaning positions held by Trott and members of JPUSA, the Jesus-freak connection to the Right remains strong—the Jesus Movement's connection to Christian nationalism is continually reiterated by historians. However, though thoroughly evangelical in their theology, JPUSA has continued to differentiate

their community from the socio-economic position of the Right as related to U.S. foreign and domestic policy.

Along with their aversion to what is perceived as policies of empire, JPUSA's differentiation with the Right, as discussed in earlier chapters, is largely based on activism related to inner-city poverty. JPUSA noticed how President Reagan's policies affected low-income families.[85] Trott argues that Reagan's "draconian" policies (welfare cuts) were contributing factors to Chicago's homeless population.[86] In chapters 2 and 3, I discussed JPUSA's views on Reagan and the community's need to expand their shelter as a result of his policies on urban renewal. Founding member John Herrin was forthcoming with his views:

> To be honest with you, the Reagan era was not good for us or Chicago. There was a lot of you know this whole trickle down…boy we weren't seeing any trickles here. A lot of funding was cut for social services in this city, and we were not firm believers you know…to us the Reagan [policies]…looked like…it looked like big business to us. And it really kind of stunk. And really didn't relate to the people we dealt with. I'm sure Reagan, and of course George W. Bush, probably had more to do with this community being predominately democratic today than anything.[87]

Over the years, JPUSA has continued to diverge on matters associated with their own parent culture. In so doing, they have aligned with a number of positions on the political spectrum. Thus, locating the community remains problematic. The shifting sands of pluralism notwithstanding, their core ethos remains contrary to the evangelical mainstream.

Communal Identity

In many ways, social and cultural isolation serves the endeavors of communes seeking to avoid materialism and nationalism, though this has often led to communal demise or social isolation. Another Jesus Movement commune, Children of God (COG), drew quick media attention as they established ubiquitous cells. Members wore sackcloth and ashes, held prayer

vigils in public spaces, and called the nation to repent while spouting jeremiads involving proclamations of doom. COG recruited new members via the controversial practice of "flirty fishing," a method of proselytizing that incorporated sanctified prostitution into missionizing, a tactic which also secured financial support from wealthy individuals targeted by what was essentially COG's escort service.[88] Along with flirty fishing, the practice of "sharing" (plural marriage) marked the group as heretical within the larger Jesus Movement.[89] After allegations of child abuse, COG relocated to other countries and continued as The Family International. COG's nomadic existence (families frequently relocate) keeps the group relatively isolated and culturally irrelevant.

Unlike groups such as COG, JPUSA's mission (though marked by the evangelical need to missionize) has been to balance their understanding of the gospel with *social need* as they seek to engage the world around them. But for the most part, Jesus freaks were absorbed by the establishment. Jesus Movement groups authenticated by establishment evangelicalism were attached to, or loosely affiliated with, socially conservative congregations like Calvary Chapel and Vineyard.[90] Responding to a growing materialism within evangelical circles, groups such as COG became retreat-based, distancing their respective communities from official expressions of both the Right and the Left, thus carving out a very different space within the Jesus Movement epic.

Understandably, JPUSA has had to work for evangelical trust in the wake of groups such as COG. But the community's biblicist position and moderate sympathies with the Right on abortion and homosexuality endeared them to the larger evangelical subculture.[91] Lines have remained thin, however. These core issues no longer provide traction needed for any longstanding affinity with the Right. Moreover, populist evangelical affinities—an attractive

element for JPUSA—have not inured the communal council, as with other evangelical Christians who quickly aligned their respective churches with social issues that were (quite frankly) in vogue.[92] But for JPUSA, the stakes are simply too high. In contradistinction to COG, fundamentalist denominations, and baby boom evangelicalism, leaders in JPUSA have made eradicating poverty and homelessness a priority. Despite David Gordon's assertion that the community is relatively isolationist—that they do not encounter pluralism in the same way as suburban, post-Jesus Movement communes—the community has evolved since initial observations were conducted during the late 1970s.[93]

In 2004, the George W. Bush administration contacted the Cornerstone Festival office and requested an audience for either Bush or Colin Powell. Uninterested in "mixing politics and faith,"[94] JPUSA and Cornerstone "declined an offer to host President Bush.,"[95] notes founder John Herrin. Disinterest in mixing faith and politics notwithstanding, JPUSA clearly exhibits political sensibilities in a public manner at Cornerstone. Moreover, their position on the war in the Middle East informed their discontent with President Bush and provided confirmation of their general discontent with Republican-inspired evangelical Christianity. As a result, the community continues to remain informed about global events, hoping to educate those who visit the commune and attend Cornerstone, though politically-based seminars reflect multiple perspectives. As the community has self-consciously adopted a very specific identity over the years, their aversion to rightist allegiances has carved out a space which also affects their perspectives on matters such as God and Country.

Nationalism and Identity

For many evangelical Christians, organized efforts to avoid (or at the very least minimize) social justice have often been linked to either millenarian expectancy or Christian nationalism. Evangelicals (particularly fundamentalists) have either sought to convert people before the end of time or to reestablish a Christian nation before the end, advocating a "Puritan heritage that America was a new Israel," according to historian George Marsden.[96] They have often been paradoxical and deeply alienated—at once militantly anti-society (America is Babylon) and pro-America (America is a chosen nation). These evangelicals sought to retreat from a corrupt, unchangeable world (premillennial dispensationalism),[97] while also voting on legislation intended to create policies intended to bolster the Christian-nation myth.[98]

As evangelical Christianity was revived among America's youth throughout the 1960s and 1970s, two competing forces defined how evangelicals would engage society. For early Jesus freaks, social action involved rigorous evangelism as the faithful sought to convert souls before the rapture of the church. For the burgeoning Religious Right, action often involved restoring America to a "Christian nation."[99] But what sort of *action* did JPUSA embrace? Although Colleen Davick stated Jesus did not come to engage politics, like others in JPUSA, she remains committed to social justice. Her agenda, however, is not to create a Christian nation or to hasten the second coming. Like other JPUSA communards, her vision of social justice is nuanced—in contradistinction to the aforementioned Jesus freaks and religious rightists—valuing practical outreach for its own sake: people need food and shelter. Davick acts out of obedience to what she views as central to the teachings of Jesus.[100]

JPUSA's agenda has never been to create a "lighthouse group" that defines itself as some quintessential Christian expression or the ultimate model for living.[101] Moreover, JPUSA leaders view Christianity and the concept of national identity as incompatible, according to Trott. Over the years, Cornerstone Festival has offered workshops intended to challenge Christian nationalism, calling evangelicals to understand the complexities of foreign relations and the convoluted nature of ferreting out decisions concerning land ownership within tribal societies. In other words, JPUSA does not attach the same cosmic imperative to theologically-driven battles over land, as do evangelicals whose gaze remains fixed on Jerusalem. They work to bridge the gap and, in Trott's words, hope to demonstrate the complexity of evangelical Christianity—that not all evangelicals resonate with the political agenda of rightist nationalism.[102] Noting Manifest Destiny, Trott connects the Right's thirst for empire to what he maintains is a privileging of big business over environmentalism, thus reinforcing Marsden's analysis of the paradoxical nature of the Right's desire to avoid society while simultaneously engineering it.[103]

While most groups affected by evangelical belief concerning the end of time or Christian nationalism are not violent in any concrete sense, their positions concerning war and ecology may hint at a different sort of violence—environmental destruction through *inaction*. Moreover, violence can arise to serve what some believe to be a correct course of action, a phenomenon that historian Jon Pahl refers to as "innocent domination."[104] A journalist with deep environmental convictions, Trott works to protest what he believes to be destructive environmental policies held by the Religious Right, instituted by big business.[105] Leaders within the Evangelical Left such as Brian McLaren and Shane Claiborne[106] (both of whom have lectured at Cornerstone) maintain

that the "kingdom of God" is both spiritual and physical. McLaren notes the consequence of unregulated business:

> I saw the devastation unleashed by insufficiently-regulated corporations, denuding and flattening once-majestic mountains, poisoning springs and creeks, sickening people, laying off workers, and making a few executives rich. Then a few months later I went fly fishing in Yellowstone, awed by the powerful presence of bison and elk, the fresh scent of grassy meadows in summer green, the shine of snowy peaks in the distance. Those two landscapes linger in my memory—one sold short for a fast profit, one conserved for posterity.[107]

Like McLaren, Trott and other JPUSA leaders believe that environmental responsibly is part of a holistic understanding of the Christian gospel. Cornerstone Festival seminars evidence this growing commitment within both the commune and many evangelicals attending the festival. Moreover, in response to conservative policies on the environment and social justice (and with hopes of reconciling evangelical Christianity with pluralism), various emergent Christians have come to the fore. Since the increase of emergent Christianity during the 1990s and the subsequent rise of new leaders such as Shane Claiborne (following ideas previously established by evangelical leftists such as Jim Wallis), there has been a concerted effort by those affiliated with the Evangelical Left (as well as some on the Right) to question environmental policies held by Republican evangelicals. Still, these remain merely fringe expressions of evangelical radicalism.

Leaders in the JPUSA commune and others on the Left work to undermine oft-held assumptions that Christianity and nationalism are part of a divine plan. Cornerstone seminars host speakers who question the war in the Middle East, neo-Zionism, and encourages an evangelical presence that might combat the rightist positions on environmentalism, foreign policy, war, healthcare, and feminism.[108] But groups such as JPUSA and the Evangelical Left are not the norm, holding scant representation on the national level. Certainly JPUSA enjoys

significant social impact as Cornerstone draws thousands annually. However, it is unclear whether JPUSA's ethos extends to the evangelical mainstream. Despite any perceived deaf ear offered by evangelicalism proper, JPUSA's leadership continues to carry a torch, hoping to exemplify a different version of Christianity, one difficult to categorize: anti-nationalist, anti-capital punishment, pro-life (with provisions), fiscally leftist, feminist, womanist, christocentric, inclusive, biblicist, deconstructivist, environmentalist, rapture-hopeful, yet eschatologically cautious. In this sense, JPUSA *does* exhibit a "lighthouse" mentality of sorts—but only insofar as they hope to inspire other evangelicals to think critically about persons and policies so readily lionized by republican evangelicals. The commune is not, however, seeking to model any ultimate form of Christianity, particularly one rooted in national identity or a theologically influenced political determinism.[109]

When considering the apparent ubiquity of Christians who at the very least lean toward a patriotism bordering Christian nationalism, JPUSA remains actively opposed to rightist nationalism on grounds that nationalistic politics amount to an anti-Christian ethic. Founding member Wendi Kaiser is distressed over how many tend to confuse patriotism with Christianity. She has been forthright with her feelings concerning Christian nationalism, noting her distaste for misplaced patriotism and Manifest Destiny.[110] Although it is becoming clear that JPUSA resembles little, if any aspects of the Religious Right, the fact that JPUSA remains orthodox in their Christianity tilts the community toward the evangelical distinguisher.[111] However, their moderate inclusiveness might undermine what is historically exclusive about conservative evangelicalism. While the leaders allow for ambiguity on matters of Christian salvation (discussed later) and have adopted most social causes typically affiliated with the Left, their position on abortion and homosexuality (though tempered with nuances) reestablishes a

conservative connection socially.[112] Thus, the community cannot be counted among mainline liberals, though second-generation communards come closer to this position than the founders. Our only method of categorizing JPUSA, at this point, is an analysis of their position within the wider culture.

Culture and Society

Baby boomers in the evangelical mainstream have often been confronted with the tensions endemic to Christianity and culture.[113] Are evangelicals to engage culture or disengage? Are they to create a Christian nation or simply await the end of time? As we have seen, during the Jesus Movement some Jesus freaks retreated to isolationist communes. Others returned to an altered quasi postmillennialism.[114] But far more became part of the Religious Right.[115]

In the midst of cultural fragmentation among evangelicals, JPUSA attempted to locate a space best suited to their vision of biblical living. They reject Christian nationalism, remain active in social reform, and remain hopeful that there will be a rapture of some sort. There is an historical continuity in JPUSA's position on culture. Put another way, a precedent for their version of Christian living was established well before the Jesus Movement. Consider the underlying impulse behind nineteenth-century reform efforts: liberal Christianity's move toward the Social Gospel; the progressive populism and social measures of William Jennings Bryan; the apolitcism of conservative evangelicals who followed in the tradition of evangelists D. L. Moody and Billy Sunday.[116] While JPUSA's philosophy does not fully resonate with any of these, each informs what the council believes to be a holistic understating of Christianity. Their motive is not restorationist.[117] They do not seek to reconstruct society or create a Christian nation. Nor do

they allegorize or relativize biblical passages (for fear of robbing the text of supernatural authority) or literalize biblical passages which deal with gender constructs or end-time cosmology. Noting Jesus' command to help children and the less fortunate, JPUSA's leaders maintain that theirs is simply a mission to offer aid to "the least of these."[118]

Recognizing that choosing how to interpret passages pertaining to culture and society remains largely subjective, communal leaders hold that decisions about how scripture is read results from a mixture of communal agreement and individual conscience. Founder Glenn Kaiser reconciles the various positions on social matters and culture—and deals with the problem of cultural engagement and "tragic teleology"[119]—by adopting a practical expression of Jesus' call to activism. For Kaiser, "JPUSA simply responded to those coming to us each day for help, help of all kinds be it spiritual, food, clothing, shelter, whatever. I would say we rather rapidly realized the Mt. 25 [Matthew, chapter 25] list of responding to people's needs that Jesus spoke of was central and not merely incidental to sharing a verbally credible Gospel."[120]

In the end, Kaiser collapses the Right/Left continuum, arguing that the love of God usurps other political or theological particulars. This should not be read, however, as an anti-intellectual position. First, he arrived at this position via textual analysis. Second, in grassroots fashion Kaiser (and many other JPUSA communards) is more concerned with feeding the hungry than with ivory-tower musings about theory. This amounts to an ironic return to the grassroots activism of the New Left and Jesus-freak revolutionaries who were frustrated with the merely theoretical, though quite grounded in it!

JPUSA's outer mission never fully takes them beyond the first level of Maslow's pyramid,[121] although those living *within* the community certainly move to higher levels. And while many communards remain intellectually engaged, Kaiser has pointed out that those whom

they serve (the homeless and the traveler) could care less about high theory or theologically particulars. Thus, while those such as Kaiser and Trott fully engage political and theological theory, in the end their greater concern (which defines the community) is social activism. But does this define JPUSA's gospel message?

Nineteenth-century reformers embraced a different understanding of the Christian gospel, one which prioritized humanitarianism and, in many cases, preached a practical, service-based message, thus lessening previously established imperatives for individual conversion of the soul. Advocates for the Social Gospel deemphasized focus on eternal salvation and argued that the message of Jesus was to save the individual physically—with morality as a positive consequence and eternal life as an incidental plus. Applying Christian ethics to social problems, advocates for the Social Gospel adopted postmillennialism, believing that Jesus would return after the Earth had been socially engineered via Christian teaching. Controversially, these advocates maintained that the State (which was ostensibly Christian) had a responsibility to create legislation, regulating programs in service of the greater good, thus realizing Christian morality by ameliorating social ills and vice.

The aversion to the Social Gospel within some post-Jesus Movement churches is palpable. Indeed, many evangelicals (regardless of their eschatology) are fully engaged in social justice. Parachurch organizations such as Compassion International and World Vision continue relief efforts to feed the poor. However, even new paradigm churches believe that government should not fund relief efforts believed to be the church's responsibility.[122] For these churches, any attempt to relativize scripture (toward a Social Gospel end) robs the text of classical atonement theology.[123] For conservatives, then, the Social Gospel incorrectly dismisses (or at least undervalues) what they maintain is the real problem: human depravity, a condition only

solved when individuals accept personal responsibility for sin and accept Jesus as savior. But even conservatives continue to lobby congress in hopes of gaining legislation, albeit for different purposes.

And so, evangelicalism is riddled with a tattered history, one involving debates concerning how social programs ought to be funded. A bit of context: Historian James Davison Hunter notes that liberals who embraced the Social Gospel movement "became simultaneously sensitized to the appalling social conditions and needs generated by industrial capitalism and aware of the church's failings in ameliorating those needs. Born in response was the Social Gospel...."[124] George Marsden has provided an ample historicity of debates that defined reactions to the Social Gospel movement and the rise of New Evangelicalism. Furthermore, historian Donald E. Miller demonstrates how the aversion to government-funded social aid was also present in churches spawned by the Jesus Movement. He writes: "…new paradigm members do not think government-funded social programs will solve the deep-seated needs of our times."[125] Ironically, the Religious Right has continued to produce special interest groups, each seeking to Christianize U.S. society.[126]

Like D. L. Moody,[127] many twentieth and twenty-first century conservative evangelicals have believed social change comes through individual conversion. But does this in any way capture what Jesus Movement initiatives attempted to do? And more specifically, how can we classify a group such as JPUSA which would (for the most part) object to the Social Gospel on theological grounds?

There is a lack of social justice initiatives within some post-Jesus Movement churches. But the ecclesial landscape is changing. While historian Duane Oldfield argues that the Religious Right and conservative evangelical churches (those which spend greater time on

spiritual evangelism) will continue to *grow*, Axel R. Schaefer demonstrates how evangelicals are evolving into a different kind of social force, one that maintains some *similarities* to the Social Gospel but couches activism in *millennial* terms.[128] For example, emergent Christians and some Jesus-freak veterans often engage social justice not because they dismiss the doctrine of the Rapture, but because they are uncertain about *when* the end will come. This development is relatively new, considering the number of Jesus Movement converts who followed the teachings of Hal Lindsey. Moreover, this level of uncertainty can also be found in conservative evangelicals who maintain that while the Rapture will happen (often noted "in their lifetime"), one does not know the hour. Thus, responsible Christian living dictates that the faithful remain good caretakers of the planet and fellow human beings.

Now often eschatologically ambiguous,[129] a growing number of evangelicals note the importance (even urgency) of demonstrating Christian faith by working to better society. Jon Trott maintains that some sort of temporal, terrestrial grand finality will occur. And yet, while he holds that humanity is on a downward spiral, his arminianism[130] compels him to remain a social activist as he and other members of JPUSA continue to offer aid to the homeless, protest the sale of firearms, remain an active voice for feminism, and protest the war in the Middle East.

A New Politics of the End: Implications

Eschatology presses on the nerve-centers which inform the way religionists perceive the universe and its destiny—and it often has practical consequences. In the words of David W. Stowe, "Belief in the apocalypse tends to work against active politics."[131] But in recent years, the eschatology of evangelicalism has become diverse, complex, and often reflective (if only incrementally) of pluralism. For example, new emerging expressions of evangelical Christianity

often avoid supporting war in the Middle East, recognizing the irony of engineering any potential end of time. Left-leaning evangelicals such as Brian McLaren, Jim Wallis, and Shane Claiborne continue to challenge evangelicals who maintain that our actions have bearing on cosmic events. For Wallis, "Many American Christians are simply more loyal to a version of American nationalism than they are to the body of Christ."[132] McLaren is equally forthcoming with how eschatology can impact evangelical political ethics. In an effort to demonstrate how an overly deterministic eschatology can negatively impact activism he writes, "If the world is about to end…why care for the environment? Why worry about global climate change or peak oil? Who gives a rip for endangered species or sustainable economies or global poverty if God is planning to incinerate the whole planet soon anyway?"[133] McLaren's questions tap the core of an evangelical belief which has for years influenced social activism. Hoping to emphasize an obvious disconnect, he asks a series of questions:

> If the Bible predicts the rebuilding of the Jewish temple (or requires that rebuilding for its prophecies to work in a dispensationalist framework), why care about Muslim claims on the Temple Mount real estate? Why care about justice for non-Jews in Israel at all—after all, isn't it their own fault for being on land God predicts will be returned in full to the Jews in the last days? If God has predetermined that the world will get worse and worse until it ends in a cosmic megaconflict between the forces of Light (epitomized most often in the United States) and the forces of Darkness (previously centered in communism, but now, that devil having been vanquished, in Islam), why waste energy on peacemaking, diplomacy, and interreligious dialogue?[134]

Positions held by McLaren, Wallis, and others on the Left indicate a growing trend among evangelicals. Still, conservative Christianity has significantly impacted American politics. But even when JPUSA fully embraced the eschatology associated with the Right, their sense of social activism remained unfettered when so many other evangelicals exuded heaven-mindedness as they read the works of Hal Lindsey and Tim LaHaye.[135]

While the political opinions expressed by Trott and Herrin have been part of JPUSA's ethos since its genesis, their position is a curious one when considering their extended community, the evangelical subculture. However, shifts in eschatology among some evangelicals (though gradual) can be seen in various forms of humanitarianism—even federally funded. Despite the fact that there exists a near recidivistic quality to American millennialisism (one ever-set on doomsday scenarios), there is an ecumenical effort, a collaboration to join with other persons of faith in hopes of realizing the end of war, hunger, AIDS, and negative consequences to the environment. And while there was a concerted effort in the past to demonize global humanitarian efforts as being futile at best or Antichrist at worst,[136] some premillennial evangelicals admit (unlike their evangelical forerunners) that they simply do not know when the end will come.[137] But as McLaren intimated, the power of rapture theology remains strong for many. And it influences (if only subconsciously) political decision or indecision.

Soteriology

In tracking changes in JPUSA I have focused on eschatology, largely because it was so prevalent during the Jesus Movement and intensely affected how various communes chose to engage the world around them. Further, Jesus Movement and evangelical eschatology has been directly linked with the belief in salvation through Jesus. Despite intrigue with otherworldly concerns, even the most isolationist communities have tended to fall within the evangelical continuum when considering eternal salvation. Research on the most radical of Jesus Movement communes (such as the Children of God) demonstrate how groups whose organizing premise

(separation from tradition)[138] did not alter what was viewed as essential to their faith—a christocentric soteriology.[139]

From 1972 until the 1990s JPUSA's position on eternal salvation for the individual (atonement of sin through Jesus' death and resurrection) was clear. From 1984 until the mid-to-late 1990s, lectures at Cornerstone were designed to argue for biblical absolutism and a strict model of evangelical-based exclusive truth-claims: Jesus was the only way to God. While JPUSA leaders continue to affirm that Jesus is lord and savior (the only mediator between humanity and God), since the turn-of-the-century Cornerstone seminars have revealed an increasing tolerance of nuanced opinions pertaining to human salvation, as the editors for the Christian publication the *Phantom Tollbooth* have indicated. Recognizing the fluidity of belief, founder John Herrin admits that "Christians can interpret [the Bible] a thousand ways if not a million."[140] When interviewing Jon Trott, I recalled author Brian McLaren's[141] position on divine judgment, an argument comparing Mahatma Ghandi to the controversial right-wing Baptist minister Fred Phelps.[142] McLaren ventures that although Ghandi was not a Christian, he would likely be accepted by God…Fred Phelps would not. Trott agreed. The significance of this is in the relationship between McLaren (an inclusivist)[143] and JPUSA/Cornerstone. McLaren has spoken at the festival and, for the most part, exemplifies JPUSA's position on social justice, as well as emergent philosophy (though some emergent leaders part ways with his wide ecumenism).

Although JPUSA leaders such as Glenn Kaiser do not align fully with McLaren's personal edicts,[144] there is a closer affiliation with his form of inclusivism[145] than is widely espoused within establishment evangelicalism. What is more telling is Trott's own concept of

salvation. He disagrees with liberal theology's inability to provide clear answers on the grounds that its ambiguity offers a nebulous view of God, a largely useless idea for one who needs certainty, if only in modest amounts. Unwilling to cede ground to either liberalism or conservatism, Trott equally affirms a possible wide net of salvation, admitting that he does not know who God deems worthy. This position is echoed by others in the commune. While they see Jesus as unique and fully embrace a classical understanding of the atonement, they reserve judgment of "the other,"[146] recognizing (ironically in classic liberal form) that spirit-regeneration may occur in individuals despite their religious affiliation or belief. It is this ability to navigate both *orthodoxy* and *pluralism* that keeps the community intellectually engaged, unlike previous Christian communes constructed around charismatic leaders and inflexible ideologies.

This sense of ideological negotiation has been transferred to younger communards, who in many ways have taken flexibility to greater lengths. For many of them, ideas are more complex than realized, thus negotiable. Like the founders, Joshua Davenport, a newer communard, notes that the sanctity of life (as one example) should include problems associated with war and human need, seeking to avoid political orientations based on single-issue topics such as abortion or gay marriage. But his true divergence from orthodoxy concerns his doctrine of salvation. As with others in his generation, Davenport does not claim the title "evangelical," arguing that "the gospels are too big to know." For him, evangelicals are too quick to systematize faith, often ignoring historic struggles concerning the question of what constitutes a follower of Christ.

Following the lead of fellow communards and other evangelicals, Davenport believes that only Christians go to Heaven, but notes the complexity of what makes a Christian, arguing that

one simply cannot know a person's heart. For him, the possibility of a Christian who is simultaneously Muslim or Hindu is very possible. Valuing the path of Christ over belief, Davenport holds that conversion is a matter of whether or not the "light has gone on."[147]

If JPUSA communards weigh their own lives and levels of commitment within the context of pluralism, Kanter's theory of sacrifice (as related to communal commitment) can be applied to their ability to effectively accommodate pluralism. That is, sacrifice may become easier if the stakes of human physical need remain high while the pressures of pluralism (recognized inconsistencies between specific belief and universal humanity) are incrementally adjudicated. Put another way, pure humanitarianism (even when inspired by the teachings of Jesus) could make sacrifice easier when one realizes that more immediate needs are pressing in.

While JPUSA in no way dismisses the practice of Christian missions designed to convert the individual soul, the premium placed on human physical need also meets the needs of communards who feel compelled toward human service, regardless of ideological particulars.[148] Given the evolution of JPUSA's positions on eschatology and soteriology (the nuances), it is necessary to consider where they fall within the evangelical continuum, if they do at all.

JPUSA is changing along with other expressions of evangelicalism, but not all. Unconcerned with how or when the end of time will occur, they value missionizing and avoid theorizing. The question is whether evangelicalism has changed enough to stomach the ideological shifts which have occurred in JPUSA and Cornerstone. If not—if Cornerstone is ill-attended due to philosophies inconsistent with evangelicalism—the community's success (if defined in terms of cultural engagement) may rely solely on their sustained effort to aid Chicago's homeless. If they are unable to sustain amicable discourse with evangelicalism proper, JPUSA may run the risk of urban isolation. Without remaining connected to a larger

outlet such as Cornerstone (which keeps JPUSA linked to the pulse of the world), the community will be defined via a model of self-referencing, without having to deal with the shifting sands of pluralism in the "outside world."

Conclusion

As with many religious communities living in a democratic, pluralistic society, JPUSA's political and theological affiliations are a result of a myriad of social forces. The commune managed to break from the Jesus freak mould cast by historians of American religion who have written about the counterculture and the Jesus Movement. Although their early years were marked by the same apocalyptic urgency as the greater Jesus Movement, JPUSA refocused efforts toward practical matters of social justice. The community remained hopeful of the Rapture but avoided extremes prevalent in doomsday groups, as well as establishment evangelicals who took their cues from Hal Lindsey.

Without question, the Jesus Movement became an arm of the Religious Right, either broadcasting scenarios of divine wrath or encouraging Christian nationalism via popular evangelical media. This chapter has clarified the ideological evolution of JPUSA, demonstrating that the community opted out of rightist agendas touted by many evangelicals throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Moreover, while JPUSA engaged the muscular intellectual world of biblical apologetics during the 1980s (in reaction to Jesus-freak experientialism), the community began to adopt more nuanced understandings of Christian belief. As such, the influence of pluralism was unavoidable.

As will become evident, JPUSA's involvement with the larger world can be seen at the Cornerstone Festival. Although they might carry what sociologist Christian Smith calls "sacred umbrellas,"[149] the community cannot be easily categorized. While they enjoy a certain level of

inter-group accountability and spiritual safety, communards are connected to society in a way unlike former Jesus Movement communes.[150] Thus, JPUSA's ability to remain connected to society—navigating issues commonly associated with both the Right and the Left—has contributed to their viability. However, merely remaining connected is not enough to warrant a distinct place within evangelicalism proper or validate any sense of uniqueness within the larger study of communalism. But when comparing the community's identity and ethos to other evangelicals, it becomes clear that JPUSA can best be understood as a radical example of the Evangelical Left. As such, the community is a product of pluralism and postmodern Christianity, a development which now necessitates the group to straddle two very different approaches to the evangelical worldview.

The changes in JPUSA and at Cornerstone place the commune at odds with many who attend the festival as long-held paradigms are often challenged. But while many who attend indeed represent establishment evangelicalism, many others (particularly those in their early twenties) have become disenchanted with new paradigm Christianity, noting its historical connection to baby boom evangelicalism and the Religious Right.

As JPUSA's theology continues to mirror postmodern Christianity, one wonders how Cornerstone and the community will fare in the future. While I argue that JPUSA's ability to engage social justice and evolve ideologically has kept them alive and relevant, their success largely depends on what evangelicalism will look like in the coming years. The next chapter will deal with the Cornerstone Festival, its position within the larger music industry, and how it reflects changes within JPUSA's community.

Chapter 6
The Christian Woodstock: Vernacular Religion, Influence, and Conflicting Worlds

Introduction

The American counterculture of the 1960s served as a cultural flashpoint that contributed to how youth were perceived, ideas were processed, and art was expressed. The Jesus Movement radically remapped evangelical Christianity, creating urgency for evangelicals to focus on youth culture, using the vernacular tools of popular culture. Although the official Jesus Movement faded, the spirit continues to surface in various forms, redefining boundaries and reorienting the faithful to new, emerging ways of signifying the sacred. Every year thousands of mainstream and subcultural Christians attend JPUSA's Cornerstone Festival which, in many ways, is reminiscent of the first Woodstock. Despite the festival's evangelical orientation, the event challenges musical and ideological assumptions often held by the larger evangelical subculture. This chapter will explore the origin and cultural impact of the Cornerstone Festival, JPUSA's contribution to countercultural representations of evangelical Christianity, and JPUSA's role in redefining the boundaries and definitions that have significantly oriented the Christian music industry to a traditional dichotomy of sacred and secular. Through Cornerstone, JPUSA challenges establishment evangelicalism and mainline contemporary Christian music (CCM).

Evangelicals and Popular Culture

The Jesus Movement challenged mainline, liberal Protestant positions on theological certainty and commonly-held evangelical positions on religious (pentecostal) experience. In so doing, Jesus freaks reaffirmed absolute commitment to literal interpretations of the Bible while simultaneously bringing the "primitivism" of pentecostal Christianity into the mainstream. But

the movement's greatest contribution to U.S society was cultural: hair, clothing, music, visual art, publishing, film, television, and festivals. Popular mediums employed contributed to the growth of megachurches and "new paradigm churches," according to historian Donald Miller. The freedom of expression allowed in these new evangelical gatherings cannot be underestimated. Miller's recounting of parishioners donning "pink mohawks" demonstrates how a plurality of expression was accepted and encouraged (though not always extending to religious or political tolerance).[1]

As the Jesus Movement began to dissolve, the Religious Right used the tools of popular culture to further its own cause. Post-Jesus Movement evangelicals used music, books, and film to engage the culture war, arguing that social issues such as abortion, feminism, gay rights, and secular humanism were all signs of a declining Christian nation. Using the work of Colleen McDannell, historian Eileen Luhr has argued that popular culture helped young Jesus Movement converts learn values associated with conservative Christian belief. According to her findings, the impact of the movement increased as "independent Christian bookstores grew from 725 to 1,850 between 1965 and 1975."[2] While the use of the popular vernacular was nothing new for evangelicals,[3] the Jesus Movement provided a template for cultural engagement that elevated evangelicals to new status. Like early evangelicals and fundamentalists who hoped for a glorious end of time marked by a secret rapture of born again believers, Jesus freaks were accused of being a culture-retreating movement. Young converts were depicted as dour agents of doomsday religion as international events were interpreted through a grid popularized by apocalyptic author Hal Lindsey. But this changed as Presidents Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan carried evangelical rhetoric to the fore. Jesus freaks followed and were absorbed into the evangelical mainstream.

Although it would be unfair to assume that Jesus freaks were automatically co-opted by the Right, it is safe to assume that the new "evangelical base" was a growing youth culture whose cultural products (popularized by the counterculture) were employed in service of newfound faith. This is nothing new. Vernacular proselytizing can be traced back to the Great Awakening. Historian George Marsden points out that the evangelist "Charles Finney was, in fact, one of the progenitors of modern advertising technique….His pioneering work paved the way for later twentieth-century radio and TV evangelists to master mass communication techniques."[4] Moreover, evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson's ability to combine the gospel message with modern theatrics carried Finney's technique into the twentieth century.

American Protestant ministers have often employed various measures to attract a crowd or appeal to the masses—often while simultaneously eschewing the culture it attempted to imitate. Despite this, early revivalists such as Billy Sunday (1862-1935) "turned to the techniques of modern show business as a means of drumming up support," writes Marsden.[5] Political scientist Duane Oldfield also iterates the ongoing connections between popular culture and evangelicalism, emphasizing the "populist, democratic character of American popular religion." He suggests that the key players have often used whatever is necessary or available—a Hebdigean bricolage,[6] of sorts. Oldfield states that American evangelists have often been willing to

> speak the language of the people, crude and sensationalistic though it may be. The enthusiasm of the backwoods camp meeting, the theatrics of turn-of-the-century baseball player/evangelist Billy Sunday, and the antics of televangelists Jim and Tammy Bakker [Jimmy Swaggart and Ted Haggard are current examples] have shocked the respectable but demonstrated a continuing ability to connect with a mass audience.[7]

As an outflow of this post-hippie revival, the Jesus Movement's message was artistically communicated through multiple mediums. "Jesus music" evolved, becoming Christian rock and Contemporary Christian music (CCM). Early Jesus rockers such as Children of the Day, Love Song, Andrae Crouch, Randy Stonehill, Barry McGuire, and Larry Norman laid the foundation for artists who would play a role in the creation of a new industry—the "parallel universe" of popular evangelical music. Some of these singers and groups included Keith Green, Amy Grant, Michael W. Smith, Petra, Stryper, Whitecross, dc Talk, DeGarmo & Key, and Jars of Clay. Andrew Beaujon is a journalist who has contributed to the *Washington Post*, the *Washington City Paper*, and *Spin* magazine. His assessment of the current status of the Christian music industry in *Body Piercing Saved My Life* includes an interview with one the most successful executives in Christian music. Bill Hearn, president and CEO of EMI Christian Music Group (a branch of the mammoth EMI), argued that SoundScan reporting technology "showed that a lot more Christian music was being sold than the secular music industry wanted to admit," writes Beaujon. In 2006, EMI Christian Music Group accounted for "40 percent of the resulting $700 million business," and proved to be "one of the most profitable companies in the EMI system around the world."[8]

The social influence of CCM is far-reaching. It has become "a major component of the financial underpinnings of American evangelicalism's mass media and bookstore infrastructure," writes historian Larry Eskridge, "as well as a significant aspect of everyday life and devotion in the evangelical subculture, spawning radio station formats, summer festivals, websites and the like."[9] Although this niche genre was once relatively inconsequential, the respectability of contemporary Christian music (or Christians making popular music) increased as songs crossed over from niche genres to mainstream markets, despite proclamations of evangelical faith. In

1985, Amy Grant released *Unguarded* which became a commercial breakthrough on the *Billboard* albums charts. "Find a Way" became Grant's first Top 40 single, after which her duet with Peter Cetera, ex-singer of the group Chicago, thrust Grant into the limelight. "The Next Time I Fall" rose to number one on the charts, making Grant a star "to believers and unbelievers alike." The world of Christian music "had long awaited such general-market validation," writes Beaujon.[10] Grant now enjoys "six Grammys, numerous Dove Awards, [and] a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame."[11]

However, there has been a struggle between Christian musicians, the general market, and the local church. One of the earlier Jesus rockers, Larry Norman, was accused of being too Christian for the general market and too rock 'n' roll for the church. When the Resurrection Band (REZ) attempted to engage the market, their topics did not endear them to either world. Much like Norman, REZ was, according to Beaujon's analysis, considered "too hard for the Christian market and too Christian for the general market."[12] However, StarSong Records signed REZ and released what became a "classic of Christian rock." *Awaiting Your Reply* was, in the words of Beaujon,

> one of the few albums from the movement's early days that was as good as anything in the general market. But because of Rez's subject matter, the group remained a cult band in the Christian scene, foreshadowing the way Christian music would treat its square pegs in the future….And so began a subculture within a subculture, that of artists ignored by "mainstream" Christian music, itself barely noticed by the larger pop culture.[13]

Figure 6: Resurrection Band's *Awaiting Your Reply* (1978)

Indeed, REZ has functioned on the margins of both the general market and the world of Christian music. But their influence reached beyond their own album sales. *Awaiting Your Reply* created a template for the emergence of new "types" of Christian rock, such as the general market groups P.O.D. and Jars of Clay. Reacting to the banality of commercially-driven CCM there emerged various emancipated evangelical musicians, seeking to push the cultural envelope. As a result, the classifier "CCM" would later fade into obscurity.

Much of the debate about CCM has been due to disagreements about how Christian musicians should interact with "the world." In *Apostles of Rock: The Splintered World of Contemporary Christian Music*, sociologists Jay R. Howard and John M. Streck offer three different approaches to CCM that categorize the genre based on how the Christian music industry has historically dealt with tensions between faith, art, business, entertainment, and

culture. "Separational CCM" is fundamentally dualistic, exemplifies H. Richard Niebuhr's concept of "Christ against culture"[14] and is used to glorify God and evangelize the lost. Until recently, the Gospel Music Association modeled this in its strict definition of "Christian" or "gospel" music (discussed later in the chapter).[15] "Integrational" CCM musicians view Separational CCM as isolationist and culturally irrelevant. An example of Niebuhr's "Christ of Culture,"[16] these musicians often strive to cross over into the general market, defining themselves as Christian entertainers. While they remain vocal about their faith, the primary purpose is not to evangelize.[17] This approach can also be reconciled with the Gospel Music Association's definition of Christian music.[18] On the surface, the categories of separational and integrational are different in their perspectives on *how* to define Christian music. However, despite this difference, both are considered functionally utilitarian. Musicians in both categories (despite the way CCM is understood) tend to view the world in binaries and strive to remain a Christian witness using entertainment. "Transformational" Christian musicians view art as a valuable means to enter the world as agents of God. These musicians avoid utilitarianism, viewing art as valuable for its own sake. Any consequential Christian witness is merely incidental to what they believe is a result of God's presence within all creation. This approach can be connected to three of Niebuhr's categories: "Christ above culture," "Christ and culture in paradox," and "Christ the transformer of culture."[19] Howard and Streck's three categories of CCM provide a useful model—one which will provide frames of reference from which to draw when considering various evangelical music groups, lyrics, and, ultimately, the Cornerstone Festival. Moreover, they are valuable when considering how groups like REZ have been perceived and how they have contributed to a paradigm shift in popular evangelical music.

Festivals

Historically, evangelicals have often struggled over how to accommodate culture. The Jesus Movement, however, created a new way of engaging popular culture, despite disagreements over issues such as rock 'n' roll. This tension only increased with the rise of Christian rock concerts and enigmatic Jesus music festivals. Although Explo'72 (one of the first major Jesus festivals) was a milestone in the Jesus Movement's quest for longevity, many other festivals cropped up, portraying themselves as "Jesus Woodstocks," encouraging concert-goers to find their fix or get their high on the historical Jesus of Nazareth. Early Jesus festivals were Christian-conversionist versions of Woodstock. Modern Christian rock festivals such as AGAPE, Ichthus, Godstock, Atlanta Fest, JesusFest, Creation, Sonshine, and Fishnet all serve similar purposes. The difference between these and Cornerstone are aesthetic and ideological.

While Jesus festivals were widely celebrated during the 1970s and developed commercial relationships with theme parks throughout the 1980s and 1990s, none have had the socio-cultural impact as Cornerstone. CNN.com reported that Cornerstone "spawned a revolution in Christian rock, which is now selling around fifty million discs a year…ahead of jazz, new age, classical—with the creative chaos of Cornerstone right in the middle."[20] Moreover, the festival influences JPUSA, inspiring the community to remain engaged with relevant topics concerning global affairs. The event also keeps the community engaged in an activity which transcends their own community. That is, planning the festival provides both commitment and purpose (maintaining what Kanter refers to as "affirmative boundaries") and serves to remind JPUSA leaders that insularity might lead to communal irrelevance.

Staff members argue that Cornerstone is an alternative to other Christian music festivals, a contrast to "safe" music.[21] Put another way, the community felt the need to offer a venue where Christian musicians felt free to perform music typically not accepted by the mainstream Christian music industry (whether due to style or lyrical content) and where discussions on politics, religion, and art mirrored (to some extent) what they believed to be both biblical and holistic.

While other Christian festivals provide gatherings that appeal to fans of mainstream Christian rock (what is considered normative to the parent culture), members of JPUSA argue that Cornerstone highlights a subcultural aesthetic often absent from gatherings sponsored by the gatekeepers of establishment evangelicalism. "As we conceived it," writes Jon Trott, "Cornerstone Festival would be to Jesus festivals what Seven-Up© was to cola: the *unfestival*." He continues:

> No Jesus festival existed in the Midwest, and by the early eighties we began to dream about doing one, with a distinct "JPUSA" flavor, ourselves. We knew and respected the promoters of other Jesus festivals, but due to tremendous church resistance to rock music and other cultural forms of expression, the promoters favored "safe," middle-of-the-road CCM [contemporary Christian music] performers over the increasing number of innovative Christian rock bands. In addition, festival teachers sometimes seemed to be chosen more for their drawing power than their power to minister from the Word of God.[22]

Although JPUSA's shelter program keeps the community engaged in a world outside of their own, Cornerstone connects the community to the wider evangelical subculture. While many evangelicals consider JPUSA theologically orthodox and "acceptable" by evangelical standards, Cornerstone's genesis signaled yet another differentiation between JPUSA and establishment evangelicalism.

In the Beginning

The Cornerstone Festival began at the Chicago County Fairgrounds in Grayslake, Illinois in 1984, a seminal year in the rise of Reagan-era evangelicalism. Influenced by the European-based Greenbelt Festival, JPUSA member Henry Wong served as Cornerstone's director for the first sixteen years, after which John Herrin assumed the directorship.[23] The festival was relocated in 1991 to the six hundred acre Cornerstone Farm outside of Bushnell, Illinois. The property was purchased by JPUSA after Chicago zoning regulations forced the festival to either cease activities early in the evening due to noise ordinances or relocate the event. This sleepy Midwestern agrarian town is now known internationally to festival attendees and to those who visit the website. The rural Bushnell welcomes the annual gathering of thousands who claim Christian affiliation, many sporting the hard core, punk rock, or "goth" aesthetic. The event boasts approximately 20,000 in attendance (during good years), and attracts an international following. Musician Terry Scott Taylor has been a longtime staple at Cornerstone. Known for his iconoclastic and eccentric groups such as Daniel Amos, The Lost Dogs, and the Swirling Eddies, Taylor is considered one of the veterans of the event and exemplifies the type of artist JPUSA seeks to highlight. For him, this yearly summer gathering is a "homecoming."[24]

Impressions

Although Cornerstone is the public face of JPUSA, this event offers a relatively uncommon experience. The location and general aesthetic quality of the event has an immediate effect when one arrives at the Cornerstone Farm. After driving through miles of cornfields one arrives in Bushnell, Illinois, a town largely defined by agriculture. Cornerstone's diversity is far-reaching, particularly when compared to other evangelical gatherings. The arrival of church busses, vans, and cars sporting the "Cornerstone or bust" statement, hints at certain expectancy.

New arrivals are easily spotted; their cars are still dust-free. When stopping to get gas one cannot help but notice that the gas station and fast food store have been overrun by local farmers and newcomers—"Cornerstoners," often tattooed, pierced, blasting hard-core music from cars and vans. Festival director John Herrin notes the sense of youthful disorganization Cornerstone conveys: "I think if you go to the typical Christian music festival, as soon as you walk in the door, you know the adults are in charge. And I think if you walk into the door at Cornerstone, I hope the first thing you think is that maybe nobody`s in charge."[25]

The line of vehicles waiting to enter the farm hints at the possible size of the event. Festival-goers are greeted by ticket-takers who are either volunteers or members of JPUSA, often wearing the festival uniform: shorts, sandals, and the possible message-oriented T-shirt or tattoos and clothing advertising for various subcultures or "indie" (independent) bands.

While driving along the dusty road (attempting to find a space to set up camp), the senses are overcome. Golf carts carrying "straights" and "freaks" are used as quick transportation around the farm. Generator stages (one every few feet) often showcase hard-core punk rock bands. People shout at vehicles while using their bodies and wooden signs to advertise bands and various movements. If one dares to roll the car windows down (the temptation is too great not to), flyers are shoved in. The aroma of waste trucks and portable toilets waft over, only to be outdone by the smell of the shower building, mixed with the sweat of hundreds of un-showered "headbangers" and the ever-present fragrance of vendor food, reminiscent of carnival life.

Figure 7: Images of Cornerstone festival-goers. (c) 2010 Cornerstone Press/Jesus People USA Evangelical Covenant Church; All rights reserved.

Festival routine is made evident in the official program (pamphlet), signaling to newcomers that this is not Creation Fest.[26] That is, Cornerstone operates on the evangelical fringe and yet attracts everyone from the typical evangelical youth group to the disenchanted Sixties leftover seeking to recapture the magic of the hippie and Jesus Movement. Cornerstone is an attempt at the Woodstockian approach to "manyness." But its pluralism is limited.

In spite of harkening back to the "old time religion" of their forefathers, it is important to recognize that Cornerstone (like JPUSA) is replete with both meaning and ambiguity, acknowledging the fluidity of theology, while holding to certain fundamentals of the Christian faith. While these fundamentals are evident, the politics of JPUSA are not as visible. As

mentioned in chapter 4, the George W. Bush administration contacted the Cornerstone office and requested an audience. JPUSA and Cornerstone "declined an offer to host President Bush."[27]

Festival attendees often tend toward fiscal conservatism and are theologically moderate.[28] While the contemporary Christian music industry (and its fans) tend to position themselves right of center (politically), Cornerstone is positioned left of center—and in some cases, left of left. (Consider JPUSA's organizational structure.) As with JPUSA, the festival is difficult to categorize and cannot be fully associated with the traditional model of popular Christian music marketing. Thus, like JPUSA, Cornerstone is interstitial. While it remains a subcultural expression of popular evangelical music, the influence of the event has been far-reaching.

Lasting for approximately five days (depending on the year), Cornerstone situates the event around the weekend of July 4, ending the event with fireworks. Some of the "official" performance venues include Main Stage, the Underground Stage, the Decapolis Label Showcase, Rock for Life, the Impromptu Stage, the Rave building, the Maloca Tent, the Gallery Stage, Encore 1, Encore 2, the HM Magazine Stage, Late Night Worship at the Beach (a lake), and The Asylum (a Goth tent, complete with coffins and music ranging from eerie to "industrial"). Tooth & Nail Day showcases artists promoted by Tooth & Nail, a cutting-edge Christian record company.[29]

While Cornerstone is both countercultural and subcultural, many notable groups cut their artistic teeth at the event. Groups such as P.O.D., MxPx, Saviour Machine, The 77s, Pedro the Lion, Sixpence None the Richer, Danielson, and the Galactic Cowboys have reached either the status of cult notoriety or popular acceptance in the general market.[30] Other well-known groups (within Christian music circles) include The Choir, Vengeance Rising, The Chariot, Demon

Hunter, Norma Jean, Underoath, Extol, One Bad Pig, MewithoutYou, Anberlin, The Crossing, Busker Kibbutznik, The Lost Dogs, Our Corpse Destroyed, Reliant K, Vigilantes Of Love, REZ Band, and Brian "Head" Welch, formerly of the popular mainstream group Korn.

While the festival was initially conceived as a music event (with a few seminars and various added art attractions) the event has grown, now offering a wide range of activities. Since its inception, the festival has hosted a series of lectures at JPUSA's "cstoneXchange" (formerly "Cornerstone University"). Often led by noteworthy scholars, seminars include discussions on global affairs, sexuality, music business, political theory, subcultural theory, Christian missions, communal living, philosophy, healthcare, and technology. Along with concerts and seminars, the festival also offers a wide range of activities intended to meet a broad range of interests: an art exhibit; hands-on arts and crafts; a film festival; a skateboard ramp; crafts for children; puppet shows and theater for children; the Cornerstone Games (sporting events); water activities at the Cornerstone Farm Lake; native pow wow tribal dances (often sponsored by Wycliffe Bible Translators); theatrical productions; and workshops on writing and poetry. Food vendors and coffee (often Fair Trade) are available for campers who have little time to cook.

For this gathering, religious artistic expression can take many different forms. After extensive observation, I have noticed a variety of vaudevillian-like moments over the years: a lead singer who wears a rubber tree (at times backed by women dressed as nurses); groups gallivanting around, sporting pirate attire with boom box and "pirate music" in tow; world music parades which form spontaneously; make-shift stages that exhibit a unique campground (complete with homemade swimming pools and air-conditioned tents); and members of a Norwegian "black metal" music group who resemble the crew of a Viking warship (complete with blood and spikes). These are heterodox *expressions* of an orthodox cosmology. JPUSA has

continued to structure the festival in a manner fitting their goals—to offer a broad range of activities and remain an alternative to mainstream, establishment evangelicalism.

Ideas and Representation: Influence on Individuals and Culture

In many ways, the fact that Cornerstone's genesis paralleled the heyday of Reagan-era evangelicalism should not be taken lightly. Certainly JPUSA's theology throughout the 1980s mirrored baby boom conservatives. But despite the zeitgeist of the conservative Eighties, JPUSA managed to blunt the efforts of evangelical cultural gatekeepers—at least within the world of Christian rock. JPUSA's method of representing a particular counter-ethos has created what I contend is a ripple-effect in the Christian music industry. This effect begins with differentiation—a social comparison that cultural theorist Dick Hebdige refers to as "significant *difference.*"[31] The differentiation between this event and the mainstream can be attributed to structure, ethos, and various pre-existing ideas held by those who attend the festival. As with JPUSA's commune, Cornerstone's location has played a role in this differentiation. The isolation of the property contributes to inspiring festival-goers to adopt a new way of considering Christian music and Christianity for one week. Moreover (and ironically), this form of brief, cultural isolation has inspired creative forces that ultimately challenge CCM, thus keeping JPUSA culturally relevant. The event's relocation from Chicago to a rural location has proven successful for the festival in much the same way the inner-city has proven successful for JPUSA's community.

The power of mass agreement at the festival is evident as like-minded enthusiasts find themselves engaging in collective responses, often affirming evangelical Christianity. While Cornerstone offers a kind of escapism (atypical artistic expression and freedom to question one's faith), each concert still carries the power of the performative. When music groups connect with

hundreds who affirm similar aesthetic values, ideology is either relegated subaltern (rendered inconsequential) or realigned to fit what is thematic to the festival, a particular group, visual artist, or poet.

Most groups at the event use the rhetoric of equality in performer-fan relationships. However, the constructed nature of performance (with the exception of generator stages)[32] remains hierarchical and elite. The typical performance stage elevates the performer to a position higher than the audience, implying status above the fan. Technology amplifies messages and illuminates images: corporal, rhetorical, and visceral. This positioning might privilege the rock star in the minds of fans.

The culture of fandom, says American Studies scholar Daniel Cavicchi, is filled with those dedicated to the moment. This is not a new revelation. Stardom is often coded with a kind of divine status. In this context, the authority of the performer is authenticated by ecclesial and gospel music industry consent, thus the message is often accepted as truth; the power of the affective reaffirms belief. Cultural theorist Lawrence Grossberg has suggested there is a "significance" placed on fan *response*. Put simply, it is easy to collectively agree on the message when orators are positioned as divine vessels—albeit unintentionally.[33]

Symbols and performative structures have the ability to encapsulate (in catchy phrases) deeper ideas, often surpassing the surface meaning of symbols. For cultural anthropologist Victor Turner "[w]hat is made sensorily perceptible, in the form of a symbol…is thereby made accessible to the purposive action of society, operating through its *religious specialists*" [emphasis added].[34] In many ways, Christian musicians are endowed (by their fans) with the same religious authority as ministers. According to historian Larry Eskridge, today's CCM artists are similar to yesteryear's televangelist. Thus, sense-perception is connected to action—

particularly actions (in this case performance) carried out by evangelicals. Put another way, Christian bands often attempt to make clear (and more importantly, culturally relevant) what ministers may fail to do. For example, the Christian heavy metal band Bloodgood often typified this in their stage performance of the song "Crucify" as they portrayed the *Passion* in heavy metal theatrical form.[35] At Cornerstone there is often a tension between artistic intention, fan response, and festival vision; music groups at the festival often exhibit the same kind of vernacular attempt as Bloodgood. Does this use of the vernacular, however, truly influence the audience?

If, as Lawrence Grossberg suggests, "popularity is less a matter of different cultural practices than a form of articulation and effectivity" then the power of fan-idol relationships are a result of structures able to influence. Consumers of popular culture are often influenced to adopt new fashions, new ideas, or are attracted to lifestyle choices they may otherwise avoid. But when married to religious and political ideology, the stakes are higher.[36] Considering the transnational nature of evangelical missionary work, historian Melani McAlister explores how evangelical youth culture encourages global activism in service of both God and humanity—though she postulates the possibility that young missionaries are actually serving their own ends by carrying out moral duties expected by the established order. In hopes of connecting with those "in need," missionaries engage in an "enchanted internationalism," a sensuous perspective which envelops the missionary in a real-yet-safe experience, and "binds affective community, public intimacy, and religious passion."[37] Put another way, these encounters (encouraged by many evangelical music groups) provide an imagined sense of community where one does one's duty, only to return to the comforts of the global North. The result, McAlister considers, is nothing less than a soft form of imperialism:

> For US Christians, however, "enchantment" inevitably indexes a complex form of compassion, one that carries the longing for genuine community as well as a haunted sense of othering. For Americans, the lives of global South Christians are narrated, almost inevitably, through stories of poverty, persecution and suffering… there is the very real possibility that displays of compassion are exactly that, performances enacted for the purpose of touting one's own political or moral virtue….[38]

McAlister's analysis is apt when applied to CCM musicians connected to establishment evangelicalism, a movement dedicated precisely to what McAlister suggests. However, as we shall see, music groups that frequent Cornerstone often operate contrary to evangelical assumptions and, in many ways, challenge the very structural frame from which they arose. Lawrence Grossberg qualifies the notion of power relations, stating that recipients of the message are not (in all cases) culturally duped receptacles. "People are never merely passively subordinated," argues Grossberg, and are "never totally manipulated, never entirely incorporated. People are engaged in struggles with, within, and sometimes against real tendential forces and determinations in their efforts to appropriate what they are given."[39] In other words, given innumerable sets of complex relations (some stable and some not) both hegemony and resistance are equally possible. If this gathering of evangelicals serves to create belief or reinforce existing beliefs, the power of messages (or messaging) is both negotiable and provisional. Simply put, some are influenced while others are not. But this might appear self-evident.

While there is the tendency for message-based music to influence, there remains the possibility for resistance. Many groups showcased at Cornerstone place an emphasis on social unity, deemphasizing the "pop idol" model encouraged by the music industry, thus undermining the "divine receptacle" status of the elevated performer. In this sense, there is constant negotiation between how fans respond to the image of celebrity and how they respond to the message of evangelical piety. For example, many who attend engage in drum circles that encourage active involvement from anyone who wishes to take part. Furthermore, world music

groups such as Busker Kibbutznik (a JPUSA music group with between twenty and thirty members) and the Celtic band The Crossing (also comprised of JPUSA communards) blur the lines between performers and spectators—audience members sing, dance, and play along using tambourines. In considering traditional music styles and venues ethnomusicologist Alan P. Merriam wrote that "[w]hile it is true that our concert performers tend to be rather sharply differentiated from their audience, what of contemporary folk music situations in which the audience is encouraged to participate, or certain aspects of jazz in which the audience joins the musicians fully, perhaps by dancing?"[40] Along with the work of Christopher Small,[41] Merriam attempts to value audience participation, considering how concert-goers contribute to making music and meaning. The result amounts to ongoing negotiations between hegemony and individual agency.

The Result of Influence

While it appears that festival-goers and JPUSA retain *some* form of agency, complete autonomy remains conditional. Festival-goers are alert to what they might consider unorthodox religious or political theory.[42] However, this does not dismiss the possibility that the festival (as a whole) is influential on some individuals and on culture as a whole. My argument does not challenge resistance theory. Rather, I am focusing on Cornerstone as a site where discourse can produce new ideas or reinforce existing ideas. The seminars, for example, often challenge long-held paradigms. This scenario seems more likely, given the context and space in which Cornerstone operates. According to Grossberg:

> Opposition may be constituted by living, even momentarily, *within alternative practices, structures, and spaces* [emphasis added], even though they may take no notice of their relationship to existing systems of power. In fact, when one wins some space within the social formation, it has to be filled with something, presumably something one cares for

> passionately. The "functionalism" of the identity that is constructed here opens the possibilities of positive empowerment.[43]

Individuals at this festival are "empowered," whether through reaffirming belief in the midst of doubt or freely entertaining doubt to challenge belief—that is, their own existing paradigm. Thus, while collective agreement often accompanies gatherings (particularly festival worship services), self-analysis is ever-present as those who attend are encouraged to reexamine their own paradigmatic assumptions.[44] But the power enjoyed is then transplanted as new ideas replace the old.

Since festival-goers are not totally passive, the event also affects individual and social perception of how Christian music is defined. For example, members of JPUSA and others have argued that Cornerstone has served to alter how Christians perceive the role of the Christian band. Mark Allan Powell, author of the *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*, has stated that JPUSA and Cornerstone may have been influential in what editor of *HM* magazine[45] Doug Van Pelt considers to be a "paradigm shift in the mid-'90s… [a] renaissance…where believers started remembering that art was a valid vocation."[46] JPUSA's Resurrection Band (REZ) "demonstrated that it was possible for Christians to play marketable hard rock music," writes Powell "without 'crossing over' to the secular field or 'selling out' to Christian music industry," though REZ actually laid a foundation which contributed to the crossover phenomenon. Powell places the group at the fore of the shift which occurred in the CCM industry during the Nineties:

> Rez Band's music never seemed contrived. It did not come off as contrived to sell in a way that followed fashions of the music scene or sought to fulfill the expectations of industry-sponsored focus groups. Perhaps even more to the point, however, their music never seemed contrived to minister: it did not come off as spiritually manipulative but as simply and faithfully expressive of what the band wanted to say. Rez Band was "an alternative Christian rock band" at least a decade before anyone knew that "alternative

> rock" (Christian or otherwise) existed. In the 1990s, many Christian artists (e.g., those associated with Tooth & Nail[47]) would try to do what Rez Band had done: carve out a niche where they could be true to themselves and to their audience in ways that circumvented expectations and prioritized both artistic and spiritual integrity.[48]

REZ Band and JPUSA contributed to this in two ways: 1) The hard rock approach of REZ was unlike others in the earlier years of CCM, and included lyrics that dealt with controversial topics such as poverty, drug abuse, teen pregnancy, racism, suicide, and violence. Other Christian groups primarily sang about topics involving spiritual salvation and the second coming of Christ; 2) JPUSA envisioned Cornerstone as an outlet for non-traditional Christian groups (of all styles) who could gain exposure. The result has been a redefining of long-held (and cherished) boundaries of what constitutes evangelical music and performance.

While REZ's influence has been significant, the band still hints at the integrational model of CCM, if not altogether separational. Although Glenn Kaiser values the potential artistry in indie Christian music, he still believes music should be message-driven. But Jay Howard argues that early REZ "successfully expanded the boundaries of musical styles within CCM" and addressed issues CCM tended to avoid, such as apartheid and disability. "Over time their music became too utilitarian," he notes, "as opposed to having value in its own right as reflection of the creative divine image of God." Despite this, Howard values the band's impact, stating that they were "important for the burgeoning of Christian hard rock." Perhaps the difference between Kaiser and those whom he has influenced can be attributed to historical baggage. Many Jesus Movement veterans (regardless of new, emerging views of eschatology) still believe music should carry an obvious message about Jesus. Still, the REZ Band's version of evangelical popular music has redefined boundaries that once defined Christian music.

The magazine *Heaven's Metal* (now *HM* or *Hard Music*) was established in 1985. Like the magazine *CCM* (*Contemporary Christian Music*), *HM* is the *Rolling Stone* of Christian rock.

Doug Van Pelt, founder and editor of *HM*, has been involved with the Cornerstone Festival for many years and is considered a leader in the Christian music industry. He makes a strong connection between Cornerstone and the general market, pointing out that REZ Band's 1978 release of *Awaiting Your Reply* was "decidedly harder than anything previously released in the small but germinating ccm industry at the time." Given this, the band's "utilitarian model" notes Van Pelt, "was quite necessary at the time, which built trust with parents and those of the older generation that were somewhat suspicious of this genre of music called 'rock.'"[49] However, while it appears the mission-mindedness of REZ undermines artistry (the separational model of CCM), JPUSA's *Cornerstone* magazine (which antedates *CCM* magazine) played a significant role in marketing new, alternative Christian music before magazines such as *CCM* or *HM* made attempts.[50] Moreover, groups promoted in *Cornerstone* magazine exemplify all three of Howard and Streck' models. Although JPUSA bands like REZ were initially separational, their groundbreaking approach to faith and art proved influential for evangelical popular musicians who sought general market distribution.

JPUSA's structure thus created a ripple-effect, influencing culture through both Cornerstone Festival and the REZ Band. The result was a music industry which would find itself overrun by rock bands whose roots were decidedly evangelical. The now germinating world of *popularized* faith-influenced rock music ruptures traditional delineations between sacred and profane. While other evangelical rock bands enjoyed little cultural traction with scant hope of making a dent in the mainstream, REZ charted new territory, largely because of their affiliation. Linda LaFianza and Shari Lloyd, editors for *The Phantom Tollbooth*,[51] argue that JPUSA's communal structure allowed REZ to continue well beyond what is allowed by the general market. General market record labels establish strict contractual agreements, which ensure

investors will recoup as albums sell. If sales are poor, the artist is dropped from the label. LaFianza and Lloyd argue that REZ "did not rely on their performances or record sales to pay the bills." As members of a collective, the band was afforded significantly more time than "free-market bands," to hone their artistry, group chemistry, and to develop a grassroots fan-base, resulting in a reputation and "influence among up-and-comers."[52]

Although REZ enjoyed distribution deals with Christian record labels outside of JPUSA, communalism allowed the band a sense of time and artistic freedom absent within the context of corporate record labels. REZ was able to experiment with new models of music and expression since Grrr Records, JPUSA's record label, never functioned in the same manner as free-market companies. As a result, both the REZ Band and Cornerstone have eroded categories that have been relatively canonical for gospel music. The group once generated the primary financial base for Grrr Records. After they disbanded, guitarist and singer Glenn Kaiser's blues-rock trio, the Glenn Kaiser Band (GKB), filled the gap.

The Future of Evangelical Music

Cornerstone defies typical notions of what is considered Christian music. There is a lengthy history involving debates—associated with the Gospel Music Association (GMA)—over how Christian music should be defined, marketed, and consumed. Traditional definitions of what qualifies have often been oriented around the use of particular words such as "Jesus" or strict signifiers connected to worldview. *The Billboard Guide to Contemporary Christian Music* is among many sources which have published the GMA's original definition of gospel music:

> Gospel music is music in any style whose lyric is substantially based upon historically orthodox Christian truth in or derived from the Holy Bible; and/or an expression of worship of God or praise for his works; and/or testimony of relationship with God through Christ; and/or obviously prompted and informed by a Christian worldview.[53]

The GMA Dove Award is the Gospel Music Association's equivalent to the Grammy Awards. Songs that qualify must have distribution with SoundScan and must receive votes from official members of the GMA. In 2009 the GMA clarified the distinctions of "gospel music:"

> From time to time, screening judges may encounter product submissions in the Album and Song categories that raise questions about whether or not the product's lyrics are appropriate for the GMA Dove Awards. To assist the judges in their determination, the GMA Board has authorized the following lyric criteria for use in these instances: *"For purposes of GMA Dove Award eligibility, the lyrics of all entries in the Album and Song categories will be: based upon the historically orthodox Christian faith contained in or derived from the Holy Bible; or apparently prompted and informed by a Christian worldview."*[54]

Writers such as Jay Howard, Andrew Beaujon, and Charlie Peacock have addressed the problems associated with both of these definitions. Does instrumental music qualify? How does one decide what is a Christian worldview? Must a song use lyrics from the Bible? Doesn't the Bible include a variety of topics to write about? For many artists and scholars, the definition warrants further consideration.[55]

Mark Allan Powell suggests that definitions are approached subjectively:

> Genres of literature are audience-defined. Critics can talk about the typical characteristics of a "tragedy" or a "horror story" or whatever—but ultimately, tragedies are works that readers find tragic and horror stories are stories that readers find horrifying…and sometimes this defies or transcends the author's intention.[56]

Powell provides his own definition. For him, contemporary Christian music is "music that appeals to self-identified fans of contemporary Christian music on account of a perceived connection to what they regard as Christianity."[57] While not shared by all, this definition can be applied to many groups which perform at Cornerstone regularly. Lyrics often do not reveal any particular faith-position. Thus, the festival appears to encourage a sort of subjectivity within socially affirmed boundaries of Christian orthodoxy. Whether by accident or design,

Cornerstone appears to model a broader view of faith-based music. Consider a few lyrics from the song "Woody," by the Cornerstone veteran group, The 77s:

> I'm staring headlong
> into the jaws of death
> Big teeth, big mouth
> bad, bad breath.
> And I promised myself
> I'd never do this again
> and I don't understand it

The only reference to anything remotely Christian (or spiritual) is still ambiguous.

> Help me, I'm going down again
> Help me, I can't tell
> none of my friends
> 1 2 3, struck out again
> pull a sheet over me,
> but don't cover my head
>
> I wanted bliss, ended up like this
> betrayed myself with
> my own Judas kiss
> Momma never told me
> there would be days like this, no!

The song ends with what is intended (it seems) to imply that someone is seeking to be rescued.

> You get what you pay for, I guess. Can I pay for this?
> I been eaten up and swallowed
> by what I wanted and I wanted more, more than this
> Tell me, what's worth more. What you'll lie for or what you'll die for
> I follow my heart and it lies and it lies. And I don't understand it
>
> Help me, I'm going down again. Help me, when will this ever end?
> 1 2 3, if I strike out again, do I lose?
> Am I dead? Dead
> Am I dead? Dead
> Am I dead? Dead
> Am I dead? Dead[58]

While this particular song is paradigmatic of how ideas are represented at Cornerstone, the group's anthemic "The Lust, The Flesh, The Eyes & The Pride of Life" reveals what is an

ongoing trace at the festival—one which captures the Christianity of the event while simultaneously avoiding more obvious lyrical structures and trappings of the CCM mainstream. Even in songs such as this, there is a subtlety which hints at Christianity:

> Well, I feel
> Like I have to feel
> Something good all of the time
> With most of life I cannot deal
> But a good feeling I can feel
> Even though it may not be real
> And if a person, place or thing can deliver
> I will quiver with delight
> But will it last me for all my life
> Or just one more lonely night
> The lust, the flesh
> The eyes
> And the pride of life
> Drain the life
> Right out of me[59]

JPUSA's initial vision has resulted in a unique expression of evangelical Christianity and new, emerging methods of how popular evangelical music is classified and performed. "Cornerstone had a partial impact on this emerging model of Christian music," writes Doug Van Pelt. The festival "probably helped educate and edify this new emerging model, simply by accepting artists on the fringe, like Tonio K, Vigilantes of Love, Sixpence [None the Richer], POD, Flyleaf, Mark Heard than other more 'mainstream' Christian fests, like Creation, who cater more towards the family-safe Christian radio and soccer mom audience...."[60] The more significant groups on the list in terms of mainstream distribution include Sixpence None the Richer, P.O.D. (Payable on Death) and Switchfoot. A landmark achievement for evangelical popular music, Sixpence None the Richer appeared on the David Letterman Show and has enjoyed licensing deals with network television. And in scandalous form, P.O.D. shocked and

inspired adoring fans by touring with Ozzy Osbourne's Ozz Fest, as well as other general market groups. Why the scandal and shock?

During the 1980s some styles of music, such as punk rock, were often unacceptable by standards established by mainstream CCM. Moreover, the very idea of a Christian group performing in anything other than an officially approved (sanctified) venue was anathema to the evangelical edict to be in the world, but not of it. That Christian music groups found it difficult to find employment with "secular" venues only exacerbated the problem, making it difficult for subcultural, evangelically-oriented music groups to gain exposure. In response, Cornerstone provided a venue where fringe groups were accepted. Glen van Alkemade is a member of JPUSA, has managed a stage at Cornerstone for a number of years, and has been able to observe the impact of the festival from the inside. Recalling how the Christian music industry often accepts fringe styles of music only incrementally over time, van Alkemade notes that the early 1980s proved especially challenging for Christian punk bands. Unable to secure performance dates in bars or churches, Christian punkers looked to Cornerstone and found an audience.[61] Van Alkemade has argued that Cornerstone contributed to a greater acceptance of styles such as punk. The result is a growing number of churches "that are accepted by more conservative or mainstream denominations as legitimate expressions of Christian faith, but they are rock 'n' roll churches and they have punk bands play in church." According to van Alkemade, Cornerstone contributed to this development.[62]

Cornerstone challenges traditional understandings of CCM as a genre, the CCM marketing model, and perceptions of how evangelical popular music should relate to the secular mainstream. The general market success of groups like Switchfoot, Sixpence None the Richer, and P.O.D. demonstrates how the festival has redefined the idea of the "Christian band."

Acceptance of fringe styles such as punk rock (by the church) demonstrates how the festival has redefined the boundaries traditionally used to signify what forms of popular evangelical music are accepted within ecclesial contexts. Despite the growing number of evangelical musicians entering the general market, CCM industry executives have enjoyed the success of crossover groups. Bands like Jars of Clay, Switchfoot, Sixpence None the Richer, and P.O.D. have made CCM a sellable and "acceptable" subgenre for the secular mainstream. Andrew Beaujon recalls his own analysis of Cornerstone and the impact of groups such as P.O.D.:

> I knew the members of P.O.D. were born-again Christians, but their lyrics were so much background noise to me, just more chest-beating rap-metal….I finally *listened* to P.O.D. Every song, and I mean every song, referred to the band's spirituality. And this was no niche act—P.O.D.'s last record had sold three million copies, and they played concerts with groups like Linkin Park and Korn. At the time I went out to meet them, they were the biggest-selling group on Atlantic Records not named Led Zeppelin.[63]

The fact that many of these groups choose to identify with the general market creates an interesting scenario with which CCM labels must contend. The fact that many of these groups tend to deemphasize an *obvious* Christian message only underscores my argument—they can no longer be classified as "CCM." In short, Cornerstone signals the emergence of new forms of "message music." In response, the music industry will have to either do away with CCM as a niche genre or create new categories.

Grassroots and Change

Christian crossover success stories notwithstanding, CCM executives must now deal with emerging marketing models which might actually challenge establishment CCM. As a venue that allows anyone to market their music, Cornerstone undermines the efforts of CCM gatekeepers. And as a venue that showcases fresh art that is marketable in the general market, Cornerstone provides hope for evangelicals seeking mainstream distribution. It is the populist

spirit of the event which contributes to this development. For Doug Van Pelt, Cornerstone not only pushed artistic boundaries—it created a democratic venue where unknown artists could promote their creations to groups far larger than churches and Christian coffee houses. In 1984, the year of Cornerstone's founding, CNN reported on the event. Even then, the festival caught the attention of media outlets as fringe groups often antithetical to establishment CCM were celebrated. This provided a "platform for artists pushing the creative envelope, writes Van pelt, and created "exponential, or at least strong, healthy growth in the alternative, metal and punk tributaries of the ccm industry."[64]

The populist power of Cornerstone has contributed significantly to shifts in CCM's evolution. The grassroots element is "planned" only insofar as festival staffers structure the event to allow anyone to perform and market their art. Musicians are allowed to establish campsites and construct homemade stages (powered by generators), performing their music for thousands who walk by the stage/campsite. This approach to democratizing music and performance distinguishes Cornerstone from other festivals. As a result, the festival is "probably the largest gathering of…[faith-based] indie bands anywhere in the country," according to festival director John Herrin.[65] The signifier "independent" is typically used when one makes a comparison to the corporate model of music marketing. In this case, independent music serves to empower artists who cannot access, or care not to access, the secular or Christian mainstream. The result is growth among indie groups that compete with corporate labels in grassroots fashion. For Van pelt, generator stages continue to bolster independent artists "far away from the controlling power of the 'gatekeepers' (labels) in the ccm industry."[66]

Figure 8: A generator stage. (c) 2010 Cornerstone Press/Jesus People USA Evangelical Covenant Church; All rights reserved.

Much like JPUSA's structure, Cornerstone allows for individual expression and empowerment in the midst of what is a collective attempt to retain the spirit of the Jesus Movement and the edge of Woodstock.[67] Along with lectures about living "in community," this egalitarian approach to performance offers anyone a chance to market their music. While the mainstream industry maintains a presence (corporate record label bands are widely showcased) the ethos that undergirds the corporate industry is *blunted* as indie music is both honored and encouraged. Thus, JPUSA has successfully transplanted various "impulses" which define their own community. "Change life! Change Society!" wrote sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre. These, he argued, were ideas which lose meaning "without producing an appropriate space."[68] On some level, JPUSA has created spaces that inspire new ways of considering both art and ethos.

Rock Bands with Christians or Christian Rock?: New Industry Models

Although Cornerstone does not enjoy the same commercial appeal and high attendance as festivals like Creation, the impact on the evangelical subculture appears to be significant. Legendary Christian rock producer Steve Taylor argues that Cornerstone's *social impact* must be considered: "I don't think that you can overstate the importance of the Cornerstone Festival."[69] Doug Van Pelt agrees, applying Taylor's statement to the CCM industry: "While having a population of roughly 25,000 in attendance each year," writes Van Pelt, "Cornerstone is a rallying point for a worldwide scene and one that embraces new and eclectic artforms." After writing about both the Christian and mainstream industry for a number of years, Van Pelt concludes that cornerstone "creates a synergy that helps the industry grow." For him, the way the CCM industry operates is "being changed and challenged by new business models and a drastic reduction in cd sales."[70] While the event offers an eclectic mix and challenges the mainstream, it remains subcultural while still retaining something to which those in the mainstream often aspire—artistry largely divorced from the power-centers of evangelical music which often dictate what constitutes "Christian" music suitable for evangelical youth. Christian music producer Toby Mac (formerly of the successful CCM group dc Talk) has also intimated that the festival operates on a different level than others, stating that the event is "*the* serious art festival" of Christian music.[71] But how can this event truly be classified as serious?

Historically, art has been viewed as a means of conveying the purely cerebral, designed to convey intricate ideas. It has also been valued for its emotional qualities, designed for pleasure.[72] While this distinction is an old argument, it is worth mentioning that Cornerstone (and festivals like it) strive to realize what is considered "serious" art—but as it is defined within *popular culture*. That is, the music performed (particularly non-commercial and independent)

achieves what both art and entertainment seek to accomplish. Music such as this strives to create pleasure and enjoyment. However, it also seeks to inform, inspire, and in the case of early Jesus music, convert. Thus, popular evangelical music (whether separational, integrational, or transformational)[73] ruptures our assumptions of high and low art. Although earlier forms of this music cannot be classified as purely entertainment or "low" (if low is to imply mass entertainment), current "indie" DIY (do-it-yourself) forms have exceeded what is expected. These combine many styles of music, are lyrically oriented around messages, and exist outside of the corporate mainstream. Even evangelical music groups that have reached mainstream successes often attempt to maintain an "independent" appeal.

Independent music challenges the mainstream as the internet increases exposure and as grassroots record companies and music gatherings invert notions of music industry power. Although Cornerstone operates "off the grid,"[74] according to Mark Allan Powell, it remains influential in that it "has absolutely challenged the CCM industry,"[75] according to Jay R. Howard. While Cornerstone offered exposure for an unestablished genre such as punk, according to van Alkemade, the festival also created a home for musicians and fans that had none, according to Howard. The result has affected how other Christian festivals operate, many now offering more cutting-edge music.[76]

While the festival's own brand of commercialism can be seen in merchandising, Howard argues that the festival remains an "alternative to the mainstream of CCM if not countercultural to it."[77] For Linda LaFianza and Shari Lloyd, "Cornerstone is the bedrock of the hard music scene for Christians."[78] Thus, the festival challenges how CCM is conceived and provides a space where evangelicals can experiment with non-mainstream musical styles.

Figure 9: Cornerstone festival side-stage under a tent. (c) 2010 Cornerstone Press / Jesus People USA Evangelical Covenant Church; All rights reserved.

Cornerstone has influenced a number of artists and, as I have argued, played a role in redefining the Christian music industry. It goes without saying that there has already been a Christian presence in mainstream popular music. The list of rhythm & blues artists who count gospel music among their beloved styles is too lengthy to include. However, the presence of popular rock bands known for public declarations of faith is rare.

U2's 1987 release of *The Joshua Tree* was, in Andrew Beaujon's words, "a generational touch point."[79] Although the group had nothing to do with CCM or its industry, when they became a "world-beating phenomenon, Christian music's 'legalistic' tendencies—the strict adherence to what many fundamentalists consider biblical law—again emerged."[80] Christian radio stations often, according to Beaujon, will only play songs by U2 if performed by other "Christian" bands. Despite Bono's humanitarianism, for many American evangelicals, the fact

that he swears, drinks, and smokes is anathema to evangelical Christianity (at least the American version) and thus cannot be condoned by mainstream CCM radio stations.

While Bono did not initially find favor with conservative evangelicals, the tide changed as more evangelical youth saw a new paradigm in bands like U2. But the seeds for a wider conception of faith-based expression had been planted earlier. Born Charles William Ashworth, author/musician/producer Charlie Peacock is one of the most noteworthy producers in CCM, and has produced groups that now enjoy significant crossover success, an accomplishment not unlikely, given his own early success with general market record labels.[81]

Along with his widely acclaimed portfolio, Peacock has been instrumental in challenging the sacred/secular divide upon which the Gospel Music Association and the Christian music industry are built. He is among those who have encouraged Christian musicians to make art for its own sake (transformational) and opposes utilitarian views which posit that music's sole purpose is to edify Christians, missionize non-Christians, and serve religious worship.

Peacock questions this functional approach to Christian music, seeking to produce artists who operate based on a holistic evangelical worldview without particularizing that worldview. Particularization tends to oversimplify Christianity with songs containing clichés and narrowly-defined depictions of what he believes should be broader approaches to a "biblical" worldview. Thus, he is the high priest of transformational CCM, representing the totality of the human experience.[82]

Genres have been redefined, the urgency of Jesus music has been reconsidered, and business models are changing. How will CCM fare in the future? "Young Christian baby-boomers and Gen-X once in love with the music abandoned it in adulthood and have not

returned," writes Peacock. He continues, comparing the longevity of CCM to classics in the general market:

> As a result, legacy artist catalogs (ranging from Larry Norman to Amy Grant to dcTalk and beyond) do not and will not have the staying power of their mainstream counterparts such as The Beatles, The Eagles, Elton John, Led Zeppelin, Celine Dion, James Taylor, Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen and U2. All these artists, and a hundred others, remain popular and economically viable today. Sadly, the pattern does not hold true for what was contemporary Christian music.[83]

Cornerstone was instrumental in Peacock's rise to fame, providing a model which released him from the constraints of CCM proper. LaFianza and Lloyd have highlighted the impetus behind Peacock's genesis. He invested "all his money into a project, packing the van with cassettes and heading east to C'stone [Cornerstone], where the reception was very warm. He went on to be a very influential producer in Nashville."[84] Peacock's influence on the evolution in CCM (how it is defined, represented, and marketed) cannot be underestimated.

As a venue, Cornerstone nurtured the latent desires of artists like Peacock, consequently creating a paradigm shift in popular evangelical music.[85] As bands began to cross over into the general market, CCM's status quo was challenged, according to LaFianza and Lloyd. Examples of general market successes groomed at Cornerstone include Sixpence None the Richer, P.O.D., Underoath, Family Force Five, mewithoutyou, Pedro the Lion (David Bazan), Danielson Family, Eisley, Fireflight, Pillar, MxPx, and Earthsuit, a group that later became the Grammy Award nominated group MuteMath.[86]

Cornerstone works toward cultural inclusion but proceeds judiciously. Showcasing mainstream and indie artists, the festival pushes the envelope while simultaneously operating restraint to appease the parent culture. They proceed with caution—aware of how heterodox

expressions might be perceived—yet have redefined foundational understandings of evangelical music and Christian festivals. But while Cornerstone bears little resemblance to mainstream CCM festival counterparts such as Creation, and while the festival is relatively progressive musically, politically, and theologically, one cannot count the event among other Christian gatherings such as Wild Goose, an interfaith festival also inspired by Greenbelt and informed by Celtic Christianity.[87] Thus, Cornerstone occupies a space somewhere between Christian conservatism and liberalism.

Diversity, Community, and Representation: Countercultural Evangelicalism?

Despite iconoclasm, Cornerstone maintains the appeal of being a serious Christian arts festival. Still, other evangelical Christian music festivals are structured based on the model of opening acts and headliners, many having charted well in the CCM industry. These events do not offer festival-goers the freedom to build make-shift stages or create serendipitous performances. Thus, like JPUSA, ideology plays a role in both the success and appeal of Cornerstone.

Exploring how artists are represented at Cornerstone might provide insight into both JPUSA and postmodern evangelicalism. Does the festival (and by association, JPUSA) somehow mirror what is happening within some sectors of evangelical Christianity? For the purpose of cultural studies we must, according to cultural theorist Lawrence Grossberg, understand "what [the] referent is" as well as the "status of the referent."[88] In considering the various positions on postmodern analyses of text, Grossberg recalls one theory—that

> any interpretation…is an articulation, an active insertion of a practice into a set of contextual relations that determines the identity and effects of both the text and the context. Articulation is the continuous deconstruction and reconstruction of contexts. These articulated connections are sometimes fought over, consciously or unconsciously,

> but in any case, an articulation is always accomplished…and will always have political consequences.[89]

Consider the lyrics previously discussed and the evolution of Cornerstone as a "text." Rather than deciphering meaning and representation based on encoding (production) and decoding (consumption), we reserve final judgment on texts merely based on differentiating between "intended or preferred meanings" and "received or effective meanings," arguing "articulation" of a text is an

> ongoing struggle to produce the text by inserting it into a network of "naturalized" relations. Encoding is a continuous force (e.g., producers continue to make statements), and decoding is already active in the efforts to encode. One cannot separate the materiality of a text from its appropriation, nor can one separate structures from practices.[90]

Despite this, we are tempted to locate either the intended or received meanings of "Christian" lyrics. This is what Jacques Derrida refers to as the "tyranny of language." However, discovering what Cornerstone represents (through its performative scenarios) remains necessary.

While the process of interpreting lyrics, persons, or events may appear futile, Cornerstone *can* be located within a broader tradition of evangelical expression. However, Derrida and Grossberg sensitize this study to the fact that Cornerstone is already situated within a preexisting reality, inspired by the same forces it resists and is a product of innumerable subjectivities. Put another way, those who interpret Cornerstone do so within the grid of what is commonly understood as "Christian" music. Methods used to determine a song, a band, or the festival's intended meanings are useful only because they are measured *against* the appellation of CCM and contemporary, establishment evangelicalism.

While some might remain suspicious of how fans interpret festival meaning, in the end the crux of meaning falls to individual struggle and discursive practices. For Grossberg, "[t]he postmodern reduces reality and ideology to a question of affect: whether and how particular

ideological elements matter is not determined by their meanings but by how they can be incorporated into particular *mattering maps* [emphasis added], particular affective structures." However, Grossberg challenges the critics whose postmodernity ends in mere fragmentation and purposeless nihilism. His challenge includes the need for sites of human struggle—even if the struggle is thought to be futile. In this regard, Cornerstone is postmodern (or post-Enlightenment) as it avoids strict models of totality (both musically and ideologically).[91]

Festival-goers often categorize music groups and the festival as both "Christian" and "evangelical" by virtue of historical connections and self-referential understandings of what these terms *actually* mean and imply. Given this, it is possible to interpret the event based on what is commonly understood as "Christian festival" and "evangelical." Eric Pement is a former member of JPUSA, was a contributing writer for *Cornerstone* magazine, and taught for seventeen years at the festival's seminars. Pement notes that Cornerstone is "an artistically progressive, musically stimulating, and spiritually envigorating [sic] annual arts festival." He goes on to emphasize what he perceives as a distinct change in the festival's direction. "There is less emphasis on teaching seminars now than there was in the past, and the speakers and workshop leaders are less evangelical than they were in earlier years and more oriented toward Emergent church, contemplative spirituality, and non-evangelical forms of faith." Pement notes the significance of the festival's ability to provide a venue where unknown music groups can "quickly achieve prominence."[92] However, according to his paradigmatic understanding of what the original mission and distinctions implied, Cornerstone's evangelical orientation and its challenge to CCM have changed. For Pement, Cornerstone's resistance to the Christian music industry was, at one time, more about maintaining strict moral codes for bands who wished to perform.[93] This standard has ceased. Pement's attempt to redefine Cornerstone's relationship to

the music industry and evangelicalism reveals that both JPUSA and the festival appear to mirror the changes and complexities within the evangelical subculture.

Christian rock has always had its share of critics from both evangelicals and fundamentalists. In recent years, I have observed an increase in those who criticize Cornerstone, including groups picketing the event for its "worldly" entertainment and positive discussions about Halloween.[94] But while many continue to interpret the event as either an alternative to "worldly" culture or a haven for a subculture within the evangelical subculture, others (Pement and the editors for *The Phantom Tollbooth*) have re-categorized the festival. How then, are we to properly position JPUSA and Cornerstone within both evangelicalism and contemporary Christian music? Or can we?

Cornerstone's status as an event that counters the mainstream (while maintaining an evangelical distinctive) is admissible only if the analysis presupposes a particular understanding of how structures are resisted and how evangelical Christianity ought to be defined. We can apply Grossberg's study, recognizing that this festival has essentially been inserted into a set of "contextual relations that determines the identity and effects of both the text and the context."[95] Put simply, the festival remains *countercultural* if CCM remains a *mainstream expression*. But Cornerstone may, in the words of historian Jon Pahl, rely on the mainstream for its oppositional identity.[96] Moreover, it remains evangelical if the center of evangelicalism shifts to include greater levels of ecumenism. However, as culture shifts—as social discourse changes the ideological landscape—it is possible that Cornerstone will either have to be reinvented or it will cease being countercultural. Its status as evangelical, however, remains in question.

For Cornerstone and JPUSA, the struggle to define against what is perceived as a dominant parent culture (establishment evangelicalism and CCM) is significant. The mainstream

and counter(sub)cultural expressions include "different cultural practices, as well as different popular sensibilities," writes Grossberg, and are "constantly opposing, undercutting, and reinflecting each other within the unstable formation of every-day life."[97] It is this sense of ongoing opposition and reflexivity that inspires the Cornerstone staff to allow and encourage more diversity than other evangelical festivals (though still proceeding judiciously), with the hope of inculcating attendees with an ability to express deeply held doubts and fears within the context of "temporary community." John Herrin states that Cornerstone is "more open to give people a little room to figure out who they are and what they are…."[98] While still limited in its ecumenism, the festival demonstrates both ideological and artistic openness. It ruptures what other Christian festivals are unwilling to squeeze.

Festivals often celebrate events and ideas, attempting to reinvent or represent how society should or could operate. Evangelical gatherings are no different.[99] For countercultural Christian music, Cornerstone serves as a counter-narrative to society's "official story," according to the former marketing director. That is, the staff attempts to offer their own version of Christian artistic expression which counters what is viewed as "official" by the Christian culture industry, even if it undermines what is commonly understood as "Christianly" music. CNN.com observed that "[s]taunchly conservative critics also suggest it seems nobody is very Christian here….It is often difficult to find or at least to hear any reference to God or Jesus in songs at Cornerstone. And many musicians want it that way." This is, in part, due to Cornerstone's attempt to free the artist, despite REZ Band's earlier propensity to adopt a separational view of CCM. When considering the bands that perform, John Herrin notes: "I don't think they would really categorize themselves as Christian bands. They're really just bands that are made up of Christians. And…maybe not all the members are Christians."[100]

While JPUSA actively seeks to offer a spiritual haven for bands which may be partially staffed by Christians, the overarching goal (as argued by Howard and Van Pelt) has been to create a different version of Christian music. Moreover, despite REZ Band's separational model of music, other veterans of the Jesus Movement and Cornerstone such as Terry Scott Taylor have reinforced this different version. Recalling preparations for his band's annual Cornerstone performance, Taylor's statement "let's put on a show" is indicative of the transformational model of CCM.[101]

While the landscape of popular evangelical music has changed, Cornerstone still attracts church youth groups who see the festival as merely a sanctified alternative to what they perceive as a corrupt world. Thus, Cornerstone is at once multifaceted and dichotomous. It *is* a multicultural event, when compared to the homogeneity of the evangelical subculture. However, Andrew Beaujon argues that Cornerstone is largely white and middle-class, representing the cleanest cut kids he has ever seen at an event purported to be countercultural.[102]

Despite Beaujon's perception, Herrin considers Cornerstone within the context of Christian festivals: theirs is not "cookie cutter." Other festivals, says Herrin, present a sort of "church camp goes to music festival." He recognizes the formula necessary for a successful festival—particularly a Christian one. However, his desire has been to offer an alternative, something different. "From the very beginning," notes Herrin, "Cornerstone was always dedicated to trying to bring out more of what we felt were kind of really gifted people that didn't necessarily fit into the Christian music industry."[103]

Herrin has confirmed that other Christian festivals tend to attract crowds oriented to the Nashville-based commercial CCM industry. Cornerstone, on the other hand, offers an alternative to both mainstream Christian festivals and to what is often expected of secular rock

festivals. The event's 1984 genesis intrigued not only evangelicals, but also the media. Don McLeese, rock critic for the *Chicago Sun-Times*, observed:

> Woodstock idealism aside, rock festivals are usually a mess. They're often marked by drug overdoses, alcohol overindulgences and the sort of open nudity and rampant sexuality that one generally doesn't experience in polite society….At the Lake County Fairgrounds this weekend, there's a rock festival that is expected to be well-attended, well-behaved and full of purpose….Unannounced before the festival, the "surprise" headliner of Cornerstone '84 is Kerry Livgren, formerly of Kansas, who is debuting his new A. D. band tomorrow night.[104]

Ironically, as "sanctified" alternatives to secular music festivals, mainstream Christian festivals are often viewed as *countercultural* (despite their mainstream appeal), if the dominant culture is considered to be secular. For JPUSA and those who attend Cornerstone, however, mainstream evangelical festivals merely cater to the masses, lacking the edge of the counterculture, the spirit of the Jesus Movement, and the democratizing impulse of DIY styles such as punk rock and indie. Thus Cornerstone remains a bastion of Christian artistic eclecticism which exemplifies an emerging evangelical tolerance. Many groups showcased at the event will never enjoy mainstream radio play, with the exception of those whose goal is to occupy the general market.

JPUSA and Cornerstone remain connected to the cultural mainstream, despite iconoclasm. The festival office pays the bills by booking mainstream acts to perform on the main stage. Concert stages make use of electricity sold by the establishment. Internet surfers are able to view concerts via webcams. A slick website is used for advertising. However, the festival insists on maintaining its subversive appeal. Most festivals, according to Herrin, showcase about eighty percent of their music from the main stage. Cornerstone offers a different model. Although many attend the event to enjoy some of the mainstream groups, it is clear the primary focus is directed toward numerous side stages, which celebrate a diversity of musical

styles: rock, heavy metal, punk, hard core, death metal, black metal, folk, jazz, blues, world music, Celtic, rave, industrial, and hip hop. Thus, Cornerstone is unclassifiable. It is a subculture within two subcultures: establishment evangelicalism and CCM.

As gatherings go, this one has various similarities to nineteenth-century revival meetings which often functioned oppositionally. Historian Donald Miller has connected the Reformation and the Second Great Awakening to both the Jesus Movement and baby boom, new paradigm Christianity. Among other impulses that defined the Second Great Awakening, there was a populism which countered what was perceived as outdated expressions; there was a lack of vernacular connection to real persons. In considering the Second Great Awakening and new paradigm Christianity, Miller notes that "in both instances, establishment religion is rejected."[105]

While Jesus Movement veterans remain respectful (even ecumenical) when considering the church universal, many have been vocal about the failings of the traditional church. JPUSA and Christian leaders who attend Cornerstone have noted festivals that simply mirror mainstream society—even when those festivals purport to *counter* mainstream society. At Cornerstone, the net is cast wide as staff seek to include as many forms and expressions as can be managed, including serendipitous parades and make-shift generator stages. When considering the parent culture (evangelicalism), Cornerstone can be viewed as countercultural. But what is the festival countering? Are participants changing society, being changed, or simply experiencing something, if only briefly—that which they do not and cannot experience in the workaday world? Evangelical Christianity is built on a lengthy history of experiential religion. So, what is the festival opposing? According to sociologist Doug Rossinow, when one considers the 1960s and 1970s, "a counterculture was, by definition, both marginal and oppositional."[106] Cornerstone is both.[107]

Since its genesis, this festival has attempted to offer an experience reminiscent of both Jesus-freak and countercultural sensibilities. Recalling Victor Turner's *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Stephen Marini crystallizes Turner's position by suggesting that people engaged in anti-structure "experience spiritual and social realities far more fluid and flexible than the normal."[108] Those who attend this festival might experience what Turner refers to as a liminal moment, one where those engaged in the process experience a sense of communitas, thus employing an egalitarianism that may otherwise not be experienced in everyday life. Young evangelicals are able to stage dive, avoid showers, sport tattoos and body piercing, and even question their faith. If nothing else, Cornerstone offers those raised within structure to engage anti-structure—to experiment (within festival guidelines) without social consequence. These moments of respite may actually encourage and challenge festival-goers who have been raised within firm belief-systems. More than this, festival-goers are able to glimpse another world, one operating contrary to establishment evangelicalism and mainstream CCM.

Conclusion

Cornerstone's turn toward "the postmodern" has continued JPUSA's heritage of evolution and has (not surprisingly) kept the festival on the fringes of evangelicalism. If postmodernism can be reduced to style over substance and surface over depth, at first blush the festival qualifies—if one's analysis is based on how audiences receive and respond to messages. While the staff entertains postmodern critical theory, festival-goers are far more cautious of a perceived growing liberalism. The sense of community, however, overshadows ideological differences expressed at Cornerstone, much like in JPUSA. Historian Timothy Miller's account of the hippie experience appropriately contextualizes the spiritual impulse, connecting it to

nineteenth-century evangelical emphases on embodied religion. In like manner, Cornerstone (as an attempt to construct a Christian Woodstock) exhibits a collective religious experience where festival-goers underscore authenticity and seek the spirit.

Despite attempts at pluralism, the leaders of Cornerstone still hold to a thoroughgoing Christian orthodoxy. Moreover, despite any potential polarization between liberal and conservative attendees, the event remains largely evangelical. Yet, it levels a challenge. Evangelicalism is not monolithic, as Donald Miller aptly points out. Rather, it is a complex nexus of shifting views and competing opinions symptomatic of postmodernity. While Cornerstone decidedly privileges a particular worldview, the festival remains a gathering which seems to exemplify the evolution of American politics and religion. It is a space where social discourse is encouraged and, to a certain extent, ultimate meaning and cherished definitions are remapped as power-relations are "revealed" via the elevation of performers and lecturers—Dorothy discovers the wizard's true identity. Thus, ideas once held as "common" or "normative" are negotiated through perennial social processes (dialectics).

As noted earlier in this work, other communal experiments during the 1960s and 1970s either disbanded or faded into cultural obscurity. Many expected the world to end within their lifetime. Others hoped communal experiments might result in an eventual, radical shift in society. The failure of communes to deliver on their predications, however, did not bode well for communities oriented solely around apocalyptic expectancy. While other Jesus communes focused on the end, JPUSA focused on the present, seeking to preach the gospel to persons in need, according to Glenn Kaiser and John Herrin. JPUSA's concern for on-the-ground human need has carried them successfully into the twenty-first century. Along with JPUSA's mission to aid the homeless population in Uptown, the task of planning Cornerstone provides a sense of

purpose for the community. But how can we appropriately locate JPUSA (as expressed at Cornerstone) within the broader world of evangelical Christianity—a movement now redefined by postmodernity?

Neither modern nor postmodern categorizations seem to effectively capture what JPUSA and the festival represents. For Grossberg, no structure is completely stable or unstable. The complexity of history and the human equation make any final position untenable. When considering how JPUSA or Cornerstone might be classified, one must consider the fluidity of both. Each classification is dependent on a number of variables. What remains consistent, however, is JPUSA's ability to transfer their Jesus Movement ethos to Cornerstone. The emphasis on community, iconoclasm, the "spirit," and populism divorced from the corporate establishment (evidenced by generator stages) all demonstrate that JPUSA offers something very different from the establishment. Even when attempts are made to recode establishment forms of music and ethos to fit the cultural mainstream, efforts are blunted by side-stage presentations, each carrying the aura of an authenticity which questions the corporate sensibilities of the main stage.

JPUSA's conspicuous presence at the festival—their ubiquity—allows festival-goers to glimpse *individual* representatives of a countercultural ethos. The festival has a history of attracting seekers, occasioning within each an awareness of their own liminality. This creates a sort of revolving-door scenario for JPUSA. Some seek healing, purpose, and a different way of experiencing "church." The fact that young seekers are often attracted to the romance of JPUSA might account for its longevity and success, even if seekers often remain for a brief period of time.

Through Cornerstone, JPUSA has engaged culture unlike many other communal experiments. Given the festival's structure and ethos, JPUSA has been able to offer what they consider to be truly countercultural, challenging the saliency of the CCM industry and establishment evangelicalism. Their vision has resulted in an annual gathering that provides a venue for free artistic expression, regardless of style or lyrical content. Moreover, festival seminars have served to help festival-goers develop new understandings of what "sacred" music might be—while also challenging political and theological paradigms. Thus, Cornerstone has successfully redefined (for evangelicals) the boundaries of what qualifies as Christian music or what passes as a Christian band. The result has been a burgeoning subculture of musicians under the *influence* of evangelical faith who rise to the challenge of performing in venues largely disassociated from what is commonly expected of those who claim evangelical distinction. Moreover, through their music these pioneers increasingly champion the ideals associated with the Left, emphasizing social justice over and above simple expository preaching and missionizing often associated with evangelical Christianity. Whether by accident or design, Cornerstone questions the category of (or the need for) the "Christian band." JPUSA's influence on culture (at least the culture of evangelical popular music) has been inestimable.

Earlier in this study, I argued that JPUSA's social activism has reinforced commitment mechanisms. This has provided communards a reason for being, thus inspiring them to engage enterprise (through their businesses) while agreeing to a life of simplicity and voluntary poverty. While this is important for JPUSA's survival, Cornerstone keeps the community connected to the larger culture (defining JPUSA by an affirmative boundary distinction) and, unlike other Jesus communes, offers an ongoing context whereby their connection to the larger culture maintains socio-cultural relevance. Based on my findings, two factors might pose a threat to JPUSA's

continued longevity. First, if Cornerstone folds, JPUSA will lose a larger socio-cultural frame of reference. This has the potential to impact the community negatively, creating the possibility of insularity. Second, many of JPUSA's second-generation communards are leaving the community. Those who remain will determine the direction of both the commune and the festival. The next chapter considers the testimonies offered by current and former second-generation communards. The chapter ends by considering JPUSA's future as a vibrant, culturally relevant community.

Chapter 7
The Future: Ex-Members, Second Generation, and Social Dynamics

Introduction

JPUSA's longevity thus far can be connected to a commitment to aiding Uptown's homeless population, a steady influx of new members, mission businesses, and sustained affiliation with the parent denomination. JPUSA businesses provide the capital needed to sustain the commune, freeing members to operate missions such as Cornerstone Community Outreach. As argued, the shelter represents a perennial need, strengthening a collective commitment for communards. The Cornerstone Festival attracts new members who contribute to labor, if only briefly. The Evangelical Covenant Church keeps the commune from becoming isolationist. The community's future, however, will likely be determined by rising generations.

Given the fluidity of American society, accommodation to the surrounding culture is equally necessary for the commune's survival. The way JPUSA manages communal structure and socio-cultural change determines how they are perceived by their non-communal constituency, second-generation communards, and former members who remain outspoken about their experiences in the commune. If JPUSA resists change, it is possible that some second-generation communards will leave to seek a life-experience that (for them) accurately represents the real world. Furthermore, resistance to change might undermine the historical attraction of Cornerstone. However, if the community continues to accommodate socio-cultural shifts (reinventing their ethos), there is an equal risk that first-generation members will still leave the community, as has already occurred.

While cultural evolution has, for the most part, sustained the commune in terms of cultural relevance, an über-differentiation may only serve to deteriorate membership. Thus

change is needed, but only incrementally. The first signs of what could be considered a tension between tradition and progress can be seen in JPUSA's second generation. Throughout this study I have relied on the testimonies of individuals. While the comments of founding members are informative when considering JPUSA history, structure, and longevity, the stories of second-generation communards offer the perspective of those who did not choose communal life. This provides greater insight into what the future might hold for JPUSA. Historian James D. Chancellor agrees that individual testimonies are important for documenting historical accounts:

> If we are to find the soul of faith, to discover the power of religious ideas, the depth and intensity of religious moods and motivations, and the complexities of the religiously centered life, then we must abandon an intellectual imperialism that denies faith adherents the right to interpret their own experiences.[1]

This chapter will consider JPUSA's future and the variables that might contribute to their continued longevity, cultural relevance, potential irrelevance, or eventual demise. I will consider perceptions of current members (both founders and second generation) and former members (both founders and second generation), taking into account how changes in the community have affected membership over the years.

The Second Generation: Growing Up in Community

While communal sustainability is indelibly linked to commitment mechanisms, the dedication of second-generation communards will ultimately determine the continuance and cultural relevance of JPUSA.[2] Founding members commit to core principles (with exception to those who choose to leave). Leaders must consider how mantles of leadership are to be handed down, how the next generation will be trained, and at what age. For the JPUSA council, there is no immediate need to determine what the emerging leadership will look like. According to John

Herrin, the founders are in the prime of their lives.[3] And for many in leadership, God is in control.

If we are to interpret the future of the community based on commitment levels within the second generation, it is important to understand how second-generation communards perceive their own lives in JPUSA. Some became aware of how life was different at an early age. Between the ages of eight and nine Scarlett Shelby (daughter to John and Tina Herrin) knew that her life differed from other children—others did not live in houses shared by teachers and pastors. Now twenty-two and a mother, for Shelby, communal life offers safety, despite the inner-city location. Comparisons to the "outside world" extend well beyond what is perceived as shared or breached space. Recollections of how communal living is perceived by children are often situated within dichotomies established by how "normalcy" is constructed and remembered, at least by adult-communards looking back on childhood with either fondness or distaste. Recalling an early awareness of differentiation, Nathan Cameron (I will use his first name to distinguish from his father) recalls visiting his grandparents during family gatherings:

> I was about six or seven. I remember the moment very distinctly….My grandparents lived in Wisconsin...every once in a while we would go up and visit them. My idea of life up to that point was living this communal life. We all lived in one big building, and all my friends were just a door away down the hall, and we all just kind of lived together and played together and did everything together. And I would go up to my grandma's house, and everybody had their own house, and everybody had their own car, and everything was separate. And so I kind of thought…it was like vacation. Everybody got out of the city to go to grandma's house, to kind of get away from it all, and then they would go home.[4]

Nathan's moment of differentiation came when he realized that his family and friends lived a very different life. These other people did not return to communal houses.

> So there were several kids who lived next door to my grandmother...we would all play...but I thought that was vacation. I thought all these kids, when I left, they left too and went back to their communities. I remember [when] I was about six or seven...I said "oh, so what community do you live in?...where do you go when you're done hanging out

> here?" All of a sudden I was just like "Wait a minute. You mean you don't have to go back to that? This is where you get to stay all the time?"….It was kind of a traumatic moment for me.... I had to go back into the city and poverty...a place where I didn't have my own space, a place where I lived in a room with five other kids. We had to share everything….I remember having a very hard time wanting to go home and it being a very difficult thing for me....I felt…like I was trapped...and I wanted out but I couldn't get out because I wasn't an adult….I didn't choose this life.[5]

Although Nathan's childhood was a difficult one, as an adult he values life in JPUSA. His father, Tom Cameron, earned his law degree while living in the commune. JPUSA felt he should gain practical experience working with a law firm, thus preparing him to serve as in-house council. While employed, Cameron and his family enjoyed various company parties held at homes owned by lawyers who were financially successful. After seeing how financially secure families lived, the disparity between the upper and lower classes were emphasized for Nathan. The chasm between the wealthy and those living in Uptown served as new inspiration. Now, Nathan values JPUSA's mission to the homeless.

It is not surprising that many second-generation communards differ from the founding members. Many veteran communards came from broken backgrounds and developed a particular expression of communal living within the broader context of the Jesus Movement.[6] Second-generation JPUSA communards do not have this framework. For founders, the goal was a familial context—a family-like structure that offered support for new Christians who had previously struggled with drug abuse and a lack of direction in life. With the exception of itinerant communards ("travelers" or "drifters"), for second-generation communards raised in JPUSA, this was not the case. Thus, the constant need for close proximity (members are encouraged to remain close to one other person)[7] is to some extent lost on the second generation. Daughter to founding members Glenn and Wendi Kaiser, Ami Moss (twenty-eight and married) still struggles with her lack of privacy. She grew up sharing a room with her siblings and other

children. For Ami, matters of privacy and family often blurred when considering school and home. Teachers for JPUSA's school live in the same building, are part of the same "family," and are connected to their students in ways unlike children raised in non-communal situations.

For many communards who were not born in the community, adjusting to communal life amounted to a trial by fire. Children born in JPUSA are often quite close relationally, creating a challenge for newcomers seeking acceptance. The son of mother Carol Trott and Stepfather Jon Trott, Christopher Wiitala joined between 1986 and 1987, along with his brother and mother. Now age thirty, for Wiitala the process of adjusting to communal life was dependant on his ability to make friends with those who had been born and raised within the context of a tight-knit group. Unlike many, he has enjoyed touring with a band (promoted by JPUSA's record label, Grrr) and is able to escape the confines of Uptown.[8]

Wiitala notes that his perception of life in JPUSA tends to be different from others within his generation. When returning from a tour with his band, he often compares communal life to other scenarios witnessed within the "outside world." When returning, he is often confronted with communards who assume an unbroken familial connection. That is, communards assume they are connected to one-another. Everyone is "family" simply by virtue of living in the same bounded community, all experiencing the "joy of the Lord."[9] This level of inter-group connection signals how common living spaces are often perceived and taken for granted.

Shared space and the lack of privacy notwithstanding, life in JPUSA promises a level of familial connections which, many argue, benefit the children. Based on my own observations and interviews, it is clear that children are safe-guarded. As with any large family, children are raised by a number of persons. For many, this is a positive thing. Scarlett Shelby expressed her gratitude for growing up in a community where she feels her children always have watchful eyes.

However, some second-generation members feel this can be taken too far. Wiitala recalls his frustration with how some parents simply assume that other communards will watch or discipline children who are not their own. (The assumption is that they are all family.)

Various boundaries are breached when this "taken-for-grantedness" will, at times, cause communards to cross lines of privacy (clothes are borrowed) or assumptions are made pertaining to childcare (children are watched by "the community," not unlike daycare).[10] Wiitala considers some members of JPUSA presumptuous regarding the level and depth of interpersonal connections or the trustworthiness of those designated part of "the family" when providing care for JPUSA children. However, others interviewed maintain that families in the commune provide greater levels of childcare than Wiitala has suggested. A senior citizen who currently lives in JPUSA's senior housing noted that she has, on many occasion, offered to babysit. No one has taken her up on her offer.[11] Thus, there may be greater attention to childcare and fewer instances of trust involving those who are part of this "family" than Wiitala has indicated.

Rising generations hold quite particular perceptions of life in JPUSA that influence their own self-identity. Each individual memory offers a glimpse into communal life through the eyes of childhood, squaring notions of the social norm with the reality of life in Uptown. What remains a pressing matter (one which may very well decide the commune's fate) is the developing ideological chasm between founders and many second-generation communards, differences now materializing in the glaring light of pluralism.

Founding Members and Second Generation: Differences

While cultural accommodation is often necessary for a commune to survive (particularly urban-based groups) the values held by the second generation can create tensions which result in either communal change or fragmentation. Many second-generation JPUSAs hold to similar

values as the founders, though often reflective of their own generation. However, in many cases differentiation often forecasts what amounts to dissatisfaction as the up-and-coming generation compares their personal worlds to that of the founders and their communal world to the "outside." This creates an ongoing struggle as this generation is part of a relationship which Kanter argues is inevitably "subject to continual revision in the face of changes in [the] external environment."[12]

The result of continual *differentiation* necessitates dialogue between all communards. For example, many leaders differ on what can be considered minor issues (denominational particulars, eschatology, and political theory) but agree on historic Christian orthodoxy. Second-generation perspectives on these and various social issues are of evidentiary value when considering how this generation has been affected by exposure to the outside world and, more specifically, pluralism. For example, many second-generation communards are flexible on topics such as abortion and homosexuality, according to Scarlett Shelby, and consider issues such as war and poverty to be more pressing. Tamzen Trott (I will use her first name to distinguish her from her father, Jon Trott) argues that while JPUSA holds to the core ethos of following Jesus, difference and flexibility contributes to both positive and negative aspects of community structure and life. The reason for JPUSA's longevity, argues Tamzen, is their ability to assimilate cultural moments deemed important by the wider youth subculture. For instance, social mores dictating boy-girl contact was once strictly governed. Now this sort of socializing is more freely accepted.[13]

These newfound freedoms help JPUSA negotiate between structures established by their own shared values and what has shifted in the broader culture. Flexibility retains members, but also causes second-generation members to consider what is available to them outside of

communal life. Thus, cultural assimilation and accommodation simultaneously appeases younger members while also highlighting differences between communal and non-communal life.

While the commune has been able to change with the culture over the years, those changes might not have come early enough. Musing over the various restrictions placed on JPUSA youth in earlier years, Shelby recalled a time when each floor of Friendly Towers had one community television, only used for viewing old movies or fantasy epochs such as the *Dark Crystal* and *Harry Potter*. This strikes her as ironic, considering that many conservative evangelicals often consider the magical world of Harry Potter antithetical to Christian teaching. But JPUSA, she points out, finds value in fantasy, given their interest in the works of medievalist tale spinners such as C. S. Lewis and J. R. R. Tolkien. JPUSA leaders once considered network sitcoms (enjoyed by many evangelicals who demonize the *Harry Potter* series) more dangerous than media which utilize fantasy and magic to convey "larger truths." Over the years, the community lifted restrictions, now allowing televisions in individual apartments without strict guidelines pertaining to content—though what children view is monitored.

Both Shelby and Tamzen argue that their perspective on some social values is shared by JPUSA peers, demonstrating the difference between their generation and founding members. While many of their peers agree on matters of civil and ecclesiastical polity, over half hold different social and cultural values. For example, Tamzen and many second-generation communards support gay marriage and believe the Bible should not be taken literally. For others, the matter is up for debate. While Nathan does not favor gay marriage, he is conflicted, given his friendship with some who are in same-sex relationships. While still tolerant, he argues

that homosexuality is a sin. (Nathan recognizes the complexity of the issue, recalling gay friends who have better relationships than many married heterosexual couples).[14]

Although the council holds that gay marriage is not biblical, those who disagree on "secondary issues" such as this are not asked to leave the commune unless differences lead to conflict and breakdown in social cohesion. JPUSA's position on homosexuality differs little from conservative evangelicalism. However, the primary difference between JPUSA and other communes (as well as some conservative Christians) is that JPUSA communards seek to avoid intolerant rhetoric and welcome open, civil dialogue regarding what they agree to be a matter more complex than evangelicals often admit. While leaders in JPUSA view homosexuality as sinful, they do not differentiate between this activity and others also designated "sinful." This explains Jon Trott's recalcitrant reaction to radical homophobes, viewing them as inimical to the cause of Christianity and counter to the teachings of Jesus.

For elders, one can be a gay Christian just as one can be a Christian who has told a lie. While JPUSA founders agree that Christian conviction and sexual orientation are not mutually exclusive, they maintain that Christians should seek healing and "deliverance."[15] Tamzen, on the other hand, argues that one can be gay, a Christian, and remain close to God without the need for repentance, deliverance, or behavioral modification.[16]

Jon Trott shared his views on gay marriage and was quick to state that he spoke as an individual and not necessarily for the community—though it is Trott who is responsible for lecturers at the festival. Contrary to many evangelicals, Trott considers the church's "battle" over gay marriage to lack moral clarity, arguing that the church's position should remain separate and distinct from what is largely a civil matter. Uncomfortable with foisting his views of marriage on others, he holds that if Jesus' love is to be observed, choices must be respected.[17]

While Trott's views on homosexuality are more tolerant of complexities often attached to debates concerning sexual preference, other evangelicals maintain that unchecked tolerance often leads to a slippery slope. A typical retort from the Religious Right, notes Trott. (He recalls how some will question his position of tolerance, suggesting that tolerance becomes a slippery slope which leads to "child sex or murder.")[18] His response hints at frustration with what he views as flawed questions to what is self-evident. He writes: "We all know what we're talkin' about here…two consenting adults" who want to be "recognized by the state as a couple." Having a "high view of scripture" (despite his recognition of the failings of language) he leaves it at that. Trott accepts civil unions and believes the church should maintain a different definition of marriage, but welcomes open dialogue from both the gay and ex-gay communities.[19]

Along with social issues, many second-generation communards diverge on matters concerning religious belief. As demonstrated in chapter 5, JPUSA has evolved theologically. Many ideological changes have continued with rising generations and have been reinforced by the forces of pluralism. Skeptical about categories, Tamzen Trott does not consider herself a Christian. But despite skepticism, she believes in and feels she has a relationship with God. While her position might be viewed as more radical than many of her peers, she notes that some former JPUSA communards have become atheists. Their extreme position, argues Tamzen, is a reaction to what is perceived as the rigidities of a commune defined by religious *certainty* (despite attempts at postmodern theology) and expectations of holiness.[20] Ironically, these rigidities have not dulled the activist impulse in Tamzen. Noting an interest in pursuing a degree in social work, she hopes to continue working with the homeless, independent of any particular religious orientation. She considers her "call" to be quite personal; from an early age, children

raised in JPUSA are made aware of poverty and violence.[21] Though sheltered in some ways, JPUSA children are confronted with realities with which suburban dwellers need not deal.

While many who are raised in JPUSA feel they have been nurtured in a hermitage of sorts, in many ways Nathan Cameron's story demonstrates that JPUSA's kids are not protected from the "real world," but are often exposed to more reality than those in suburbia. Along with social ills associated with inner-city life, young JPUSAs inherit a paradigm of living (lifestyle) established by elders influenced by patterns of personal crisis and redemption. Many founders were raised in broken homes, developed broken lives, and joined the commune after struggling with some form of addiction. Thus, leaders created rules to govern activities which, for them, represented dysfunction. Nathan notes that while contextually necessary, extremism prevailed as JPUSA leaders universally demonized alcohol.[22]

As with sexuality, alcohol became negotiable—at least for the second generation. Nathan's generation is not a product of abuse or disaffectedness. Raised in a stable, loving home, for Nathan (and many of his peers) alcohol is not considered sinful. Furthermore, in recent years some community leaders have softened their position on the matter after having attended denominational events where alcohol was served. Still (and understandably) JPUSA maintains a policy of teetotalism, given their outreach to those who struggle with many forms of addiction. These rules, according to Christopher Wiitala, were set in place "for the weakest person."[23]

Although many within JPUSA's second generation differ from the founders on social and cultural values, some hold to *similar* versions while exhibiting a more tolerant version of the same ethic. While the majority differs on these issues from the founding generation, most interviewed agreed on the basic tenets of historic (albeit more tolerant) evangelical Christianity.

However, commitment to the same "larger cause," it seems, has not been enough to retain a significant presence of the second generation. Indeed, many feel called to serve humanity, though this "calling" has not sufficiently translated into commitment to JPUSA.

Second-Generation Commitment

The future of JPUSA will largely be decided by who remains and how the existing structure is maintained and enforced. However, it has been estimated that only fifteen percent of those raised in JPUSA have actually remained in the commune.[24] The constant exposure to Uptown's poverty and perceptions of an ill-equipped church culture (unmotivated to follow Jesus in service to the poor) creates what historian James Chancellor refers to as a "continual crisis environment."[25] This crisis environment, while chiding the church by illuminating its inadequacy, serves to keep founders engaged in their mission and mobilizes "travelers"[26] to embrace a higher purpose. Committed to fully identifying with the poor, founders and travelers dedicate themselves to Jesus by serving the homeless.[27] However, the sense of divine mandate felt by founders and travelers is not shared by all second-generation communards. Though dedicated to her neighbors and friends within the commune, Scarlett Shelby seeks a different way of serving humanity. A pre-med student with hopes of becoming a physician, Shelby plans to leave the community; as is the case with many of her peers, she does not feel called to a life of service defined by communal living.[28]

Like Shelby, many within the second generation do not share visions of outreach as defined by the founders. Although the notion of divine calling is significant when attempting to locate the intentions of this generation, in the end, the reoccurring sentiment has concerned the lack of freedom within the commune, thus highlighting second-generation perceptions of

communalism as an organizing ethos. In most cases, second-generation communards feel constricted by communal rules and hope to find their own identity outside of communal life. A seasoned first-generation communard, Susan (her real name has been withheld) notes that it was common for second-generation members to desire more freedom after high school:

> I think it's because they're so close here. They see the same people from the time they start school until they graduate—it's the same people in their class. We're just now allowing them to have a little bit more freedom to move about in the city. Normally, it's a pretty tight supervision that they're given, so they always want to see what is out there. When they graduate they want to try something new. They want to watch every movie that we didn't let them see. They just want more freedom. And so, they're trying to experience everything that there is.[29]

Indeed, when reaching adulthood, many raised in JPUSA decide to leave, as do those who willingly chose communal life. In considering founding members and those who joined as adults, twenty-three percent have left the community, many of whom felt a divine unction to move on. Others simply sought more freedom, more money, or more voice in how they spent what little money was allotted. Others were generally dissatisfied.[30] While many baby-boom communards have left JPUSA over the years, the younger generation exhibits a greater tendency toward a different manner of living.

The difference between communal and non-communal adolescent rites of independence and distancing is that those raised within non-communal environments can measure the bounded existence (family life) against scenarios not defined by a daily bounded experience. That is, for non-communal youth (with the possible exception of small, non-communitarian rural scenarios) the lines between home, school, church, and other activities are often quite distinct. For youth raised in communes such as JPUSA, all elements of weekly life are collapsed into one holistic mass; lines are blurred, reaffirming that all areas of life are part of one collective experience. This sort of deindividuation is necessary for successful communal longevity, according to

Kanter. Considering the most successful nineteenth-century communes, she notes that "[t]he most enduring communes [are] also the most centralized and the most tightly controlled."[31]

Highly centralized communes that have operated authoritarian control (regardless of the reasons) have indeed been more successful than many groups where organizational structure was, at best, ephemeral. But with respect to multigenerational contexts, the effectiveness of highly centralized authority-structures may prove indeterminate. While control mechanisms (though part of larger concerns such as social justice and individual purpose) have served to buttress JPUSA since 1972, concentrated power (the council) and the boundaries which previously served to maintain commitment now repel rising generations. Some second-generation communards leave the community after graduating high school, only to return for a brief stay. At fifteen Tamzen (now twenty-six) realized that she did not choose communal life. After completing high school she left to experience life on her own; she has lived in six different places in the United States. Tamzen notes that her desire to leave the community is shared by over fifty percent of her peers. Although brief periods of experiencing non-communal life often result in the decision to leave JPUSA, children of the founders are encouraged to experience life outside the community to gain both perspective and experience; communards who return to JPUSA do so based on their own choosing.

While many have left JPUSA, others have embraced the communal life, hoping to maintain organic (familial) connections lost in a postindustrial world. Like many of her peers, Tiana Coleman was able to compare her life to non-communal children at an early age, but enjoyed the close proximity of life-long friends in JPUSA.[32] Like Coleman, Joel Williams has fond memories and compares life in JPUSA to a small town in the middle of a big city. For Williams and others, there is one constant which both attracts and repels—the "blessing and

curse of living so close together."[33] JPUSA youth are like brothers and sisters working toward the common goal of providing for the poor—a task in which they take pride, despite the lack of anonymity.[34]

In considering the fact that many second-generation JPUSAs (and those who joined as adults) tend to leave the commune, we must consider how this decision is viewed by those in leadership. In his critique of the community, sociologist Ronald Enroth has argued that members of JPUSA who prepare to leave are often viewed with disdain, labeled apostate, or spiritually remanded.[35] However, Susan holds no ill-will toward her children who have left, recognizing that Christian faith extends beyond JPUSA.[36] While she speaks as a mother and may hold a bias, I have found similar statements from others who recall members who have moved on. Although some former members recall having a negative experience upon leaving the community, others maintain that JPUSA communards wished them well. This is not to dismiss other accounts. But these accounts, as some have indicated, are often rife with emotion. According to some, communal life is much like marriage, warranting such commitment that when breached, the result is the feeling of loss (a vacuum) often compared to divorce.[37]

Recognizing the mass exodus of second-generation members, Susan has considered mechanisms which might have better contributed to second-generation commitment. If leaders had created a structure of gradual change (allowing youth certain freedoms and luxuries incrementally), teenagers might not have felt the need to "gorge" themselves with things previously denied, resulting in dissatisfaction with life in JPUSA. Thus, authoritarian structure—often needed in communal contexts defined by a mission to the dysfunctional—results in a sort of encapsulated chamber. If this "pressure valve" (tightly bound rules) is opened

slowly, notes Susan, youth may experience gradual depressurization.[38] This incremental allowance of freedom and access to previously banned parts of culture amounts to what Kanter refers to as "controlled acculturation."[39]

Regardless of the methods behind the original authoritarian structure, the *reason* was primarily to guard JPUSA youth from "worldly" temptations.[40] This sentiment of protection is common for both youth and adults living in communal scenarios. According to Kanter, "outside society, a changing, turbulent, seductive place, poses a particular threat to the existence of utopian communities, so that most successful communities of the past have developed sets of insulating boundaries—rules and structural arrangements that minimized contact with the outside."[41] While JPUSA adults and children are not shielded from "outside society" in the literal sense (confronted daily by inner-city life) they are able to return home and process images and experiences with the help of emotional mediation, via the support of a community defined by collective experience. Although the commune has become more lenient on various matters, communards still remain connected to a structure which helps them interpret society through JPUSA's paradigmatic grid. Ironically, these paradigms—tightly ordered rules of living and the relinquishing of money and privacy—which retained founding members have often contributed to departure among rising generations.[42] Thus controlled acculturation provides communards with a new means of maintaining original mechanisms while acquiescing to the dominant culture. But this might still prove problematic.

It has become clear that approximately eighty-five percent of the second generation tends to leave JPUSA. When considering commitment levels, Scarlett Shelby makes a distinction between the *generation* and the actual year a person is born, noting that many born during the late 1970s and early 1980s tend to remain, while those born during the late 1980s and early

1990s tend to leave, having had more experiences outside of JPUSA. Due to lifted restrictions on television, music, and the rise of the internet, JPUSA youth were increasingly exposed to what they were missing.[43]

The perspectives of second-generation communards are mixed, though there is a unifying element among most. While over half choose to leave, even those who remain in the community appear more open to the possibility of another sort of life. Thus, despite disagreements on social or theological matters, many have considered their alternatives, always examining the difficulties of communal life. But what of those who have left JPUSA? Perceptions of former communards add unique perspectives when considering communal structure and JPUSA's potential for longevity, even if those perceptions are often shaped by catalysts for departure or how former communards have fared in their newfound lives.

Former Members: Perceptions of Structure and Authority

While JPUSA serves as an example of a commune that has instituted affirmative boundaries, distinctions between the commune and the outside world create dissonance for many who live in the community. Communards join willingly, often later finding communal life to be incompatible with their own sense of individualism. While many former members are of the second generation, there are those who chose to join as adults, hoping to serve both God and community. After spending a significant amount of time in JPUSA, these members were able to measure communal life against their own previously established understanding of community and structure. Now forty-seven, Kevin Frank lives in rural Canada. In 1982 he had a desire to change the world. Having been raised a Mennonite, it is perhaps not a stretch to consider that seeds for social justice had already been planted in Frank, though his parents were "very anxious" about his decision to join JPUSA.[44]

Frank does not pretend that communal life was easy. When considering the "normative" life defined by American individualism (not to mention avarice), some who chose to leave did so in response to their own struggle with what is fundamental to communal life. Like many current members, for Frank the difficulties (while partly ideological) amounted to the need for privacy. "The worst part about LIVING in community," writes Frank, "was possibly the lack of privacy. You were always 'on.' You ate breakfast with the same people, you worked with them, you worshiped with them, shared a crowded dorm-room, and went on vacation with them."[45] As chapter 3 demonstrates, many have been attracted to JPUSA (and communal living generally) in hopes of fulfilling a desire to serve God within a scenario decidedly counter to U.S. society. But then the individualism endemic to U.S. culture often challenges the utopian vision. Frank's account of life in JPUSA reveals a disconnect between the communitarian dream and the American premium placed on the independent, autonomous self:

> During my tenure there was a strict "buddy" rule, so you were never, ever alone. Even in the bathroom, there would be a line outside waiting to get in. Plus, as you can imagine, sharing everything could be very inconvenient. As someone once said (a Soviet communist, I think): "That which belongs to everyone, belongs to no-one." So everything was dirty, broken, noisy, overcrowded, and behind schedule. Imagine sharing a car with 500 other people. It could be vexing, to say the least. So not only were you always "on" you were always "on" in the midst of some major, or minor inconvenience. A great opportunity to die to oneself and become more like Christ, for certain, but no picnic.[46]

It has become clear that as with any organization, the perceptions of those who have moved on are often varied and unique to their own experiences within the commune. "Burn out" and frustrations over the lack of democracy in JPUSA resulted in Frank's decision to leave in 1998. He remains in contact with friends made in the commune and considers the most memorable part of life in JPUSA to be the "intense feeling of camaraderie," recalling life at JPUSA as a "foretaste of heaven." He continues:

> A group of believers united in spirit, sharing everything and working towards common goals. Absolutely some of the best times of my life were there, and shared with a score of friends. I never laughed so much in my entire life. I don't even know what to compare it too, but similar to a college residence building, except intergenerational with kids riding bikes up and down the halls….[47]

It appears, however, that the foretaste of Heaven is often overshadowed by eroded personal boundaries. Elaine (not her real name) remains in touch with JPUSA, recalling that the most significant element to communal life was the feeling of support. After having a child, she grew increasingly aware of the lack of space and privacy. Overall, Elaine recalls her experiences (including the choice to leave) as positive.[48] Eric Pement joined JPUSA in 1976 at twenty-one years of age. During his time in the community, Pement was a contributing writer and editor for the *Cornerstone* magazine. He notes that life in the community provided "a crucible for growth, it offered the time needed for Bible study, prayer, and fulltime evangelism without having to work a secular job."[49] Like other former members, the lack of privacy, mobility, and the erasure of personal boundaries became too much to handle.

> No one owned their personal car, and vehicles were corporately shared but poorly maintained. We had no money to take public transportation as we wanted, and many things I would have wanted to do (in ministry or outreach) were hampered by not being able to travel as freely as I would have done living independently.[50]

While many view the lack of privacy as inconvenient and the power of the council as (in many cases) simply a matter of difference of opinion regarding governance, others note that JPUSA leaders have overstepped their bounds. These former communards have expressed deep-seated frustrations concerning the lack of voice afforded rank-and-file members, dogmatic policies, disciplinary action if polices were not followed, and the deficiency of an environment which did not encourage exploration of one's own identity and relationship with God. During the 1970s, Barbara Pement was a journalist hired by an affiliate of ABC in Battle Creek,

Michigan. After visiting Chicago and meeting some JPUSA missionaries on the street, Pement (already a Christian) considered leaving her position as Continuity Director at ABC. She joined JPUSA in 1977 at the age of twenty-four. Pement contends that "[l]egalistic rules in the beginning kept us on the straight and narrow," that they obeyed because they "loved Jesus so much and wanted to please Him." Many were "out of control" in their lives before joining the commune, notes Pement. Thus they "welcomed the reigning in."[51] She maintains that JPUSA was once a very different community, one which focused more on missionizing:

> In the early years serving Jesus was all about changing lives, seeing your faith become alive and vibrant. Personal daily Bible reading increased intimacy with Christ…. Resurrection Band and Cornerstone Newspaper/Magazine, our musical and literary voice[s] were on the front lines of effective evangelism and encouragement to believers around the world. Bible study discussions, singing songs about God's love, telling others about Jesus characterized the reality of our fervor.[52]

Pement recalls that over time "a subtle shift took place." As time wore on "[l]ife in Jesus People became less about Jesus and more about …I don't know…something else." She considers the possibility that this shift was partially a result of young communards having children and learning to question the status quo—one which did not allow children to mature spiritually. "We wanted our children to love Jesus too and that wasn't going to happen just because we had surrounded our closed society with ultra strict rules. Rules without relationship breeds rebellion."[53]

JPUSA children did not experience the same fervent relationship with Jesus as the founders, according to Pement. For both the rising generation and adults, communal law trumped personal growth during the early years. "In the young days of Jesus People," writes Pement, "a person who bucked the rules or had another opinion was seen as unfit for the purposes of remaining in Jesus People. 'Submit or split' we used to say, meaning 'just do as

you're told or leave. Back then we had no patience for people who were not serious about obedience to God."[54]

For Pement, this way of managing communards was intended to "stifle resistance." Given the difficulties many young communards had with authority in their pre-Christian lives, JPUSA leadership viewed this approach as necessary. "The rule was a good idea at the time," she recalls, "because it weeded out those who were not serious about their commitment."[55] This method of management was intended to discourage laziness and provide an incentive to work. Many communards wanted to question the structure. However, "there could be no honesty in raising serious discussion about certain long-held practices,"[56] she recalls. Pement argues that JPUSA leadership was simply immovable on communal policy:

> Provoking challenges were viewed as mutiny or "causing dissention." Maintaining the structure of the commune took precedence over the architecture of our lives. The Foundation that had begun firmly, had changed. Was the commitment to Jesus? Or to Jesus People USA? What's the difference?[57]

Pement's testimony demonstrates that early JPUSA structure elicited mixed feelings and produced mixed results. For her, strict guidelines were needed to maintain both holiness and commitment to the original cause. However, she also argues that communal rules and guidelines strengthened the *commune* but not the *individual*. Her children did not grow spiritually while in JPUSA. After leaving the commune, her children changed. "The difference upon exiting is as night and day. Relatives noticed it right away, and even friends who had never lived or visited Jesus People," writes Pement. "My children blossomed becoming more outgoing."[58] Though strict boundaries served to incentivize communal commitment in the earlier years, they worked in reverse as time wore on. Thus, if individuals are disincentivized because of overly rigid

boundaries, then the mechanisms no longer serve their purpose of solidifying communal dedication.

According to former communards, strict guidelines intended to safeguard members from worldly temptation actually created dysfunction. As previously discussed, JPUSA is a product of the Jesus Movement and has inherited some elements of the movement's pentecostal spirit, though not to its full degree. Furthermore, this study has also emphasized why boundaries (whether perceived as good or bad) are necessary for communal longevity. Historically, JPUSA's council has operated based on certain expectations of behavior and doctrine (see chapters 2, 3, and 5). As a result, some former members have expressed frustration over how they (as individuals) were perceived and defined by the community and how JPUSA's dogmatism stunted individual growth. After his parents chose to leave the commune, Jaime Prater (raised in JPUSA) left. He recalls the turmoil involved in making his sexual orientation public. His forthcoming documentary, *Born: Growing up in a Religious Commune*, explores some of the stories told by various persons raised in JPUSA. Prater states that life in JPUSA was "the most amazing, wonderful, awful, fantastic, horrible, brilliant experience of my life."[59] The film explores the pain felt by some former members. Communards were convinced that one member, Michael Cadieux, was "full of demons of homosexuality" and needed "deliverance." They surrounded him and prayed that demons would leave.[60] This is not surprising, when considering the commune's theological position and the communal imperative for collective agreement. Other testimonies point to a structure that squelches the possibility for personal maturation. Former communard Maurica Byntar hates herself and states, "I don't know who I am, because I was never allowed to figure out who I am."[61]

It is common for tight-knit communities to create a framework whereby one is measured. For those in leadership, the flock's spiritual maturation (to some extent) [62] is in their hands. As might be expected, some have reacted in extreme measure. According to journalist Kirsten Scharnberg, Jennifer Cadieux hated life in JPUSA. After pretending to go for a jog, Cadieux fled in 1981, according to Scharnberg, only to discover that "she hated life outside almost as much."[63] In many cases, communal authority, tightly ordered rules, and a lack of privacy have contributed to disenchantment with JPUSA's form of communalism. Still, as with any secular or religious organization, order is expected.

While rigid ideological boundaries often define communal structures, some argue that when communards attempt to probe beyond established ideological norms, they are met with tension from those in leadership. Allyson Jackson has suggested that the questions children ask in the community tend to frighten leaders.[64] Moreover, some former communards maintain that JPUSA leadership has often viewed non-conformity as recalcitrant spiritual dissent.[65] A tacit gag order, according to some, quashes attempts at iconoclasm, if communal ideological boundaries are carried to conclusion.

Despite perceived dogmatic peculiarities, these structures, I argue, have served to reinforce a community susceptible to disintegration. Historian Malcolm Magee has visited Uptown and notes that communes (or churches) in locations such as this must (in the interest of survival) operate as a fortress.[66] While JPUSA continues to engage culture they must simultaneously guard against what they consider threatening to weaker members. Thus, while JPUSA policies and beliefs (though they have liberalized over the years) might be viewed as anathema to the mainstream, failed communal experiments consistently reaffirm that rigid structures are needed. According to Kanter

> the function of strong norms, highly developed programs for behavior, elaborate ideologies, and centralized authority is not only to promote total commitment but also to provide certainty, clarity, and security for members of groups that have rejected the established order.[67]

I am not arguing for or against JPUSA's particular structural mechanisms. Rather, I argue that these mechanisms have been necessary to maintain communal cohesiveness to date. This is needed for collectives defined against established models of community. But as we have seen, these mechanisms may have contributed to individual dissent. Despite the testimony of Barbara Pement, controlled acculturation appears to be an acceptable balance, one which maintains a communally bounded existence while also valuing the growth of individual communards (a balance between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft).[68] But the voices of dissent, however, represent only one side of the story.

While some former members argue that JPUSA's structure stunts personal growth and robs individuals of identity and proper maturation, others maintain that the community freely explores ideas and are open to thoughts expressed by the rank-and-file. Chitu Okoli, now thirty-four, considers his decision to join at the age of twenty-one to be a significant life-choice. He sought "to live simply in order to live a life as simple disciples [sic] of Christ."[69] Unlike other former members who have expressed discontent with JPUSA's leaders, Okoli's perception is quite different. For him, communards "were not afraid to express their opinions to the leaders. There was never a sense of intimidation or of some topics being taboo." He recalls, however, that some "discontented members" had "extended, criticizing conversations with the leaders." The result of these meetings was that the discontented members were asked to move on since "it was obvious that they were unhappy with the way things were, and after unfruitful discussions, it seemed best to the leaders for them to peacefully move on rather than building up pent-up

resentments."[70] Okoli continues, recalling a specific situation where the reasons for conflict were openly disclosed:

> I learnt about a couple of these situations involving people who were close to me, I directly approached pastors to ask about them, and they were very open in explaining the situation to me from their point of view; there was nothing taboo about my asking about these sensitive situations, even though they did not directly involve me. Misunderstandings happen, and that, unfortunately is part of our unperfected life as Christians. However, I personally never felt in any way intimidated by the leaders at JPUSA.[71]

But while Okoli insists that questions and opinions offered by the rank-and-file were valued, Barbara Pement holds they were not, arguing that mistakes made by communards only exacerbated the matter. Writes Pement: "Unfortunately, a person can be labeled for life there. It is kind of like the 'unforgiving spouse' who remembers the one bad thing you did and brings it up on a regular basis on numerous occasions whether the current issue at hand warrants it or not."[72]

Though both Pement and Okoli have different accounts of structure and authority (one positive and one negative), it is clear that a rigid structure once existed—and still does, to some extent. Although Okoli decided to leave JPUSA, his assessment of the community (as a former member) allows further extrapolation regarding perceptions of JPUSA council authority and community sustainability.

History demonstrates that excessive control may contribute to a commune's demise. But Okoli's argument for JPUSA's sustainability is based on his understanding of divine guidance and how he differentiates their organizational structure (such as the avoidance of a single-leader model) from other communal experiments. For him, "[t]he practice of consensus brings in one accord, which is a master key to the blessings in God's New Testament economy….JPUSA struck gold on this point."[73] He goes on to note the importance of "commitment to practice

oneness with the rest of the Body of Christ," and observes how ecumenism has sustained JPUSA:

> Other than the spiritual blessing, seeking oneness with other believers, especially those who are different from us in practice and specific beliefs, saves us from overstressing things that really are not that important. It is altogether too easy for an intention[al] community to think that that is the "proper" Christian way to live, and to thus recluse themselves from those outside of them. However, by actively seeking fellowship with other believers, JPUSA has been protected from the frog-in-the-well syndrome, from seeing only their own virtues and not those of others.[74]

Okoli contends that JPUSA's decision to seek fellowship with other Christian communities saved them from dissolution. However, it has been noted that JPUSA's self-conscious identification as a commune, or "intentional community,"[75] overshadowed their original signifier as inner-city missionaries (discussed later). Overall, the variety of perspectives held by former members is symptomatic of an organic, changing community.

The testimonies of former members suggest that communards experienced very different lives from each other while in JPUSA and perceived the commune quite subjectively. For Kevin Frank, JPUSA was a "foretaste of heaven." For Barbara Pement, JPUSA became a "spiritually dark place." Okoli "appreciate[s] their sincerity." For Prater, life in JPUSA was "amazing, wonderful, awful, fantastic, horrible, [and] brilliant." Ultimately, the sentiment that has inspired ex-members to form negative opinions about JPUSA's organizational structure is rooted in fundamental notions about freedom and democracy.

Sociologist Anson Shupe notes that the premise on which communal societies are built are often either misunderstood (by disgruntled communards and the outside world) or are dismissed when the premise conflicts with personal ideas about boundaries. Shupe maintains that one must keep in mind that communitarian lifestyles are often "interpreted by persons familiar only with a predominantly contractual culture." Thus, "testimonies of angry,

disillusioned ex-members of intense covenantal groups always have to be taken with a grain of salt…." Secondly, "covenantal communities," writes Shupe, "are predicated on different premises and assumptions than are contractual communities." Consequently, "[a]ctions that are part of the discipline and sharing of resources in a covenantal community like JPUSA can be made to sound abusive under the glaring light of contractual logic. Contractuals can make covenantals seem odd, deviant, even dangerous because the natures of their social organizations are very different."[76]

Strong opinions about JPUSA are by no means confined to ex-members, second-generation communards hoping to leave, or journalistic exposés. Some residents of Uptown have made virulent remarks about the commune's tactics. According to some reports, JPUSA's tactics (their fight on behalf of Uptown's impoverished families) is often perceived as arrogant and confrontational. Along with neighborhood dissent concerning JPUSA methods of aiding low-income families, some residents simply dislike the commune because of their affiliation with Alderwoman Helen Shiller.[77] How JPUSA is perceived is a matter of both personal perspective and neighborhood agendas.

Clearly JPUSA's structure of authority has received significant attention over the years as former communards have spoken out about their personal experiences in and with the commune. While perceptions of matters such as personal boundaries and JPUSA council authority depend on each individual and their particular circumstances, there remains a consistent thread of agreement. Those who perceive JPUSA's authority as negative and those who perceive JPUSA's authority as positive all suggest that the authority held by the council was, in some ways, extensive. Moreover, those who had positive experiences and those who had negative experiences contend that personal boundaries such as privacy, space, and a sense of individuality

were somehow breached while living in JPUSA. These testimonies suggest that as with any organization, some members will gain satisfaction while others will become disgruntled—though there will be turnover as communards choose to leave for a variety of reasons.

Perceptions of JPUSA Mission and Future

Overall, the future of JPUSA is tied to structural mechanisms and to its commitment to and perception of its general mission, one which at times will inspire members to leave in hopes of transplanting JPUSA's social ethic to suburbia. Stu Heiss, now sixty-two, is employed by a local church in a suburb of Chicago. He joined JPUSA in 1974 at the age of twenty-five seeking to be "discipled"[78] by fellow-believers in hopes of realizing a more authentic experience with God. JPUSA offered this. Heiss attended a REZ Band show before joining the community, later becoming the group's lead guitarist. After years of serving both REZ and JPUSA, Heiss came to value the role of the local church, observing that local, suburban expressions of Christianity should be engaged in outreach programs similar to JPUSA.

Communities like JPUSA, according to Heiss, often rise to meet challenges left unmet by the local church.[79] Like JPUSA's matriarch Dawn (Herrin) Mortimer, Heiss believes the evangelical church has misunderstood the totality of the Christian mission, one which includes social justice in service to the poor. Feeling a burden to help the local church engage social justice as a holistic understanding of the Gospel, Heiss left JPUSA in 2002 and currently holds a staff position with the Christian and Missionary Alliance-affiliated Lombard Bible Church. Although his family has had to adjust to suburban living—a radical shift from life in an inner-city commune—this seminary-trained suburban pastor values his new context and remains in contact with the community, at times performing reunion shows with the REZ Band.[80]

There are varying degrees of opinion when considering how former communards perceive JPUSA's ongoing mission. Some argue JPUSA has drifted from its original calling. Okoli and Frank both agree that the commune's overall thrust remains consistent. Heiss continues to value JPUSA's ministry, maintaining that the mission-mindedness of the community must be transplanted into the local church. For him, JPUSA's approach to humanitarianism is often absent in local, suburban expressions of the church. Although the future of the commune is in many ways enslaved to the stridence of youthful indecision (exemplified in travelers and rising generations), JPUSA's collective resolve is unabated, for it represents a level of charity significant to those who seek cogent models of social activism.

Given the rapid exodus of the second generation, JPUSA must strategize about how it is to carry out its mission in Uptown, as well as in its many businesses and outreach endeavors. This creates the possibility for a new communal structure—one inspired by drifters who join the community as a result of Cornerstone or word of mouth. Also referred to as "crusties" and "festival freeloaders,"[81] these seekers bring new blood into the community, not to mention a new labor force. But do they offer any sense of continuity in the face of second-generation exodus? Do they provide stability?

Most communards who have been with JPUSA for more than two years have stated that drifters often remain for no more than a few months, or at the most, one year. As with early JPUSA, every generation has young people who are disenchanted with the church, dropouts and antiestablishment seekers, recalls veteran communard Curtis Mortimer. For him, JPUSA offers an experience where there are adults who understand and accept youth where they are.[82] For many of these "dropouts," JPUSA is a stop off where they can find healing. While this has happened in some cases, others (particularly some who have been born and raised in JPUSA)

feel as though their own self-exploration was severely hampered, as was the case with Maurica Byntar, a former communard who was unable to locate her own identity while in JPUSA.

Indeed, dysfunction can occur in any social context, and Byntar's case is by no means inconsequential when attempting to ascertain flawed mechanisms which may contribute to organizational demise. However, new JPUSA efforts such as Project 12 may prove effective in curtailing problems associated with identity-formation. A training program designed for both members and non-members seeking internship opportunities, Project 12 exemplifies how the commune now offers scenarios for youth to gain biblical training and practical application . Young students embrace JPUSA's ethos of offering assistance to families in Uptown who struggle with poverty. Project 12's core principle is the biblical verse Matthew 25:40: "The King will reply, 'I tell you the truth, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did for me.'"[83] As a result, programs such as this might contribute to bolstering the identities of those raised in the commune and serve as a commitment mechanism for drifters, inspiring them to remain in JPUSA.

As a rule, social experiments often attract seekers in search of purpose, identity, and belonging. Every year JPUSA must deal with newcomers seeking a number of scenarios: a community based on the New Testament model, alternative ways of experiencing church, an outlet to serve the homeless, or simply a place to find personal healing. Whatever the case, elements initially found attractive to new communards often repel those who find communal rules beyond expectation. In the end, JPUSA's future is indelibly linked to how they choose to handle newcomers (as the second generation leaves the commune) and how they choose to evolve with the larger culture. Since second-generation members of a commune cannot be

counted on to continue what founding members established, according to Kanter, there must be an emphasis placed on recruiting new members.[84]

Ideological Change and Future Projections

That JPUSA has changed since 1972 accounts for why the community remains culturally relevant—and why some veteran members have chosen to leave. Chapter 5 explored JPUSA's political and theological evolution and demonstrated how diversity of opinion within the commune has strengthened their resolve. But these differences (particularly when measured against the evangelical subculture) may prove problematic as JPUSA continues to garner support from the parent culture in hopes of avoiding insularity. Jon Trott has pointed out that some evangelicals (particularly those in the counter-cult community) believe JPUSA has drifted theologically. More specifically, according to ex-member Eric Pement, ideological change which "may" have kept JPUSA culturally relevant may have actually contributed to decline in membership. He states that "over time the community's complexion, goals, and orientation started to change, and things which were minor or nonexistent in early years became increasingly troublesome as the years progressed." For Pement, the possible catalyst for JPUSA's differentiation from conservative evangelicalism may be related to their decision to drop a core belief from their public statement of faith. Between 1978 and 2003, article #1 of JPUSA's statement of faith, writes Pement, "included belief in the inerrancy of Scripture, and an affirmation of the Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy."[85] He notes that the article was removed around 2003. It now reads: "*We believe* that the Bible is the uniquely inspired, authoritative Word of God and is the only perfect rule for faith, doctrine, and conduct." For the

more conservative evangelical, the omission of the word "inerrancy" is tantamount to theological liberalism.[86]

Pement views the theological changes in JPUSA as significant in terms of their identity. "The JPUSA community in its earlier years," he writes, was "dedicated as an evangelistic missionary organization, working as a Christian community." The commune expected that missionaries "would believe in the Bible and have a high view of Scripture, and when one no longer shared those convictions, they should probably find a different calling or occupation." Communards who diverged on these matters were expected to move out. Pement goes on, suggesting that JPUSA's shift in identity and purpose are connected to changes in theology (see chapter 5). He writes:

> As the community shifted from being a missionary training center and evangelistic outreach, and developed a self-identity as an intentional community, the emphasis on evangelism, Biblical study, mission work, and support for church planting diminished, permitting a greater latitude in one's views of Scripture.[87]

For Pement, JPUSA's organization and self-definition in the early days was as a missionary group. But their increased focus on a communal orientation, according to Pement, created a scenario for a different view of scripture and an emerging ecumenism. Put another way, Pement's statement suggests that JPUSA's decision to remove what is fundamental to some forms of evangelicalism (what historian David Bebbington refers to as biblicism)[88] is rooted in the community's history of engaging pluralistic culture and subsequent ideological evolution. His reason for leaving JPUSA, however, is unrelated to these changes:

> My wife had been unhappy with living at JPUSA and we wanted better opportunities for our children. I also felt that I had been unproductive for several years and had "plateaued" in my outreach and I thought I could serve the Lord more effectively in another capacity.[89]

In the end, Pement's observation as a former member provides a unique context. As one who joined during the 1970s, he has weathered the various critiques which have beset the commune. As one who has raised children in both communal and non-communal contexts, he offers insight into how authority in different contexts affect (or disaffect) youth. And as one who was a contributing writer for JPUSA's *Cornerstone* magazine (and one who appears to embrace JPUSA's original ethos), he offers a nuanced perspective on the current life of the community and its potential future.

Pement believes that to some extent, JPUSA's philosophical changes have negatively impacted attendance at the Cornerstone Festival. He argues that over the last fifteen years (since circa 1995) attendance has dropped from its high of 24,000. But JPUSA pastor Neil Taylor maintains that Cornerstone actually enjoyed larger numbers throughout the late 1990s until 2001. Moreover, festival director John Herrin has noted that the festival (in his estimation) has never reached over 19,000 (despite what many claim), noting that the higher numbers were always "a bit hyped."[90] Regardless, since 2001 numbers have dropped to half of what they once were, a decline attributed to post-9/11 fear (travel and large gatherings) and increase in gas prices.[91]

Pement insists that like JPUSA, the Cornerstone Festival has drifted from evangelicalism (and indeed I have also noted that throughout the 1990s, the festival appeared more evangelical). His attempt to connect a decline in festival attendance to ideological change is not without merit. Herrin agrees that the festival's ideological shift might account for low attendance. But any significant change in attendance, Herrin argues, should be attributed to festival-goers and not Cornerstone. "[H]ippies are getting older and some more conservative," writes Herrin. "Cornerstone has never marched to the beat of mainstream evangelicalism nor conservative politics. I am sure that has alienated some folks over the years as we have drifted apart."[92] This

bifurcation cannot be underestimated. But while baby-boom Jesus freaks appear to be becoming more conservative, arguably they have always *been* conservative, now merely more attuned to theological differences when compared to the ahistorical persuasions of the 1970s Jesus freak. Although JPUSA and their Jesus-freak cohorts are growing apart ideologically, others (whether baby boom or generation x) collapse the difference with the increasing influence of emergent and progressive Christianity, albeit incrementally.

Despite his assessment of JPUSA's change, Pement remains sympathetic toward the commune. Attempting to connect their divergence from the original mission, he notes what he perceives as a decline in communal membership. Since his departure in July of 2000 JPUSA's membership, he maintains, dropped from over five hundred to somewhere between three hundred and fifty and four hundred.[93] Pement makes no explicit connection between this decline and JPUSA's ideological shift but argues that to suggest that JPUSA is *thriving* is "too strong a term." Rather, "the community is still active, still engaged, still functioning and offering a supportive communal context for its members."[94] JPUSA leaders offer a different account. Recalling a history of steady growth, JPUSA pastor Neil Taylor holds that the numbers are not this drastic. In 1972, the small community of thirty grew to two hundred by the end of the 1970s. By the 1980s, membership remained around four hundred, peaking at four hundred and twenty-five during the 1990s. Currently JPUSA membership averages four hundred, intermittently dropping to three hundred and seventy-five, much like a local church, according to Taylor.[95]

While Pement appears to at least imply some connection between JPUSA's change in mission and decline in membership, others (as noted in chapter 3) hold that JPUSA's ability to adapt actually contributed to longevity. They are able to nurture longstanding convictions (e.g.

Christian orthodoxy) while also holding them under the microscope of public opinion, always reexamining their own assumptions, unlike other Jesus Movement communal experiments.

There is no doubt the community has survived critiques from former members and others living in Uptown. While the commune has been praised and condemned, they have outlived many other groups which also developed under the auspices of the Book of Acts. Thus, JPUSA's future is dependent on a number of variables. Despite the varied perceptions of former communards, the commune's success may be a result of their attempt to find a balance between the particulars of American individualism and the collectivism called for in the Book of Acts. In a 1976 issue of *Cornerstone* magazine, JPUSA publicly voiced their attempt at balancing individualism and collectivism by quoting Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *The Cost of Discipleship*: "…the disciples of Jesus must not fondly imagine that they can simply run away from the world and huddle together in a little band."[96] Hoping to realize Bonhoeffer's vision, JPUSA sought balance as they avoided becoming a "sheltered cloister" or advocates of a purely "social gospel.[97]

In short, JPUSA's success can be attributed to their ability to negotiate their ideological positions and remain engaged with the world around them. But is it enough to sustain them? Is there a limit to attempts at a New Testament semi-utopia? Kanter has argued that communal enclaves of "warm, close, supportive relationships—does not always occur according to scenario. Reality modifies the dream."[98] That is to say, although JPUSA's ideological position occasions an on-going negotiation with the parent culture—allowing the commune to alter themselves to remain relevant and sustainable—their choice of lifestyle conflicts with what is expected by the establishment.

Both American culture and perceptions held by communards change in unexpected ways, necessitating JPUSA to reinvent their community in hopes of effectively keeping pace with any "reality" which might "modify the dream." Kanter observes that "the assumptions they [the commune] make about what is possible and desirable in social life challenge the assumptions made by other sectors of American society."[99] Therefore, it is prudent for JPUSA (or any communal group) to recognize how they are perceived by the dominant culture and how their challenge might threaten the established order. In so doing, they remain abreast of scenarios which could spell organizational demise.

Conclusion

It is clear that to determine what the future holds for JPUSA (or any communal endeavor), a number of variables must be considered. As demonstrated in this chapter, second-generation communards are leaving the community. JPUSA retains approximately fifteen percent of the second generation, according to most estimations. If any viable future is to be realized, the council will have to identify not only new leaders, but a core rank-and-file. Though they bring fresh energy and perspective, drifters do not remain long enough to warrant receiving any mantle of leadership—though Project 12 may change this. Kanter has observed that second-generation communards can rarely be counted on to continue the life of a commune. Thus, communal leadership must focus efforts on recruitment (in JPUSA's case, drifters) and find a way to retain new members.

While JPUSA leaders have demonstrated an ability to change communal ethos (in keeping with their desire to remain relevant) public perception may create difficulties for the commune to maintain a positive (or more specifically orthodox) image with its evangelical constituency. Negative press brought by disgruntled former members, journalists, and Ronald

Enroth certainly served to rally evangelical *support* for JPUSA.[100] However, many who can be counted as JPUSA's "public" (in large part, those who attend the Cornerstone Festival) have become more conservative—they are right-leaning baby-boom evangelicals who played part in the Jesus Movement. Decline in festival attendance, however, may prove temporary as the event now attracts an increasing number of left-leaning emergent Christians. Simply put, the Evangelical Left may very well gain a foothold at Cornerstone, an event once celebrated as a bastion of subcultural expressions of theological conservatism.

The commitment of second-generation communards, negative representations advanced by former members, and the future viability of the Cornerstone Festival are indeed relevant to JPUSA's future—but they are not binding. What is most pivotal, if Kanter's assertions are correct, is the role played by JPUSA's drifters. Comprehensive studies on communes, instantiated by scholars such as Rosabeth Moss Kanter and Timothy Miller, reveal the instability of groups whose structural mechanisms increase the likelihood of in-grown membership and insularity. Put another way, fresh blood is needed.

Since second-generation members of a commune do not choose communal life, and since they were not "converted to believe in the community's ideals after weighing the alternatives," they are "not necessarily the most reliable source of committed adults to perpetuate the community," according to Kanter. Thus, recruitment of new members remains the more viable option for continuance, though this approach is also problematic. New members (as we have seen) can become disillusioned, resulting in communards who introduce "discordant element[s] into the community."[101]

Studies on communes have demonstrated the inevitability of societal pressure, competing forces with which communal enclaves must contend. JPUSA now practices controlled

acculturation, thus allowing youth to gradually evolve with society, and to form individual identities while maintaining basic tenets which define the community. The longevity of any close-knit group is often determined by an ability to approximate what is at stake, accommodate the surroundings, and to absorb particular, carefully chosen elements into the collective. However, it is equally important for communes to understand the value of allowing individual communards the freedom to mature (independent of how the surrounding culture is perceived) while still maintaining a boundary, albeit negotiable and porous. Furthermore, communities like JPUSA must also maintain amicable relations with former members for whom life has been altered by mechanisms originally intended to discourage dissent and departure. In so doing, discordant opinions fade into the grey of ecumenism, a cordiality practiced at Cornerstone.

These approaches to both circumstances and environment are, I contend, admissible evidence which account for JPUSA's self-conception and potential for continued longevity. But more than this, the accounts offered by second-generation and ex-communards validate my own suspicions. Despite their methods, JPUSA's journey leftward problematizes how evangelicalism is often conceived and challenges how faith-based music is commonly understood.

Chapter 8
Conclusion

That JPUSA has continued well beyond their 1972 genesis—particularly in the wake of innumerable failed communal experiments—is of enormous importance. First, as interest in the Jesus Movement waned, JPUSA's urban location allowed the community to attract youth who still held countercultural values, many hoping to live communally. Second, it is clear that a communal way of living is sustainable, if variables such as generational difference are considered. Third, my findings have demonstrated how it is possible for communities (susceptible to collapse) can survive longer than expected. Fourth, my findings suggest that even communities dedicated to an unwavering principle can respond to and evolve with American culture due to complexities commonly associated with pluralism.

At its genesis, JPUSA was evangelical in its Christianity, aesthetically countercultural, and politically ambiguous—with exception to their particular form of communalism and left-leaning models of social activism. Indeed, JPUSA was considered evangelical by other co-religionists. Yet as the 1980s came to a close, the commune's ability to deemphasize the importance of eschatology created a significant difference between their community and other Jesus-freak veterans. Moreover, JPUSA's communal ethic and leftism, as I have argued, placed the commune outside the parameters putative to establishment evangelicalism.

While the choice to share all possessions and to live out of a common purse was in keeping with the structure established by the church in the New Testament, JPUSA's form of socialism was not in keeping with the established order or with a largely right-leaning evangelicalism or the Protestant work ethic. Rather than engage in what theorists such as Werner Sombart and Max Weber refer to as a "profit-based" economy, the commune has

undertaken a subsistence economy. Their soul-winning efforts became part of a larger, holistic understanding of the Christian gospel as the emerging leadership sought to meet practical needs of Chicago's homeless. Thus, the purpose of "business" has not been profit-seeking for its own sake, nor work for its own sake (in the Weberian sense).[1] Rather, JPUSA engages enterprise to sustain the commune for the purpose of offering assistance to Uptown's low-income population. Consequently, the burgeoning commune diverged from the premillennial dispensational eschatology of their Jesus Movement progenitors—a position which placed a tremendous emphasis on the doctrine of the Rapture, to the exclusion of social justice.

Uptown became JPUSA's mission field, one which established a perennial context for JPUSA communards to realize a sense of purpose, transcending ideologies and leadership structures which tend to fade. As I have argued, JPUSA's austere commitment mechanisms (maintained by affirmative boundary distinctions) have served to keep these communards mobilized in service to the homeless in Chicago's 46th Ward, an area tattered by its history, ripe for social activism. JPUSA's shelter program creates a symbiotic relationship between communards and commune, reinforcing commitment to a larger cause. Faithful members believe their responsibilities are connected to the whole; when one fails a task, they fail their "family" and, more specifically, a divinely-inspired dedication to serve those less fortunate. Communards remain aware that their individual levels of commitment carry consequences when considering the larger JPUSA community.

Commitment to humanity has been translated and transferred to the Cornerstone Festival. The event has served to maintain a zeitgeist arguably extinguished in the wake of post-Jesus Movement circumstances: the rapid growth of individualism, the compressing of evangelicalism and nationalism into an identifiable whole, and the commercialization of popular evangelical

music. Cornerstone provides an alternative to mainstream evangelical festivals, offers an outlet for independent musicians, and has played part in redefining how popular evangelical music is defined and performed. With a record industry now filled with artists whose beginnings can be traced to the evangelical subculture, it is conceivable that Cornerstone has contributed to a remapping of how evangelical music is represented; the festival continues to challenge boundaries established by the gatekeepers of gospel music.

The fact that JPUSA is interstitial—that they remain culturally relevant while cloistered—is relevant to how communal life is understood. More specifically, that JPUSA is service-based rather than retreat-based confirms Kanter's thesis: successful communes must avoid insularity while simultaneously affirming negotiable boundaries. But while boundaries sustained JPUSA since 1972, the negotiability of these boundaries has also contributed to an ever-eroding commitment among younger members. While the second generation plays an immediate and paramount role, JPUSA must also consider how communards are to interact with the wider culture (how the commune influences and is influenced), particularly given their contingencies: retention of members; future relations with evangelical festival-goers subjected to postmodern Christianity; an embattled CCM industry. Put simply, Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) "not only mediate the effects of the environment but are partially determined by the environment," writes sociologist David F. Gordon.[2]

Although JPUSA has weathered criticism, their core purpose and mission to serve the neighborhood of Uptown may very well stave off disillusionment within the commune or at least keep newcomers actively engaged. Along with maintaining commitment mechanisms and an organizational model of multiple eldership, JPUSA's ability to appropriately evolve with the dominant culture will keep them culturally relevant. If they evolve too quickly—allowing too

many freedoms for those raised in the commune— new generations may seek another way of life when adulthood is reached. A bounded community, JPUSA has instituted and nurtured ideologies designed to stave off temptation. However, the very mechanisms (whether intentional or incidental) designed to contribute to communal longevity appear to be having the opposite effect as members continue to leave. Thus, if the council places more value on the architecture of the commune rather than the formation of the individual (an imbalance between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft),[3] JPUSA may run the risk of alienating future leaders of the community.

I have argued throughout this project that Kanter's theory of sustainability is applicable to JPUSA's survival *since* 1972. As a service commune, JPUSA's boundaries and activism have provided communards with a grand cause that outweighs propensities to elevate individual leaders, a scenario common for communal experiments in U.S. society. JPUSA communards must contend with a rapidly shifting culture while remaining true to their ethos, particularly when the problem of sustainability remains ever-present. After all, JPUSA will only remain an active, culturally-engaged commune if they retain viable members able to work in JPUSA businesses, assuming those businesses and ministries continue to garner support from constituents, evangelical or otherwise. Kanter correctly argues that for communes to remain healthy in the face of environmental change, they must "deal with changes in the external society, from choosing to ignore them to incorporating them."[4] If JPUSA remained cloistered (rural or urban), they would have likely folded long ago.

For this group, interaction with a pluralistic world may serve to strengthen and weaken collective commitment. But will mechanisms that allowed JPUSA to survive contribute to their demise as rising generations refuse to acquiesce? Since second-generation members of a commune do not choose communal life, they are an unreliable source to perpetuate a community,

according to Kanter. Thus, recruitment of new members (and focus on retention of drifters) is paramount, though drifters also present new problems with which a community must deal. As we have seen, disgruntled former members of JPUSA measured life in the commune against what was perceived as effective structures or belief-systems, communal or otherwise.[5]

Ultimately, "courting" new members and maintaining a consistent ethic of acculturation accounts not only for communal survival, but for the longevity of any organization or movement. Noting the cultural impact of the Jesus Movement, historian Larry Eskridge underscores the reciprocal element (religion influencing culture and vice versa) common to early Jesus freaks who made use of and benefited from American popular culture: "Indeed, the Jesus Person 'style' continued to prosper as a distinct evangelical youth culture with concerts, coffeehouses, newspapers, bumper stickers, crosses, and Bible studies…."[6] In like manner, JPUSA demonstrates how cultural connections can impact and change both a particular group and larger movements such as American evangelicalism and evangelically-based popular music. The long-term affect remains to be seen. What is clear, however, is that this commune must navigate a precarious socio-cultural position.

JPUSA and the Cornerstone Festival both occupy a different ideological space—one which does not conform to conservative establishment evangelicalism, Jesus-freak millenarianism, or theologically liberal Christianity. The juxtaposition of the now tired right-left binary offers little when attempting to ultimately "locate" JPUSA within the broad swath of U.S. religious history. Moreover, despite their somewhat interstitial enclave of resistance, JPUSA's goal (as it pertains to culture and ideas) has been to use *Cornerstone* magazine (before it went out of publication) and the festival as mechanisms to challenge long-held paradigms. In *Rapture Ready*, journalist Daniel Radosh comes to this conclusion about Cornerstone:

> The open-minded, intellectually adventurous spirit of Cornerstone may still be a small force in evangelical culture, but it seems poised to become influential beyond its size. The younger demographic that's drawn here will soon grow into positions of leadership in the church and society.[7]

Indeed, many within the younger demographic already occupy positions of leadership. After all, Cornerstone has been voicing an "open-minded, intellectually adventurous spirit" since its genesis. But while the 1980s and 1990s represent a time when the event was unapologetically evangelical and theologically conservative, the close of the century solidified Cornerstone's ability to engage in a different manner of inquiry. Radosh's observation may be a bit late. However, his sentiment rings true—though conservative evangelicalism maintains a cultural foothold many fans of Cornerstone (though by no means all) continue to view rightist forms of Christianity as dubious, controlled by politically-driven demagogues.

Evangelical Christian culture and belief have evolved as a result of dialectical processes and the power of material culture. As products of this culture, JPUSA and Cornerstone have set into motion a process, one which inspires musical forms (particularly of the indie brand) largely divorced from industry gatekeepers. In so doing, they challenge the "Christ Against Culture" approach to social engagement. Historian Mark Allan Powell has accurately commented on evangelicalism's propensity to adopt this model of cultural interaction:

> I have found one of the Achilles' heels of American evangelicalism to be its adoption of the "Christ Against Culture" model, which Niebuhr effectively critiques. But it is an unnecessary weakness, born of a defensive posture that evangelicalism should be able to transcend.[8]

Powell goes on to explain how curious it is that evangelicals enjoy significant social power while simultaneously complaining "about how marginalized they are within modern society," noting that this is quite evident in CCM.[9] He concludes by addressing JPUSA's role in this drama:

> My point is, evangelicals perpetuate the "Christ Against Culture" model insofar as it helps them advance their agenda—but ultimately it is very limiting, and a number of evangelicals are beginning to realize this. JPUSA appears to have been born as a Christ Against Culture movement—but through Cornerstone they evolved toward adoption of a more dialogical vision. This could be the future of evangelicalism in America.[10]

Clearly both JPUSA and Cornerstone are evidence that new forms of evangelical form and expression are emerging. Moreover, the social impact extends to evangelical popular music. I have concluded that two forms of evangelically-inspired music have emerged: a form of CCM which is disconnected from the CCM signifier, yet connected to establishment evangelicalism (which is ideologically conservative) and a form rendered unrecognizable due to the forces of pluralism. The latter form can be traced to subcultural music groups showcased at the Cornerstone Festival, many of which teeter between a robust commitment to Christian social justice on the one hand and theological affinities associated with evangelicalism on the other.[11] JPUSA's progeny extends well beyond Chicago's 46th Ward, expressing the ethos of the commune and the festival through music groups now marketed to the general market.

As the commune's theology continues to mirror a postmodern ethos, one wonders how JPUSA will fare in the future. While I argue that their ability to engage social justice and evolve ideologically has kept them alive and relevant, their success largely depends on what evangelicalism will look like in the coming years. As the Nineties came to a close, establishment paradigms were questioned as Cornerstone seminars continued to entertain postmodern critical theory. Members of JPUSA found that the dialectical approach to knowledge did not lead to certainty, but more questions. JPUSA and members of the Evangelical Left began to avoid the cognitive, Enlightenment-inspired religion of fundamentalism (read conservative evangelicalism), favoring the contemplative spirit of a postmodern Christianity which (as result

of the theoretical) embraced ambiguity, while remaining faithful to a modified form of evangelical Christianity.

Ironically, Jesus freaks throughout the late 1960s and 1970s also challenged establishment paradigms. Like post-1990s JPUSA, early converts also avoided Enlightenment-inspired epistemologies—but their challenge was to the religion of mainline liberals, favoring the experientialism of pentecostals. While similar in many ways, each expression can be considered different based on what is being *countered*. Early Jesus freaks questioned the liberal mainline. JPUSA questions establishment evangelicalism.

As with Jesus freaks of the 1960s and 1970s, the Evangelical Left and emergent Christianity emphasize faith over certitude, creating an ironic impulse which historian Donald Miller refers to as "postmodern primitivism."[12] This is not to suggest, however, that JPUSA and others on the Left have entered with fundamentalists into what Miller considers a "precritical worldview." Rather, it is "to disavow the hegemony of the socially constructed 'rational' mind."[13]

Clearly JPUSA has located a middle ground between the mainstream and the fringe, while retaining particular fundamentals that situate them within the evangelical paradigm. In like manner, the Evangelical Left now negotiates a position which is not fully liberal, conservative, or evangelical (in the socio-cultural sense). Cultural theorist Lawrence Grossberg attempts to explain how belief is mediated in the midst of postmodernity:

> It is only if we begin to recognize the complex relations between affect and ideology that we can make sense of people's emotional life, their desiring life, and their struggles to find the energy to survive, let alone struggle. It is only in the terms of these relations that we can understand people's need and ability to maintain a "faith" in something beyond their immediate existence. Such faith, which is at least part of what is involved in political struggle, depends upon affective investments that are articulated into but not constituted by structures of meaning."[14]

JPUSA's postmodernism (controlled as it might be) amounts to an acceptance of the culture as it is. They no longer base Christian belief on evidentiary polemics, but embrace the mystery. The commune embraces pluralism while affirming that ultimate meaning undergirds their purpose in life. For Grossberg, the balance between the postmodern crisis and a meaningful life is in locating *purpose* in the midst of the crisis. "It is not that nothing matters," writes Grossberg, "but that it does not matter what does, as long as something does."[15] Put another way, *what* matters is not the point, so long as we find *something* that matters. For JPUSA, this "something" remains a dedication to the communal life in service to the less fortunate.

JPUSA occupies a nebulous, ideological space symptomatic of cultural pluralism. They are best located in a space that combines the culture-engaging impulse of post-Jesus Movement, establishment evangelicalism and the fringe expressions of isolationist Jesus-freak communitarianism. Despite this liminality, JPUSA is able to retain the spirit of the Jesus Movement. In the end, this creates new questions: 1) Given the forces of pluralism, what is the future of evangelical popular music? Despite the growth of emergent Christianity and the Evangelical Left, conservative forms of belief and popular expression remain quite successful. Although conservative forms of evangelical popular culture remain strong, the Cornerstone Festival continues to serve as a counter-weight for evangelical Christian fans, offering them alternatives to long-held paradigms. That Cornerstone in many ways contributed to the remapping of CCM is evident. As discussed in chapter 6, many music groups that now enjoy success in the general market developed an initial fan-base at the festival. Given the success of these "secular" faith-based bands, will groups still considered CCM be absorbed into the secular mainstream? It is difficult to determine any lasting effect as a result of Cornerstone's influence.

However, that evangelical Christianity and evangelical popular culture are changing in response to pluralism is clear. 2) Is it accurate to suggest that through Cornerstone, JPUSA has contributed to an upsurge in the Evangelical Left, or at least more interest in emergent Christianity? Many who attend the festival are traditional evangelicals. Given their exposure to postmodern theory in a social space defined by commonly held belief-systems, the festival influences festival-goers and musicians in ways unlike other evangelical gatherings. Moreover, both JPUSA and Cornerstone may prove inconvenient for establishment evangelicals. In short, JPUSA's philosophy nuances the categories of "CCM" and "evangelical."

That the evangelical subculture has been culturally pliable is not surprising. Philip Goff and Alan Heimert have argued that as historians reengage assumptions about the past, the ground shifts as the discipline of religious history continues to "shape and to be shaped by larger social and cultural forces." They go on to state that further study "uncovers today's strange bedfellows, evangelicals and postmodernists, who together have launched a forceful objection to long-standing historical assumptions and paradigms."[16] Within this new historical context, categories and movements are in some ways compressed into manageable signifiers. In other ways, they are broadened to include as many other categories as possible (to satisfy pluralism), thus losing any cohesive distinctiveness. The evolution of JPUSA underscores how cultural evolution affects the evangelical parent culture. The Religious Right (and associated cultural products) remains influential in the U.S. However, a new generation now questions the Right, choosing to ally with emergent and progressive forms of Christianity and the Evangelical Left. In so doing, they signal the coming of new boundaries, new allegiances, new delineations, new definitions, new reformations, and new forms of popular culture. The idea that pluralism has influenced evangelical Christianity may be overplayed, but the sentiment remains strong.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

END NOTES

End Notes Chapter 1

[1] See Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism* and David W. Stowe's *No Sympathy for the Devil: God, Pop, and the Transformation of Evangelicalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

[2] Martin Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land*: *500 Years of Religion in America* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 467-469.

[3] Larry Eskridge, "God's Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America 1966-1977*"* (Ph.D. diss., University of Stirling, 2005).

[4] Historian David Bebbington has argued that evangelicalism can be understood as an expression of Christianity that exhibits four characteristics: conversion, biblicism, crucicentrism, and activism.

[5] As one example, the late Jerry Falwell debated a leader of the Evangelical Left, Jim Wallis, on Tavis Smiley's National Public Radio show. Read Wallis's reflection on the debate in "As Evangelical as an Oak Tree." *Sojourners*. http://www.sojo.net/index.cfm?action=sojomail.display&issue=040714#3. Accessed, 8 November 2009.

[6]See David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005).

[7] See Randall Balmer's *Thy Kingdom Come* (New York: Basic Books, 2006) and *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America* (Oxford University Press, 2006). The "new birth" refers to the evangelical doctrine of being spiritually "born again" after receiving Jesus as Lord and Savior. Some hold that this is traditionally a protestant doctrine which antedates modern evangelicalism, extending to the Great Awakenings—Revivalism.

[8] Noreen Cornfield, "The Success of Urban Communes," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 45, no. 1 (Feb., 1983): pp. 115-126.

[9] Colleeen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 222-223.

[10] According to historian George Marsden, fundamentalism is a distinct form of evangelical Christianity which operates in opposition to the dominant culture and contends for the Christian faith.

[11] Jay R. Howard and John M. Streck, *Apostles of Rock: The Splintered World of Contemporary Christian Music* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 144.

[12] Cornfield, pp. 115-126.

[13] In *Witnessing Suburbia*, Elieen Luhr has noted how some initially dismissed the Jesus Movement as a youth phenomenon destined to dissolve. She concludes that the movement ultimately created a new form of evangelical popular culture that would fuel the rise of a new suburban conservative youth culture, portending the empowerment of the new Religious Right.

[14] Developed by John Nelson Darby, this system of belief posits that history is divided by various eras or "dispensations." For Christians who hold to this view, Jesus will return to earth before he establishes a reign on Earth for one thousand years. These also hold that the earth will decline, resulting in environmental destruction, war, famine, and general destruction. Moreover, as this is part of God's plan, there is nothing humanity can do to better the situation.

[15] Eileen Luhr, *Witnessing Suburbia: Conservative and Christian Youth Culture* (University of California Press, 2009), 162.

[16]Ibid.

[17] Melani McAlister, "What is Your Heart For?: Affect and Internationalism in the Evangelical Public Sphere," *American Literary History* 20, no. 4 (Winter 2008): 870-895.

[18] Jason Bivens, *Religion of Fear: The Politics of Horror in Conservative Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[19] Noreen Cornfield, "The Success of Urban Communes." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 45, no. 1 (Feb., 1983): pp. 115-126 and Hugh Gardner, *The Children of Prosperity* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 229-230, 245.

[20] For historian David Bebbington, evangelicalism can be understood as an expression of Christianity that exhibits four characteristics: conversion, biblicism, crucicentrism, and activism.

End Notes Chapter 2

[1] Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (University of California Press, 1999), 11, 12.

[2] Larry Eskridge, "'One Way': Billy Graham, the Jesus Generation, and the Idea of an Evangelical Youth Culture." Church History 67, no. 1 (Mar., 1998): p. 106.

[3] David Bebbington has argued that that the principles of the Enlightenment made the rise of individualistic evangelical Christianity possible. Bebbington's "quadrilateral" (conversion, biblicism, crucicentrism, and activism) crystallizes his conception of both the heritage of the Reformation and the growth of holiness and pietistic movements in eighteenth and nineteenth-century American society. Bebbington provides a definition from which I can compare others. Mark Noll prefaces his definition of "evangelical" by suggesting a difference between *historical* definitions and *categorical* definitions. The "historical" simply refers to the genealogical organic lineage of any group which can be traced back to figures such as Jonathan Edwards, George Whitfield, or John Wesley. He considers the Reformation and Martin Luther's criteria for Christianity, but uses American revivalists as catalysts for what reformed leaders regard as a *movement*—evangelicalism as popular conservative Protestantism within the American context, later diverging from reformed theology. Evangelical*ism* is a complex network of bible colleges, publishers and parachurch organizations which hold to common traits. Thus the movement ("ISM") is somewhat nebulous; D.G. Hart and Jon R. Stone argue that evangelicalism is not a true movement. The "categorical" refers to five categories Noll uses to define evangelical belief: scripture (divine authority and foundation for faith and practice), experience of God (emphasis on encounter and heart-assurance), rejection of institutions (priesthood of all believers, personal hermeneutics), flexibility (evangelicals adjust to culture), and discipline (piety, holiness, tenacity). Nathan Hatch positions evangelical Christianity within the American context, arguing that both the revolutionary spirit of early America and the democratic impulse created a form of Christianity which valued free-will (a departure from Calvinism), anti-clerical, and populist hermeneutics. Thus, a rupture between cleric and commoner created a populist pope, each person their own theologian.

[4] Acts 2: 44-45 and 4:32-37 (King James Version) states: "And all that believed were together, and had all things common. And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need. And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus: and great grace was upon them all. Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold. And laid them down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need. And Joses, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas, (which is, being interpreted, The son of consolation,) a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus. Having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet."

[5] Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 99.

[6] Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 75.

[7] Doug Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 53, 82, 150, 151.

[8] In some cases, churches which espoused social justice did so only from the pulpit, according to Jesus freak activists. More often, however, evangelical churches adopted a theological position which placed a greater value on soul-winning rather than social justice and/or activism on behalf of the poor. Their reasoning was often based on the doctrine of dispensational Premillennialism. Ministers who represented the latter scenario would, at times, discuss the need for outreach to the poor and other social outreach measures. However, the end-goal was a "battle" for the human soul, not the body.

[9] Barry Shenker, *Intentional Communities: Ideology and Alienation in Communal Societies* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 10.

[10] Anson Shupe, "Jesus People USA." *Sects, Cults, and Spiritual Communities: A Sociological Analysis*. ed. William W. Zellner and Marc Petrowsky (Westport: Praeger, 1998), 27.

[11] Some communes have purposed to create what they believe to be the model or exemplary form of living, in hopes of inspiring others to live in the same manner.

[12] Robert P. Sutton, *Communal Utopias and the American Experience: Religious Communities, 1732*-2000 (Westport: Praeger, 2003), 30, 31, 82, 83.

[13] Miller, xx.

[14] Hugh Gardner, "Dropping into Utopia," *Human Behavior* 7 (Mar. 1978) 43; Patrick W. Conover, "An Analysis of Communes and Intentional Communities with Particular Attention to Sexual and Genderal Relations," *Family Coordinator* 24 (Oct. 1975); 454.

[15] Miller, xiii.

[16] Miller, 241, 242, 243-246.

[17] Miller, xxiv.

[18] Shenker, 5, 6.

[19] Philip E. Slater, *The Pursuit of Loneliness: American Culture at the Breaking Point* Boston: Beacon, 1970), 5.

[20] Miller, 95.

[21] Miller, 148.

[22] Larry Eskridge, "God's Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America 1966-1977*"* (Ph.D. diss., University of Stirling, 2005), 304, 305.

[23]Marion S. Goldman, "Continuity in Collapse: Departures from Shiloh." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 34, no. 3 (Sep., 1995): pp. 342-353.

[24] Jon Trott. "Part I (a) Birth and Rebirth." *A History of Jesus People USA* [online] http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1a.html. Accessed 13 March 2010.

[25] http://www.xfamily.org/index.php/Jim_Palosaari. Accessed 19 April 2010.

[26] Jedidiah Abdul Muhib Palosaari. "Notes." October 15, 1973 http://ml-in.facebook.com/notes.php?id=513198705&start=480&hash=6224177f16565d53de95d0d2a43d331b. Accessed 13 March 2010.

[27] Mark Allan Powell, *The Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 753.

[28] Jon Herrin uses this term in a DVD about the Cornerstone Festival. *Cornerstone Festival: Twenty Years and Counting*, prod. and dir. John J. Thompson, Nashville: Floodgate Records, 2002. DVD.

[29] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[30] Jon Trott. "Part I (a) Birth and Rebirth." *A History of Jesus People USA* [online] http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1a.html. Accessed 13 2010.

[31] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[32] Tom Cameron, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[33] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[34] Dawn Mortimer, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[35] Jon Trott. "Part I (a) Birth and Rebirth." *A History of Jesus People USA* [online] http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1a.html. Accessed 13 March 2010.

[36] Jon Trott. "Part I (a) Birth and Rebirth." *A History of Jesus People USA* [online] http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1a.html. Originally printed in "Jesus People Here for Public Rallies," from a Houghton-Hancock, Michigan, area newspaper (name and date unknown). Accessed 13 March 2010.

[37] Ibid.

[38] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Mark Allan Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*. (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 752-754.

[41] David K Fremon, *Chicago Politics Ward by Ward* (Indiana University Press, 1988). 69.

[42] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[43]Jon Trott, "House and Home." *A History of Jesus People USA: Part 2*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons2.html. Accessed 6 December 2010.

[44] Neil Taylor, email correspondence, 25 April 2010.

[45] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[46] Jon Trott. "Part I (a) Birth and Rebirth." *A History of Jesus People USA* [online] http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1a.html. Accessed 21 April 2010. Originally printed in "United We Stand," *Cornerstone* 3, no. 14 (1974): 6.

[47] Jon Trott. "Part I (a) Birth and Rebirth." *A History of Jesus People USA* [online] http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1a.html. Accessed 21 April 2010.

[48] Dawn Mortimer, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[49] Jon Trott. "Quest for Balance." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1b.html. Accessed 4 March 2010.

[50] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009.

[51] Jon Trott. "Part I (b) Quest For Balance." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1b.html. Accessed 12 April 2010. The original text is found in David Gordon's dissertation. "A Comparison of the Effects of Urban and Suburban Location on Structure and Identity in Two Jesus People Groups" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1978), 40, 41.

[52] Ibid. 40, 41.

[53] Jon Trott. "Part 2: House and Home." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons2.html. Accessed 21 April 2010.

[54] Tom Cameron, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[55] Jon Trott. "Part 2: House and Home."

[56] David Frederick Gordon, "A Comparison of the Effects of Urban and Suburban Location on Structure and Identity in Two Jesus People Groups" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1978), 134. Cited in "Accountability and the Individual," *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons3.html. Accessed 2010.

[57] Jon Trott. "Part 3: Accountability and the Individual." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons2.html. Accessed 21 April 2010.

[58] Jon Trott. "Part 4: Authority, Freedom and Uptown." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons4.html. Accessed 22 April 2010.

[59] Fremon, 124.

[60] Ibid, 303-307.

[61] Jon Trott. "Part 4: Authority, Freedom and Uptown." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons4.html. Accessed 22 April 2010. Originally printed in Lesley Sussman, "Jesus Group Buys Hotel, Vows Rehab," *Uptown News*, 17 April 1979, 1.

[62] Jon Trott. “Part 5: Who Is My Neighbor?” *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons5.html. Accessed 22 April 2010.

[63] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009.

[64] In *Intentional Communities: Ideology and Alienation in Communal Societies*, Barry Shenker specifies the highly subjective nature of success, arguing that communal success is often self-defining, and is dependent on a commune’s ultimate purpose.

[65] Jon Trott, “Who is my Neighbor?” *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons5.html. Accessed 2010.

[66] Jon Trott. “Part 7: Action--Social and Political, I.” *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons7.html. Accessed 23 April 2010. Originally printed in Newsletter, "Note from Chicago," 1984, Jesus People USA, Chicago. Jon Trott also notes Todd Gitlin and Nanci Hollander, *Uptown: Poor Whites in Chicago* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970). Trott states that Gitlin worked in Uptown between 1965 and 1970, creating “an indictment against Chicago's destructive housing policy.” This in included in the notes section to Part 7 of *Life's Lessons: A History of Jesus People USA*.

[67] Jon Trott. “Part 7: Action -- Social and Political, I.” *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons7.html. Accessed 23 April 2010.

[68] Jon Trott. “Part 7: Action -- Social and Political, I.” *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons7.html. Accessed 23 April 2010. Originally printed in *Rev Rag*, 4 Oct. 1987. 12. Ibid., 8 Nov. 1987.

[69] Jon Trott. “Part 7: Action -- Social and Political, I.” *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons7.html. Accessed 23 April 2010.

[70] Jon Trott. “Part 7: Action -- Social and Political, I.” *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons7.html. Accessed 23 April 2010.

[71] Laurie Abraham, "Refugee Families Face Eviction by Rehabber," *Chicago Sun-Times*, Aug. 1986. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons7.html. Accessed 23 April 2010.

[72] Michael Loftin, "Coalition Formed to Fight Displacement," *The Voice Speaks: The Newsletter of Voice of the People in Uptown* (spring 1987): 1. Voice of the People is a low-income housing developer.

[73] Fremon, 309.

[74] Jon Trott. "Part 7: Action -- Social and Political, I." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons7.html. Accessed 23 April 2010.

[75] Fremon, 303-307.

[76] "The Milwaukee Story," *Cornerstone* 1, no. 1 (1972): 6.

[77] Jon Trott. "Part 7: Action -- Social and Political, I." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons7.html. Accessed 23 April 2010.

[78] Jon Trott. "Part 8 Action -- Social and Political, II." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons8.html. Accessed 23 April 2010.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Glenn Kaiser, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009.

[85] Howard Zinn, "Marxism and the New Left," in *Dissent: Explorations in the History of Radicalism*, ed. Alfred L. Young (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press, 1968), 371.

[86] This is a statement taken from the Bible in the book of Matthew, chapter 25, verse 40 (New International Version): "The King will reply, 'I tell you the truth, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did for me." The phrase "least of these" is one which inspires leaders of JPUSA to engage in social justice.

End Notes Chapter 3

[1] David K. Fremon, *Chicago Politics Ward by Ward* (Indiana University Press, 1988), 303-307.

[2] A novel written by B.F. Skinner which depicts a rural utopian community.

[3] In this study, the use of the word "subcultural" indicates interstitial cultural expression or persons or groups which do not conform to what is considered "normative" examples of living or expression within U.S. society. This term differs from "countercultural" in that the subcultural is not an expression of conscious resistance to dominant society. It is, as theorist Dick Hebdige argues, an expression of the self, using bits and pieces of dominant culture. It becomes countercultural when it seeks to challenge or subvert the dominant, parent culture.

[4] Elder John Herrin has suggested that the primary way to survive I community—given the noise—is to own a fan which masks the sound of conversations and crying babies.

[5] Hiley H. Ward, *The Far-Out Saints of the Jesus Communes: A Firsthand Report and Interpretation of the Jesus People Movement* (New York: Association Press, 1972).

[6] Steven M. Tipton, *Getting Saved from the Sixties: The Transformation of Moral Meaning in American Culture* (University of California Press, 1982).

[7] This was a millenarian group oriented around Tony and Susan Alamos. In some cases, Jewish messianic converts embraced a staunch Christian Fundamentalism. Tony Alamo (formerly Bernie Lazar Hoffman) and wife Susan were two of the more radical converts during the Jesus movement. They were exclusivist preachers claiming that hippie evangelism began with *them* in 1965, and that they were the "true" catalysts of the movement. The Alamo Christian Foundation in California earned the title "exclusivist," by working to distance themselves from other Jesus Movement camps, adopting a hard-line position while denouncing other Evangelical groups.

[8] Timothy Miller, "A Communitarian Conundrum: Why a World that Wants and Needs Community Doesn't Get It." (paper presented at the Thirty-Seventh Annual Conference of the Communal Studies Association, , New Harmony, IN, September 30-October 2, 2010).

[9] Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 174.

[10] http://larcheusa.org/who-we-are.html. Accessed 28 March 2010.

[11] Jean Vanier, http://larcheusa.org/who-we-are.html. Accessed 28 March 2010.

[12] http://www.rebaplacefellowship.org/Who_We_Are. Accessed 28 March 2010.

[13] Kanter, *Commitment and Community*, 191.

[14] Kanter, 195.

[15] Kanter, 200.

[16] Nathan Cameron, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 20 March 2010.

[17] A Chinese Christian minister and author who died in a Chinese jail in 1972 after having been imprisoned in 1956. See http://www.watchmannee.org/life-ministry.html. Accessed 18 April 2010.

[18] Curtis Mortimer, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[19] Dorena Sadeghi, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 6 March 2010.

[20] Raye Clemente, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 5 March 2010.

[21] Neil Taylor, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 7 March 2010.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Tom Cameron, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Lyda Jackson, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 7 March 2010.

[26] Joshua Davenport, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 6 March 2010.

[27] "Susan" [pseud.], interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[28] Colleen Davick, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL 10 March 2009.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Aaron Tharp, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 5 March 2010.

[31] Tim Bock. *Unless the Lord Build the House: The Story of Jesus People USA's Mission-Business, and How I was part of It* 2nd ed. (Chicago: Jesus People USA Full Gospel Ministries, 2009). 5.

[32] Tom Cameron, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 21 March 2010.

[33] http://weknowthegoodguys.com/We_Know_the_Good_Guys_FAQ.php. Accessed 2 April 2010.

[34] http://weknowthegoodguys.com/We_Know_the_Good_Guys_FAQ.php. Accessed 6 April 2010.

[35] A good example of this is when Tom Cameron, head of Grr Records and in-house legal council was allowed to hold a position with a law firm after earning a law degree from Northwestern University. JPUSA leadership believed it necessary for Cameron to gain practical experience practicing law before he could effectively represent the community. His salary was contributed to the community purse.

[36] Dawn Mortimer, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 21 March 2010.

[37] Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "Supercorp: Book review and Author Interview." *News Center*. November 3, 2009. Interview. Sean Silverthorne. http://www.moneycontrol.com/news/book-review/supercorp-book-reviewauthor-interview_422139-1.html. Accessed 9 April 2010.

[38] Tim Bock, *Unless the Lord Build the House: The Story of Jesus People USA's Mission-Business, and How I was part of It* 2nd ed. (Chicago: Jesus People USA Full Gospel Ministries, 2009). 92, 93.

[39] Cornerstone Community Outreach *Mission Statement.* http://www.ccolife.org/blog/cco. Accessed 10 April 2010.

[40] Kirsten Scharnberg, "Commune's Iron Grip Tests Faith of Converts," *Chicago Tribune*, 1 April 2001. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2001-04-01/news/0104010382_1_needy-youth-commune-spiritualism. Accessed 10 April 2010.

[41] Chris Ramsey, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 7 March 2010.

[42] Sandy Ramsey, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 7 March 2010.

[43] David Baumgartner, email correspondence, 29 March 2010.

[44] The reference is to psychologist Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The first level of needs includes physiological needs: breathing food, water, sex, sleep, homeostasis, and excretion.

[45] Christopher Wiitala, interview with author. Chicago, IL. 6 March 2010. In one case, a child was being watched by an adult communard. The child's father, who lived in another city, called on the telephone to speak with the child. The adult communard disallowed the communication to take place.

[46] Neil Taylor, email correspondence, 7 April 2010.

[47] First published in *Cornerstone*, Vol. 22, Issue 102/103(1994), pp. 19-21. (Cornerstone Communications, Inc.) http://www.cornerstonemag.com/features/iss103/covenant.htm. Accessed 5 April 2010.

[48] Dawn Mortimer, interview with author, Chicago, IL. 21 March 2010.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Sandy Ramsey, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 7 March 2010.

[51] Dawn Mortimer, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 21 March 2010.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Project 12 (P-12) is a training program designed for both members and non-members seeking internships opportunities.

[54] Neil Taylor, email correspondence, 7 April 2010.

[55] First published in *Cornerstone*, Vol. 22, Issue 102/103(1994), pp. 19-21. (Cornerstone Communications, Inc.) http://www.cornerstonemag.com/features/iss103/covenant.html. Accessed 5 April 2010.

[56] Glen van Alkemade, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 21 March 2010.

[57] Kevin Frank, email correspondence, 13 March 2010.

[58] Ibd.

[59] Ibid.

[60] "Stephen" [pseud.], email correspondence, 16 April 12010.

[61] *The JPUSA Covenant*. originally written in 1986, slightly revised in 1989. Reprinted in full in *Cornerstone* magazine 22, iss. 102/103 (1994): pp. 19-21, except for the signature portions after the last paragraph of text.

[62] Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 167.

[63] Hugh Gardner, *The Children of Prosperity: Thirteen Modern American Communes* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978).

[64] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 10 March 2009.

[65] Tiana Coleman, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 7 March 2010.

[66] Tiana Coleman, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 7 March 2010, "Susan" [pseudo.], interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 21 March 2010, and Scarlett Shelby, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL 7 March 2010.

[67] "Commune's Iron Grip Tests Faith Of Converts." By Kirsten Scharnberg. *Chicago Tribune* April 1, 2001. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2001-04-01/news/0104010382_1_needy-youth-commune-spiritualism. Accessed 15 October 2010.

[68] Anson Shupe, William A. Stacey, and Susan E. Darnel, eds. *Bad Pastors: Clergy Misconduct in Modern* America (New York: New York University Press, 2000). 163.

[69] Timothy Miller, *Response from Timothy Miller, Professor of Religious Studies, University of Kansas.* JPUSA archived letters provided by communard Lyda Jackson, September 2010.

[70] *Response for Scholars at the Communal Studies Association*. JPUSA archived letters provided by communard Lyda Jackson, September 2010.

[71] Jon Trott, "Is Abuse about Truth or Story…or Both?: One Intentional Community's Painful Experiences with False Accusations." *Bad Pastors: Clergy Misconduct in Modern America*. eds. Anson Shupe, William A Stacey, and Susan E. Darnell (New York: New York University press, 2000). 173.

[72] Jon Trott, "Is Abuse about Truth or Story…or Both?: 174.

[73] A popular evangelical megachurch.

[74] Dawn and Curtis Mortimer, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 21 March 2010.

[75] Jon Trott has argued that many of these allegations are weak due to Ronald Enroth inability or unwillingness to specify the nature of abuse. Furthermore, Trott and Shupe have argued that Enroth's method is unsound because he only identified with the "victims" and he created "narrative accounts" as "literal history." Trott points out that Enroth admitted to combining stories to "make a more compelling narrative," thus calling into question the validity of individual charges. See Anson Shupe, William A. Stacey, and Susan E. Darnel, eds. *Bad Pastors: Clergy Misconduct in Modern* America (New York: New York University Press, 2000). 170.

[76] See "CT Classic: Conflict Divides Countercult Leaders" in *Christianity Today* magazine (1994). Additional information can be found in various sociological works such as Ronald M. Enroth's *Churches That Abuse*; *Bad Pastors: Clergy Misconduct in Modern America,* edited by Anson Shupe, William A. Stacey, and Susan E. Darnell; William Backus, "Who's Abusing Who?" *Cornerstone* 22, issue 102/103, (1994): 35.; and in "Book Reviews: Recovering from Churches that Abuse," James T. Richardson, *Cornerstone* 23, issue 105 (1994): 20.

[77] http://www.angelfire.com/zine/jpusainfo/constitution_intro.html. Accessed 10 April 2010.

[78] Jon Trott, email correspondence, 11 April 2010.

[79] "Work and Taxes." http://www.jpusa.org/covenant.html. Accessed 12 April 2010.

[80] Jon Trott, email correspondence, 11 April 2010.

[81] Neil Taylor, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 7 March 2010.

[82] Jon Trott, email correspondence, 11 April 2010.

[83] Jean Vanier, *Community and Growth.* Rev. ed. (New York: Paulist Press, 1996). 222.

[84] JPUSA's original patriarch who fell into disfavor and left the community.

[85] Jon Trott. "Part I (b) Quest For Balance." *A History of Jesus People USA.* http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1b.html. Accessed 12 April 2010.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Dawn and Curtis Mortimer, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 21 March 2010.

[88] Jon Trott. "Part I (b) Quest For Balance." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1b.html. Accessed 12 April 2010?

[89] Kanter, *Commitment and Community*, 201.

[90] Ibid, 64-66.

[91] Neil Taylor, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 7 March 2010.

[92] "Susan" [pseud.], interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 21 March 2010.

[93] Lyda Jackson, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 7 March 7 2010.

[94] Raye Clemente, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 5 March 2010.

[95] Nathan Cameron, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 20 March 2010.

[96] Neil Taylor, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 7 March 2010.

[97] Ami Moss, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 7 March 2010.

[98] Tom Cameron, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 21 March 2010.

[99] Dawn and Curtis Mortimer, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 21 March 2010.

[100] Glen van Alkemade, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 21 March 2010.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999).

[103] Chris Spicer, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, Ill., 7 March 2010.

[104] Stu Heiss, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 20 March 2010.

[105] Christians are spirited away to Heaven during the second coming of Christ.
[106] Stu Heiss, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 20 March 2010.

[107] Wendi Kaiser, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL, 7 March 2010.

[108] Kevin Frank, email correspondence, 13 March 2010.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Kanter, *Commitment and Commitment*,188.

[111] "Emergent" Christianity represents an attempt (by evangelicals) to reconcile traditional Christianity with postmodern theoretical criticism.

End Notes Chapter 4

[1] Although JPUSA''s audience for the magazine and the festival has often been those who self-identify as countercultural or subcultural, they have been, for the most part, connected to the evangelical community.

[2] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[3] James Davidson Hunter, *Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation* (University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[4] Certainly Revivalism was initially associated with the Burned Over District. However, I am distinguishing the Midwest for its own history of religious and political populism.

[5] George M. Marsden, *Religion and American Culture*. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2001), 116.

[6] See Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come: An Evangelical's Lament: How the Religious Right Distorts the Faith and Threatens America* (New York: Basic Books, 2006).

[7] See also Doug Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

[8] Ibid.

[9] See David Frederick Gordon, "A Comparison of the Effects of Urban and Suburban Location on Structure and Identity in two Jesus People Groups" (Ph.D. Diss., The University of Chicago, 1978).

[10] A popular evangelist during the Great Awakenings.

[11] According to this position, history is divided into various dispensations, thus one is able to determine an approximate time for the End of Days. Moody assisted in the founding of Bible institutes which trained young ministers in this doctrine, bolstering young evangelists to weather the storm of Modernity's critique of biblical literalism. The Moody Bible Institute in Chicago is one of the more notable examples. These were training grounds for ministry of the *soul*. While social activism was valued, programs to provide aid for the poor were viewed as secondary to salvation of the human soul.

[12] A high regard for scripture, to include the doctrine of inerrancy.

[13] The founder and director of the Coalition on Revival, and was a personal friend and co-laborer with the late apologist, Dr. Francis Schaeffer.

[14] Jay Grimstead, "How the International Council on Biblical Inerrancy Began." http://65.175.91.69/Reformation_net/Pages/ICBI_Background.htm. Accessed 20 May 2010.

[15] "Records of the International Council on Biblical Inerrancy." http://library.dts.edu/Pages/TL/Special/ICBI.shtml. Accessed 20 May 2010.

[16] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording, Chicago, IL. 11 March 2009.

[17] This has been affirmed by Jon Trott and Glenn Kaiser. It has also been evident in the seminars provided by Norman Geisler over the years at the Cornerstone Festival.

[18] The Social Gospel and other social reform efforts were replaced as evangelicals viewed salvation of the human soul to be of greater concern. Many believed that individual conversion would result in Protestant uplift and the eradication poverty for individuals. As each lived a pious life, they would be rewarded with success.

[19] See Todd Gitlin and Nanci Hollander, *Uptown: Poor Whites in Chicago* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

[20] Roger Biles, *Richard J. Daley: Politics, Race, and Governing Chicago* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995), 4.

[21] Biles, 7.

[22] Members of the New Left known for civil disobedience and politically radical activism.

[23] Biles, 150.

[24] Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1993), 436, 437.

[25] Evidence of this can be found in Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come: An Evangelical's Lament: How the Religious Right Distorts the Faith and Threatens America.* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), Larry Eskridge, Dissertation. *God's Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America 1966-1977*. 2005, and David W. Stowe, *No Sympathy for the Devil*: *Christian Pop Music and the Transformation of American Evangelicalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

[26] Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come: An Evangelical's Lament: How the Religious Right Distorts the Faith and Threatens America.* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 147.

[27] Glenn Kaiser, interview by author, digital recording, Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009 and Glenn Kaiser, email correspondence, 22 February 2010.

[28] Gitlin, 84.

[29] James J. Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 28.

[30] Robert P. Sutton, *Communal Utopias and the American Experience: Religious Communities, 1732*-2000 (Westport: Praeger, 2003), 152.

[31] See Doug Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

[32] Rossinow. pp. 61, 68, 69, 94, 95.

[33] See Todd Gitlin and Nanci Hollander, *Uptown: Poor Whites in Chicago* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

[34]Doug Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 302.

[35] See Todd Gitlin and Nanci Hollander, *Uptown: Poor Whites in Chicago* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

[36] Noreen Cornfield, "The Success of Urban Communes," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 45, no. 1 (Feb., 1983): pp. 115-126.

[37] "Life's Lessons: A History of Jesus People USA: Part Five: Who is my Neighbor?" *Cornerstone* 24. Iss. 107. pg. 45.

[38] One of Chicago's social and human service agencies founded in 1889 by Jane Addams. See http://www.hullhouse.org/aboutus/history.html. Accessed 21 May 2010.

[39] Jobs or Income Now was formed as a community organizing initiative by the Students for a Democratic Society.

[40] See Todd Gitlin and Nanci Hollander, *Uptown: Poor Whites in Chicago* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

[41] "Part 7 Action—Social and Political, I." *Life's Little Lessons* http://www.jpusa.org/lessons7.html. Accessed 20 May 2010.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording, Chicago, IL.,10 March 2009.

[46] See Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium*, 1st ed. (University of California Press, 1999).

[47] Gitlin, Todd, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), 326.

[48] Jim Wallis, *God's Politics: Why the Right Gets It Wrong and the Left Doesn't Get It* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 34.

[49] Wallis, 3.

[50] Wallis, 5.

[51] Wallis, xxiii.

[52] A controversial Baptist minister who hosts an anti-gay website titled www.godhatesfags.com.

[53] Jon Trott, email correspondence, 15 January 2010.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Jon Trott, email correspondence, 20 May 2010.

[56] Jon Trott, email correspondence, 15 January 2010.

[57] See Jim Wallis, *God's Politics: Why the Right Gets It Wrong and the Left Doesn't Get It* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005) and Doug Rossinow, The *Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

[58] George M. Marsden, *Religion and American Culture* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2001), 248, 249.

[59] Farrell, 35. See also Jim Forest. "Reflections on Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement." *Houston Catholic Worker* XXVIII, No. 4, (July-August 2008). http://www.cjd.org/paper/forest.html. Accessed 21 May 2010 and William Lawrence. Smith. Dissertation. *Urban Communitarianism in the 1980's" Seven Religious Communes in Chicago* (University of Notre Dame, 1984). 144.

[60] Chris Spicer, interview by author, digital recording, Chicago, IL., 7 March 2010.

[61] *Port Huron Statement*, Students for a Democratic Society, 15 June 1962. http://history.hanover.edu/courses/excerpts/111hur.html. Accessed 13 January 2011.

[62] Todd Gitlin and Nanci Hollander, *Uptown: Poor Whites in Chicago* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

[63] "Uptown." *Cornerstone* 6. Iss. 40. pg. 4.

[64] Kanter. *Commitment and Community*, 191.

[65] Jon Trott. "House and Home." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1b.html. Accessed 4 March 2010.

[66] Sanctified protestation known as "flirty fishing," plural marriage known "sharing," and allegations of pedophilia. Discussed in chapter four.

[67] See James D. Chancellor, *Life in the Family: An Oral History of the Children of God* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

[68] Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.) 70 and Hugh Gardner, *The Children of Prosperity: Thirteen Modern American Communes* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 24.

[69] Raye Clemente, interview by author, digital recording, Chicago, IL., 5 March 2010.

[70] Joshua Davenport, interview by author, digital recording, Chicago, IL., 6 March 2010.

[71] Otto Jensen, interview by author, digital recording, Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[72] Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1959). 191.

[73] Jon Trott, Quotes this in "House and Home." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1b.html. Accessed 4 March 2010. The quote can be found in "Citizens of Two Worlds," *Cornerstone* 5, Iss. 30, p. 4,5.

[74] Kantner, 213.

[75] Jon Trott, email correspondence, 11 April 2010.

[76] Jon Trott, email correspondence, 21 June 2010.

[77] "In the End…Man Created Chicago." *Cornerstone,* Iss. 22. pg. 8.

[78] Over the years, many articles in *Cornerstone* magazine have dealt with unresolved poverty. See Mike Hertenstein and Chris Ramsey. "Want in the Land of Plenty." *Cornerstone* 12, Iss. 69. pg. 6-9, "That American Way." *Cornerstone* 6, Iss. 41. pg. 15, "Behind the Velvet

Curtain-Suburbia." *Cornerstone* 7, Iss. 42. pg. 15, Larry Bishop. "The American Myth." *Cornerstone* 9, Iss. 53. pg. 16-18, Larry Bishop. "The Delusion of Desire." *Cornerstone* 10, no. 58 (Jan/Feb): pg. 30-32, Jon Trott, "Progress & Poverty." *Cornerstone*, Iss. 59 (March/April): pg. 58-60.

[79] "Uptown." *Cornerstone* 6, Iss. 40. pg. 4.

[80] See the sections on businesses and structure in chapter three. Thanks to my wife, Martha Young, who helped me flesh out this idea.

[81] Howard Zinn, "Marxism and the New Left," in *Dissent: Explorations in the History of Radicalism*, ed. Alfred L. Young (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press, 1968), 371.

End Notes Chapter 5

[1] Timothy Miller's *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* provides an extensive overview of various successes and failure of American communes.

[2] David Frederick Gordon, "A Comparison of the Effects of Urban and Suburban Location on Structure and Identity in two Jesus People Groups" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1978).

[3] I use this term in an attempt to explain how JPUSA balances social outreach to the poor with an equal appreciation for spiritual mindedness.

[4] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009, and Glenn Kaiser, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009.

[5] Ibid.

[6] For more on this, see Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999) and Doug Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

[7] Conservative evangelicals who hold to premillennial dispensational Millenarianism believe that the Antichrist will rule via a New World Order.

[8] Jon Trott has expressed this during multiple conversations, to include my interview with him on 11 March 2009.

[9] Brian McLaren, *A Generous Orthodoxy*: *Why I am a missional + evangelical + post/protestant + liberal/conservative + mystical/poetic + biblical + charismatic/contemplative + fundamentalist/calvinist + anabaptist/anglican + methodist + catholic + green + incarnational + depressed-yet-hopeful + emergent + unfinished CHRISTIAN* (Grand Rapids. Zondervan, 2004). 45. Note that McLaren also believes that other forces played a role in the co-opting of the Jesus Movement: Pentecostalism, contemporary Christian music, parachurch Christianity, the Religious Right, and the religious marketing machine.

[10] Alex R. Schaefer, "Evangelicalism, Social reform and the US Welfare State, 1970-1996," *Religious and Secular Reform in America: Ideas, Beliefs and Social Change*, eds. Adams, David K. and Cornelis A. Van Minnen (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 254.

[11] Susan Harding argues that rhetoric is often a key component in gathering followers. *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics* (Princeton University Press, 2001).

[12] D. G. Hart, *Deconstructing Evangelicalism: Conservative Protestantism in the Age of Billy Graham* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2005).

[13] Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

[14] Emergent Christianity represents a "conversation" among evangelicals who are disenchanted with traditional, conservative evangelicalism and the Religious Right. More significantly, emergent represents an attempt by evangelicals to engage postmodernity, cultural pluralism, and literary deconstruction, while retaining Christian belief—even orthodoxy—albeit defined differently. Some describe themselves as "post-evangelical." See works by Brian McLaren, Tony Jones, Phyllis Tickle, Marcus Borg, Mark Driscoll, Robert Webber, and Jenell Williams Paris.

[15] David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005).

[16] Jon Trott began to distance himself from evangelicalism after George W. Bush came into office.

[17] Preston Shires, *Hippies of the Religious Right* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007).

[18] George Marsden, *Religion and American Culture*. 2nd ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2001).

[19] Shires, 113.
[20] Ibid.

[21] A parallel universe also formed amongst Christian in the New Left as member of the YMCA at the University of Texas at Austin read the works of Albert Camus, Paul Tillich, and Martin Luther King, Jr. See Doug Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

[22] A philosophical reaction to skepticism. Philosophers such as Francis Bacon argued that truth was ascertained by means of common understanding, even if it appeared nonsensical.

[23] Shires, 51.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New* Millennium, 1st ed (University of California Press, 1999), 22.

[26] Miller, 22, 23.

[27] Ronald M. Enroth, *The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of* Aquarius (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 168. The term was originally used by H. Richard Niebuhr in *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956).

[28] A reference to Paul Tillich's definition of religion.

[29] Preston Shires has documented the traditional eschatology of the Jesus Movement and how many, despite a certain apoliticism, adopted a pro-Israel position in response to Hal Lindsey's *Late Great Planet Earth.* See page 155 of Preston's work. See also Melani McAlister, "Prophecy, Politics and the Popular: The Left Behind Series and Christian Fundamentalism's New World Order" The South Atlantic Quarterly 102.4 (2003): 773-98 and a dissertation by David Frederick Gordon titled "A Comparison of the Effects of Urban and Suburban Location on Structure and Identity in two Jesus People Groups" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1978). 85.

[30] See Preston Shires, *Hippies of the Religious Right* and Lowell D. Streiker's *Jesus Trip: Advent of Jesus Freaks* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), Ronald M. Enroth, *The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Press, 1972), and Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (University of California Press; 1 edition, 1999).

[31] See Preston Shires, *Hippies of the Religious Right* and Lowell D. Streiker's *Jesus Trip: Advent of Jesus Freaks* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007).

[32] Grant Wacker, "The Functions of Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism." *The Harvard Theological Review* 77, no. 3/4 (Jul. - Oct., 1984): 368.

[33] A form of pentecostal Christianity made popular during the 1970s.

[34] Wacker, 369.

[35] History is set up as eras or "dispensations" ordained by God. The world will grow increasingly worse until the return of Christ. Jesus will return before the rule of the anti-Christ, carry Christians to Heaven, return for the battle of Armageddon, and then establish his millennial reign.

[36] I use the term "futurism" here to describe the teleological position that terrestrial events are linked to the celestial and, in some way, indicate an historical apocalypse of some kind.

[37] A nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish evangelist commonly viewed as the father of modern dispensationalism.

[38] See Enroth and Streiker. See also David W. Stowe, *No Sympathy for the Devil*: *Christian Pop Music and the Transformation of American* Evangelicalism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

[39] Preston Shires, *Hippies of the Religious Right* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007). 153, 154, 155.

[40] Shires, 108.

[41] David W. Stowe, *No Sympathy for the Devil*: *Christian Pop Music and the Transformation of American Evangelicalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011). 71.

[42] http://www.jesus21.com/content/movies/rapture2.html. Accessed 30 January 2010.

[43] Stowe. 69, 71.

[44] Stowe. 70.

[45]Glenn Kaiser, email correspondence, 22 February 2010.

[46] David Frederick Gordon, "A Comparison of the Effects of Urban and Suburban Location on Structure and Identity in two Jesus People Groups" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1978), 85.

[47] See Stowe. 70-74.

[48] It is believed that the tribulation will be a time of great suffering caused by the anti-Christ. Some believe Christians will be raptured before while others believe they will be raptured after.

[49] Glenn Kaiser, email correspondence, 22 February 2010.

[50] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009.

[51] The tradition of contemporary biblical apologetics in American culture can be traced to Princeton University's battle with Modernism and higher criticism. The goal was to defend matters such as biblical inerrancy and to counter the theory of evolution and Secular Humanism. On the whole, biblical apologetics was embraced by Reformed theologians.

[52] The "kingdom now" ethic appears in both postmillennial groups. It also appears in premillennial, evangelical groups which believe that regardless of an imminent rapture, Christians are duty-bound to care for the poor and for the environment. While many in JPUSA believe the rapture will occur, the uncertainty of the date allows communards to interpret the teaching of Jesus as both spiritual and practical.

[53] Otto Jensen, interview by author, digital recording, Chicago, Ill., 10 March 2009. George Marsden classifies this "kingdom now" thinking as a liberal position in *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 81.

[54] This socio-cultural machine is part of the neo-conservative project of cultural influence. This is not suggesting a Frankfurt School model of causality (after all, JPUSA represents resistance). However, contemporary evangelical churches work to populate institutions (business, academia, media, etc.) with evangelical Christians.

[55] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009. In this conversation, Trott affirmed that the apologetics community felt that JPUSA drifted. Based on my own observation while visiting the festival over the years since the nineties, it has become clear that apologetics are not valued as highly as they once were.

[56] Jon Trott. Bluechristian.blogspot.com. 14 January 2008. Accessed 13 May 2010.

[57] Emergent theology is best understood as an evangelical attempt to retain elements of orthodox Christianity while also accepting postmodern critical theory and cultural pluralism. For more on this, see Brian McLaren's *A Generous Orthodoxy,* or John R. Franke's *Manifold Witness: The Plurality of Truth.*

[58] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Shari Lloyd and Linda LaFianza, email correspondence, 18 February 2010.

[61] Jon Trott, email correspondence, 15 January 2010.

[62] See David W. Stowe, *No Sympathy for the Devil*: *Christian Pop Music and the Transformation of American Evangelicalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), Preston Shires, *Hippies of the Religious Right.* Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007, Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come: An Evangelical's Lament: How the Religious Right Distorts the Faith and Threatens America.* New York: Basic Books, 2006), and Duane Murray Oldfield, *The Right and the Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996).

[63] See Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come: An Evangelical's Lament: How the Religious Right Distorts the Faith and Threatens America* (New York: Basic Books, 2006). This work demonstrates that the Right has essentially co-opted evangelicalism, creating a caricature of the evangelical Christian. This distortion causes non-evangelicals to associate evangelicalism with political coalitions rather than historically defined evangelical Christianity which has been more concerned with individual conversion rather than nationalistic power-structures seeking to create a mythic "Christian nation."

[64] For example, some JPUSA communards argue that abortion can be resolved by adopting a leftist orientation. Jon Trott encapsulates what many in JPUSA believe regarding this issue in a blog titled "President Obama, Health Care, Abortion, and the Right's Credibility Gap." *Blue Christian on a Red Background*. September 10, 2009. http://bluechristian.blogspot.com. Accessed 16 May 2010. Trott has also explained this position in an email correspondence with me on May 16, 2010. This combination of leftist politics and an anti-abortion position is not unprecedented. The Farm, headed by countercultural icon Stephen Gaskin, is a commune near Summertown, Tennessee and was anti-abortion, offering a home for single, pregnant mothers in an attempt to offer assistance. See Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999). 120.

[65] Jon Trott, email correspondence. 15 January 2010.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Dr. John Perkins is also the president of the John M. Perkins Foundation for Reconciliation and Development. Perkins began his relationship with JPUSA when the Rez Band was on the road and now, though aged, continues to lecture at the festival.

[71] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009. Trott also discusses this topic frequently on his blog, bluechristian.blogspot.com and on Facebook.com.

[72] See Jon Trott. Part 7 Action –Social and Political, I, *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1b.html. Accessed 15 May 2010, and email correspondence, 24 October, 2009. Trott has also expressed this on other occasions during my visits to the community.

[73] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009.

[74] Colleen Davick, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[75] Like other conservative evangelical Christians, many early Jesus freaks (though not all) believed that the United States was intended to be a Christian nation, one which needed to return to God. Many converts became part of Baby Boomer evangelical Christianity, much of which believed the nation had become high-jacked by secular humanism. Ironically, those on the Left, such as Jim Wallis, Anthony Campolo, and Randall Balmer believe the Religious Right high-jacked Christianity.

[76] For an understanding of the relationship between Christian eschatology in American society and social reform, see David S. Katz and Richard H. Popkin, *Messianic Revolution: Radical Religious Politics to the End of the Second Millennium* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1999), Preston Shires, *Hippies of the Religious Right* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come: An Evangelical's Lament: How the Religious Right Distorts the Faith and Threatens America* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), and Duane Murray Oldfield, *The*

Right and the Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996).

[77] Glenn Kaiser, email correspondence, 22 February 2010.

[78] Bishop John Shelby Spong.

[79] New paradigm churches are contemporary, post-Jesus Movement churches. Some are considered "house churches," while others have been magachurches. Donald E. Miller provides an extensive overview of new paradigm congregations in *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

[80] Bishop John Shelby Spong has argued that unless Christianity changes its approach to culture, it will die. Donald Miller argues the opposite, pointing to the massive growth in new paradigm evangelicalism.

[81] A conservative American syndicated columnist.

[82] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009.

[83] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009.

[87] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[88] Members of the Children of God (mostly women, thought not only) were encouraged to engage in prostitution for the purpose of missionizing. The practice, referencing the biblical call to becoming "fishers of men," attracted new members. While many in COG (now the Family International) still view the doctrine as sound, the practice is no longer used. See James D. Chancellor. *Life in the Family: An Oral History of the Children of God* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 9-11, 16, 17, 22, 23, 116, 119-127, 128-130.

[89] Chancellor, 11, 17, 101-103, 106-107, 140-142, 150, 282.

[90] See Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

[91] See James D. Chancellor, *Life in the Family: An Oral History of the Children of God* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000) and John W. Drakeford, *Children of Doom: A Sobering Look at the Commune Movement* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1972).

[92] Before the Religious Right came to power, notable conservative ministers (particularly Southern Baptists) were actually pro-choice, due their acceptance of the separation of church and state. Historian Randall Balmer has demonstrated that social issues such as abortion were popularized merely to mobilize conservative voters in service to the culture war. Contrary to other histories pertaining to the Religious Right, the movement formed in response to Bob Jones University's policies which amounted to de facto racial segregation. Roe V. Wade merely served as a convenient (and less controversial) issue around which to rally conservatives. See Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come: An Evangelical's Lament: How the Religious Right Distorts the Faith and Threatens America* (New York: Basic Books, 2006).

[93] David Frederick Gordon, "A Comparison of the Effects of Urban and Suburban Location on Structure and Identity in two Jesus People Groups" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1978), 51, 52.

[94] John Herrin, email correspondence, 15 November 2010.

[95] Glen van Alkemade, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[96] George Marsden, *Religion and American Culture*. 2nd ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2001), 276.

[97] The belief that history is structured based on various "dispensations" or eras by which God has planned events for a larger purpose. The world is on a downward spiral and cannot be reformed. In short, the world must grow increasingly dire before the kingdom of God is fully realized.

[98] George Marsden, *Religion and American Culture*. 2nd ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2001). 276. Marsden also deals with the matter of evangelical and fundamentalist Christianity's relationship to culture and society in *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925.* Second ed. (Oxford, 2006) and *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism*.(Eerdmans, 1987).

[99] See Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come*, page 195. See also D. Michael Lindsay's *Faith in the Halls of Power: How Evangelicals Joined the American Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[100] Colleen Davick, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[101] The work of Timothy Miller and Barry Shenker explores the communal impulse to create the model society, with the hope that the larger culture will follow.

[102] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009 and email correspondence, 11 April 2010.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Jon Pahl, *Empire of Sacrifice: The Religious Origins of American Violence* (New York: NYU Press, 2010).

[105] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009.

[106] Shane Claiborne is a leader within what is known as the "New Monasticism" and founded The Simple Way, a communal expression in Philadelphia, PA.

[107] Brian McLaren, "Why I'm Voting for Barack Obama ... and I hope you will too: Reason 4: The Environment," http://www.brianmclaren.net/archives/blog/why-im-voting-for-barack-obama-a-2.html. Accessed 14 November 2010. See also Brian McLaren, *A Generous Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids. Zondervan, 2004).

[108] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Wendi Kaiser, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 7 March 2010.

[111] JPUSA's commitment to conversion, biblicism, crucicentrism, and activism satisfies what historian David W. Bebbington has considered to accurately define evangelical Christianity. Even if JPUSA simply emphasized conversion broadly defined, they would, according to Randall Balmer, meet fall under the category of "evangelical."

[112] Many leaders of the Evangelical Left, such as Randall Balmer, Jim Wallis, Tony Jones, and to lesser degrees, Anthony Campolo and Brian McLaren, have gone further in their acceptance of situations where abortion might be the only alternative (with varying degrees, as does JPUSA). What is more distinct is the difference in opinion over gay marriage and how homosexuality is generally considered. Although some leaders and many second generations members of JPUSA have more tolerant views on same-sex unions (when compared to

conservative evangelicals) the Evangelical Left often extends tolerance to the acceptance of gay marriage and discount the oft-held belief that homosexuality represents a "struggle" or "sin."

[113] See H. Richard Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956).

[114] By this I intend to suggest that some evangelicals during the Jesus Movement (particularly those during the rise of the Religious Right) engaged social issues with an agenda which was largely Restorationist. While many remained premillenialists, they also attempted to engineer the kingdom of God by building coalitions meant to create legislation which would satisfy special interest groups on the Right. The goal was to restore the nation to its mythical roots of a Christian nation, re-engage social activism, albeit a different kind (when compared to nineteenth-century progressives), while also affirming millenarianism.

[115] For detailed examples of Christian isolationists, see James D. Chancellor, *Life in the Family: An Oral History of the Children of God* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007) and John W. Drakeford, *Children of Doom: A Sobering Look at the Commune Movement* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1972). Donald E. Miller notes the differences between "new paradigm" and megachurch rightists and the social liberalism of the mainline in *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). A good source for understanding the rapid rise to power within the ranks of evangelicalism, see Michael D. Lindsay's *Faith in the Halls of Power: How Evangelicals Joined the American Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[116] D. L. Moody (nineteenth-century) and Billy Sunday (early twentieth-century) were both popular American evangelists. George Marsden provides a compressive history pertaining to the struggles between liberal and conservative Christianity in *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925*. Second ed. Oxford, 2006 and *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987).

[117] An attempt to restore the form and structure of the early church, suggesting that all subsequent expressions of Christianity have been corrupted.

[118] This is a statement taken from the Bible in the book of Matthew, chapter 25, verse 40 (New International Version): "The King will reply, 'I tell you the truth, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did for me." The phrase "least of these" is one which inspires leaders of JPUSA to engage in social justice.

[119] I use the word "tragic" in the sense that history will come to a close (because of the Fall of Humanity), ending in a final battle between good and evil, resulting in final divine judgment. The word can also be used in the Niebuhrian sense of world events and human nature.

[120] Glenn Kaiser, email correspondence, 22 February 2010.

[121] The reference is to psychologist Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The first level of needs includes physiological needs: breathing food, water, sex, sleep, homeostasis, and excretion.

[122] Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 109, 114.

[123] Classical atonement theory suggests that the gospel is more spiritual than physical. Humanity is sinful. Jesus Christ died to atone for the sins of humanity. Theories of the atonement, however, are varied. Some believe that Jesus' death was a substitutionary, appeasing the wrath of God (Jesus took our place). Others, like Charles Finney, taught that the atonement was a demonstration of God's love. Given this, some believe that the atonement appeased the wrath of Satan, thereby releasing humanity from Satan's grip.

[124] James Davidson Hunter, *Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation* (University Of Chicago Press, 1993), 41.

[125] Miller, 109.

[126] For more on this, see Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come*, page 195. See also D. Michael Lindsay, *Faith in the Halls of Power: How Evangelicals Joined the American Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) and Eileen Luhr, *Witnessing Suburbia: Conservative and Christian Youth Culture* (University of California Press, 2009).

[127] Historians such as Mark Noll, George Marsden, and Susan Harding have done exceptional work on how rightist politics influenced evangelical Christianity. The works of Noll and Marsden provide a thorough history which details figures such as Moody. Harding discusses the language and rhetoric of the Religious Right as applied to politics and religious belief.

[128] Alex R. Schaefer, "Evangelicalism, Social Reform and the US Welfare State, 1970-1996." Ed. Adams, David K. and Cornelis A. Van Minnen, eds. *Religious and Secular Reform in America: Ideas, Beliefs and Social Change* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

[129] This is corroborated by works written by emergent leaders such as Brian McLaren and Tony Jones and my interviews with the leaders of JPUSA.

[130] A theology of free-will and anti-deterministic (to a point).

[131] Stowe, 77.

[132] Jim Wallis, "The Global Church and America's War." 13 September 2001. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jim-wallis/the-global-church-and-ame_b_64326.html. Accessed 15 November 2010.

[133] Brian McLaren, "Needed: Christians Thinking Differently About the Future." 3 June 2010. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/brian-d-mclaren/christian-eschatology_b_598868.html. Accessed 15 November 2010.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Hal Lindsey's *Late Great Planet Earth* and Tim LaHaye's *Left Behind* series have sold countless books, spawning movies and have reinforced the doctrine of the rapture. See also Melani McAlister, "Prophecy, Politics and the Popular: The Left Behind Series and Christian Fundamentalism's New World Order" The South Atlantic Quarterly 102.4 (2003): 773-98.

[136] There is a history of apathy toward social justice, as well as a suspicion of those who preach doctrines of social reform rather than individual reform. This, of course, predates Jesus freaks. Some of the most immediate predecessors are Moody, Darby, Spurgeon, and the Puritans. Those who have often been skeptical of global efforts toward peace and justice have cited 1 Thessalonians 5:3: "While people are saying, "Peace and safety," destruction will come on them suddenly, as labor pains on a pregnant woman, and they will not escape." (NIV).

[137] Many members of JPUSA believe that the rapture will occur before the millennial kingdom. Unlike those who follow the work of Lindsey and LaHaye, these communards do not feel the end is imminent. For them, the rapture will happen "when it happens." Information on the changing nature of evangelical ideology can also be found in Brian McLaren's *A Generous Orthodoxy* and Mark Noll's *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind.*

[138] Mainstream society and the institutional church were often viewed as anti-Christ or Babylon. For more on this, see John W. Drakeford, *Children of Doom: A Sobering Look at the Commune Movement* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1972), Ronald M. Enroth, *The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of* Aquarius (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), and James Chancellor, *Life in the Family: An Oral History of the Children of God* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

[139] This refers to the doctrine of salvation through exclusive faith in Jesus. However, some emergent and postmodern Christians hold to a nuanced position, suggesting that in many cases, one is "saved" by Jesus despite their beliefs or practices. This position posits that God offers grace based on the human heart, without regard to cultural context, thus "crediting" the individual based on what they might do, if confronted with the possibility of Christian salvation.

[140] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[141] Along with Tony Jones, Brian McLaren is a leader in emergent Christianity and has authored a number of books which attempt to reconcile Christianity, postmodern critical theory, and cultural pluralism. A controversial figure, he often accused of liberalism, Universalism, and an advocate for the Social Gospel, though he argues that these categories are adequate descriptors of him or emergent.

[142] Fred Phelps is a controversial Baptist minister in Kansas who has been vocal about his position against homosexuality. His public protest and website, "God Hates Fags," has garnered media attention as Phelps continues to use a language of hate, potentially encouraging violent actions toward the gay community.

[143] The belief that some persons will enter Heaven without having converted to Christianity. This is not, however, Universalism, which posits that all will be saved.

[144] Glenn Kaiser, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009. I have also discussed this matter at length with Glenn Kaiser during various visits to the community.

[145] It has been pointed out by McLaren, as well as leaders in JPUSA, that inclusivism, while not widely accepted amongst restrictivist evangelicals, was held by C .S. Lewis, an author held in high esteem by many evangelical Christians.

[146] Persons not recognized as Christian.

[147] Joshua Davenport, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 6 March 2010.

[148] Communards such as Raye Clemente and Tamzen Trott have expressed a desire to help the homeless. The desire to serve is independent of any religious belief or impulse.

[149] Christian Smith, *American Evangelicalism Embattled and Thriving* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 106, 107. Smith alters Peter Berger's concept of plausibility structures of religious belief as related to "sacred canopies" (See *The Sacred Canopy*. New York: Anchor, 1967) to argue that the metaphor of a "sacred umbrella" is more useful in describing religious belief within the context of Modernity. Smith argues that rather belief is sustainable and manageable not by evaluating practices and worldviews in relation to "everyone conceivable," but merely to "members of their own reference group[.] Although JPUSA engages the "real world" their "sacred umbrellas" provide a mobile mechanism which reminds them of their community of support which validates religious belief…unlike other persons of faith who must negotiate Modernity without an ever-present ideological anchor—one which governs one's entire existence. That is, communal living provides ongoing reinforcement of belief.

[150] Preston Shires and Ronald Enroth provide evidence which suggests that early Jesus Movement converts engaged society for the purpose of securing converts before the rapture. JPUSA, on the other hand, engages society with the hope of bettering society.

End Notes Chapter 6

[1] Donald Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 67.

[2] Eileen Luhr, *Witnessing Suburbia: Conservative and Christian Youth Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 71.

[3] Early evangelists such as Billy Sunday and D. L. Moody used popular culture to further the cause of the Christian message. For one of the more recent works on this, see Larry Eskridge. Dissertation. *God's Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America 1966-1977*. 2005. Pages 35 and 36 provide the most pertinent information.

[4] George Marsden, *Religion and American Culture*, 2nd ed. (Belmont: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2001), 68.

[5] Ibid, 189.

[6] Cultural critic Dick Hebdige uses the word bricolage to describe how various disparate things (whatever is available at the time) can come together to express something new, to challenge, 5to resist, or to convince.

[7] Duane Oldfield, *The Right and the Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1996), 49-50.

[8] Andrew Beaujon, *Body Piercing Saved my Life: Inside the Phenomenon of Christian Rock* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2006), 179, 181.

[9] Larry Eskridge, "God's Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America 1966-1977*"* (Ph.D. diss., University of Stirling, 2005), 20.

[10] Beaujon, 34.

[11] http://www.amygrant.com/music. Accessed 9 June 2010.

[12] Beaujon, 31.

[13] Beaujon, 32.

[14] H. Richard Niebuhr. *Christ and Culture* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1951).

[15] Jay R. Howard, *Apostles of Rock: The Splintered World of Contemporary Christian Music* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 49.

[16] Niebuhr. *Christ and Culture*.

[17] Howard, 111. The term "Christ of culture" refers to H. Richard Niebuhr classic book *Christ & Culture* (Harper & Row, 1951).

[18] Howard, 78-81.

[19] Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*.

[20] "`Family Guy` and Terror; Stars and Addiction; `Holy Hollywood`; Interview With Actor Stephen Baldwin." *SHOWBIZ TONIGHT*. Transcripts. Show Aired October 2, 2006. http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0610/02/sbt.01.html. Accessed 2 April 2010.

[21] During the seventies and eighties, the contemporary Christian music industry and the Gospel Music Association produced music which put forth an obvious Christian message, often mentioning the word "Jesus" as often as possible. Musicians who sought to compose songs using metaphor and ambiguity were typically not labeled "Christian" when considering categories and marketing. During the nineties, more Christian musicians felt freer to compose songs which dealt with a number of topics. Cornerstone antedates this.

[22] Jon Trott, "A History of Jesus People USA: Part 6: Cornerstone Festival." http://www.jpusa.org/lessons6.html. Accessed 2 June 2010.

[23] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[24] *Cornerstone Festival: Twenty Years and Counting*, prod and dir John J. Thompson, Nashville: Floodgate Records, 2002, DVD.

[25] "`Family Guy` and Terror; Stars and Addiction; `Holy Hollywood`; Interview With Actor Stephen Baldwin." *SHOWBIZ TONIGHT*. Transcripts. Show Aired October 2, 2006. http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0610/02/sbt.01.html. Accessed 2 April 2010.

[26] Creation Fest is a Christian festival which does not carry the same "subcultural" appeal as Cornerstone. Moreover, Creation Fest is known for showcasing mainstream Christian groups, whereas Cornerstone (while hosting some mainstream groups on the mains stage) is known for "indie" music and side stages, which showcase "underground" subcultural bands.

[27] Glen van Alkemade, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[28] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[29]Industrial is a form of heavy music which incorporates mechanistic, factory-like sounds.

[30] See *Cornerstone Festival: Twenty Years and Counting*, prod. and dir. John J. Thompson, Nashville: Floodgate Records, 2002., DVD and Mark Allan Powell, *The Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002).

[31] Dick Hebdige. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 102.

[32] Hard core music groups rupture the performer-fan relationship by inviting fans on stage. Hard core concerts involved a stage filled with fans who share the same spot light, implying there is no distinction between the band and the fan. In like manner, punk bands during the seventies often spat at the audience, thus erasing lines of distinction.

[33] Lawrence Grossberg, 1992a. "The Affective Sensibility of Fandom," *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, Lisa Lewis, ed. Lisa A, Lewis (New York: Routledge), 1992. p. 308.

[34] Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process* (Hawthorne: Aldine De Gruyter, 1995), 25.

[35]Bloodgood, "Crucify," *Shakin' the World: Live Volume Two*. 1990 (Intense Records).

[36] Lawrence Grossberg, 1992a. "The Affective Sensibility of Fandom," *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, Lisa Lewis, ed. Lisa A, Lewis (New York: Routledge), 1992. p. 308.

[37] Melani McAlister, "What is Your Heart For?: Affect and Internationalism in the Evangelical Public Sphere," *American Literary History* 20, no 4, (Winter 2008): 883.

[38]McAlister, 883, 884.

[39] Lawrence Grossberg, "Putting the Pop Back into Postmodernism." *Social Text*, no. 21, Universal Abandon? The Politics of Postmodernism (1989), Duke University Press), 169.

[40] Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 213.

[41] See Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

[42] One musical example is Pedro the Lion, known for heterodoxy, leftist politics, and language often deemed unacceptable within the context of teenagers. Conservative festival-goers have stated that they were amazed that the group was allowed to perform on the main stage, a venue often peopled by church youth groups. The more visible examples apply to the seminars. A number of theologically, philosophical, and political opinions are represented at seminars. While some who attend are challenged in their own paradigms, other have often engaged in robust debates.

[43] Lawrence Grossberg, "Putting the Pop Back into Postmodernism." *Social Text*, no. 21, Universal Abandon? The Politics of Postmodernism (1989), Duke University Press). 169.

[44] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2009, Jon Trott, email correspondence, 20 May 2010, and Jon Trott. Bluechristian.blogspot.com. 14 January 2008. Accessed 13 May 2010.

[45] *HM* magazine was established in 1985 as *Heaven's Metal* and is now titled *HM* or *Hard Music*. *HM* is the *Rolling Stone* of Christian rock.

[46] Doug Van Pelt, email correspondence, 30 May 2010.

[47] Tooth & Nail records formed as a result of Cornerstone and paved the way for a new generation of evangelical rock musicians seeking to break out of the previously cast CCM mould. See *Cornerstone Festival: Twenty Years and Counting*, prod. and dir. John J. Thompson, Nashville: Floodgate Records, 2002, DVD.

[48] Mark Allan Powell, email correspondence, 1 June 2010.

[49] Doug Van Pelt, email correspondence, 29 May 2010.

[50] Jay R. Howard, email correspondence, 4 June 2010.

[51] An online magazine that publishes reviews of albums, movies, and interviews.

[52] Linda LaFianza and Shari Lloyd, email correspondence, 4 June 2010.

[53] Barry Alfonso, *The Billboard Guide to Contemporary Christian Music* (New York: Billboard Books, 2002), 30.

[54] "Award Eligibility: C." *GMA Dove Awards 2009-2010 Policy & Procedures Manual for GMA Professional, Associate, and Student Members*. 2 http://www.doveawardsvoting.com/2009_Policy_Procedures_Manual.pdf. Accessed 9 June 2010.

[55] Christian music producer and author Charlie Peacock has discussed the state of the Christian music industry and the debates over what qualifies as "Christian" music in *At The Crossroads*: *Inside the Past, Present, and Future of Contemporary Christian Music*. Revised and Expanded Edition. With Molly Nicholas. (Colorado Springs: Shaw at Waterbrook Press/Random House, 2004).

[56] Mark Allan Powell, email correspondence, 24 October 2006.

[57] Mark Allan Powell, *The Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 13.

[58] "Woody," *Pray Naked* (a.k.a. *The Seventy Sevens*) Brainstorm Artists, Intl., 1992.

[59] "The Lust, The Flesh, The Eyes & The Pride of Life." The 77s Exit/Island Records, 1987.

[60] Doug Van Pelt, email correspondance, 3 June 2010.

[61] Glen van Alkemade, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Andrew Beaujon, *Body Piercing Saved my Life: Inside the Phenomenon of Christian Rock* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2006), 3.

[64] Doug Van Pelt, email correspondence, 30 May 2010.

[65] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[66] Doug Van Pelt, email correspondence, 30 May 2010.

[67] Staff members have indicated their desire to relive the Jesus Movement at the festival and to offer Christians a kind of Woodstock feel. See also *Cornerstone Festival: Twenty Years and* Counting, prod. and dir. John J. Thompson, Nashville: Floodgate Records, 2002, DVD.

[68] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 59.

[69] *Bleed Into One*, prod. and dir. Steve Taylor, Imperial Pictures, forthcoming, documentary.

[70] Doug Van Pelt, email correspondence, 30 May 2010.

[71] *Cornerstone Festival: Twenty Years and* Counting, prod. and dir. John J. Thompson, Nashville: Floodgate Records, 2002, DVD.

[72] See Richard Dyer, *Only Entertainment* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 4, 5 and works by Theodore Adorno.

[73] These are categories of CCM which have been defined by Jay R. Howard. *Apostles of Rock: The Splintered World of Contemporary Christian Music* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999).

[74] Mark Allan Powell, email correspondence, 24 October 2006.

[75] Jay R. Howard, email correspondence, 4 June 2010.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Linda LaFianza and Shari Lloyd, email correspondance, 4 June 2010.

[79] Beaujon, 35.

[80] Beaujon, 36.

[81] Charlie Peacock is a Grammy award-winning, multi-format songwriter and record producer. Production and songwriting credits include Switchfoot, Karl Denson's Tiny Universe, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Béla Fleck, Leigh Nash, Al Green, Tommy and the Whale, Warren Barfield, Maeve, Sam & Ruby, Savannah, Amy Grant, Sixpence None The Richer, Sara Groves,

Nikki Williams, Anna Owens, Audio Adrenaline, Sarah Masen, David Crowder Band, Avalon, Philip Bailey, dcTalk, Margaret Becker, Out of the Grey, Twila Paris, and CeCe Winans.

[82] Jay R. Howard, *Apostles of Rock: The Splintered World of Contemporary Christian Music* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 134-145.

[83] Charlie Peacock, "The Future of Christian Music: Peacock's Prognostication." CCMmagazine.com.http://www.ccmmagazine.com/news/stories/11571162/. Accessed 14 June 2010.

[84] Linda LaFianza and Shari Lloyd, email correspondence4 June 2010.

[85] Charlie Peacock offers a complete analysis as an insider in *At the Crossroads: Inside the Past, Present, and Future of Contemporary Christian Music* (Colorado Springs: Shaw/WaterBrook/Random House, 2004).

[86] Ibid.

[87] According to this festival's website, the name "Wild Goose" can be attributed to the festival staff members' understanding of Celtic Christianity: "In the spirit of vibrant, category-defying Celtic Christianity, we saw our desire embodied in the Celtic Church's way of speaking about the enigmatic Holy Spirit: The Wild Goose, who wanders where she will. Who can tame her? No one. Far better it is to embark on a Wild Goose Chase, and see the terrain of our faith be transformed." Wild Goose Festival. http://www.wildgoosefestival.org/about-2/getting-in-touch/. Accessed 8 October 2010.

[88] Lawrence Grossberg, "A Prisoner of the Modern?" *Culture Machine* http://culturemachine.tees.ac.uk/Cmach/Backissues/j001/articles/art_gros.html. Accessed 2 June 2010.

[89] Lawrence Grossberg, "Putting the Pop Back into Postmodernism." *Social Text*, no. 21, Universal Abandon? The Politics of Postmodernism (1989), Duke University Press. 168, 169.

[90] Grossberg, 169.

[91] Grossberg, 181.

[92] Eric Pement, email correspondence, 15 June 2010.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Many evangelical Christians either do not celebrate Halloween (viewing it as evil) or offer alternatives.

[95] Grossberg, 168.

[96] Jon Pahl was the respondent to my presentation on JPUSA and Cornerstone at the American Historical Association. His response was titled "Alternatives to What? New Religions and Intentional Communities in Recent American History." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Historical Association, Boston, MA, January 6, 2011.

[97] Grossberg, 179.

[98] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[99] A "secular" example of festivals which attempts social inversion is the Burning Man festival.

[100] "`Family Guy` and Terror; Stars and Addiction; `Holy Hollywood`; Interview With Actor Stephen Baldwin." *SHOWBIZ TONIGHT*. Transcripts. Show Aired October 2, 2006. http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0610/02/sbt.01.html. Accessed 2 April 2010.

[101] Terry Scott Taylor states this in the DVD about Cornerstone when recalling how his band, Daniel Amos, would often prepare for the festival. See *Cornerstone Festival: Twenty Years and* Counting, prod. and dir. John J. Thompson, Nashville: Floodgate Records, 2002, DVD.

[102] Andrew Beaujon, *Body Piercing Saved my Life: Inside the Phenomenon of Christian Rock* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2006), 12.

[103] John Herrin, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 10 March 2009.

[104] Jon Trott, "Part 6: Cornerstone Festival: *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons7.html. Accessed May 14, 2010, 2010. Originally printed by Don McLeese in "Praising Jesus with Heavy-Metal Beat," *Chicago Sun-Times*, 29 June 1984.

[105] Donald Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 11, 12, 13, 67, 180-185.

[106] Doug Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 251.

[107] Doug Van Pelt, email correspondence, 30 May 2010, Jay R. Howard, email correspondence. 4 June 2010, Mark Allan Powell. Email correspondence. 1 June 2010, and Linda LaFianza and Shari Lloyd, email correspondence, 4 June 2010.

[108] Stephen A. Marini, *Sacred Song in America: Religion, Music, and Public Culture* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 30.

End Notes Chapter 7

[1] James D. Chancellor, *Life in the Family: An Oral History of the Children of God* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), xxi.

[2] Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 139.

[3] John Herrin communicated this to me during a late-night conversation.

[4] Nathan Cameron, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 20 March 2010.

[5] Ibid.

[6] The Jesus Movement spawned a number of controversial groups such as The Children of God, The Way International, the Tony and Susan Alamo Christian Foundation, and Jim Jones's People Temple. These created media hype and kept evangelicals engaged in cult awareness. JPUSA has to define itself against these groups to gain favor with establishment evangelicalism.

[7] In earlier years, all JPUSA communards were assigned a "buddy." Everyone has to have their buddy with them at all times.

[8] It is important to note that since all communards must share vans, mobility is limited.

[9] Christopher Wiitala, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 6 March 2010.

[10] While he recognizes that part of communal life includes shared property, Christopher Wiitala expressed frustration with how often privacy is breached and how it is merely assumed that a child is being watched, or that anyone asked will agree to babysit. Christopher Wiitala, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 6 March 2010.

[11] Eileen Freed, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[12] Kanter, 144.

[13] Tamzen Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[14] Nathan Cameron, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 20 March 2010.

[15] Tamzen Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010 and Scarlett Shelby, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 7 March 2010. This has also been expressed in the trailer of a forthcoming documentary about kids who have been born and raised in JPUSA. *Born: Growing Up in a Religious Commune*, prod. and dir. Jaime Prater, www.bornthefilm.com. Accessed 17 June 2010.

[16] Tamzen Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[17] Jon Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 11 March 2010.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] I use the term "Holiness" as a descriptor for the theology held by many JPUSA elders.

[21] Tamzen Trott, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[22] Nathan Cameron, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 20 March 2010.

[23] Christopher Wiitala, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 6 March 2010. Other rules included a ban on various forms of secular music. The ban was later lifted.

[24] Amy Moss, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 7 March 2010.

[25] Chancellor, 90.

[26] Persons who join JPUSA and remain for a few months. These join for a number of reasons: free admission to the Cornerstone Festival, inspired to join as a result of Cornerstone Festival, or simply seekers hoping to find purpose or healing.

[27] Dawn Mortimer, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[28] Scarlett Shelby, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 7 March 2010.

[29] "Susan" [pseud.], interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.
[30] Ibid.

[31] Kanter, 129.

[32] Tiana Coleman, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 7 March 2010.

[33] Joel Williams, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[34] Tiana Coleman, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 7 March 2010.

[35] Ronald M. Enroth, *Recovering from Churches that Abuse* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 125-128.

[36] "Susan" [pseud.], interview with author, Chicago, IL. 21 March 2010.

[37] Kevin Frank, email correspondence. 1 April 2010. See also Anson Shupe, "Jesus People USA," *Sects, Cults, and Spiritual Communities: A Sociological Analysis* (Eds. William W. Zellner and Marc Petrowsky. Westport: Praeger, 1998), 37.

[38] "Susan" [pseud.], interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[39] Kanter, 143.

[40] Christopher Wiitala, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 6 March 2010.

[41] Kanter, 83.

[42] "Susan" [pseud.], interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[43] Scarlett Shelby, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 7 March 2010.

[44] Kevin Frank, email correspondence, 13 March 2010.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] "Elaine" [pseud.], email correspondence, 12 March 2010.

[49] Eric Pement, email correspondence, 15 June 2010.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Barbara Pement, email correspondence, 28 June 2010.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Barbara Pement, email correspondence, 29 June 2010.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] *Born: Growing up in a Religious Commune*, prod. and dir. Jaime Prater, forthcoming. http://www.bornthefilm.com. Accessed 23 June 2010.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Leaders would also affirm that spiritual maturation is also the result of the Holy Spirit.

[63] Kirsten Scharnberg, "Exodus From Commune Ignites Battle for Souls: Second of Two Parts." *Chicago Tribune*, April 2, 2001.

[64] *Born: Growing up in a Religious Commune*, prod. and dir. Jaime Prater, forthcoming. http://www.bornthefilm.com. Accessed 23 June 2010.

[65] See both *Born: Growing up in a Religious Commune*, prod. and dir. Jaime Prater, forthcoming. http://www.bornthefilm.com, Accessed 23 June 2010 and Ronald M. Enroth, *Recovering from Churches that Abuse* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994).

[66] Malcolm Magee, personal correspondence, 2010.

[67] Kanter, 130.

[68] Gemeinschaft emphasizes individual emotions, needs, and sentiments, and connects those to larger relationships, such as the family. Gesellschaft emphasizes detachment, favoring organizational structure over commonalities held by members of the organization: overly rational.

[69] Chitu Okoli, email correspondence, 9 March 2010.

[70] Chitu Okoli, email correspondence, 9 March 2010.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Barbara Pement, email correspondence, 28 June 2010.

[73] Chitu Okoli, email correspondence, 9 March 2010.

[74] Ibid.

[75] A minor distinction which emphasizes the choice to join or to leave. This also is a term used to disarm negative views associated with the word "commune."

[76] Anson Shupe, "Jesus People USA," *Sects, Cults, and Spiritual Communities: A Sociological Analysis* (Eds. William W. Zellner and Marc Petrowsky. Westport: Praeger, 1998), 37.

[77] See "Two Sides of Jesus People USA." *Eight Forty-Eight* July 3, 2008. http://www.chicagopublicradio.org/Content.aspx?audioID=26320. Accessed 24 June 2010.

[78] Instructed in the ways of Christianity and held accountable during the process of training.

[79] Stu Heiss, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 20 March 2010.

[80] Ibid.

[81] This term has been used to describe persons who join the community a few weeks before the Cornerstone Festival for the purpose of gaining free admission to the event. Some choose to remain in the community while others leave.

[82] Curtis Mortimer, interview by author, digital recording. Chicago, IL., 21 March 2010.

[83] *Holy Bible*. "Matthew 25:40."

[84] Kanter, 146.

[85] Eric Pement, email correspondence, 15 June 2010.

[86] *Our Statement of Faith*. "Jesus People USA Evangelical Covenant Church." http://www.jpusa.org/faith.html. Accessed 10 January 2011.

[87] Eric Pement, email correspondence, 15 June 2010.

[88] David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005).

[89] Eric Pement, email correspondence, 15 June 2010.

[90] John Herrin, email correspondence, 2 December 2010.

[91] Neil Taylor, email correspondence, 2 December 2010.

[92] John Herrin, email correspondence, 2 December 2010.

[93] Eric Pement, email correspondence, 15 June 2010.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Neil Taylor, email correspondence, 28 July 2010.

[96] Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1959), 191

[97] Jon Trott quotes this in "House and Home." *A History of Jesus People USA*. http://www.jpusa.org/lessons1b.html. Accessed 4 March 2010. The quote can be found in "Citizens of Two Worlds," *Cornerstone* 5, Iss. 30, p. 4, 5.

[98] Kanter, 213.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ruth Tucker, "JPUSA Is Family: Observations by Ruth Tucker." *Cornerstone* 22, Iss. 102/103 (1994): p. 41. Cornerstone Communications, Inc., William Backus, "Who's Abusing Who? A Letter to JPUSA From Psychologist and Author William Backus on Dr. Ronald Enroth's Methodology." *Cornerstone* 22, Iss. 102/103 (1994): pp. 35-36. Cornerstone Communications, Inc., Jon Trott, "Is Abuse About Truth or Story: Or Both? One Intentional Community's Painful Experience with False Accusations." *Cornerstone* online. http://www.cornerstonemag.com/features/web01/truthorstory01.html. Accessed 27 June 2010.

[101] Kanter, 146.

End Notes Chapter 8

[1] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the "Spirit" of Capitalism* (New York: Penguin, 2002), 19.

[2] David F. Gordon, "The Role of the Local Social Context in Social Movement Accommodation: A Case Study of Two Jesus People Groups." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 23, no. 4 (Dec., 1984): p. 394.

[3] Gemeinschaft emphasizes individual emotions, needs, and sentiments, and connects those to larger relationships, such as the family. Gesellschaft emphasizes detachment, favoring organizational structure over commonalities held by members of the organization: overly rational.

[4] Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1972), 142.

[5] Kanter, 146.

[6] Larry Eskridge, "'One Way': Billy Graham, the Jesus Generation, and the Idea of an Evangelical Youth Culture." *Church History* 67, no. 1 (Mar., 1998): p. 104.

[7] Daniel Radosh, *Rapture Ready: Adventures in the Parallel Universe of Christian Pop Culture* (New York: Scribner, 2008), 188.

[8] Mark Allan Powell, email correspondence, 2 January 2011.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Music groups such as Pedro the Lion represent a nebulous form of evangelical Christianity which both affirms a certain exclusivity about Jesus while also remaining skeptical about evangelical expressions which too quickly judge the validity of other truth-claims. Thus, groups like this (and others at Cornerstone) typify a gentler form of evangelical Christianity.

[12] Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (University of California Press; 1 edition, 1999), 87.

[13] Miller, 122.

[14] Lawrence Grossberg, "Putting the Pop Back into Postmodernism." *Social Text*, No. 21, Universal Abandon? The Politics of Postmodernism (1989), Duke University Press. 179.

[15] Grossberg, 180.

[16] Philip Goff and Alan Heimert, "Revivals and Revolution: Historiographic Turns since Alan Heimert's 'Religion and the American Mind.'" *Church History* 67, no. 4 (Dec., 1998): 695, 696.

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM

This dissertation conforms to the guidelines established by the Oral History Association. The following release form was used in obtaining permissions from those interviewed. Original consent forms remain the property of the author of this work. Release forms, transcripts, and recorded interviews are available upon request.

Research Participant Information and Consent Form

You are being asked to participate in a research project. Researchers are required to provide a consent form to inform you about the study, to convey that participation is voluntary, to explain risks and benefits of participation, and to empower you to make an informed decision. You should feel free to ask the researchers any questions you may have.

Study Title: Jesus People USA and the Cornerstone Festival
Researchers and Title: Professor Jeff Charnley and Shawn David Young, MSU Ph.D. candidate
Department and Institution: Writing, Rhetoric and Culture/American Studies, Michigan State University
Address and Contact Information:

Michigan State University
235 Bessey Hall
East Lansing, Michigan 48824-1033

1. PURPOSE OF RESEARCH:

- You are being asked to participate in a research study of the Jesus People USA community and its annual Cornerstone Festival.
- You have been selected as a possible participant in this study because you are either a current member of this community, or you have at some point been a member of this community, or you have attended the Cornerstone Festival for more than five years and are able to comment on both the festival and its sponsor, Jesus People USA.
- From this study, the researchers hope to learn how Jesus People USA and the Cornerstone Festival have changed over the years. Furthermore, the researchers hope to learn if the community and the festival can serve as an example of the changes occurring in the American evangelical Christian church.
- Your participation in this study will take approximately twenty minutes.
- You must be between the ages of 21 years to 75 to participate in the study.

2. WHAT YOU WILL DO:

- You will be asked to take part in a discussion about the history of Jesus People USA, its annual festival, Cornerstone, your involvement with the community and the festival, your opinions about political and theological changes within the community, and how you feel they represent the larger evangelical culture. You will be recorded by an audio tape recorder. Your statements will be taken from the recording and written down, and will possibly be published.
- You will be asked to provide a time most convenient for you to take part in the interview. During the interview, you will be asked to discuss your involvement with the community and your opinions about its impact on the larger culture.
    - The study you are taking part is part of a larger work, which will become part of a doctoral dissertation. It is possible this research will be published in book form.
- You will be provided with a copy of my finding, should you so desire.

3. POTENTIAL BENEFITS:

- The potential benefits to you for taking part in this study are that you may gain a deeper understanding of the political and religious changes occurring within American society and culture, how Jesus People and Cornerstone have either contributed to these changes or somehow serve as one example of these changes, and how you might, or continue to, play a role in these cultural changes.

4. POTENTIAL RISKS:

- The potential risks of participating in this study are…
  - Employment (if your statements are unpopular with your employer), psychological (if reliving these memories are emotionally painful) social (if your opinions are misinterpreted or misunderstood by your peers and community members), economic (if your statements are viewed as heretical by church employers), reputation (if your statements are misunderstood or misinterpreted by friends, family, employers, fellow community members, etc.).
  - Other risks may include distress or discomfort as you recall particular events of your history and involvement with Jesus People or Cornerstone Festival
  - There is a risk of reporting illegal or compromising activities (e.g. sexual behavior).
- If you find yourself emotionally troubled by recalling this history, you are advised to seek local counseling.

5. PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY:

- The results of this study may be published or presented at professional meetings. All research subjects will be identified in research reports and documents, unless they choose to remain anonymous.
- If you agree be identified, specific permission for identification must be obtained.
  - I agree to allow my identity to be disclosed in reports and presentations.

    ☐ Yes ☐ No Initials_____
- You are being audiotaped. This is required to be in the project.
  - I agree to allow audiotaping/videotaping of the interview.

    ☐ Yes ☐ No Initials_____
  - The tapes will be labeled, stored, and kept in my possession.
- If you are taking part in an email interview, your name will be indentified in the email, and will therefore be identified in the research document.
  - I will not collect or store Internet addresses. I will only store email addresses for the duration of the research. This allows me to contact you, should I require further information.

6. YOUR RIGHTS TO PARTICIPATE, SAY NO, OR WITHDRAW

- Participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You have the right to say no.
- You may change your mind at any time and withdraw.
  - There are no consequences of withdrawal or incomplete participation.
- You may choose not to answer specific questions or to stop participating at any time.

- Choosing not to participate or withdrawing from this study will not make any difference in
    - benefits to which you are otherwise entitled (new knowledge, results of the research, etc.).
- You will be told of any significant findings that develop during the course of the study that may influence your willingness to continue to participate in the research.

7. COSTS AND COMPENSATION FOR BEING IN THE STUDY:

- You will not receive money or any other form of compensation for participating in this study.

8. CONFLICT OF INTEREST

- Keep in mind that I have been affiliated with both Jesus People USA and Cornerstone Festival for a number of years. This does not mean you are obligated to take part in the study out of any sense of duty, obligation or friendship. You are free to say no to the research project.

9. CONTACT INFORMATION FOR QUESTIONS AND CONCERNS

If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury, please contact the researchers:

Professor Jeff Charnley and Shawn David Young
Department of Writing, Rhetoric, and American Cultures/American Studies
235 Bessey Hall
Michigan State University
East Lansing, MI 48824-1033
Jeff Charnely, charnle2@msu.edu, (517) 432-2566
Shawn David Young, youngs21@msu.edu or shwn.young@gmail.com

If you have questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503, or e-mail irb@msu.edu or regular mail at 202 Olds Hall, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824.

10. DOCUMENTATION OF INFORMED CONSENT.

Your signature below means that you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

_____ _____
Signature Date

_____ _____
Signature of Assenting Child (13-17; if appropriate) Date

You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

A signature is a required element of consent – if not included, a waiver of documentation must be applied for.

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