



A CLANGING CYMBAL:
CONFLICT AMONG CATHOLIC PENTECOSTALS

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by

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ABSTRACT

A CHANGING SCENARIO: CONFLICT AMONG CATHOLIC PENTECOSTALS

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This thesis describes the genesis and anagenesis of conflict among Catholic Pentecostals. It first shows how the Catholic Pentecostals are but part of a larger unit that is called the Jesus Movement and the web of interaction is drawn. Using the model of social dialectics, it is seen that the Catholics emerged from their conflict stronger. The entire Jesus Movement is shown to be the mediator of the Marxian critique returned to its origin, primitive Christianity.

Joseph had a dream;and when he told it to his brothers,they hated him still more...They said to each other,'Here comes that dreamer. Now is our chance;let us kill him and throw him into one of these pits and say that a wild beast has devoured him. Then we shall see what will come of his dreams ' (Genesis 37:5,19-20)

'Very much I (John Henry Newman speaking) have suffered,but the clouds have passed away'....nothing was to come to him (Newman) easily. So many less gifted than he,born into the upper and ruling class,who never had to worry about money,passed comfortably into whatever class they chose to enter; Newman had to slave for all he gained,and to suffer humiliating defeats for every prize (Meriol Trevor: Newman the Pillar of the Cloud)

Introduction

We ought to remember that religion uses language in quite a different way from science. The language of religion is more closely related to the science of poetry than to the language of science.

We are forced to speak in images and parables which do not express precisely what we mean. Nor can we avoid occasional contradictions; nevertheless, the images help us to draw nearer to the real facts. Their experience no one should deny. 'Truth dwells in the deep.' This claim is no less true than the first proposition of Schiller's poem ('The full mind is alone the clear'), (Werner Heisenberg: Physics and Beyond).

Recently, the messiah of a religion has developed into a folk hero. Associated with this wave of interest is a rock opera and a mass movement. His image has appeared twice on the cover of Time within a few months. This paper is concerned about a section of the Jesus Movement in one region. It will combine description with analysis.

The subject of this study is, as the sub-title states, conflict among Catholic Pentecostals. What seemed at first one movement proved to be but part of a larger, triune movement. The Catholic Pentecostals in this region have woven a multiplex web of interaction between themselves, the Assembly of God, and the Jesus People, which together make up the Jesus Movement.

What I have done is to trace the conflict in terms of a dialectical process. We shall see how a near chaotic prayer meeting was negated by the structuring role playing of a new leader. He broke the unity of the group into two factions favorable or unfavorable to himself. This negation was negated and mediated by a third party. The prayer meeting emerged from the conflict stronger

than before. It is achieving its potential of a free, Christian community.

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Deus meus et omnia
Feast of Thomas à Beckett
East Alton, Illinois
Revised
Fête de la Notre Dame de Lourdes
East Lansing, Michigan

All scripture quotes are taken from the New English Bible.
I have followed theologians in the practice of marking Biblical
references.

Thereafter the day shall come
when I pour out my spirit on all mankind;
your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,
your old men shall dream dreams
and your young men see visions;
I will pour out my spirit in those days
even upon slaves and slave girls.
I will show portents in the sky and on earth,
blood and fire and columns of smoke;
the sun shall be turned into darkness
and the moon into blood
before the great and terrible day of the LORD comes.
Then everyone who invokes the LORD by name
shall be saved. Joel 2:28-32

From that day Jesus began to proclaim the message: 'Repent,
for the kingdom of heaven is upon you.' Matthew 4:17

"Repent," said Peter, "repent and be baptized every
one of you, in the name of Jesus the Messiah for the forgive-
ness of your sins; and you will receive the gift of the
Holy Spirit." Acts 2:38

The environment in which all events of this study take place is a region which I have renamed the River City area. Located on a curve of the Mississippi River, the area contains a population of 113,115 (1970). The River City area consists of a central city and the surrounding five townships.

The site of River City was first settled in 1785 by the French. Indian difficulties prevented growth until after the War of 1812. A city was laid out in 1818 and by 1830, River City was a major transportation centre connected by steamboat and railroad. The first, great wave of immigration to the area occurred from the South; as a result, the attitude of the city was pro-slavery. It was here that a mob killed an Abolitionist minister in 1837--the first martyr of the cause. At this time, the county in which River City is located politically dominated the state. River City almost became state capital since it received the most votes in a general election. However, the state legislature decided to move the seat of government further north to a more central location. River City's influence in state politics began to wane. During the Civil War, River City was a military post and the site of a Confederate prison. The city did not grow again until after the second wave of Irish and German immigration after the Civil War.

The River City area, because of its proximity to the Mississippi, is heavily industrial. It contains a steel, flour, and two brass mills, glass and box factories, three oil refineries (the Shell plant is the largest one of that company in the U.S.), and a munitions plant. Two of these industries originated in River City. One is a nationally orientated company and the other is international. All

together these industries employ approximately twenty thousand (the Greater River City Area Chamber of Commerce:personal communication).

The economy of the River City area has said to be suffering from recession since the unemployment rate equals the national level of six per cent. Public building projects planned during the sixties have been completed except for the new federal court house. Private expansion of factory equipment and physical plants planned during the fifties and sixties have been completed. However, production was remained at its 1970 level. Highway project funding that had been frozen under the Johnson administration because of alleged union racism has been thawed by President Nixon. The Republican administration was satisfied with token admission of blacks into the construction unions. As a result of the steady rate of production and new highway construction, the Chamber of Commerce is confident that the River City area will ride out any further national recession. It can point to the fact that during the great depression the factories of River City did not close. Workers from all over the lower Ohio and Mississippi River valleys flocked to River City in the third great wave of immigration to obtain jobs.

According to Bogue and Beale, the River City area is one of the northern boundaries of the South (Bogue and Beale 1961: xiviii). The area, culturally, is also at the boundary of North and South. For example, the pattern of kinship shares more characteristics with that of the South than the North. Cousins and their spouses are usually recognized as relatives no matter how distant. Recognition, however, depends on geographical proximity. Even a first cousin residing in a far away state is soon forgotten. With some cousins of the

opposite sex,a close relationship develops known as "bissin' cousins." Furthermore,people are delighted to discover a shared kinsman. Relations are called upon to provide special services and favors;hence,like Flem Snopes of William Faulkner's novels,the individual of River City will try to help his less fortunate kinsman.

State law prohibits the release of the number of registered voters;however,it is reasonably safe to state the area is heavily Democratic. Out of seven county offices,five are held by the Democratic party. The Republicans have made serious inroads in the River City area as they have in the rest of the South. Starting with the 1948 Presidential election, the Republican candidates have showed increasing strength although the Republican has never carried the county.

The controlling secular ideology is conservative although people in River City like to class themselves,regardless of class or ideology,as "an average middle class moderate." The area, unlike that of the deep South,has a tradition of unionism. However, the struggles in which unions were established have been forgotten. Now,anything that seeks to change the status quo is revolutionary. The world outside the River City area is perceived as undergoing great upheaval. The death struggle continues between the East and West in such places as the Middle East and Indo-China. The United States is not the invincible power that it used to be since its army can not achieve victory. Furthermore,the prestige of the United States has been tarnished by incidents like the Pueblo and My Lai. So far,these events have had little direct impact on life in River City. Revolution,

although frightening, is far away. At all costs, the revolution must be prevented from ever reaching River City.

The secular world, international and national, is divided between the good United States and the evil of communism. All activities and events are judged as to whether or not they help the U.S. or "the Reds." Anything that threatens the status quo must somehow be linked to communism. Guides used in making these distinctions are the Reader's Digest and the River City Evening Messenger.

Despite its attempt at withdrawal, River City does share with the rest of the nation certain domestic problems. The three most relevant to the subject of this study are integration, education, and the effect of the Indo-China War. Integration has come later to River City than it has to other cities of its size in the deep South. While a dual school system no longer exists, blacks are concentrated into certain buildings. The school district was ordered to integrate by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. When the result was considered token by Washington, the city was ordered to bus. The response was public outcry and the resignation of the school board president. Outside the central city, only one school district has even token integration.

River City has no militant black organization. All it has is the N.A.A.C.P.. Protests even in the heyday of the Civil Rights Movement were limited to a few pickets. The old ghetto area of River City is disintegrating since more and more blacks are moving out of it to all sections of River City. The blacks are being replaced in their old homes by poor whites.

Racism is tied to the protestant work ethic. The whites resent what they regard as favoritism by the federal government,

"Colored people just sit around gettin' drunk, havin' babies, and collectin' welfare checks while we work." Even when blacks are hired the alleged favoritism lingers, "They can come in late or not at all and nobody says nothin'. If a white man did that, he'd be fired." The white people do believe that blacks can achieve equality but only if they earn it. Blacks must work hard in imitation of the whites.

Education represents both a hope and a plague. It was supposed to be a vehicle that allowed the children of the River City area to climb the social ladder. Education meant better jobs and salaries. Yet, education was a curse because it encouraged the questioning of the status quo. What Cash states for the thirties is still true:

it didn't matter where you began, whether with Darwin or Nietzsche or Freud or John Watson. All of them were common exponents, in the logical culmination everywhere was atheistic communism.... Was it not manifest that even now many of the young men and women who were coming out of the schools no longer went to church. That some brazenly proclaimed themselves agnostics or even announced their adherence to atheism--the very hallmark of Red Russia itself? (Cash 1941:329-330).

The River City Evening Messenger is vocal in its attacks against the university at the county seat of Marion. The university is a nest of parasites who thrive on the sweat of the worker. It is a den of corruption that breeds promiscuity, drunkenness, black consciousness, and overt communism. University people are disliked because they are critical of society and wish to overthrow it, "to bite the hand that feeds it."

Recent years have seen a rise in patriotism. Religion may be mocked but anyone that mocks the United States is shown no tolerance. The inhabitants of River City have always believed

in what C. Vann Woodward called "the legend of American innocence:"

Americans achieved a sort of regeneration of sinful man by coming out of the wicked Old World and removing to an untarnished one....The absence of these old world ills in America, as well as the freedom from much of the oppression associated with them, encouraged a singular moral complacency in the American mind. The self-image implanted in Americans was one of innocence as compared with the less fortunate people of the Old World. They were a chosen people and their land an Utopia on the make (Woodward 1969: 27-28).

Draft resisters are the enemy of the people because they refuse to believe in this legend. In refusing to serve the country that gave them life, the resister is an ungrateful traitor. The typical River City citizen believes all wars are just if the United States is involved. The draft board in Ninian reflects this opinion and the award of the status of Conscientious Objector was rarely given.

The effect of the Indo-China War is greatest in the economy. The munitions plant during the mid-sixties manufactured most of the armaments used in Viet Nam. As the war expanded, the federal government made contracts with other companies. The returning veteran has helped to swell the unemployment rate since he is in competition with college degree holder. The veteran lacks the advantage of education; consequently, he must take the more menial job. The whole effect of the Indo-China has been one of frustration. Yet at the same time, it supports the view that communism is gaining influence not only but among "traitors at home."

The ideology of the River City area is moderately conservative. Its citizens voted heavily against Barry Goldwater. This

is further illustrated in the fact that the John Birch Society was never able to draw much support beyond a group centered around the River City Memorial Hospital. The Ku Klux Klan has been de-activated since the thirties and the Minutemen exist only underground. The people of the River City area are still prone to the violence that has permeated its history. The violence has only been subverted and refined. It will take only a self threatening situation for violence to re-emerge. An example of this was the time of tension following the assassination of Martin Luther King (Earl Ray was a native of River City). The response as rumors flew was, "Let them try. It will be the chance to wipe them out once in for all." Shot guns were taken out of the closet and oiled. Physical violence did not occur since the blacks did nothing. It would have occurred if the white citizens had felt they were being pushed too hard.

The people of the River City area look away to the past. They view the past in terms of everything that the present is not. It was a time of respect for country, parents, and the white man. The middle aged adult still lives in the world of the forties-the time when he came of age. He sees the past in the present. Pearsall's description of the South applies to the River City area:

Southerners have lived in a small and folklike world. Other Americans tend to live abstractly in relation to everywhere and everybody, to the future rather than the past; but many Southerners live concretely in terms of particular places and people and repetitiveness of the past in the present (Pearsall 1966:141).

To refer to the general ideological realities of the people that make up the Jesus Movement, I have adapted Levin's term

"life-space" and I have added to it the word "religious." Such a concept is needed to separate the secular environment from the sacred environment. Whereas all members of the religious-life space live in the River City area not all inhabitants of the secular environment dwell in a sacred reality. The boundaries between the two are flexible as the religious life-space continually adds and subtracts members.

The secular environment does define what is meant by "religious." Religion used in everyday language refers to Christianity. For example, "A has religion" means that A is now a professing Christian. The form of Christianity is the orthodox belief that Jesus of Nazareth is the risen son of God. He with the Father and the Holy Spirit are a triune unity.

As with the general culture, the religious life-space is simple to most of its members. Both are "taken for granted as reality. It does not require additional verification over and beyond its simple presence" (Berger 1969:25). There is clear opposition between good and evil that is paralleled in both:

| | |
|---------|----------------|
| secular | U.S./communism |
| sacred | God/the Devil |

The two are sometimes mixed as they were before the Civil War when certain men saw their life-style threatened:

The parties in this conflict are not merely abolitionists and slavenolders-they are atheists, socialists, communists, red republicans, jacobins on the one side, and the Friends of order and regulated freedom on the other. In one word, the world is a battleground-Christianity and atheism the combatants; and the progress of humanity the stake (Cash 1941:80).

Not all Christians believe in a personal Devil; i.e., a Satan that continually harasses the Christians. However, the principle of evil is

strong no matter what name is attached to it.

The religious life-space includes all behavior stimulated by religious motivation. It includes such activities as proselytizing, conversion, reading religious material, church attendance, and listening to religious messages. It is within the religious life-space that the Jesus Movement is imbedded.

The Jesus Movement

The Jesus Movement is an umbrella term. In the River City area, it refers to the three separate but interlocking parts: the Dickinson Street Assembly of God, the Jesus People, and the Catholic Pentecostals of St. Stephen's.

As with the previous classical, reformation and revival movements, pentecostalism is claimed to be an attempt to recover a lost heritage of the early Christian church. The church at that is believed to have felt the presence of God in a more powerful way than is now possible in the institutionized church of today. It was the Holy Spirit that made such a close relationship possible. The pentecostals desire to return to this kind of relationship.

The New Testament is said to describe two baptisms. The first started with John the Baptist who foreshadowed Christ. The baptism of Jesus gives the remission of sins and incorporation into the body of Christ, i.e., the church. This baptism is with water. People in the Jesus Movement share with orthodox Christianity the belief that this baptism alone is necessary for salvation. Baptism of the Holy Spirit means that the persons involved are "filled with the Holy Spirit." It

was first mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles:

While the Day of the Pentecost was running its course they were all together in one place, when suddenly there came from the sky a noise like that of a strong driving wind, which filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them tongues like flames of fire, dispersed among them and resting on each one. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to talk in other tongues, as the Spirit gave them the power of utterance (Acts 2:1-4).

References to such events are scattered through Acts and the Epistles.

The baptism of the Spirit is not necessarily an emotional event. The national Catholic Pentecostal apologists are careful in their publications to denounce any charge of emotionalism. The manner in which the Spirit manifests itself is dependent upon the personality of the receiver. The individual's initial personality is then transformed by the Spirit, "As the expression of the Son's love, the Spirit teaches us the profoundest meanings of Christ, who is the Son; he holds our personality from within according to the model of Christ's own sonship" (Cooke 1965:43). An individual's will must be rotated in order that he might receive spiritual potential. The following sanctifying grace:

comes as a radical transformation, developing the potential of man's nature, bringing his capabilities to further realization. God's personal way of being is superior to man's; it absorbs man's into itself without destroying any of its own intrinsic values. 'Grace perfects nature; it does not destroy it' (Cooke 1965: 47-48).

Although their "testimonies" sound rigged to produce a dramatic before and after effect, all with whom I have conversed have affirmed the changes the baptism has wrought. I myself have witnessed such change. It is this change from harshness to softness that often attracts

outsiders. For example, the reading of the Cross and the Switchblade, which described the salvation of drug users and teen age gang leaders, lead to the founding of the first Roman Catholic Pentecostal prayer meeting in 1957.

Proof of the Spirit's indwelling are the following "gifts of the Spirit:" wisdom, faith, miracle working, healing, discerning spirits, prophecy, tongues, and the interpretation of tongues (1 Corinthians 12.13, and 14). These gifts are not obtained gradually but they are obtained instantly from God. The gifts of the Spirit are not to be confused with the fruit of the Spirit, "Fruit grows; gifts are given" (Gunningham 1964:4). The fruit of the Spirit is described as "love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, fidelity, gentleness, and self-control" (Galatians 5:22).

Pentecostals from the Assembly of God are more likely to believe than Catholics Pentecostals that speaking in tongues is a necessary gift. Glossolalia, or speaking in tongues, refers to the vocalization of a language unknown to the speaker. It may be a modern language such as French or a classical one as Biblical Hebrew. Tongues are used in private prayer or in public worship. When glossolalia occurs in public, it must be followed by interpretation. The message may be one of comfort, warning, or prophecy.

The Holy Spirit is said to move like a rainstorm. Over some areas at certain times, it pours showers of rain. The result of this outpouring is revival and awakening. These two words are sometimes used interchangeably although they have distinct and historical meanings. A revival occurs largely within the religious life-space

the convictions and congregations are strengthened. An awakening, on the other hand, incorporates into the religious life-space large numbers of unbelievers: ex-Christians, agnostics, atheists, and members of such non-Christian faiths as Judaism. The United States is believed to have undergone two awakenings. The first occurred in colonial times. It crossed denominational boundaries, spread like fire all over the colonies, and is associated with the evangelist and apologist, Jonathan Edwards. The second awakening occurred in the early 1800's and it is associated with the Methodist circuit rider, Peter Cartwright. The part of the state that includes River City was activated by this second awakening. It was a time of church and church college building as well as revival. The United States is now believed to be in its third and last awakening. The Jesus Movement transcends all denominational boundaries and outreaches all social classes, races, and age groups. All awakenings are a rejuvenation of a sluggish and worn religious life-space.

The ideology of the Jesus Movement is expressed in the symbolic language of the Holy Spirit. These symbols, taken from the natural elements of fire, water, and wind, create a Levi-Straussian triangle. Fire and water are natural oppositions. The Holy Spirit is a rainstorm. The Spirit, contained in individual raindrops, is carried by the wind and it falls upon the receiver. Within each individual is ignited a tongue of flame. The wind which is the vehicle of transportation is also the mediation. In the Old Testament the word for Spirit is ruach. It is associated with the movement of air caused by breath, "Where God works, the air is stirred, ruach is at work" (Perkhoff 1965:15). The word for Spirit in the New Testament Greek also points to movement, "Pneuma is the

act of blowing or breathing, and especially a sign, as well as the principle, of man's vitality" (Berthoff 1965:13). The Holy Spirit thus breathes new spiritual life into the receiver of the gifts and the bearer of the fruit. The Old Testament and the New are bridged, "Man's ruach/pneuma is the vivifying gift of God" (Berthoff 1965:14). Consequently, the latter rain of Joel spills the tongues of flames of Acts.

The First Manifestation of the Jesus Movement

The first manifestation of the Jesus Movement in the River City area was the Dickinson Street Assembly of God. Part of the Pentecostal revival at the turn of the century, the church is the oldest part of the movement. The Assembly of God was organized in 1914 and a year later a congregation was chartered at Dickinson Street. This assembly played an important role in the establishment of other churches through out that part of the state and a stimulator of the Jesus Movement in the River City area.

The function of the Dickinson Street assembly within the movement has been one of a father. People from the other sectors attend or have attended its services and turn to its minister for advice. The Jesus people are especially close since its leader is an ordained Assembly of God minister and some of them are old church membership in the Dickinson assembly. The minister is well known in his denomination circles. He has written a study of schismatic religious movements and he is writing a book on the occult. The minister is also a friend of David Wilkerson, the author of the Cross and the Switchblade. As shall be seen, the minister is the arbitrator and resolver of conflicts

among all parts of the Jesus Movement.

Dickinson Street had grown as more people began to speak in tongues. This was due to the past intolerance of the mainline Protestant denominations. People baptized in the Spirit had felt that they could no longer remain in their own churches and feel comfortable. With the recent increase of tolerance of glossolalia, conversion has decreased. Spirit filled people are encouraged to remain in their own denominations.

The bulwark of the Dickinson Street Assembly of God has been the factory worker. As the worker became more affluent so did the church since all members tithe at least ten per cent. Members have grown more liberal in their style of life. The time when ministers once denounced "the works of the devil" step by step through a Montgomery Ward catalogue is long past. Members of Dickinson Street want fine homes, cars, and clothes. Members believe that they are members of the middle class although sociologically speaking they are not. A result of this growing middle class consciousness has been absorption of the secular ideology. For example, the members of this assembly are patriotic since they sometimes sing "America the Beautiful" and "God bless our Boys" at the Sunday evening services. Communism is opposed less on nationalistic grounds than its atheism. Members of Dickinson Street generally support the Indo-China War (the peace sign is regarded as the broken cross, the sign of the anti-Christ), feel blacks should work harder, and are a little suspicious of education. However, violence is shunned. Works of charity and love are requirements of Christian living.

Services at Dickinson Street are highly ritualized.

They always form the same pattern of song, prayer-testimony, and scripture reading-sermon. The elements of Assembly of God ritual are important because they are contained, with some moderation and change of sequence, through-out the Jesus Movement. Worship ideally is shared between the assembly and the minister; however, the assembly is dependent upon the strong leadership of the minister.

The Second Manifestation

The second group that chronologically appeared has been called the Jesus People. This group began with the conversion of Frank who was to become its leader. Frank has been attending the Dickinson Street assembly with his ever-growing converts since that time.

Previously, American Oil had given the assembly a filling station in the north part of River City. The assembly at Dickinson Street quickly converted it into a "Youth Center." Its original purpose was to meet the evangelistic needs of the assembly's young people. The goal was to outreach this marginal section of River City. However, the former minister had a vision: why not use the center to reach the entire drug culture? In colloquialism, drug culture refers to the special life styles of these people using illegal drugs.

Frank is in a key position as leader. His testimony is thus essential to any comprehension of his Jesus People. Frank had been a "hood" in high school, which meant he smoked cigarettes, drank hard liquor, and chased girls. This behavior, while socially acceptable for adult men, is not acceptable for adolescents. Frank was drafted shortly after he graduated from high school in 1966. While in the army,

he began to use drugs. Independently, Frank's brother also began to use drugs. Their mother had in the meantime started attending services at Dickinson Street. Frank returned to the River City area in October of 1968. He began to work in a factory. Later, the two brothers entered the area drug culture, and Frank became a seller of drugs. A year later in October of 1969, he went to a revival meeting of God's children. Here, Frank "met Jesus." He immediately began proselytizing--converting his entire family. Frank planned to leave the area with God's children; however, the former minister of Dickinson persuaded him to take over the Youth Center.

The Jesus people, starting with a group personally converted by Frank, began their ministry to drug users. To do this effectively, they retained their pre-conversion form of appearance. The River City inhabitants have a negative attitude toward "hippies." These flamboyant, long-haired people are associated with outsiders, atheists, drug users, and communists. Customarily, the local police stop and search them. For several years, there was a blurring of boundaries between the Jesus people and the hippies. The Jesus people were, as a result, stopped by the police. The police were given testimonies of how Jesus saves from the hell of drugs and they were asked the universal question, "Do you know Jesus?" As a result, the police try to avoid any further contact.

The Jesus people are generally twenty-five years or younger. Converts come mainly from the working and middle class families. The Jesus people perceive the environment more uncertainly than their established parents. Well paying jobs are closed even to those with

college degrees. Many in colleges feel pushed or forced into an academic life by status conscious parents who fail to see the drought in academic employment. Unlike the members of the Dickinson Street Assembly of God, the Jesus People are not status seekers. They believe, on the contrary, that they have escaped from a status prison.

The Jesus People perceived that life as it is usually lived is sinful. The wars, materialism, and sensuality of the present age is evil. As man turns on himself to devote more worship of his own technology, he will become even more a creature of his own creation--an object of the object. Men will become more and more manipulated things. War, accumulation of wealth by a few, and lust will increase not decrease. The Jesus People believe that the Book of Revelation is true. The wickedness of the world will increase to a point that the Father will send the Son to intervene to destroy it. The new earth will be populated with practicing Christians. In the New Jerusalem, they will be living in imitation of the Risen Christ who is the head of the body. This new earth must wait for divine intervention in order to be established. Man is passive. He can not, because of his narcissism, create more than an ephemeral Walden Two. The Jesus People do not believe that the saints themselves are supposed to overthrow the wicked world and create a Civitas Dei on earth.

Before his conversion, the typical adolescent was caught up in the wickedness of the world. He became unsatisfied with what seemed to be a fixed reality. He was increasingly alienated from the secular ideology. The adolescent was in a state of confusion since he did not know how to respond to this alienation. Many persons tried

Political activism, some the magic of the occult, and other initiated the death of Frank in using drugs. These were attempts to negate the process of objectifying. Each was trying to find something material in which they could give his life. Politics,, the occult, and drugs failed to meet his identity crisis. In these, the person was no more a free subject than before. The process of manipulation continued.

The adolescent in the process of growing up in the River City area had at least received a training in nominal Christianity. However, its potential was suppressed by a hostile world. Religion was looked upon as something superstitious, un-intellectual, and unscientific. While a convenience to help support the secular ideology, the practical implications of Christianity had long been forgotten. Even the churches had lost their essence in the process of secularization. At the time the adolescent "met Jesus," the suppressed potential was released. The individual-in-the-world was negated. The saved individual could now proceed in freedom from the world, "Christ set us free, to be free men" (Galatians 5:1). This is what Jesus meant when he stated, "Come to me, all whose load is heavy; and I will give you relief" (Matthew 11:28).

To turn to Jesus means to reject the world of the Devil. Frank's sermons emphasize this rejection in practical terms. The convert must strip himself of material goods following Christ's dictum, "If you wish to be all the way, go, sell your possessions, and give to the poor, and come follow me" (Matthew 19:21). He must in poverty and denial of himself preach the kerygma. Frank and his band of disciples have done just that. They live together in a commune outside River City and their occupation is prostitution. When they journey, they take nothing since they have faith that God will provide, "Set your mind on God's

kingdom and his justice before everything else, and all the rest will come to you as well" (Matthew 19:21). The Jesus People of River City have established several "daughter" houses all over the two state region. Their ministry has expanded beyond the boundaries of the River City area.

What has prevented the development of adventism more than anything else is the watchful eye of the Dickinson Street minister. He is well aware that one result of awakening can be schismatic heresy. When some of the Jesus People began to date the parousia, i.e., the second coming of Christ at 1975, the minister quietly prevented any further development of adventism. Any dating was contrary to scripture, "But about that day or that hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, not even the Son; only the Father" (Mark 13:32).

Frank and his followers occupy a liminal position¹ which in many respects is analogous to that of the early Franciscans. The emphasis of the Jesus People is literally follow the scriptural example of Jesus and his apostles in their avowal of poverty and the preaching of the Word. The rejection of the evil of the world by the first Franciscans was total as is the rejection of worldliness by the Jesus People. Like St. Francis, the Jesus People want to achieve praxis in Christianity.

Conflict over boundaries has occurred between the Jesus People and the assembly at Dickinson Street. The attitude is somewhat similar to the rejection by the hierarchy of St. Francis' view of poverty of Christ. Several members of the assembly complained about the Jesus People's manner of dress and their going barefoot inside the

¹

see Turner 1969:140-153

church. The Jesus people are resented because they reject certain characteristics of the secular ideology that the typical member of the Dickinson Street assembly accept. By living in a commune and uncompromisingly preaching the kerygma, the Jesus people are not following the protestant work ethic. The avowal of poverty is not nearly as strict as the early Franciscan ideal; however, the converts that join the commune leave what ever job that is held at that time. There is a feeling that like the blacks, the Jesus people are living off of someone else's sweat. The Jesus people also threaten the newly expresses middle class consciousness of the typical Dickinson Street member. As the study progressed, the minister had attempted to suppress any overt hostility. He pointed out that such prejudices are not Christian. However, tension is still somewhat strong.

Despite their rejection of the Devil's world and all its pomps, the Jesus people are still influenced by the secular ideology. Their thought also looks to the past in the present to shut out the world that is perceived as hostile. As has been stated, pentecostalism looks to the church of the Acts and the Epistles as the ideal to be imitated. However, most of the Jesus people lack any historical consciousness. They know little of what has happened since New Testament times.

The Jesus people state that they are neutral about the Indo-China War. However, their view of the United States is quite negative. They believe that unless the United States repents of its sins against the peoples of the world and its sin against God it will be destroyed like the Judah of Jeremiah. Opponents to the war are

welcomed and U.S. status is encouraged. The Jesus People believe there is no honest way of getting around the commandment, "Thou shall not kill." Their view toward communism is similar to that of Dickinson Street. They do not see it as an ideology but as the physical power of the U.S.S.R. and China. Communism is not feared for any nationalistic reasons but because these governments prohibit freedom of worship.

Secular education is rejected. Universities are havens of the Devil and the sower of sin. Members of the commune are forbidden to attend college or even to read books not approved by Frank. With time so short, concentration on God's word is required. The Jesus People echo the words of an Old Testament writer:

the wise man has eyes in his head, but the fool walks in the dark. Yet I saw also that one and the same fate overtakes them both. So I said to myself, 'I too shall suffer the fate of the fool. To what purpose have I been wise? What is the profit of it? Even this,' I said to myself, 'is emptiness. The wise man is remembered no longer than the fool, for as the passing days multiply all will be forgotten. Alas, wise man and fool die the same death (Eccles. 2:14-17).

The Bible, of all books, is to be studied since the time will come when the scripture will be forbidden. This is not any anti-intellectualism as such but a matter of priorities. The wisdom of the world will pass away as today's heresy is tomorrow's dogma and today's dogma is tomorrow's heresy but the wisdom of God will never pass away. The Jesus People are suspicious of university professors. This is due to experience. The professors are believed to be narrow minded about religion and ridicule religious belief. The Jesus People know that:

The doctrine of the cross is sheer folly to those on their way to ruin, but to

us who are on the way to salvation it is the power of God. Scripture says, 'I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nothing the cleverness of the clever.' There is your wise man now, your man of learning, or your subtle debator-limited, all of them, to this passing age? (1 Cor. 1:18)

Of all sections of the Jesus Movement, the Jesus people are the most open to blacks. All races are brothers in Christ and many persons from both races fill the Jesus Center during services. In an area that frowns on public affection, the Jesus People hug any black that they meet.

The Jesus people are most strong in their rejection of any kind of violence. They seek a medium where the love of Christ within them will replace the hate of the world. An example of this was their reaction to a motorcycle gang that attempted to harass them. The Jesus People stood quietly clutching their Bibles, praying, and speaking of divine love. They told the gang that they were loved. Certain gang leaders were impressed since love was what they least expected. They asked what they might do to be saved.

A meeting at the Jesus Center, as the Youth Center is now called, contains all the elements of Assembly of God ritual. Frank told the author that he became conscious of patterning, and as a result, he changed the sequence. However, the elements of the ritual remained.

The Third Manifestation

The River City is unique in its trinitarian development of the Jesus Movement. Here, Roman Catholics maintain a close relationship with Dickinson Street and the Jesus Center. This is not always the case. The prominent prayer meetings in Michigan have no equal development. Now that the environment, the religious life-space,

and the other two aspects of the Jesus Movements have been discussed, the Catholic Pentecostals of St. Stephen's may be properly analyzed.

The Catholics came to the River City during the second wave of immigration. Because of the influx of communicants, a see was created. St. Stephen's became the cathedral church of the Bishop of River City. During the late 1920's, the seat of the see was moved to the state capital. The influence of the old cathedral diminished until it lost its primacy even over the River City area. It is not the church of high status Catholics although the parish includes both the richest as well as the poorest sections of River City.

As a national as well as local movement, the Catholic Pentecostal or charismatic movement has its own tradition. It began roughly with the reading of the Cross and the Switchblade at Duquesne University of Pittsburg. Here "some twenty people--faculty and students at the university--experienced a profound religious transformation... within a month what had begun at Duquesne spread to the University of Notre Dame and to the Catholic student parish of Michigan State University" (O'Connor 1971:15).

Later, another center was added as the leaders of Michigan State moved to Ann Arbor. These centers carry with them a sense of importance due to their age. The annual conference and communication center is at Notre Dame. Ann Arbor is the home of the three most famous leaders and the charismatic periodical, the New Covenant. Founders of the other prayer meetings have started making pilgrimages to these centers especially Ann Arbor. Although they might deny it, the leaders of these centers have developed positions of authority approaching the authority

of the patristical sees of the early church. Some of these leaders have written booklets that are widely distributed and the Ann Arbor, Life in the Spirit, is the catechism guide of the movement. The leaders by means of their publications and the conferences have an expanding control of the direction of the movement. The Bishop of Lansing, in whose diocese Ann Arbor is located, could see the development of a hierarchical structure (Saleski:personal communication).

Approximately in the same year, 1967, these four national prayer meetings were founded, meetings began to be held in Great City, a metropolis near River City. This entire metropolitan area became studded with prayer meetings. On Saturday night all the weeknight groups meet together on the west side of Great City. It was on the way back from one such meetings that the St. Stephen's prayer meeting originated.

The founder of this prayer meeting is a woman I call Mary. She was twenty-six and she is married to a machinist. Mary was raised and married in the Roman Catholic Church. She has lived in the River City area all her life. She had attended church; however, she believed something was missing. Mary had little idea as to what. One day in the fall of 1970, the "Avon Lady" spoke to Mary about Jesus and the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The woman asked Mary the question, "Do you know Jesus?" Mary believed that she did not know Jesus in the same manner as the "Avon Lady." The woman invited Mary to her general Baptist Church in north River City.

Mary went to the Baptist prayer meeting. Also present were three members of the Jesus Center including Frank. All

three gave testimonies on how Jesus had changed their lives. Mary began to go to the Jesus Center and Dickinson Street since at that time she did not know what the Lord intended for her to do. She had read the Cross and the Switchblade. She admired the author and she too wanted to help drug users. The result of Mary's contacts with the Jesus people and the assembly at Dickinson Street changed "the focus of my life from secluded devotion to including these people." All during this time, she continued to attend mass at St. Stephen's.

One day Frank's brother told Mary about the prayer meeting at Great City. She attended with a married couple, Jim and Margaret, and Frank's mother. On the way home to River City, Frank's mother suggested that Mary begin a prayer meeting at River City. Mary had been thinking of starting one herself; however, she was hesitant. She knew that the traditional position of women within the Roman Catholic Church has been subordinate. It is true that some women like St. Theresa of Avila and St. Catherine were powerhouses feared even by the pope. However, they were the exception not the rule. Consequently, Mary relied, as had St. Francis and John Wesley, on Bibliomancy. Mary received two answers. The first came from the Old Testament, "A woman shall rule." The second came after the gospel scene where Jesus talks to the woman at the well, "Many Samaritans of the town came to believe in him because of the woman's testimony" (John 4:39). Mary was satisfied.

Mary began to lay the foundation of the prayer meeting. She first went to a priest outside her parish. He showed no interest in her revelation. Mary next conversed with the associate priest of St. Stephen's and he also showed a lack of interest. Mary, unperturbed, prayed that he might be saved and baptized in the Spirit.

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Despite her Bible answers, Mary did not feel herself capable of proceeding without a priest present.

On May 5, 1971 Mary and eight people gathered at her home for a mass and a prayer meeting. The framework was being laid for a prayer meeting network. In this study, network refers to the process of relationship between different individuals. The prayer meeting became a network that may transcend class system, kinship systems, and denominational boundaries. Of the nine members of the network, four were professionals in the Catholic Church. The others were friends of Mary's. She had personally invited all of them to attend the prayer meeting. The first meeting and several to follow were, according to Mary, "overwhelming." They contained, in no particular order, the following variables of prayer, reading of the Word and Mary's poems, singing, but no discussion. All elements of the Assembly of God ritual were present except for the sermon. Mary could be called the leader in that she did all the talking.

In three weeks the number of the group jumped to fifteen and the number has never been less than that number. Out of these and later additions a loyal core developed that continued despite the coming conflict:

| name | occupation | church | education |
|------------|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| Mary | housewife | Roman Catholic | high school |
| her spouse | mechanist | Roman Catholic | high school |
| Jim | real estate developer | Roman Catholic | college |
| Margaret | housewife | Roman Catholic | college |
| Mrs. A | housewife | Roman Catholic | high school |
| her son | student | Roman Catholic | high school sr. |
| Mrs. B | housewife | Roman Catholic | high school |
| her son | student | Roman Catholic | high school sr. |
| Father | priest | Roman Catholic | college and seminary |
| Sister | nun | Roman Catholic | unavailable |

| | | | |
|------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|
| Istaer | janitress | Assembly of God | grade school |
| Mr. J | retired | Assembly of God | high school |
| the author | | | |

These individuals, as seen later, developed into a faction. To this core, others were added as earlier (not mentioned) members dropped out.

Mary's home quickly became too small; consequently, she spoke with the parish priest about moving the meetings to a larger place. The parish hall was suggested. Two nights before the meeting was to be moved to the church, Mary went to the home of the Oblate Fathers on the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi. She prayed for a teacher. In her words, "I was praising God in the woods when all of a sudden Brother Simon came along. He started talking--giving testimony. I told him about the prayer meeting. Would he like to help? We could use him as a teacher."

Simon is the central figure of the emerging conflict. He was the stimulus to which all actions were the response. Simon, like Mary and Frank, has lived in the River City area most of his life. He has been the manager of his father's meat store. On Tuesday and Friday nights, Simon conducts services in a small church about forty miles north of River City. The congregation has recently (after the conflict discussed in this study) moved to the River City area. Simon is a "Free Pentecostal." As opposed to classical Pentecostalism, Free Pentecostalism rejects the authority of tradition and its people are subject only to each independent preacher. Simon is not a minister licensed by any denomination or even sect. His education formally ended with high school. His ministry has not been taught to him except from revelations from the Spirit. Since Simon believes it is sinful to block the Spirit,

his meetings are uninhibited. the people stomp and shout "falling under the power of the Spirit."

With the introduction of Simon,"the whole scene changed" according to Mary. The first meeting at the church was "almost a disaster." What happened was that Simon began preaching in a manner to which Catholics are not accustomed. Notre Dame encountered a similar situation,"Completely uninhibited in speaking out,they (non-Catholics visitors) were insensitive to the fact that their manner of preaching was strange to Catholics,and their assertions sometimes offensive.... people ceased coming to the public prayer meetings" (O'Connor 1971:81-82). Two boys attending St.Stephen's for the first time left confused and never returned. After the meeting,Mary conversed with Simon. She tried to persuade him to preach after the meetings.

It was Frank's mother who as an informant told me about the prayer meeting at St.Stephen's in June. I attended the second meeting after Simon had joined the group. I was able to observe the conflict from near genesis to nemesis.

The prayer meeting began at eight o'clock. Chairs were arranged in the form of a circle in the same manner as at all the nationally prominent prayer meetings. The sequence of the evening was unplanned and nearly chaotic. For example,one person would be praying and then someone might interrupt to commence a song. Simon prayed once and started one song. his actions at the time did not attract any special attention from the author. He did not appear to be the leader. This was the first time that there was no director; it was also the last.

The network Mary had constructed was in the process of change. By then four of the original members had dropped out. She was

also losing her prerogative to invite new members. New members were invited and added that had no previous interaction with her.

Simon started recruiting members of his congregation to attend St. Stephen's. Four appeared at the third meeting in the church. Two of these were relatives, one the associate minister, and two personal friends from Dickinson Street that had been attending his services. With later additions, these members became Simon's faction. Brother Simon soon pushed Mary from the center of the network until he was in control. He was able to accomplish this maneuver by the support of his followers and the force of his personality. Simon could start songs and prayers in such a way that no one else could speak without his permission. Many songs, for example have no pattern of verse and a contest would develop on which verse would be sung next. Simon won due to the advantage of his loud voice and his faster rate of speech. He could manipulate the fact that Pentecostals pray out loud. If Simon tired, his associate minister began to pray. They would thus cooperate to fillibuster the prayer meeting. The evening soon became structured as the pattern resembled a Pentecostal service; i.e., song, prayer-testimony, and scripture reading-sermon.

At the same time that Simon's control began to give the prayer meeting a rigid structure, it also split the group into opposing factions.² What had been a whole became two factions, one pro-Simon and the other anti-simon.

The division of the whole into two oppositions over conflict of interest, Simon's recruitment to consolidate power in which all ties were used, the disintegration of these factions after the conflict-all help satisfy Nicholas' criteria (Nicholas in Barton 1965:27-29) of 1. "Factions are conflict groups;" 2. "Factions are political groups;" 3. Since factions are not long lasting, factions are not corporate groups; 4. "Faction members are recruited by a leader;" 5. "Faction members are recruited on diverse principles."

All members of the factions lived and believed in the same religious life-space. They shared certain principles of Pentecostal ideology although, as stated above, Simon deviated. His position could be defined by Gosar as heretical. Simon did claim "to uphold the group's values and interest, only proposing different means to this end or variant interpretation of the official creed" (Gosar 1960: 70). He was at the same time heretical in that he had left a catholic faith.

Sanctions came from the authority of the Bible and these scriptures became a weapon in the contest between the factions. On the other hand, the exegesis of each faction differed. The anti-Simon faction kept scripture in context and read by scene. Simon, however, would speak in a collage of Bible quotes pasted from all sections. Each also believed that they were vehicles of the Holy Spirit. Did not Simon speak in tongues, prophesize, and cast out devils?

The goal of the prayer meeting at St. Stephen's had in the beginning been an attempt to seek the Holy Spirit in a social atmosphere. It was to be done with patience, love example, and suggestion. As the tally of core members illustrate, the composition of the prayer meeting was Roman Catholic. A secondary goal was to increase interest among area Catholics in the Pentecostal movement. The prayer meeting was supposed to be open so that the Holy Spirit could manifest its gifts. Simon, although he paid lip-service to the open prayer meeting, did not enter with these goals in mind.

Simon had been baptized in the Spirit during a time of closed-mindedness about Pentecostalism among the catholic faiths. He

had some unpleasant experiences with Orthodox and Catholic priests. In judging the whole church by the actions of a few men, Simon could not see how a person could be both baptized in the Spirit and remain Catholic. He had told Esther that Catholics could not be "filled with the Holy Ghost." In his sermons at St. Stephen's, Simon condemned as idolatry those practices that Protestants had rejected such as: saints, images, honor to the Mother of God, and transubstantiation. He believed that Catholics must first be purged of these questionable practices, saved, and become Protestant, before any talk of the Holy Spirit could begin. Notre Dame also had a conflict of goals, "some of the visitors even seemed to feel that they had a mission to illuminate the Catholics, whom they regarded as wrapped in darkness and in the shadow of death" (O'Connor 1971:61).

The struggle between pro and anti Simon factions was not only over means but over the role⁵ of Simon. It was concerned less with the increasing structuralism as with Simon's interpretation of his role. The group could never agree on what role he was to play. Mary invited Simon to be a teacher. She perceived the role of teaching as limited to answering any questions that might be raised. Simon, on the other hand, did not restrict it to any question and answer process. He added to it "preaching." He saw himself both as instructor of the Word and castigator of sin. Consensus concerning Simon's role playing was never high.

Conflict existed not only about one role but between two specific roles. As Mary understood it, Simon's role of teacher would make him passive. He would speak only to answer any questions.

⁵Role is used here in accordance with Yinzer's definition, "it refers to the rights and duties, the normatively approved patterns of behavior for the occupants of a given position" (Yinzer 1965:99).

It was the audience not Simon that would start any interaction-sequence. Simon saw his role at St.Stephen's as both teacher and preacher. He was happy to answer questions after the prayer meeting; however, his main effort was less instructive than castigation of the Devil. At the prayer meeting, Simon believed the interaction should imitate behavior during a typical Protestant sermon. He would speak; the others would listen. Simon was only imitating the dual role of Assembly of God ministers who are teachers during Sunday school and preachers during services.

Simon believed that his role was ascribed by God and it was sanctioned by the authority of the Bible. It was no accident that he met Mary in the woods but the movement of the Spirit. Simon also believed that it was not necessary for him to receive any special training. Did Jesus or the Apostles attend seminary? All that was needed was the reading of the Word. Associated with the dual role of teaching-preaching was active power. As a teacher and preacher, Simon ruled the prayer meeting. It became a miniature Michelsian monarchy. The prayer meeting became "founded upon the will of one individual." He commanded "all others obey" since he ruled by divine right of "an appeal to God" (Michaels 1959:1). With the monopoly of power, Simon could map boundaries, set goals, and interpret events.

Influential in his perception of role was Simon's personality and occupation. He was authoritarian. Even in his secular job he was used to giving orders. As a preacher outside the St.Stephen's prayer meeting, it was an easy step to transfer his outside position and role inside. Simon believed it was his divine right to preach to the Catholic no matter what the consequences. Backed by his Bible quotations,

Simon could concede nothing. The majority of the prayer group saw an interrole conflict; whereas Simon perceived only a conflict between himself and the Devil. It was the Devil that was at the root of all opposition. Satan was trying to obstruct Simon's vision of a church not weighed down by the authority of denominational teaching. Members of the anti-Simon faction believed his role playing was illegitimate. Simon, on the other hand, believed it to be legitimate, "a perceived obligation" (Yinger 1945:115).

At the second prayer meeting at the church, Simon realized that by himself he was not strong enough to coerce the existing network. Mary had previously clashed with him and he had been silenced. As a result, it was Simon's ^{involvement} factionalism.⁴ Soon he began an attempt to recruit some of the less antagonistic members of the anti-Simon faction. They were invited to Simon's church and one of them did go. That person returned impressed by the enthusiasm of Simon's congregation. Simon was more cautious in his treatment of these potential cross-overs. He did not shout "The Devil's in you" when they asked him a question. Instead Simon played on their hazy knowledge of the divine Logos. He smothered them in a collage of quotations. However, Simon failed because kinship ties proved stronger in this case.

Besides being a part of the anti-Simon faction, Mary was in a state of turmoil. It was she who had introduced Simon to the prayer group. She also believed that the meeting in the woods was not accidental; yet, Mary could see that Simon was destroying her work.

People had begun to complain to her. Many of them also had a stake in

⁴"the object of organizing a faction is to give the leader an advantage in political conflict" (Nicholas in Swartz 1936:57)

the prayer meeting and they had invited others. They too did not want to see all their "witnessing" evaporate. Mary had a second conversation in which she asked Simon to remain in the background. He refused stating, "If I can't preach, I don't want any part of it." Mary did not know what to do. Should she try to speak to him again or perhaps he might surrender on his own.

The anti-Simon faction had no leader capable of matching Simon's personality. They were aware that the conflict threatened not only the means to their goals but their religious life. The people in the anti-Simon faction knew it was sinful to "talk wrong" about one of God's ministers. Their own heritage included obedience to the leaders of the Catholic Church. Resistance became passive as certain members began to leave. Those that remained discussed Simon after meetings or over the telephone. The anti-Simon faction believed that Simon did not want to understand Catholics. They resented the fact that the prayer meetings had become the dictatorship of Simon. He was domineering and his style of preaching was "scaring people away." The prayer meetings that had been growing in numbers were now declining. The anti-Simon faction desired a return to the freedom of the Spirit in which anyone could participate as the Spirit moved.

Members of the anti-Simon faction had begun to complain to the associate priest of St. Stephen's. He himself had not always been able to attend all of the meetings. Esther, a participant in all activities of the Jesus Movement, had talked to Father about Simon. She had known Simon before his entrance into the prayer meeting. He had told her to stop attending mass. Esther, although a member of Dickinson

Street for fifteen years, refused. She knew that Simon did not believe that Catholics could be saved or filled with the Holy Ghost unless they left the church. Esther wondered how Simon could help the Catholics if he did not love them.

Mary decided to poll all the members of the anti-Simon faction and all those that had previously attended the meetings. She phoned each one and she asked each person what he or she thought of Simon. It turned out that no one wanted Simon to remain. Mary had no choice.

Esther called the minister of Dickinson Street and she described the situation. She met with Mary, Father, and the minister. The minister suggested that they thank Simon for his preaching but explain to him that he must allow others to practice it "if he is as Christian as he claims to be, he will cooperate." Simon refused for the third time. Backed by the poll, priest, and preacher, Mary requested Simon to leave.

At the next meeting, all of the pro-Simon faction were present except for Simon. It was a dramatic event as this faction lost its leadership position as quickly as it had gained it. The pro-Simon force was powerless without its head. The anti-Simon faction refused to cooperate. For example, when the pro-Simon faction sang, they sang alone. Father started shifting the centre of the power back within the Catholic, pre-Simon group. He began by reading 1st Corinthians 13 which begins, "I may speak in tongues of men or angels, but if I am without love, I am a sounding gong or a clanging cymbal."

Of all parts of the Jesus Movement, the Catholic Pentecostals have the most positive view of life. They believe that God

has given us things to use. They become evil only if they are misused. These Catholics resemble the members of Dickinson Street in their adherence of the secular ideology; however, they have modified it even more. The Catholics do not distrust education since they encourage their children to attend college. Many are patriotic but their views are private. The young Catholic Pentecostals share the same view of the United States as do the Jesus people. The Catholics feel blacks should work harder. Most of the current members of the prayer meeting are middle class. With them, there has been no status climbing comparable to members of Dickinson Street. A recent convert to Catholic Pentecostalism is the son of the mayor of River City. Last of all, these Catholics imitate the first two sections of the Jesus Movement in their rejection of violence.

Analysis

The conflict between Simon and his opponents is located in one sector of the Jesus Movement. The struggle did have some secondary effects on the other sections. It was not an outside conflict such as between the Catholic Pentecostals and the Jehovah's witnesses but it originated within the group. True, Simon did recruit into Mary's network members of his congregation; however, he was careful to weave them into the network.

The arena in which the conflict occurred was small. The number began at around thirty-five but dwindled down to around twenty. The network was small enough for constant interaction between the leaders and the other members. The resulting factionalism was resolved by an outsider whose authority everyone recognized.

Within the conflict, I have discovered the following
oppositions:

Simon/anti-Simon
Free Pentecostal/Pentecostal
Protestant/Catholic
structure/anti-structure

All oppositions of conflict were resolved. The first, Simon/anti-Simon, ended when Simon was excluded. The result of the conflict had no effect on Simon. He simply shook the dust off his feet as prescribed in the gospels. Simon was disappointed that his vision for a Free Pentecostal assembly in which no denominational teachings would interfere with his revelations of the Spirit had been spoiled. However, he was comforted by the thought that it would be better for Sodom and Gomorrah on judgment day than for the Catholic Pentecostals of St. Stephen's. However, Simon's influence is still present in the post-Simon prayer group. The meetings are still held on Thursday nights-the time requested by Simon. Also, several of the more neutral members of the anti-Simon section have since attended Simon's Free Pentecostal church. Like the earlier person that Simon tried to recruit, they have returned impressed. The greatest contribution of Simon is the constant awareness of any move to domination. His example is an inhibitor and a warning.

The conflict about Simon had an immediate effect on Mary. It forced her to define her position in the network. This was difficult for her since Mary, of all the Catholic Pentecostals, came closest to approaching the liminal role of Frank and the Jesus People. She was the first Catholic to cross denominational boundaries to attend Jesus Movement activities. Mary's position is in the religious life-space and it her systematic frame of reference. She is a member of the Third

Order of the Confraternity of St. Francis. She is part of the world but not of it. Mary is a poetic dreamer and several of her activities have received motivation or confirmation in her dream life.

Against her will, Mary was forced to resolve her approach-avoidance conflict over leadership. She became a key actor in the anti-Simon faction. Mary served the group in the role of mother. Through the Spirit, it was she that gave birth to the prayer meeting. She nursed it at the beginning, but as it grew she looked for someone to give it an education. Simon became a teacher. When she saw her creation being destroyed, Mary was forced to take action. The prayer meeting, to which she had given so much time and love, could not be allowed to disintegrate. Mary emerged the victor after the exclusion of Simon. However, he turned the meetings over to the associate priest. This time it was someone of role clarity. Mary still believed that the prayer meeting needed someone besides herself to give it education. The conflict was resolved but in the tradition of the church (women subordinate). Mary never realized that had she not been concerned about her role as a woman in the church in the first place, the conflict never would have happened. She would have never looked for a teacher.

The Simon/anti-Simon conflict had an effect on the network of the prayer meeting. The earlier members joined by others through time had become the anti-Simon faction. The lines of the network were not particularly strong nor was the degree of the relationship small. It was discussion about Simon that provided links where none had previously existed and more important group consciousness was developed. Hence, a result of the conflict was cohesion of the network. The prayer meeting began to grow after the exclusion of Simon. Currently in the

air is talk of "Christian community" something never before mentioned:

a weakening of the group is not a necessary result of such struggles (in group). On the contrary, the perception of this inside "danger" on the part of the remaining group members makes for their "pulling together," for an increase in participation; in short, the danger brings about the mobilization of all group defenses. Just because the struggles concentrate the group's energies for purposes of self-defense, it ties the members closer to each other and promotes group integration (Goswami 1966:71).

The conflict also provided a strengthening association between the first and third manifestation of the Jesus Movement. Minister, priest, and layman had served as allies against Simon. The relationship between the Catholics and the Jesus People remained close since all young Catholics attend the Jesus Center.

Indirectly, the whole Jesus Movement was threatened by the Free Pentecostalism of Simon. The Jesus Movement had been a non-denominational awakening. One could come into contact with any part and one could remain in whatever church he attended. If the Simon faction had been successful, schism would have occurred not only as the Catholics left their church, but as they left the Jesus Movement. The interaction between the three manifestations would have been broken since Simon did not really approve of Dickinson Street or the Jesus Center. The ex-Catholics would have been an addition to Simon's own congregation. The Jesus Movement would have suffered a great defeat since opponents could point to the schismatic effect of any contact with Pentecostalism.

The prayer meetings have remained orthodox Pentecostal and at the same time Catholic. A feeling of ecumenical community is growing. Members from Protestant congregations as well as Catholic are encouraged to come. The number of regular Protestants have increased. These non-Pentecostal Protestants represent no threat equal

to Simon. They come not to preach but to learn. Catholicism has increased as the Pentecostal Catholics have helped retain and return wayward Catholics to the church. Attendance at Mass, devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the saying of the Rosary, and a deeper understanding of the Eucharist have increased. A few Protestants such as Esther have also entered these activities.

The opposition of structure/anti-structure was not resolved in a manner as idealized by the group. The meetings never returned to the near chaotic freedom of the first one the author attended. The prayer meeting may have been unstructured at the start but it was habitualized, since choices were narrowed. The sequence of the pre-Simon meetings had been unpredictable. No single member knew what to expect next. However, the choices were always limited to the two variables of Assembly of God ritual. Simon had attempted to give the prayer meeting structure. Under his direction, the ritual elements were always in the same order. It was a move from habitualization to institutionalization. The revolt was partly directed against this process. The anti-Simon faction wanted a return to the freedom of the Spirit but they also wanted someone to control any anti-Catholicism. The result was an attempt at structure-but-not-structure. Father became the center of the network. He begins and ends the prayer meeting; furthermore, he has added "prayer requests" which he asks for at a certain time. Otherwise he does not interfere. Anyone is free to start a song, prayer, or scripture reading. Father's presence is a check on the rise of another Simon.

The government of the prayer meeting never returned to near chaos. Instead, it moved from monarchy to oligarchy. Leadership now rests with Mary, Father, and a few others. Although any-

rigid sequence of meetings under Simon. The ideology of pentecostalism was negated by Free Pentecostalism and Catholic ideology was replaced by Protestant. Unity occurred only by mediation, the negation of the negation. The prayer group emerged stronger and larger than before. This dialectical explanation comes closest to the explanation offered by the post-Simon prayer group. Simon was "a cross that had to be carried."

The prayer group after its conflict attempted to unite thought with action. Under Simon, the two had been separated. Christianity had become an abstract conception. Certain people in the anti-Simon faction began to realize that the true goal of Christianity in its union with God should be love. Christ had said:

'Love your Lord your with all
your heart, will all your soul, with all your mind.'
That is the greatest commandment. It comes first.
The second is like it: 'Love your neighbor as yourself.'
Everything in the Law and the prophets hangs on these
two commandments (Matthew 22:37-40).

What Simon had done was not only to separate these two commandments but to ignore the second. His opponents believed, on the contrary, that love was not a future state assigned to interaction in heaven. Love, using the following appropriate words of Lukačs:

is not a condition which can
be happily forgotten in the stress of daily life
and recalled only in Sunday sermons as a stirring
contrast to workaday cares. Nor is it a 'duty,' and
'idea' designed to regulate the 'real' process. The
ultimate goal is rather that relation to the totality
(to the whole of society seen as process), through
which every aspect of the struggle acquires its
revolutionary significance (Lukačs 1971:22).

The love of Christ and the power of the Spirit
would bring revolutionary results to each individual and the group as

one may speak, only these few speak at meetings. It is significant that Notre Dame went through a similar experience despite the fact that St. Stephen's is a less homogenous group than Notre Dame. The acceptance of the oligarchy was rationalized in the same manner as described by Michels. The gathering of all members was too inconvenient. There was an increase in size and subgroups developed. Finally, "the time came, however, when for it (Notre Dame) to refuse to adopt the normal organs that any society needs would have been a refusal to cooperate with grace" (O'Connor 1971: 103). The rise of new leaders at St. Stephen's was not the simple replacement of one elite by another. The oppositions were not resolved in the manner of either/or. Instead, it was "a continuous process of intermixture, the old elements incessantly attracting, absorbing, and assimilating the new" (Michels 1951:373).

The final result of the conflict was the unification of contradictory forces. Prayer meeting consciousness was not immediate but the result of overcoming the obstacle of Simon. The prayer meeting "prevails only as the result of the process of mediation" (Harcuse 1954: 38). Individual freedom was sacrificed for the freedom of the group. Freedom of the Geist was thus reinterpreted. Freedom of individual spirit can only be achieved with the freedom of group spirit. No more individuals like Simon will be allowed to jeopardize the meetings since "the freedom of the prayer meeting can be abused by people who are there in the wrong spirit. Unless firm and prompt action is taken to call order, they can quickly spoil a meeting and even wreck a community" (O'Connor 1971:103).

The process involved in the prayer meeting was a movement from the unsequence of pre-Simon times to its opposite, the

a whole. Emphasis was shifted away from personal salvation and personal gifts to the showering of the greatest fruit of the Spirit, love-love of God and man. Love referred to union, harmony, order, and wholeness. The prayer group developed the consciousness of Christian community which would draw people together in love and hope for the omega union with God. It would be an attempt to move away from anthropocentrism to the "noocentrism" of Teilhard de Chardin.

The prayer group was approaching its potential-the process of becoming that had been suppressed by Simon. In developing their potential. The people of St. Stephen's prayer meeting were beginning to follow the words of Jesus, "Love one another, as I loved you so you love one another. If there is love among you, then all will know you are my disciples" (John 13:35).

Classification

The Jesus Movement at this time has not developed into a sectarian movement within the religious life-space. The Jesus Movement has close ties to two denominations, the Assembly of God and the Roman Catholic Church. The members of the Dickinson Street assembly and St. Stephen's are not as separate from the secular world as they might wish. Neither has imitated the avowal of poverty by the Jesus People. As a result, people in the assembly and the prayer meeting like to think of themselves as in the world but not of it. However, they have not given up their secular jobs nor have they surrendered their material possessions. The Jesus People are more separate but the minister of Dickinson Street has stunted any sectarianism. The Assembly of God minister and the Catholic priest have been professionally trained. They

both have attended seminary. Although Frank has not attended seminary, he is a minister ordained and licensed by the Assembly of God. He, along with the priest and the minister, receives a fixed salary.

The Jesus People and the Catholic Pentecostals do exist as a voluntary group and this is the first generation of their existence. In many cases, the children are converted first followed by their parents. Dickinson Street, however, has raised two generations since their existence. The Assembly of God started as a revival within the Protestant churches. However, in its new status as a denomination, the Assembly of God has become institutionalized. The Jesus People are also serving to revive Dickinson Street, and the Catholic Pentecostals have the same function within the Roman Catholic Church.

Because they contain a few sectarian elements, there is always the chance that the Jesus People or the Catholic Pentecostals will break the unity of the Jesus Movement. The Catholic prayer meetings have a resemblance to the early Methodist societies within the Church of England. The societies began as a mere addition to the regular services. John Wesley, described by Frank Baker, was a loyal son of the Church. Baker quotes Wesley as stating:

We are members of the Church of England, we are no particular sect or party; we are friends to all, we quarrel with none for their opinions or mode of worship; we love those of the Church wherein we were brought up, but we impose them upon none; in some unessential circumstances we vary a little from the usual mode of worship, and we have several little prudential helps peculiar to ourselves; but still we do not, will not, dare not separate from the Church (Wesley in Baker 1970:297).

Deviation began only in lieu of what Wesley considered opposition from the bishops. He had been careful to inform them of his activities. Over

time and due to increased opposition, the bond between Methodism and the Anglican Church shrank until it was united by the flimsiest of threads. Methodism became a church within a church and after the death of Wesley, a separate church. There is always the chance, in face of opposition from the Catholic bishops, that the Catholic Pentecostals will imitate the example of Methodism. So far the bishops have been wisely tolerant- following the advice of a committee of bishops, "it is the conclusion of the Committee on Doctrine that the movement at this point not be inhibited but allowed to develop" (Zaleski in O'Connor 1971:293). The future, as in the case of Wesley, lays in the hands of the bishops.

The Jesus Movement is three separate but interacting groups that together make up a triune unity. Each section has played a certain role in influencing the others. The Dickinson Street assembly is the oldest. To its minister, all sections come for advice. The minister is considered wise because of his longer experience in Pentecostalism. It is, however, the Jesus People who are the vital center of the movement. They are the ones whose apostolate is the most original and radical. In order to reach others, they have imitated the word of St. Paul in becoming all things (1 Corinthians 9:19-23). The Jesus People have become to the Assembly of God a check on its rising secularization- the result of it becoming a denomination. To the Catholics of St. Stephen's, the Jesus Center has served as a place of education about scripture and the Christian life. It is significant that Mary came in contact with the Jesus People, not the Dickinson Street assembly, first. The Catholic Pentecostals, on the other hand, have served as a channel of tradition and Catholicism. Contact with the Catholics has increased the knowledge of

post-New Testament times.

Within the Jesus Movement, Pentecostalism has served as a mediator of interaction. Protestants are attending Catholic mass and Catholics are attending Protestant worship services. Before, this was rare. The associate priest of St. Stephen's has even preached from several Protestant pulpits all over the River City area. In an area where the circle of friendship is limited to family and members of the same occupation, the Jesus Movement has served to develop new interaction patterns. The Jesus People have taken to the streets and this has served to enlarge their contacts. As stated earlier, the Jesus Movements transcend kinship, religious, and social systems, "There is no such thing as Jew and Greek, slave and freeman, male and female; for you are one person in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:27-28). It is no accident that Mary states that the focus of her life expanded because of her contact with the Jesus People and the Dickinson Street assembly. A symbolic expression of this unity seen in a television program on the Jesus People that ended with two former opponents (an ex-S.D.S. president and an ex-Minuteman) hugging each other. They stated that Jesus "is our peace...he has made us one. He has broken through the wall of hostility" (Ephesians 2:14).

Although the Jesus Movement is labeled an orthodox Christian re-awakening, it shares some characteristics with the millenarian movements in anthropological literature. Worsley distinguishes between two kinds of millenarian movements on the opposite ends of the same pole. In the first type, "the link between the ideology of the millenarian movement and the traditional ideas and beliefs of the people is very close one" (Worsley in Middleton 1967:341). The Jesus Movement

as stated before is tied to the religious profession of the River City area. However, the Jesus Movement expresses them in a condition new to River City. Not since the second awakening has River City seen such religious activity and never has the area seen such a radical interpretation of praxis in Christianity. In some cases, the Christian values; i.e., love, peace, service to all mankind, and opposition to violence, are opposed to the prevalent secular ideology.

The second movement of Worsley is an increasing political orientation. So far, the Jesus Movement is not directly involved in the politics of the River City area. Yet, like this kind of millenarian movement, the millenarian emphasis within the Jesus Movement is small. Only once did any adventism break out and this was quickly suppressed. The Jesus Movement people want happiness here-and-now. These joys are the fruit of the Spirit. They want happiness here on earth just not in heaven.

The convert to the Jesus Movement, like that to these millenarian movements, is someone who feels alienated from the current ideology. He feels powerless, an object of manipulation. Entrance into the Jesus Movement is a regaining of self-respect since the crushing slavery of the secular world is negated and the person is set free, "There will be no saying 'Look, here it is!' or 'there it is!'; for in fact the kingdom of heaven is within you" (Luke 17:20-21). The early Christians of the New Testament were recruited from the oppressed colonials such as the Jews and the Greeks, and the slaves. These were generally poor in wealth. However, the recruits to the Jesus Movement are not poor in economic goods, but they feel themselves poor in spirit. Of the three

sections, the Dickinson Street and the Catholic Pentecostals are composed mainly of adults and the Jesus People are mainly twenty-five years or younger. The most dynamic section contains the young convert who feels more alienated in his identity crisis.

One result of the Jesus Movement has been the regaining of prestige and status not for the individual who has it in many cases but for River City and St. Stephen's that lost it. River City is the Jesus People capital of not only the area but the state and the neighboring metropolitan area. The mother Jesus Center and commune is located at River City. Furthermore, through the prayer meetings, St. Stephen's is regaining the prestige it lost when the bishop moved. Members of other parishes are attending its services including mass for the first time.

The biggest threat to the secular ideology has been described as revolution and communism. The typical individual of the River City area fears the change of the status quo above all else. He sees that American culture is being invaded by a foreign culture of communism. Unlike the millenarian movements of Worsley, this invasion is purely ideological. The Jesus People, on the other hand, do not see communism as an ideology but as a physical force; i.e., the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China. Their view toward communism is ambiguous. They have accepted the central Marxist critique of capitalism but they rejected its atheism. The communist governments are disliked because they prohibit freedom of worship. The Jesus People have gone as far as to adapt the Christian communism of the early church, "All whose faith had drawn them together held everything in common: they would sell their property and possessions and make a general distribution

as the need of each required" (Acts 2:43-45).

The Jesus Movement rejects certain characteristics of not only the secular ideology but the nominal Christianity that supports it. The attitude of the clergy, especially those from the liberal churches, is not always favorable. Some of it hinges on jealousy. These liberal ministers have witnessed the exodus of the young from their churches. In many cases, they have in vain tried to correct it. One church opened a coffee house but it failed. These ministers who have compromised with the liberal establishment are naturally upset when some "fundamentalists" comes along preaching a strict gospel and attracts swarms of ex-church members. The Jesus People see the nominal River City Christian as somewhat hypocritical. Individuals state they love God to which the Jesus People reply, "If a man says, 'I love God,' while hating his brother, he is a liar. If he does not love the brother whom he has seen, it cannot be that he loves God whom he has not seen" (1 John 4:20). Profession of faith is not enough. It must be put into action; i.e., praxis must be achieved, "Suppose a brother or sister is in rags with not enough food for the day, and one of you says, 'Good luck to you, keep yourselves warm, and have plenty to eat,' but does nothing to supply their bodily needs, what is the good of that? So it is with faith, if it does not lead to action, it in itself a lifeless thing" (1 James 2:14-17).

The reaction to the revolutionary Jesus Movement has been one of perplexity and confusion. The holder of the secular ideology had a ready defense mechanism against the statements of the New Left. Yet, when the same statement is verbalized in religious terms by the Jesus People, he can not ignore it. The Jesus Movement has attacked

at his Achilles' heel-his religion. The individual has no answer to the questions of the Jesus Movement, "Do you love God with all your being and love your neighbor as yourself?" Hence, the Jesus Movement is the mediator in which radical ideas that previously were rejected or failed to even be expressed are being accepted into the River City area. Revolution, at last, is filtering into River City. The radical apostolate of early Christianity (which was lost at the time of institutionalization during the reign of Constantine) that was secularized in Marxism has returned to original source.

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