

**A DIFFERENT CALL: COVENANT CHRISTIAN CHURCH  
AND JESUS PEOPLE USA**

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## Abstract

### A DIFFERENT CALL: COVENANT CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND JESUS PEOPLE USA

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This thesis is a case study of the Charismatic Renewal and the Jesus People Movement, two religious movements that formed in the 1950s and 1960s. They had historical antecedents in Pentecostalism and Fundamentalism, but they were also the products of various social changes that affected the two decades. The Charismatic Renewal was a reaction to a perceived decline in spirituality and waning social influence of organized religion. Relying on Pentecostal theology, the Charismatic Renewal emphasized the role of the Holy Spirit to enable and empower a Christian to obey the teachings of Christ. The Jesus People Movement appeared as part of a resurgence of spirituality within the Counterculture. The movement propagated a simple, experiential form of the Christian gospel based on Fundamentalist and Pentecostal theology. Both movements have significantly influenced American Christianity. While the Charismatic Renewal persisted as an influential movement into the early 1990s, the Jesus People Movement ceased to visibly exist by the mid-1970s along with the Counterculture. The essence of the Jesus People Movement still lives on in surviving organizations and in contemporary Christian music. This thesis seeks to illustrate the growth and development of both movements and of one specific ministry from each movement, Covenant

Christian Church of rural Jackson County, North Carolina and Jesus People USA of Chicago, Illinois.

## INTRODUCTION

How do internal and external factors affect the development of independent churches and religious communities? Religious organizations have been known to split apart or dissolve over such issues as theology, organizational structure, and vision. On the other hand, a sense of belonging, a common theological perspective, and a common vision have also been the starting point for the formation of religious bodies. In addition, internal and external factors have either retarded or advanced the growth of religious groups, and internal and external factors have either hindered the establishment of a permanent location or permitted the establishment of independent churches and religious communities. These and many other answers can be offered to the above question.

The best way to provide concrete answers to how internal and external factors affect the development of independent churches and religious communities is by examining the history of particular religious bodies. Examining their histories reveals the internal and external factors that were present and unique to those religious organizations. Studying a particular church and religious community's history not only shows the internal and external factors present but also describes the manner in which those groups responded to them, and what immediate and long-term effects appeared as a result of their responses.

This study will look at the particular histories of one independent church, Covenant Christian Church, which is located in Sylva, North Carolina, and one religious community, Jesus People USA, which is in Chicago, Illinois. There are several reasons that these two religious organizations were chosen. Both originated from two major religious movements in the 1950s and 1960s. Covenant Christian was a part of the

Charismatic Renewal, which appeared in the 1950s as a response from middle-class Christians to what they deemed to be the lack of spirituality within the mainline churches. The Renewal drew on Pentecostal theology as a means to revitalizing personal and corporate spirituality. As for Jesus People USA, its origins are in the Jesus People Movement, which first appeared on the West Coast of the United States in the late 1960s. As a part of the spiritual renewal that sprung up within the Counterculture, the Jesus People Movement proclaimed the Christian gospel and sought to convert hippies and political protesters to a form of experiential Christianity composed of fundamentalist and Pentecostal theology. Both movements are reminiscent of previous religious awakenings in the United States. This is especially true of the Charismatic Renewal in the sense that it is an effort to renew spirituality in the same way that the Methodists during the First Great Awakening and the Holiness Movement of the nineteenth century tried to rekindle a pietistic faith within the Episcopal and Methodist denominations, respectively. While the older movements later became sectarian movements and eventually denominations, the Charismatic Renewal has been able to resist this sectarian tendency to some degree.<sup>1</sup>

There were personal reasons for the present author choosing Covenant Christian and Jesus People USA. With regards to Covenant Christian, it has been my desire to write a history of this church ever since I became a member of its student organization, Campus Rock, at Western Carolina University in 1991 and later a member of the church. At a dinner with Tom Gamble, who is a professor of modern foreign languages at Western as well as one of the church's founding elders, one evening at Brown Cafeteria in the Fall semester of 1991, the history of Covenant Christian became one of our topics of conversation. Since that time, I have had a commitment as both a student of history and as a member of Covenant Christian to study and preserve the history of that church.

My interest in Jesus People USA dates back to the same time I became interested

in Covenant Christian's history. In 1991, I borrowed a dual CD set of the first two albums of Resurrection Band, the community's musical voice. I found their music more stimulating and appealing than other songs that were playing on the Christian airwaves in the early 1990s. When I learned a bit about their origins, I developed an interest in the history of the Jesus People Movement even though I did not imagine that I would have an opportunity to study it and Jesus People USA. My curiosity was thoroughly piqued when a student, whose name I have sadly forgotten, happened to pass through Campus Rock in 1997 when I was in the early stages of research. This student, though she had never visited the community, was familiar with Jesus People USA and enthusiastically recommended that I research its history. So I decided to do that.

During my research, I examined a number of secondary sources on the Jesus People Movement and the Charismatic Renewal. The most recent for the Jesus People Movement is David Di Sabatino's annotated bibliography, The Jesus People Movement, which was published in 1999. Di Sabatino provides a short but very descriptive synopsis of the history of the Jesus People Movement as well as the most current bibliography of all publications relevant to the study of the movement. Several of the secondary and primary sources that Di Sabatino includes are used in this study.

As for the Charismatic Renewal, Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism, which was published in 1999 and edited by Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, and Grant A. Wacker, is among the most recent material published. This work is composed of a series of essays on specific events and organizations in the history of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements. In addition, there is an essay that provides an historiographical overview of works on the history of Pentecostalism's beginnings and publications relating to the Charismatic Renewal's history. Among the titles listed are Donald Dayton's Theological Roots of Pentecostalism and Richard Quebedeaux's The



New Charismatics II, which have also been used as part of this study.

Numerous primary sources were also consulted, among them Western Carolina University's student newspaper, The Western Carolinian, The Sylva Herald and Ruralite, the church records of Covenant Christian Church, and the editorial and back issue archives of Jesus People USA's magazine, Cornerstone. Eleven interviews were conducted with the leaders of Covenant Christian Church and Jesus People USA.

My thesis is that Covenant Christian Church and Jesus People USA are respective representations of the Charismatic Renewal and the Jesus People Movement, which came into existence as the result of a unique set of internal and external factors that affected the growth and development of the two and formed them into the ministries they are today. With a view to proving this thesis, the first chapter will briefly describe the historiography and theology of the Charismatic Renewal and the Jesus People Movement and narrate the history of both movements in order to establish the roots of Covenant Christian Church within the Charismatic Renewal and the roots of Jesus People USA within the Jesus People Movement. The second chapter examines the history of Covenant Christian Church and of Jesus People USA as independent entities. The chapter describes the factors that affected establishment, growth, and development of the two, how the members of the organizations responded to those factors, and the effects that the responses had on the establishment, growth, and development of Covenant Christian and Jesus People USA.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Richard Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II (San Francisco, Harper and Row, 1983), 7, 8, 9, 11, 12; Robert Mapes Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 28-29, 31-34; Ronald M. Enroth, Edward E. Ericson, Jr., and C. Breckinridge Peters, The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972), 15; Mohs Mayoh, "The New Rebel Cry: Jesus Is Coming!," Time, 21 June 1971, 59; and William G. McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977, Chicago History of American Religion, ed. Martin E. Marty (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 94-96.

## CHAPTER 1

### NEW WINE AND THE ONE WAY: THE CHARISMATIC RENEWAL AND THE JESUS PEOPLE MOVEMENT

In the early 1950s, the seeds of a “transdenominational” renewal were planted in the Christian churches within the United States. This movement, which was later called the Charismatic Renewal, was based on Pentecostal theology and sought to emphasize the role of the Holy Spirit as the enabler and empowerer of a Christian in order for that individual to obey the teachings of Christ. For the rest of the twentieth century, the Charismatic Renewal helped to satisfy the need for a deeper spirituality among middle-class Christians.<sup>1</sup>

The Charismatic Renewal has received considerable scrutiny by theologians, historians, sociologists, and psychologists. The focus within the historiography of the Renewal is to ask why it took place rather than attempt to define what the Charismatic Renewal is. There are two interpretations. The first is based on psychological and sociological deprivation theories. Deprivation theories argue that marginalized individuals or groups are usually unable to obtain the natural economic and social means to better themselves, and they will look for any alternatives, including religion, by which to obtain those natural ways to improve their life. An example of a deprivation theory used in a work of history is Robert Mapes Anderson’s Vision of the Disinherited, which contends that the rise of the Holiness Movement in the nineteenth century and Pentecostalism in the early twentieth century resulted from the mutual rejection of the Holiness Movement and mainstream American Christianity in the post-Civil War era. Although the Holiness Movement continued to espouse a pietistic and reformist lifestyle

based on the Wesleyan doctrine of entire sanctification, mainstream American Christianity was intent on identifying itself with the growing middle-class culture and justifying that identification with the Gospel of Wealth.<sup>2</sup> This accommodation to the middle-class culture was viewed by the Holiness Movement as a spiritual compromise that did not promote a pietistic relationship with God. In addition, the Social Gospel movement was rejected by the Holiness Movement because of its involvement with the “world,” despite both movements’ common interest in eliminating social ills. Eventually, in Anderson’s opinion, the clash of the two cultures caused the Holiness Movement and mainstream American Christianity to reject each other.<sup>3</sup> The resulting marginalization of the Holiness Movement removed most of its natural means of dealing with social and economic hardship. So its members sought to obtain supernatural power to regain the control they lost after leaving the mainstream of American Christianity. The search led many within the Holiness Movement to espouse a belief in a supernatural empowering from God that would later be known by the Holiness and the Pentecostals as the baptism in the Holy Spirit. The only addition to this doctrine by the Pentecostals is the need for evidence of glossolalia, more commonly called “speaking in tongues,” as proof that a Christian had obtained this supernatural empowering.<sup>4</sup> So Anderson believes that Pentecostalism developed as a religious reaction to social and economic deprivation.

The appearance of the Charismatic Renewal in the 1950s and 1960s, however, created doubt over the use of deprivation theories as a way of interpreting the history of the movement. Cecil David Bradfield, in his sociological assessment of the Renewal, concluded that Charismatics were not economically and socially deprived like the Pentecostals. Charismatics were more affluent than Pentecostals, held a more positive attitude toward wealth, and believed wealth is a sign of God’s favor. Charismatics also obtained a higher level of education as well as occupations in the professional or

managerial fields; and they were more involved in non-religious service organizations. This contrasted with the Pentecostals' origins within the lower socio-economic classes, their views on accumulating wealth as a "worldly" pursuit, their tendency to have less education, their non-professional jobs, and their sole involvement with their church.<sup>5</sup>

There is another aspect of deprivation theories that also deserves criticism. The theories focus exclusively on glossalalia as the primary way to understand the Charismatic Renewal. Donald Dayton says in his work on the theological history of Pentecostalism that the focus on glossalalia has kept interpreters from using other foci of analysis, particularly theological analysis. Prior to the Charismatic Renewal, glossalalia was explained "as a response to some form of 'deprivation.'"<sup>6</sup> However, these psychological and sociological explanations excluded the theological origins of glossolalia within Pentecostalism and overemphasized its importance. Therefore, other categories of interpretation are needed that can examine the Renewal not just in terms of glossalalia but in other ways as well.

This demand for other categories leads to looking at the theological interpretation of the Renewal. Dayton's study of Pentecostal theology is a good example since the Renewal shares much of its theology with its spiritual ancestor. In the beginning of the study, Dayton argues that a study of Pentecostalism should not focus wholly on glossalalia but instead seek to find a common theological pattern and logic that explains the development of Pentecostal thought in relation to the rest of American religious history. Dayton found this pattern in the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America's "Statement of Truth," which they termed the "full gospel." The PFNA described the full gospel as five beliefs consisting of justification by faith, entire sanctification, baptism in the Holy Spirit, divine healing, and the second coming of Christ. Dayton, however, left out the sanctification theme and focused on the remaining four themes in the full gospel

since they express “more clearly and cleanly the logic of Pentecostal theology” and because they are more common throughout Pentecostalism. The four themes are linked together by a logic that argues that God is restoring the full gospel before Christ’s return to demonstrate his power through his church and to make available again what was lost after the apostles died.<sup>7</sup> It is this rubric that Dayton uses to explain the development of Pentecostal theology from the time of John Wesley up to the end of the nineteenth century, when Charles F. Parham and several other Holiness ministers advocated glossalalia as the initial evidence for the baptism in the Holy Spirit, and consequently established early Pentecostal doctrine. This same analysis will later be used to give a brief understanding of Charismatic theology.

The value of a theological interpretation is its ability to incorporate elements from other interpretations. Dayton briefly speculates on the effects of the Civil War and postwar period on the Holiness Movement as well as the creation of Pentecostalism. The very same forces changing American society in the late nineteenth century caused a shift in Holiness thought from the ability of Christians to affect reform within themselves and society to the “power” of the Holy Spirit to bring change solely to the individual. Dayton questioned if the turn to a more experiential and spiritual viewpoint could possibly have been the result of some form of sociological or psychological deprivation. However, Dayton leaves the answering of his speculation to others like Anderson, whose focus is less on a history of theology and more on portraying Pentecostalism as a religious protest movement that rejected the “modern urban-industrial capitalist society” and was equally rejected by that society.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, a theological interpretation can examine those aspects of other interpretations in order to attain a better perspective. Therefore, both the deprivation and theological interpretations will be used to gain a better understanding of the history of the Charismatic Renewal.

The Charismatic Renewal is theologically similar to Pentecostalism because, like Dayton, it encompasses the same four beliefs that Pentecostalism uses, but there are variations in thought between Charismatics and Pentecostals. The three most important variations between Charismatic and Pentecostal theology are the importance of glossalalia within the two movements as the initial sign of receiving the Holy Spirit, the greater emphasis Charismatics place on the Holy Spirit as the giver of spiritual powers or gifts, and the transdenominational and ecumenical character of the Renewal. Glossalalia as the initial proof of the baptism in the Holy Spirit helped to set Pentecostalism apart from the Holiness Movement in the early twentieth century, but the Charismatic Renewal does not make tongues central to its theology. Instead, Charismatics view tongues either as the initial proof of receiving the baptism or as one of many proofs, depending upon the amount of Pentecostal theology assimilated by Charismatics within a given denomination.<sup>9</sup>

Spiritual gifts, as defined by Pentecostals and Charismatics, are a means by which the Holy Spirit manifests himself in the physical cosmos. Both movements agree that the baptism in the Holy Spirit makes these gifts available to the believer, but the Charismatics emphasize the fact that spiritual gifts are given freely by God and received by faith in order to provide spiritual edification to Christians and glorify Jesus Christ. The emphasis is necessary because the Pentecostals created a set of conditions for receiving the Holy Spirit that depended on a mixture of human works and divine grace. Consequently, any manifestation of the Holy Spirit upon receiving the baptism was viewed not as a free gift of grace but as a reward for good behavior.<sup>10</sup>

Although the lessened emphasis on glossalalia and the greater stress on spiritual gifts are variations in theology between the Renewal and Pentecostalism, the fact that the Charismatic Renewal stayed within the mainline churches after it developed is more

important. As has been noted at the beginning of the chapter, both the Holiness and the Pentecostal traditions became sectarian theologies within Christianity. However, Richard Quebedeaux states in his book, The New Charismatics II, that several changes occurred within mainstream American Christianity that provided fertile ground for the Charismatic Renewal by creating a spirit of accommodation within most of the Christian denominations.<sup>11</sup> Among the changes that he lists are increased interest in the non-rational and greater acceptance of theological dissent. The result was an experiential movement that was strongly middle-class, included members from all denominations, and was ecumenical. Thus, the Charismatic Renewal was generally a non-sectarian movement within American Christianity.<sup>12</sup>

Historically, the various individuals and ministries that composed the Charismatic Renewal appeared gradually over the course of a decade. The first Charismatic ministry to appear was the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International in 1951. Its founder was Demos Shakarian, a successful Pentecostal dairyman from California who sponsored street and evangelistic rallies from 1938 to 1951. At the end of this period of time, Shakarian met an independent Pentecostal minister named Oral Roberts while organizing a crusade for him in Los Angeles.<sup>13</sup> During that crusade, Shakarian approached Roberts with an idea for a Pentecostal businessmen's organization that could share the Pentecostal experience with non-Pentecostal businessmen. To Roberts, this idea sounded very good. He was already sensing a growing interest in Pentecostal teachings among clergy and laymen of the mainline churches even though it would not be very apparent until the late 1950s. Under Roberts' mentoring, Shakarian formed the first chapter of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International in 1951 at Clifton's Cafeteria in Los Angeles. It was officially incorporated in 1953 with Shakarian as president and Lee Braxton, a long-time associate of Roberts, as vice-president. From



there, the organization grew rapidly. The first annual convention at Los Angeles in 1953 had several thousand attendees; but in 1963, the annual convention at New York City reported 100,000 people. By 1972, Shakarian reported a membership of 300,000 with an annual operating budget of \$1,000,000.<sup>14</sup>

The Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship was very successful in delivering Pentecostal teachings to the middle-class non-Pentecostals. By offering money, business leadership, and the means of circumventing denominational regulations, the organization freed independent ministers like Roberts from the financial and clerical control of the Pentecostal denominations. Consequently, the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship and the independent Pentecostal ministers were able to present Pentecostalism in a manner that was both respectable and acceptable to middle-class, non-Pentecostal Christians.<sup>15</sup>

Another important ministry in the early years of the Charismatic Renewal was the work of David J. du Plessis. Known by Charismatics as "Mr. Pentecost," du Plessis was born in South Africa in 1905. He converted to Christianity in 1916 and received the baptism in the Spirit two years later. In 1928, du Plessis became an ordained minister in the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa. From there, he steadily went up the bureaucratic ladder until he became general secretary in 1949. Du Plessis also became involved with the first World Pentecostal Conference as a delegate in 1947 and as secretary of the second, third, and fifth WPC in 1948, 1952, and 1958. Moreover, he became a permanent resident of the United States in 1949 and a minister with the Assemblies of God, an American Pentecostal denomination, in 1955.<sup>16</sup>

The experience and reputation that du Plessis gained prepared him for one of the most formidable tasks of his life. In 1951, du Plessis believed God wanted him to share the Pentecostal message with leaders in the World Council of Churches. For du Plessis,

this was both a personal and a professional challenge. Du Plessis had experienced persecution from the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa and had castigated the denomination for rejecting Pentecostal theology. Moreover, du Plessis' Pentecostal peers viewed the ecumenical efforts of the World Council of Churches as an effort to create a "world super church" which, according to Pentecostalism, was a fulfillment of some of the prophecies in the book of Revelation in the Bible. Despite these impediments, du Plessis chose to trust what he believed was the will of God and presented himself at the New York offices of the WCC as a "world secretary" of the pentecostal movement."<sup>17</sup>

To his amazement, du Plessis was warmly received by the World Council of Churches' leadership, which was sensing the loss of spirituality in the mainline churches and was consequently open to what du Plessis had to say. In 1952, John Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary and eminent leader in the ecumenical movement, invited du Plessis to speak on the successes of Pentecostalism in foreign missions at an assembly of the International Missionary Council at Willengen in the former West Germany.<sup>18</sup> Two years later, the WCC's general secretary, Willem Visser't Hooft, invited du Plessis to the second World Council of Churches assembly at Evanston, Illinois, and du Plessis attended the third assembly in New Delhi, India as an observer in 1961.<sup>19</sup>

The effect of these events was significant for both du Plessis and Christianity worldwide. As he engaged in dialogue with non-Pentecostals, du Plessis' sectarian attitudes gradually disappeared. Du Plessis also gained new contacts and recognition within the ecumenical movement that gave him opportunities to speak at important universities of establishment theology such as Princeton, Yale, Union Theological, Colgate, and Southern Methodist. As for the mainline denominations, they began to look favorably on Pentecostalism and expressed their positive opinions in their denominational

periodicals.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, du Plessis' ministry to non-Pentecostals cost him his reputation among his Pentecostal contemporaries. The Assemblies of God reacted to du Plessis' work by disfellowshipping him in 1962. Nevertheless, du Plessis continued to be a strong communicator of the experience and doctrine of Pentecostalism to an ecumenical movement seeking a renewed spirituality.<sup>21</sup>

For nearly eight years, Shakarian and du Plessis cultivated the Pentecostal teachings among the mainline churches. Then in 1960, the first visible fruit of the Charismatic Renewal appeared and produced another important individual in the movement: Dennis J. Bennett. Bennett, a former electronics salesman, attended the University of Chicago Divinity School and obtained a bachelor of divinity degree in 1949. Two years later, Bennett converted to the Episcopal Church, and in 1953 became rector of St. Mark's in Van Nuys, California. Through Bennett's efforts, the church recovered from financial difficulties and grew in membership from 500 to 2,500 by 1960.<sup>22</sup>

It was sometime around 1959 that John and Joan Baker, members of another parish, received the baptism in the Holy Spirit through the testimony of some Pentecostal friends. Rather than joining a Pentecostal church, the couple stayed in their church and began to exhibit a zeal that their vicar, Frank Maguire, had not seen in them before. After questioning them, Maguire learned the source of their new enthusiasm. Initially he did nothing to stop them, hoping that the more sober members of his parish would dissuade them. However, the Bakers became more involved in church work, attended week day services, and tithed. They also encouraged fellow members to receive the Holy Spirit. At that point, Maguire sought advice from Bennett.<sup>23</sup>

Bennett, after Maguire consulted with him, decided to meet with the Bakers. Their zeal and explanation as to how they acquired such enthusiasm made Bennett

interested. After several meetings with the Bakers, Bennett received the Holy Spirit in November of 1959. After that, Bennett began sending other interested members of St. Mark's to a prayer group the Bakers had started. By April of 1960, eight ministers and approximately 100 members had received the baptism in the Holy Spirit within the Los Angeles Episcopal diocese. Among those who received the baptism were seventy members from St. Mark's.<sup>24</sup>

By that time, news of what was taking place in the diocese was spreading within Van Nuys. Rumors and misunderstanding of what was occurring soon developed, and Bennett was forced to explain what was taking place to his parish. On April 3, 1960, Bennett told his church about receiving the Holy Spirit and the resultant effects on his life. The confession resulted in immediate opposition from the non-Charismatics in the body. Hoping to ease tensions, Bennett resigned, but in a letter to those in the church who received the Spirit, Bennett encouraged them not to follow suit and to continue providing financial support to the church. Out of a job and considered a fanatic, Bennett's ministry appeared to be at an end.<sup>25</sup>

Bennett's situation quickly proved to be short-lived. The controversy at St. Mark's drew the attention of the secular and Christian press, which began publishing stories of the events in Van Nuys, as well as an Episcopal bishop in Olympia, Washington. This bishop offered Bennett a vicarship at St. Luke's in Seattle, which was facing bankruptcy and dissolution in July of 1960. Bennett accepted the offer. Within a year, over a third of the 200 members had received the Holy Spirit. Moreover, the church made a complete turnaround. All debts were paid, and attendance was increasing. By the mid-1970s, over 2000 were attending the church, and Bennett was now known as an important and symbolic figure within the movement.<sup>26</sup>

Despite the success of Bennett at St. Luke's, the focal point of the Protestant

Charismatic Renewal remained in Van Nuys until 1966. During that period, Jean Stone, a member of St. Mark's who received the Holy Spirit after Bennett's resignation and the wife of a prominent corporate officer at Lockheed, founded a ministry called the Blessed Trinity Society. The BTS, through its magazine *Trinity* and its "Christian Advance" teaching seminars, disseminated information on the baptism in the Holy Spirit among the mainline denominations in the United States and around the world. At the same time, the growth of the renewal in the Los Angeles area continued and was spreading to other denominations. By 1963, approximately 200 Episcopalians in the Los Angeles diocese received the baptism. In the American Lutheran churches, 6 out of 225 congregations were influenced by the Charismatic Renewal. In addition, two prominent Presbyterian churches, Bel Air and Hollywood First, became involved in the renewal. So in three years, the visible fruit of the Charismatic Renewal went from one couple to several hundred Episcopalians in Los Angeles and Seattle as well as eight churches in two other denominations in the Los Angeles area.<sup>27</sup>

Although it was a movement unto itself, the Charismatic Renewal within the Catholic Church was another important part of the larger Charismatic Renewal movement. Two important catalysts helped to start the Catholic arm of the movement. The first was the second Vatican Council in 1962, which helped to bring important reforms to the Church and create an openness to Pentecostalism. The second was the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International. From 1962 to 1966, individual Catholics attended functions of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International and experienced Pentecostal spirituality. However, the Catholic Charismatic Renewal did not visibly appear until 1966.<sup>28</sup> In autumn of that year, a group of Catholic laymen and faculty at Duquesne University established a prayer group to seek a renewal by the Holy Spirit of "all the graces of their baptism and confirmation." These faculty had been

influenced by a book written by David Wilkerson. In his book, The Cross and the Switchblade, Wilkerson spoke of his work with drug addicts and gang members in New York City and also discussed the Pentecostal experience. Wilkerson's book convinced the group that they needed such power to confront the apathy and unbelief of their students. They soon began talking with local Protestant Charismatics and attending various prayer sessions. As a result of attending the prayer sessions, four of the laymen received the baptism sometime in the first months of 1967.<sup>29</sup>

From 1967 to 1970, the fledgling movement was slow in growing. In February of 1967, the four laymen arranged a student retreat with thirty students to discuss the renewed spirituality of the four faculty members. By the end of what came to be known as the "Duquesne Weekend," all thirty of the students had received the Holy Spirit. A month later, the renewal spread to Notre Dame and Michigan State University after the Duquesne group visited some of their friends who taught at those schools. Through various small groups and prayer meetings, another thirty people also received the Holy Spirit at Notre Dame. Among those was Josephine Ford, a professor in Notre Dame's Department of Theology and a prominent figure in a controversy that affected the Catholic renewal during the 1970s.<sup>30</sup> This controversy will be further discussed later in the chapter.

The Catholic renewal rapidly expanded beyond Duquesne, Notre Dame, and Michigan State between 1970 and 1980. In 1970, the Catholic renewal had reached other universities such as the University of Michigan and the University of Iowa. It also reached outside the academic community to cities like Boston, Seattle, Orlando, Los Angeles, and St. Louis. Approximately 10,000 Catholics were involved with the renewal at that time in the United States. In addition, prayer groups were growing in Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand, and Australia.<sup>31</sup> So the Catholic Charismatic renewal was

becoming both an American and an international phenomenon.

After 1970, some of the best figures for gauging the popularity of the Catholic renewal came from the various national and international conferences that were organized by the Charismatics at Notre Dame and Michigan State. Originating from another student retreat held after the “Duquesne Weekend” in 1967, the first two conferences in 1968 and 1969 saw only a few hundred attendants, but from 1970 to 1977, the attendance quickly increased to the tens of thousands. In 1976, one particular conference drew 30,000 people, which was the largest number of Catholic Charismatics at any one of the conferences before and after.<sup>32</sup>

The best statistic to express the overall size of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, however, was a Gallup survey from 1979. According to Gallup, nineteen percent of the adult population in the United States considered itself either Pentecostal or Charismatic. Of that figure, eighteen percent of Roman Catholics were Pentecostal or Charismatic.<sup>33</sup> So by 1979, a good portion of Roman Catholics had become part of the Charismatic Renewal.

The Protestant wing had also been expanding beyond California and the state of Washington. Harold Bredesen, a pastor who was part of the Reformed Church and who had received the Holy Spirit, visited Yale University in 1962 and ministered to the members of the Yale Christian Fellowship. Bredesen’s visit resulted in a revival that spread to Dartmouth, Stanford, Princeton Theological Seminary, and other colleges and seminaries in fifteen states in the Northeast, the Mid-West, and on the West Coast by 1964.<sup>34</sup> The Yale revival also gained some publicity after the magazine, *Time*, ran an article about the “GlossosYalies,” as they were commonly called at Yale.<sup>35</sup> Such revivals continued to fuel the growth of the Protestant renewal through the rest of the 1960s and to the end of the 1970s. By 1979, the same Gallup survey that noted a significant number of

Catholics to be either Pentecostal or Charismatic also showed that twenty-two percent of the nineteen percent of adult Americans claiming to be Pentecostal or Charismatic were Protestant.<sup>36</sup> Thus, both wings of the Charismatic Renewal showed continued growth during the 1960s and 1970s.

Throughout the history of the renewal, there was constant opposition from both leaders and members within all of the denominations to the movement. What happened to du Plessis and Bennett are examples of such opposition, as are the many incidents of removal from denominational membership, loss of ministerial credentials, sending Charismatic clergy to churches where they might be less visible, and outright banning of Charismatic practices within a given denomination.<sup>37</sup> The primary basis for opposition to the Charismatic Renewal was the same as the opposition to Pentecostalism in the early twentieth century: rejection of the practice of glossalalia. The arguments for this rejection were varied and were the same used against the Pentecostals. There were the psychological arguments that attributed glossalalia to either being a symptom of schizophrenia, as intimated by Bishop James A. Pike in a pastoral letter to the Episcopal diocese of California in 1963, or called it a subjective means to resolving inner guilt.<sup>38</sup> In addition, there were theological objections that glossalalia and other miracles had been signs authenticating the ministry of the twelve apostles but that those signs eventually ceased once the apostles died and the church was firmly established. Moreover, the historic denominations contended that Charismatics posed a threat to unity and order within the denominational churches they attended.<sup>39</sup> Armed with these objections, opponents to the Charismatics attempted to either contain their spreading influence or force them out of the denominations.

Although there was resistance to the renewal within the denominations, this resistance shifted during the 1970s to a growing acceptance and toleration of



Charismatics in most of the historic denominations among theologians and high level leaders. An important reason for this change was du Plessis' involvement with the World Council of Churches during the 1950s. However, the most important reason was that high-level denominational leaders began to see the spiritual richness and depth of the Charismatic Renewal, along with its positive effects on church members who received the Holy Spirit. During the 1970s, various articles were published by theologians in The Christian Century, the Catholic periodical America, and Christianity Today that explained what the Charismatics were contributing to Christianity. Watson Mills, in his article on glossalalia for The Christian Century, stated that "the glossalaliac forces us [Christians] to think through the Spirit's relevancy to Christian living, to consider what it means, morally and socially, to talk about God's presence among us."<sup>40</sup> Donald Gelpi's article on the baptism of the Holy Spirit examined the relationship of the practice among Catholic Charismatics to the traditional ritual of confirmation. Gelpi argued that a Catholic praying for "Spirit-baptism" was actually praying for "complete openness to the gifts and graces of his confirmation."<sup>41</sup> The best article on Charismatic contributions, however, came from theologian J. I. Packer. Packer defined four ideals that Charismatics strove for: complete openness to God through worship; complete involvement of the entire church in ministering to each other and to those outside the church; use of all forms of communication in order to foster greater intimacy and to share the awareness of God among members in a church; and a sense of community that generates a willingness to share all things with those who have need. In all four of those ideals, Packer believed the Charismatics went beyond the standards that most churches set for themselves in those areas, and Packer insisted that non-Charismatics should follow the example of their Charismatic brethren rather than reject them as irrational and deceived.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to the positive assessments of theologians, the renewal gained a

favorable opinion from the mental health community, which once viewed Charismatics and Pentecostals as mentally abnormal people. Published reports, such as John Kildall's examination of Charismatic lifestyles, helped to change such perceptions. As a result of the more favorable viewpoints of theologians and psychologists as well as du Plessis' work in the World Council of Churches, most of the major denominations reassessed their positions and took a more accepting and tolerant position towards the Charismatic Renewal. However, those denominations who accepted the Charismatics encouraged them to learn to live harmoniously within the churches they attended.<sup>43</sup>

Despite the new tolerance of Charismatics that appeared in the 1970s, there was still some opposition. Non-Pentecostal fundamentalists continued to argue against the renewal on the grounds that miracles ceased after the death of the apostles. Consequently, those fundamentalists saw modern miracles as demonic counterfeits. Such arguments stemmed from the Reformation principle of "sola Scriptura," which declares the Bible as the only absolute rule of faith and conduct and thus, in accordance with the fundamentalists' interpretation, eliminates miracles as a way to edify Christians. However, the fundamentalist position on the Renewal was found by exegetical scholars to be lacking any convincing scriptural arguments. Eventually, the fundamentalist's interpretation of the Bible became unacceptable to those scholars.<sup>44</sup>

In addition to opposition from fundamentalists, the renewal also found opposition at the grass-roots level within the denominations. An example of this can be found in the response of the Southern Baptist Convention to the Charismatic Renewal. A handful of Southern Baptist pastors received the baptism in the 1950s and 1960s. This resulted in some opposition from their congregations. However, a few scholars and leaders within the SBC demonstrated an openness to the renewal by the mid-1960s. These included John P. Newport, professor of the philosophy of religion at Southwestern Baptist

Theological Seminary, and Watson Mills, who was a professor at Averett College in Danville, Virginia. Mills insisted the best course of action for Baptists was “neither to forbid nor to require speaking in tongues, [but] to remember that glossalalia is a gift of the Spirit . . . and to exercise mutual tolerance in the context of Christian love.”<sup>45</sup>

Unfortunately, Mills’s advice was not taken to heart within the local churches and associations. A sharp reaction to the renewal flared up in the mid-1970s within an association of Southern Baptist churches in Dallas, Texas. Aided by three of the pastors in the association, W. A. Criswell and Billy and Jaroy Weber, the rest of the SBC churches in Dallas adopted an anticharismatic stance in 1974. This position was quickly carried over to the Baptist General Convention of Texas, which passed a resolution warning churches of the “potential dangers’ of the movement.” The next year, the Southern Baptist Press Service sent to the newspapers of all state conventions within the SBC a series of articles by J. Terry Young that accused Charismatics of spiritual pride, poor biblical exegesis, and creating schisms. The press service also released a series by Herschel H. Hobbs that examined passages from the Bible commonly used by Charismatics from an anticharismatic position. All of these actions encouraged other local associations in Louisiana, Ohio, Texas, and California to take action against the Charismatics.<sup>46</sup>

Despite the opposition of the local associations, the SBC never attempted to oppose the renewal at the national convention meetings. It rejected a resolution to denounce the Charismatic Renewal at the national convention in Miami, Florida in 1975. At the same time, the SBC reaffirmed its statement on the Holy Spirit in the Baptist Faith and Message Statement of 1963. With the exception of Texas, the state conventions also did not challenge the renewal. In fact, the Texas state convention later moderated its position in 1976 after electing a new president who urged the convention to allow

Charismatics to participate at the 1977 convention meeting.<sup>47</sup> So while the SBC's leadership at the national and state level was more tolerant of the Charismatics, the leadership at the local level was not.

In addition to opposition from outside the movement, there were also a few internal controversies. These events had less to do with theology and more to do with issues of authority and polity within all areas of the Charismatic Renewal. The major controversy for the Catholics centered around the work of Josephine Ford. After the formation of charismatic groups at Notre Dame and Michigan State, each group coalesced into an intentional community that provided economic and spiritual support for its members.<sup>48</sup> Ford, who joined the Notre Dame community, was later expelled in 1971 when she accused both communities of basing the way they operated on Protestant tradition. She further elaborated on her accusation in the book, Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?, in which she stated that the communities had adopted a male hierarchical structure that demanded obedience from all members (including women), a non-professional group of teachers who based their teaching on the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit, a very complex method for excluding dissenters, and separation from the world in ways similar to that found in Protestant fundamentalism. Although the Notre Dame and Michigan State communities later repudiated Ford's critique in 1978, her work led to the founding of a "modernist" group of Catholic Charismatics who stressed pluralism and eclecticism within authority and religious expression.<sup>49</sup>

The other controversy over human authority and church polity affected the renewal overall and was called the Shepherding Movement. This movement was very prominent in non-denominational charismatic churches that appeared during the 1960s and 1970s despite the best efforts to keep the renewal within the historic denominations. The motivating force behind the Shepherding Movement was the Holy Spirit Teaching

Mission, which was founded in 1968 and later renamed Christian Growth Ministries in the early 1970s. Its founders, Charles Simpson, Don Basham, Bob Mumford, and Derek Prince, wanted to address the need for deeper teaching, spiritual maturity, and discipline that appeared in the late 1960s among Charismatics.<sup>50</sup> Initially, the ministry held conferences and published articles in its magazine, New Wine, on typical Charismatic themes, but after 1973, Christian Growth Ministries ended its conference work and presented itself as a teaching ministry to the body of Christ at large. It also started focusing on less typical issues such as authority, discipline, community, and relationships. Through the use of books, tapes, and increased circulation of New Wine, CGM quickly broadened its influence within the Charismatic Renewal.<sup>51</sup>

By the mid-1970s, CGM was the target of criticism by other leaders within the renewal such as Dennis Bennett and Demos Shakarian. The issue was over the emphasis on Christian growth and behavioral change through the use of “shepherds” who, according to CGM teachings, were God-ordained, male elders who held authority over the spiritual and personal growth of their disciples. The critics contended that the elders were taking control over their disciples’ day-to-day lives, even to the point of overriding both the free will of the disciples and the spiritual authority of Jesus Christ. The other renewal leaders also feared the CGM would form a new sectarian denomination through “extralocal submission” or the linking of sympathetic groups to CGM and forming some type of organizational structure. As a result, two meetings were called in 1975 and 1980 between the prominent leaders of the Charismatic Renewal and Christian Growth Ministries. Through these meetings, a measure of accommodation and reconciliation was reached. The CGM acknowledged some excesses in the application of their teachings, assured the attending renewal leaders that they did not intend to form a new denomination, and spent some time in ecumenical dialogue. Nevertheless, the problems

that the critics addressed were never fully resolved.<sup>52</sup>

By the end of the 1970s, the Charismatic Renewal achieved the respect from mainline denominations that Pentecostalism failed to gain, and the movement helped Pentecostals find a place in the religious mainstream. However, gaining that respect eliminated any reasons for its continued existence. As the movement progressed into the 1980s, the Charismatics lost their identity and distinctiveness as they integrated into mainstream Christianity. The Catholic Charismatics began integrating other forms of spiritual renewal, and the Protestant Charismatics began to draw religious liberals, conservative evangelicals, cultists, and Marxists into their wing of the movement.<sup>53</sup> There was also a growing disinterest with the Renewal as the number of people involved with the movement decreased. Despite these many problems, the Charismatic Renewal maintained its vitality during the 1980s.<sup>54</sup>

While the Charismatic Renewal within the Catholic Church was in its early stages of development, another religious renewal movement was forming on the West Coast of the United States. In 1967, a small storefront “missionary crash pad” called The Living Room opened in the Haight-Ashbury District of San Francisco.<sup>55</sup> This ministry and several other churches, communities, and organizations appeared between 1965 and 1970 and formed what became a resurgence of Christianity within the counterculture known as the Jesus People Movement.

A historiography of the Jesus People Movement has developed from its very beginnings. The two most important interpretations are the renewal model and the revivalistic model. The renewal interpretation sees the Jesus People Movement not as a true revival but rather as one stream within the greater religious upsurge that occurred in the 1960s. Os Guinness, in his book *The Dust of Death*, viewed the Jesus People Movement as part of the larger religious resurgence that started with the Beats and their

interests in Zen Buddhism in the 1950s and continued with the Hippies' religious quest through psychedelics, Eastern religions, and the occult. Guinness contends the Jesus People Movement lacked a solid grounding in Christianity's claims to objective truth.<sup>56</sup> This weakness was exemplified in the amorphous composition of the movement; with its mix of genuine believers, believers who were completely subjective in their faith, and "religious anarchists" who saw Jesus as either a hero and fellow rebel or as the "ultimate trip."<sup>57</sup> The lack of a foundation in Christianity's claims to objective truth caused Guinness to predict three possible outcomes for the movement. The first possible outcome would be inability to tell truth from falsity in leaders and doctrine, which would lead to the rejection of both genuine and spurious elements within the movement by Christians and non-Christians. The second would be faddism, which would lead to a devaluation of the positive aspects of the Jesus People Movement and label it as another "California-born neophiliac fashion." The third conclusion would be openness to control as a tool of manipulation by both individuals and society.<sup>58</sup> So in Guinness' opinion, the Jesus People Movement had few positive aspects and was no different from any other religiously motivated movement within the counterculture.

Another individual who saw the Jesus People Movement as part of the religious renewal during the 1960s was Ronald Enroth. Enroth, along with Edward Ericson, Jr. and C. Breckinridge Peters, wrote one of the best contemporary works on the movement, entitled The Jesus People. Enroth, however, focused more on the positive effects of the movement. According to Enroth, the movement was social in nature and attempted to revitalize Christianity by combining older elements of Christianity with patterns derived from the counterculture.<sup>59</sup> While some hippies tried Eastern religions, American Indian religions, or meditation, others turned to Christianity in order to meet real and deeply felt spiritual needs.<sup>60</sup> In addition to revitalizing their spiritual life, Enroth claimed that the

Jesus People also sought to reform Christianity.' While some of the hippies continued to retain much of their anti-Establishment bias after being converted, there were certain individuals within the Jesus People Movement who tried to work within the system to bring change. Enroth believed that group of individuals would be most beneficial to Christianity provided that each side was willing to sacrifice something. The Jesus People had to modify of their countercultural biases, and the established church had to not only acknowledge that a Christian revival could happen outside of itself but also accept the Jesus People as part of the larger body of Christian believers. Failure on both sides to reach those positions, in Enroth's opinion, would lead either to the dissipation of the Jesus People or to dogmatism within both groups.<sup>61</sup> So Enroth saw the Jesus People as a more positive revitalization force yet still in danger of failing if it did not embrace the church and vice versa.

The revivalistic interpretation is the oldest of the two interpretations. It originated amongst the leaders of the Jesus People Movement and still retains adherents among former participants and non-participants to this day. According to Ronald Enroth, the leaders of the various ministries within the movement saw themselves as participants in a genuine revival and compared their movement to the Great Awakening of the early 1700s. However, there was uncertainty over which ministries helped to start the revival. Eventually, several leaders in the Pacific Northwest and Southern California posited a divine source theory in which various independent ministries directed at evangelizing the counterculture appeared from 1967 to 1969. These groups, operating separately and unaware of each other for a time, eventually made up the whole of the Jesus People Movement.<sup>62</sup>

Little work has been done recently in examining the Jesus People Movement. The newest work was done by David Di Sabatino, who wrote an annotated bibliography



entitled The Jesus People Movement. This book contains a short synopsis of the history of the movement that reflects both the revival and renewal interpretations. Di Sabatino described the Jesus People Movement as an integral part of the 1960s and of the pervasive spirituality of that decade. Di Sabatino also believes that the movement also called into question the most important aspect of the religious renewal interpretation: that the 1960s was an era of growing religious pluralism. The Jesus People Movement was such a strong contrast to the rest of the counterculture that many scholars of the renewal framework cannot fit it into their viewpoint. Consequently, the movement is either an afterthought or considered unimportant in most histories of the 1960s.<sup>63</sup>

In addition to describing the history of the movement, Di Sabatino also explained the theology of the movement, which was derived from fundamentalist Christianity and influenced by the Charismatic Renewal Movement prevalent at the time. Di Sabatino also described the eventual institutionalization of the movement that came in response to the end of the counterculture. He cited an article written by Ronald Enroth in 1973 which stated that many Jesus People matured in their Christian beliefs to the point where many sought education and spiritual training to balance out the emotive aspects of their conversion.<sup>64</sup> Di Sabatino's final remarks dealt with the legacy of the movement, and they focus on a very weak portion of the revivalist interpretation, which is the effect of the movement on American society and culture. While he believes the Jesus People Movement brought spiritual renewal within Christianity, Di Sabatino admits that its effect on American society and culture is less apparent and that there should be further study in that area.<sup>65</sup>

Which interpretation is applicable to a narrative history of the Jesus People Movement? The renewal and revivalistic frameworks clearly acknowledge the need to place the Jesus People Movement within the context of the spiritual resurgence that came

during the 1960s. However, the challenge of the renewal interpretation is to accept the possibility of a resurgence of religion that includes both liberal and conservative elements as well as Christian and non-Christian aspects. As for the revivalistic interpretation, it needs to offer evidence that the Jesus People Movement brought renewal to Christianity which affected organized religion and later the rest of society. If the revivalistic interpretation cannot provide proof of changes within the larger society, then it is only a variation on the renewal interpretation. Since the facts clearly indicate that the Jesus People Movement led to a renewal of Christianity but not a revival of Christianity, this chapter will use the renewal interpretation.

As explained before, the Jesus People Movement first appeared within Haight-Ashbury in 1967 after Ted and Liz Wise, both drug addicts and heavily into the countercultural scene, converted to Christianity.<sup>66</sup> Ted immediately converted Danny and Sandy Sands, Jim and Judy Doop, Steve and Sandi Heefner after the three couples noticed profound changes in Ted's life resulting from his conversion. All three couples shared the Wise's vision to live in community and to proclaim the Christian gospel. The Living Room was part of that vision. Described as a small storefront "missionary crash pad" by Di Sabatino, The Living Room was a way for these first Jesus People to evangelize their peers by going out to witness to people and inviting them to visit the storefront for a meal and further witnessing. Support came from a group of Baptist ministers who were cautious yet open to Wise and his friends. Through The Living Room, the Haight's inhabitants heard the Gospel of these first Jesus People.<sup>67</sup>

Another expression of the Wise's vision was the House of Acts. After a study of the early church revealed its devotion to holding all things in common and living in community, The Living Room staff sold their goods and rented a house in Novato, California. It was during that time that The Living Room group met Lonnie Frisbee and

his fiancée, Connie Bremer. Frisbee accepted Christianity while involved in group drug and occult trips in the Southern California desert. After his conversion, Frisbee enrolled at the San Francisco Art Academy, but he quit school when he moved into the House of Acts. When The Living Room staff met him, Frisbee was high on LSD and babbling about Jesus and UFOs. His subsequent stay at the House of Acts provided Frisbee with the means to strengthen his faith and end his drug habits.<sup>68</sup>

In addition to the Living Room/House of Acts ministry, there was a ministry started by Kent Philpott and David Hoyt. In 1967, Philpott felt a strong desire to go and witness in the Haight. There he met Hoyt, who spent his “growing up” years in prison. After incarceration in a federal penitentiary for narcotics smuggling, Hoyt began seeking God through meditation, chanting, and abstaining from meat. Upon his release from prison, Hoyt moved to the Haight, became a member of the Council for the Summer of Love, and got involved with a Krishna Consciousness temple. Philpott convinced Hoyt to hold a Bible study in the temple, and Philpott’s continued witness to Hoyt led to his conversion. The next year, Hoyt and Philpott worked together to open Soul Inn, a Christian house that provided shelter, nurturing, and community for new converts. In 1969, Hoyt moved to Atlanta to work within a hippie enclave there. After establishing separate communities for men and women, Hoyt left in 1971 to join the Jesus People Movement group called the Children of God.<sup>69</sup>

The Living Room and the House of Acts experiments ended after eighteen months, and the group went in various directions. The Wises joined Peninsula Bible Church in Palo Alto, and the Doops and Heefners established separate chapters of the Way International, an organization later considered a cult. The Frisbees headed south to Costa Mesa, California.<sup>70</sup> There, the Frisbees met an individual named Chuck Smith. Together, the Frisbees and Smith helped to establish another major phase of the Jesus

People Movement.

In 1968, Chuck Smith was the pastor of Calvary Chapel, a non-denominational church in Costa Mesa. He was originally a pastor within the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, a Pentecostal denomination started by Aimee Simple McPherson in the 1920s. After seventeen years with the denomination, Smith became disillusioned with denominational officiousness and ineffective church growth efforts. In the early 1960s, Smith left the denomination to pastor a non-denominational church in Corona, California. He soon had a successful and growing church based on his determination to focus solely on teaching the Bible. Smith's reputation eventually earned him an invitation to pastor at Calvary Chapel, which had only 25 members at the time. Smith accepted the invitation, and under his guidance, the church began to grow at a rate of five percent per week.<sup>71</sup>

Initially, Smith felt a certain revulsion towards the hippies but compassion eventually overcame his feelings. In addition, one of Smith's daughters began dating a newly converted Christian and former acid head named John. It was John who introduced Smith to Lonnie Frisbee. Impressed with his piety and enthusiasm, Smith invited Frisbee to stay with Smith's family. After that, his house quickly became a pad for Jesus People seeking shelter and spiritual nourishment from him.<sup>72</sup>

The Frisbees quickly became part of the staff at Calvary Chapel. They first began working with another couple in the church, John and Jackie Higgins, to establish a group of communal houses. On May 12, 1968, the first House of Miracles opened; twenty-one members joined the first week. As time progressed, more houses started in Riverside, Santa Anna, and Fontana. Eventually, John Higgins and Lonnie Frisbee parted company. The former continued establishing houses while the latter focused on preaching and itinerant evangelism.<sup>73</sup>

Lonnie Frisbee's next assignment was the Wednesday night youth services at Calvary Chapel. His charismatic appeal among local hippies turned the service into the church's focal event. Frisbee's zeal for evangelism and emphasis on charismatic teaching earned him the reputation as the "John the Baptist of Southern California." Over the four year period Frisbee was at Costa Mesa, an estimated 4,000 conversions occurred along with over 2,000 baptisms. Most of these baptisms took place at Corona del Mar State Beach, which became famous for the mass baptismal services that Calvary Chapel began in 1970. By the early 1970s, only five to ten percent of Calvary Chapel's congregation was over 25. The rest were hippies converted to Christianity.<sup>74</sup>

Frisbee's tenure with Calvary Chapel had a bad ending. Frisbee grew increasingly interested in the manifestation of charismatic gifts and began emphasizing the baptism of the Holy Spirit in his Sunday evening sermons. Smith also saw charismatic gifts as important, but he believed that such gifts should be practiced privately or in small group fellowships supported by the church. At first, the senior staff attempted to keep Frisbee in line with Smith's position, but Frisbee later chose to leave Calvary Chapel in October of 1971. Despite Frisbee's departure, Calvary Chapel continued to grow. Eventually, members began moving to other parts of the United States and forming fellowships similar to Calvary Chapel. As of 1994, over 400 of these "satellite congregations" existed, all of them loosely affiliated with Calvary Chapel. Because of this incredible expansion, Calvary Chapel is a modern day marvel of church growth.<sup>75</sup>

In the same year that Lonnie and Connie Frisbee started working at Calvary Chapel, another ministry developed on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley. Jack Sparks, a statistics professor from Pennsylvania State University and a worker for the evangelical ministry Campus Crusade, felt a strong calling to spread the gospel to the radicals at Berkeley. Together with Pat Matrisciana, Fred Dyson, and

Weldon Hartenburg, Sparks started a pilot project with the support of Campus Crusade that became known as the Christian World Liberation Front in the spring of 1969. As the name suggests, Sparks and his team attempted to adopt the lifestyle of the counterculture in such a way that they could successfully evangelize and not violate their biblical standards. Adopting the lifestyle, however, meant severing ties with Campus Crusade in order to be free of its bureaucracy, to produce literature suitable for Berkeley, and to avoid being identified with an establishment organization.<sup>76</sup> So after 1968, Sparks and his team were largely on their own.

What CWLF did over the next few years was impressive. Its most significant contribution was Right On!, which was the first of many Jesus papers. It began publication on July 1, 1969 and quickly grew from a circulation of 20,000 to over 100,000 at special events. Average circulation was 65,000. The paper was free, and the costs were paid through friends and local church members. Right On! was unique in being one of the most solid in content and intellectual in appeal of the Jesus papers.<sup>77</sup> The paper published thought-provoking, substantive articles on various issues from the Vietnam War to the women's liberation movement. The paper also carried a strong evangelistic appeal and at times focused on the need for individual salvation.<sup>78</sup>

The Christian World Liberation Front also came up with innovative ways to evangelize. Aware that Berkeley radicals were skeptical of organized religion, CWLF once joined with a local church to form a "People's Committee to Investigate Billy Graham," and the two ministries chartered a bus to transport people to a Billy Graham crusade held in Oakland, California. The CWLF also took part in an SDS regional conference held at Berkeley in 1970. When several of the CWLF members offered a proposal that Jesus be discussed as the ultimate solution to the world's problems, the SDS leadership struck down the motion as non-political. Further efforts by the CWLF to field

a speaker led to a veto and subsequent sit-down by the organization. At that point, the SDS responded by violently attacking the Christian World Liberation Front, which left along with several SDS members who were offended at the actions of their group.<sup>79</sup>

In addition to evangelization, the Christian World Liberation Front also attempted to disciple those who converted. The ministry operated several houses (their term for commune) in the Bay Area that doubled as crash pads for transient youth and as way stations for converts. CWLF also operated Rising Son Ranch as a way to help new Christians out of the counterculture and to develop a mature faith. All of these ministries were staffed by married couples to provide a sense of family, particularly to those youth who came from dysfunctional families. CWLF also held Bible studies and seminars on the UC Berkeley campus and in the community.<sup>80</sup>

In the time of its existence, the Christian World Liberation Front was attacked by both the left and the right. Some on the left accused CWLF of using the left's terminology and methods to hide the fact that CWLF was a Christian organization. Others just did not like the competition or were tired of the constant efforts to convert them. Conservative Christians argued that the CWLF identified itself too closely with the New Left and anti-establishment sympathies.<sup>81</sup> These accusations, however, came in response to the ministry's attempts to remain apolitical. Sparks saw the organization as counter-revolutionary since the CWLF spoke not of creating a violent revolution but of love, peace, and a personal relationship with Christ. As a result, the ministry could not ally with "anybody who . . . [needed] a platform" but instead support only those issues in which there was a common cause.<sup>82</sup>

Despite Sparks' attempts to maintain an apolitical stance, the Christian World Liberation Front did become politically radicalized over time. A major split within the organization in 1975 led to the dissolution of the CWLF and its replacement by the

Berkeley Christian Coalition. Right On! also underwent a name change and became known as Radix. The new organization continued its house ministry and added new ministries such as the Spiritual Counterfeits Project, an anti-cult organization. It also developed a form of Christian socialism that was Marxian to a degree.<sup>83</sup> So while many ministries like Calvary Chapel and The Living Room maintained a more conservative position, the Christian World Liberation Front eventually moved in a different direction.

Another ministry that originated in California was that of a Southern Baptist evangelist named Arthur Blessitt. In 1968, Blessitt established His Place, a 24 hour nightclub ministry along the Sunset Strip in Los Angeles for hippies and junkies. Those converted by Blessitt participated in what was known as the “toilet service.” The converted would flush their drugs down the toilet as proof they were “flushing away the old life” and accepting Jesus Christ. In addition, Blessitt drew media attention through such sensational events as picketing pornographic bookstores, marches along Sunset Strip, and chaining himself to a twelve foot cross after neighboring club owners tried to get Blessitt’s lease on His Place terminated.<sup>84</sup> However, Blessitt’s ministry in Los Angeles went into decline three years later, and Blessitt took up other endeavors such as carrying the cross he chained himself to across the United States. Critics later viewed his ministry during the Jesus People Movement era as sensationalist and an example of the excessive emotionalism typical of periods of Christian revival. However, Blessitt was also viewed as a sincere individual who sought to offer hope to hundreds of teens trapped in the despair of street life as the counterculture went into decline. In addition, Blessitt left his mark on the Jesus People Movement as the creator of some of the JPM’s most memorable slang. Phrases such as “turn on to Jesus” and “drop a little Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John” are attributed directly to Blessitt.<sup>85</sup>

While many of the Jesus People Movement ministries originated in California,



there were some that formed outside of that state. One of those was the Jesus People Army of Seattle, Washington. Its founder was Linda Meissner who established the JPA in 1969 after receiving a revelation to go to Seattle and “raise up a mighty army of young people.” Under Meissner’s guidance, the Jesus People Army opened a coffee house called The Ark in Seattle’s Wallingford District. The JPA also formed several communal homes, a second coffee house called The Catacombs, and a newspaper called Agape. Moreover, the JPA sponsored a rock band called The Glorious Liberty. In 1970, the Jesus People Army extended their operations in the Pacific Northwest through new outposts in Vancouver, British Columbia and within Washington state in such towns as Spokane, Yakima, and Everett.<sup>86</sup>

Despite some success, Meissner’s army had some internal problems by 1970. A handful of leaders sought greater authority within the ministry, but they chafed under Meissner’s unwillingness to concede any part of her authority, which she viewed as divinely sanctioned. Another problem was Meissner’s inability to keep followers. Although the Jesus People Army officially converted 700, there were only eighty disciples by 1971. Frustrated, Meissner sought a way to deal with the problem. After hearing of David Hoyt’s involvement with the Children of God, Meissner decided to check out the ministry. What she found was a ready-made JPA that she perceived as loyal and devoted to God. Impressed, Meissner invited the Children of God leaders to Seattle despite the suspicions of other Jesus People Army leaders. When the COG arrived, ten to fifteen members of the Jesus People Army joined the Children of God with Meissner, and the COG took over the Seattle, Yakima, and Vancouver Jesus People Army posts. Since Meissner claimed control of the Jesus People Army’s name and property, the Children of God were able to use the JPA’s name and the property the COG acquired as a front in Seattle to obtain donations intended for the original Jesus People

Army. Meissner's defection and the loss of most of the ministry to the Children of God subsequently exposed the divisions within the Jesus People Army and effectively destroyed the ministry.<sup>87</sup>

In addition to the more orthodox Jesus People ministries, there were a few extremist groups. The most publicized of those groups was the Children of God. Its founder, David "Moses" Berg, was a former denominational minister from Arizona. After quitting as pastor of a church for reasons unknown, Berg moved his family to Southern California and worked in public relations for the "Church in the Home" radio program, which was owned by the Reverend Fred Jordan, a Pentecostal evangelist. Around 1967, Berg left that job and moved his family to Huntington Beach, California. Berg then took over responsibility for a coffeehouse ministry in Huntington, which he renamed "The Light Club," and proceeded to create a tightly organized communal outreach program which claimed to be the only true remnant of the Christian faith.<sup>88</sup> A year and a half later, The Light Club shut down after Berg prophesied that California would experience a powerful earthquake and fall into the ocean. After temporarily staying in Tucson and Palm Springs, the group began an eight month period of nomadic existence and renamed itself the Children of God.<sup>89</sup> In addition, Berg went into seclusion and left control to his son Paul Berg and his two sons-in-law, John Treadwell and Arnold Dietrich. After that, most COG members did not personally know of Berg and his children. They were only told that the leaders' identities were kept secret to protect them from Satan when the time of persecution came and so that Berg could maintain a pure spiritual relationship.<sup>90</sup>

The time of wandering for the Children of God ended after they reacquainted themselves with Fred Jordan. This renewed relationship with Jordan led to the Children of God's greatest expansion. Jordan wanted to use the Children to acquire funds for his

ministry. He permitted them to stay at his Texas Soul Clinic in Thurber, Texas and at a rescue mission in Los Angeles' Skid Row district. In return, the COG would make appearances on "Church in the Home" (now a TV show) so that Jordan could appear as a minister seeking to evangelize countercultural youth. However, the COG also used Jordan's ministry as a way to expand by using Thurber and Los Angeles as bases for recruitment and training. By 1971, the Children of God had grown to 2,000 members with 40 communes, which included Meissner's former JPA outposts.<sup>91</sup>

1971 was also the year that ended Jordan's relationship with the Children of God. In September, a dispute arose between Jordan and the COG over use of a new property in Coachella, California. The Children of God insisted on using the entire property, but Jordan only wanted them to use a portion of the land. When Jordan refused to concede, the Children promptly left. Departure from Coachella also led to the COG's abandonment of the other two properties and severing of its relations with Jordan. Shortly after that, the ministry fled to Europe.<sup>92</sup>

Despite its rapid growth, most Jesus People viewed the Children of God as a very fanatical part of the movement. This opinion was based not only on certain similarities in theological position but also on the Children of God's tight organization and disciplinary structure, its demands for members to "forsake all" and be "sold out 100 percent" for Christ, and its extreme view of communal living which demanded married couples to leave their spouses for the sake of the community. By 1973, however, the opinion of the movement had changed after the Parents Committee to Save our Sons and Daughters from the Children of God Organization accused the COG in 1971 of using mind-control techniques and kidnapping to bring middle-class teens into the ministry.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, the media reported in 1973 that Berg was promoting sacred prostitution through a set of messages that he was sending to the rest of the COG known collectively

as “Mo Letters.” In a “Mo Letter” entitled “Flirty Little Fishy,” Berg encouraged female members to be holy bait for hooking prospective recruits. The COG was promptly denounced by other Christian groups as antinomian; Berg was declared a false prophet.<sup>94</sup>

At the end of 1970, many viewed the Jesus People Movement as another fad in which the hippies were going from drug addiction to a “Jesus high.” Few realized that the movement could be part of a larger renewal, but over the next two years the mainstream secular and Christian media developed an interest in the Jesus People Movement. This interest took different directions. A few secular writers wrote very severe criticisms of the movement. Phil Tracy, in his article for Commonweal, saw the movement as “acid graduates, students of smack, mescaline majors, [and] speed freaks” who had given up drugs for the ecstasy of knowing Jesus. He also argued that despite the care offered by ministries to countercultural youth, they were basically manipulative attempts to draw converts and provide short-sighted answers to social problems.<sup>95</sup> James Nolan, in his article “Jesus Now: Hogwash and Holy Water,” also held a similar view to Tracy’s but wondered whether the Jesus People Movement would help spur a resurgence in political conservatism.<sup>96</sup>

Other members of the secular media saw the movement in a different light. A host of weekly magazines, such as Time, Newsweek, and Look, presented the Jesus People Movement as a force with lasting potential. Time’s article, “The New Rebel Cry,” was the most ambitious in its attempt to provide a comprehensive understanding of a movement that even one of Time’s religion reporters, Richard Ostling, described as “amorphous, evasive, going on everywhere and nowhere.” Arguing that the Jesus People movement was more than a fad, “The New Rebel Cry” said that the movement had been going on for four years, with many of its initial leaders still operating within it. In addition, the article tried to explain the new attraction to Jesus as an attempt by some

elements of the Counterculture to satisfy its need for a meaningful spiritual life in a time of increasing depersonalization and demystification of life.<sup>97</sup>

Despite its effort, “The New Rebel Cry” took Ostling’s description to heart. The article mistakenly noted that the movement cut across social and religious lines, incorporating mainstream Christians and even the Charismatic Renewal. The article also failed in a respect common to other writings on the Jesus People movement at that time: inadequate research. Nevertheless, “The New Rebel Cry” was perhaps the best contemporary treatment of the Jesus People movement.<sup>98</sup>

Within Christian circles, magazines like Christianity Today and the Christian Century also held a positive view of the movement. Those magazines warned of the dangers of passing off the movement as a fad. These periodicals also analyzed the good and bad aspects of the movement; and they pleaded with the mainstream church to welcome the street Christians and to provide assistance to bring them into the Church.<sup>99</sup> For the next two years, the Jesus People Movement was a major religious story until it was eclipsed by Watergate in the secular media. The Christian media continued to report on the movement but with increasing emphasis on the Children of God and other heretical Jesus People groups.<sup>100</sup>

By 1973, the Jesus People Movement began showing signs of change as its mission field, the counterculture, began to disappear. Many within the movement began to adjust in various ways. Members of the Jesus People Movement commonly sought further theological training and focused on raising families. However, people within the movement went in various theological directions. Some, like Frisbee, sought the emotional experiences of their initial conversion, which they believed was an important element in New Testament Christianity. Those individuals found it difficult to enter mainline or evangelical denominations with strong intellectual foundations.

Nevertheless, many others assimilated into the “established church” and developed a more complex and holistic view of the church than what they had once held. By the middle part of the 1970s, the Jesus People Movement faded from view.<sup>101</sup>

Despite its short lifespan, the Jesus People Movement left its mark on American Christianity, both theologically and practically. As a whole, the movement melded fundamentalism and Pentecostalism into a unique theological framework that was expressed in several ways.<sup>102</sup> First, the Jesus People’s theology firmly relied on the Bible as the authoritative word. As Di Sabatino describes it, the movement was bibliocentric in its acceptance of the fundamentalist tenet that the Bible is the inspired and inerrant word of God. The acceptance of that belief convinced the Jesus People that the Bible could be interpreted literally and was able to provide answers to all daily decisions.<sup>103</sup> Consequently, the Jesus People viewed the Bible as exhaustive truth for all aspects of life.

A second aspect of the Jesus People Movement’s theology was its understanding of the doctrine of salvation. The Jesus People believed in a simple gospel: Jesus saves. This kind of salvation depended on an experienced-oriented faith, which was a carryover from the counterculture and found expression through moments of spiritual ecstasy, visions, glossalalia, and prayer. While certain individuals, such as Guinness, criticized the Jesus People’s simple faith for its lack of intellectual depth, others argued that an experiential faith should be seen “as a challenge to the theological strictures of classical western Christianity.”<sup>104</sup>

A third characteristic of the Jesus People’s theology was its eschatologically driven evangelism. The Jesus People believed they were living in the last days before Christ’s return to earth. This viewpoint, while held by other Christian groups in the past, gained greater acceptance within the Jesus People Movement partly because of the

apocalyptic moods prevalent during the 1960s within American society and the counterculture.<sup>105</sup> The writings of end-times teachers also aided receptivity of apocalyptic theology. While David Berg declared that the COG would survive the Great Tribulation as non-COG Christians sold out and doomed themselves to hell by receiving the mark of the Antichrist, Hal Lindsey stated in his book, The Late Great Planet Earth, that the true Christians would be raptured from the earth before the Tribulation.<sup>106</sup> Consequently, the Jesus People believed they needed to urgently evangelize before Christ returned. Nothing else, such as going to college, really mattered. The more important thing was that the world needed to know the simple gospel before it was destroyed. The essence of this fervor was captured in a popular Jesus People song, “I Wish We’d All Been Ready”:

Life was filled with guns and war  
 And everyone got trampled on the floor.  
 I wish we’d all been ready.  
 The children died.  
 The days grew cold.  
 A piece of bread could buy a bag of gold.  
 I wish we’d all been ready.  
 There’s no time to change your mind.  
 .....  
 The Son has come,  
 And you’ve been left behind.<sup>107</sup>

The result of focusing on “end-time” evangelism was that many ministries were transient in nature, which was a point of criticism by some outside the movement such as Enroth, who hoped the movement might lose its apocalyptic fervor and build something more lasting. Enroth believed the Jesus People’s unwillingness to establish long-term ministries undermined the movement’s impact and prevented it from leaving a greater heritage behind for Christianity.<sup>108</sup> So while “end-time” evangelism was a major characteristic of the movement, it was a trait that, according to some critics, possessed

dangerous effects to the movement's heritage.

The final facet of the movement's theology was its use of the first century Church as a model for the twentieth century. This included both the use of communal living and the general acceptance of Pentecostalism. The communal movement of the Jesus People originated in the counterculture, which, according to Richard Quebedeaux in The New Charismatics II, was attempting to recover the sense of mystery that was being lost as a result of modernization.<sup>109</sup> In addition to Quebedeaux's opinion, Edward Plowman in The Underground Church argued that the rise of Jesus People communes and communities was because homes and churches failed to fulfill their intended functions. The Jesus People, however, had their own reasons that were based on the descriptive passages in Acts about the formation of the early church.<sup>110</sup>

The acceptance of Pentecostal theology by the Jesus People came out of a desire to recapture the mystery of Christianity and a need for experiential faith. As stated earlier, the movement combined fundamentalism with Pentecostalism to create a theology that placed emphasis on experience. The Jesus People generally accepted Pentecostalism because it offered "instant community" and promised a restoration of the mysterious and of meaning to life. It also, according to Quebedeaux, provided a means to escape the routinization of modern life within secular society while acting as a vehicle for finding an answer to the search for authenticity in living.<sup>111</sup> Consequently, various groups within the movement were open to Pentecostal experiences, and most Jesus People accepted the classical Pentecostal teaching that the baptism in the Holy Spirit occurs after salvation and is evident in glossalia.<sup>112</sup> Therefore, the Jesus People movement generally accepted Pentecostal theology and shared a sense of commonality with the Neopentecostal Movement or Charismatic Renewal, which had direct ties to classical Pentecostalism. As the Jesus People Movement ended in the mid-1970s, many of its adherents either joined



existing classical Pentecostal and charismatic churches or established similar bodies.<sup>113</sup>

By far, the most practical contribution of the Jesus People Movement was its influence on the development of contemporary Christian music. The arrival of the Jesus People brought an infusion of new artists into the early contemporary Christian music industry during the 1970s. Many of those artists were influenced by rock and roll and folk music. Love Song, a band started by some members of Calvary Chapel, became one of the first popular bands among the Jesus People in the early 1970s. They performed on a live album entitled The Everlastin' Living Jesus Music Concert [sic] in 1971. The album was an immediate sellout among California Jesus People. However, it was their first album, Love Song, that became the top religious album of the year during 1973. With songs such as "Little Country Church" and the title cut "Love Song," the band soon became known in various parts of the United States and the world.<sup>114</sup>

The most important Jesus People musician was a solo artist named Larry Norman. Considered the poet laureate of the movement, Norman began his career in secular music as head of the band People. After their single "I Love You" reached the fourteenth spot on the national hit charts in April of 1968, Norman left the band over creative differences with Capitol Records, which produced the single and later an album under the same title. Norman desired to write music with more overt Christian lyrics. After leaving People, Norman produced one more album with Capitol. It was a solo project titled Upon This Rock. After that, Norman made two albums under his own One Way label: Street Level and Bootleg. It was on those three albums that his most well-known songs were produced. These included "I Wish We'd All Been Ready," "Right Here in America," "Forget Your Hexagram," and "One Way," which became another popular song in the Jesus People Movement.<sup>115</sup>

Norman's music represented the best of the Jesus People Movement. It was

mature and perceptive in its understanding of American Christianity, the Counterculture, and the Jesus People Movement. It also expressed much of the movement's theology in all of its varied aspects. "Right Here in America" was a protest song acknowledging the persecution of Christians in the world while warning of the potential for persecution within the United States. "Forget Your Hexagram" was an evangelical song that encouraged members of the counterculture to seek Jesus as a means to spiritual fulfillment, and "I Wish We'd All Been Ready" reflected the Jesus People's eschatological views.<sup>116</sup> It would be music like this, along with compositions from other musicians in the Jesus People Movement, that would allow contemporary Christian music to obtain a significant place within the music industry by the 1980s.<sup>117</sup>

Both the Charismatic Renewal and the Jesus People Movement demonstrate historically the tendency of experientially-based religious movements to become less subjective and more objective and to be less disorganized and more organized. Although the Jesus People Movement ceased to exist after 1975, those involved with the movement reentered the Christian mainstream and either maintained their experiential faith or sought theological training that would give them a more objective basis for their beliefs and a better understanding of the established church. The Charismatic Renewal also entered a period of change during the 1980s, after gaining acceptance from the historic denominations; the result of that change was yet to be seen. The next chapter will examine the history of a specific ministry from the Charismatic Renewal and a specific ministry from the Jesus People Movement in order to see how internal and external factors affected the institutional development of each.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 7.

<sup>2</sup>Anderson, 29-31.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 28-29, 31-33. The Holiness Movement also rejected Darwinism along with new developments in theology such as comparative religious study and the Higher Criticism Movement. Holiness members linked those developments with middle-class accommodation and socialization of religion, leading them to the conclusion that the Christian Church was in apostasy.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 224-229.

<sup>5</sup>Cecil David Bradfield, Neopentecostalism: A Sociological Assessment (Washington: University Press of America, 1979), 20-21, 22-27, 28-29, 30.

<sup>6</sup>Donald W. Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, Studies in Evangelicalism, eds. Kenneth E. Rowe and Donald W. Dayton, no. 5 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, Inc. 1987), 15-16. In addition to drawing scholars away from other foci of analysis, the focus on glossalalia hinders any means of distinguishing Pentecostalism from other religious movements, encourages the ahistorical claim that Pentecostalism emerged as a new movement in the early 1900s, and limits any attempts at theological analysis to questions of pneumatology, or the study of the Holy Spirit.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 15-17, 19-28.

<sup>8</sup>Dayton, 75-76, 77-78; and Anderson, 223. See also Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), 33-34, 40-41, 52-53, 57-59, 218-219.

<sup>9</sup>Robert H. Culpepper, Evaluating the Charismatic Movement: A Theological and Biblical Appraisal (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1977), 88, 89-91.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 79-80.

<sup>11</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 215, 216, 217-218, 227, 234.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 7, 8, 9, 11, 12.

<sup>13</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 119; David Edwin Harrell, Jr., All Things Are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in America (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1975), 146; and John Stevens Kerr, The Fire Flares Anew (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 49.

<sup>14</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 119; Kerr, 50; and Harrell, 145-147, 150-154. Roberts put his mark on the Charismatic Renewal more than any of the other Pentecostal healing evangelists. His most significant act was when Roberts left the Pentecostal Holiness denomination and joined the Methodists in 1968. This decision identified him with the Charismatics and gave him new financial supporters. It also demonstrated Roberts' rejection of the tendency to denominationalize all forms of Pentecostalism, including the Charismatics.

<sup>15</sup>Harrell, 147-148; and Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 120.

<sup>16</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 110-111.

<sup>17</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 110-111; and Kerr, 50-51. Not only did du Plessis experience persecution but his parents were also persecuted. They were expelled from the Dutch Reformed Church for their acceptance of Pentecostalism.

<sup>18</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 111-112; and Kerr, 52-53.

<sup>19</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 112.

<sup>20</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 112; and Kerr, 51.

<sup>21</sup>W. J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1973), 7.

<sup>22</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 61. Bennett was originally from Great Britain, but he came to the United States with his family at the age of ten and lived in central California. His father was a Congregationalist minister.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 61-62.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 62-63.

<sup>25</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 62-63; and Kerr, 56-57. Kerr contends Bennett's resignation was the result of a power play in which tongues was a side issue. Kerr further believed Bennett's desire to tell others about his experience, combined with a new zeal and deeper devotion to God, challenged those who felt comfortable in their spirituality. Consequently, chaos and dissent were created.

<sup>26</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 63.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 64-65.

<sup>28</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 213-215; Kerr, 53, 60-61; and Hollenweger, 8. Coincidentally, Pope John XXIII prayed for a new Pentecost to occur within the Catholic Church during the Second Vatican Council.

<sup>29</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 73-74.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 74-75.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 77.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 78-79. Although the Conference on Charismatic Renewal in the Christian Churches at Kansas City, Missouri in 1977 had an attendance of 45,000, only half of the attendees were Catholic.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 221.

<sup>34</sup>Kerr, 58-59; and Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 66-67.

<sup>35</sup>"Blue Tongues," Time, 29 Mar. 1963, 52.

<sup>36</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 220-221. Although there were some reliable statistics, information on the number of Charismatics was extremely difficult to find. There were no formal memberships to count; and those groups who tried to count how many people were involved tended to inflate the numbers. In addition, rapid growth and decline within the movement quickly caused any statistics to become dated.

<sup>37</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 194-195; and "Taming the Tongues," Time, 10 July 1964, 64, 66. Shortly after Bennett's resignation, Francis Bloy, the Episcopal bishop of the Los Angeles diocese, imposed a ban on the use of glossalalia within the diocese. In July of 1964, Henry Mjorud was dismissed as a traveling evangelist for the American Lutheran Church because of his promotion of Charismatic teachings.

<sup>38</sup> "Against Glossalalia," Time, 17 May 1963, 84; and Donovan Bess, "Speaking in Tongues': The High Church Heresy," The Nation, 28 Sept. 1963, 175-176.

<sup>39</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 193; and Clark H. Pinnock and Grant R. Osborne, "A Truce Proposal for the Tongues Controversy," Christianity Today, 8 Oct. 1971, 7.

<sup>40</sup>Watson E. Mills, "Glossalalia: Christianity's 'Counterculture' Amidst a Silent Majority," The Christian Century, 27 Sept. 1972, 951.

<sup>41</sup>Donald L. Gelpi, "Understanding 'Spirit-Baptism'," America, 16 May 1970, 520-521.

<sup>42</sup>J. I. Packer, "The Charismatic Renewal: Pointing to a Person and a Power," Christianity Today, 7 Mar. 1980, 19-20.

<sup>43</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 112, 196, 197-198, 234-235. Relations between Charismatics and Pentecostals also improved. Eighteen years after being disfellowshipped by the Assemblies of God, du Plessis was restored to fellowship in 1980.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 204-206.

<sup>45</sup>Watson E. Mills, "Reassessing Glossalalia," The Christian Century, 14 Oct. 1970, 1219; and Albert Schenkel, "New Wine and Baptist Wineskins: American and Southern Baptist Denominational Responses to the Charismatic Renewal, 1960-1980," in Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism, eds. Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, and Grant A. Wacker (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 157-159.

<sup>46</sup>Schenkel, 159.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 159, 160-161. The reason for the lack of effort to oppose the Charismatic Renewal at the national and state conventions was because the leaders within those conventions believed that problems related to the renewal could be handled at the association level. Association leaders, like Jaroy Weber, also thought the same thing.

<sup>48</sup>Culpepper, 155; and Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 136-137.

<sup>49</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 137-138; and Julia Duin, "Charismatic Communities Split by Controversy," Christianity Today, 16 Sept. 1991, 55. Ford's accusations were proven true in 1991 when a split occurred within the Michigan State community. Several prominent leaders confessed they had misused their authority by imposing practices that were extrabiblical.

<sup>50</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 138-139; and Robert Digitale, "Shepherding Movement: An Idea Whose Time Has Gone?," Christianity Today, 19 Mar. 1990, 38.

<sup>51</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 139-140. Subscriptions of New Wine reached to over 100,000 in the mid-1970s.

<sup>52</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 140-141; and Robert Digitale, "Mumford: Application, Not Doctrine, Was Flawed," Christianity Today, 19 Mar. 1990, 39. Mumford admitted in an interview with Digitale that his teachings had been misapplied by others. Mumford hoped that a public apology which he made in 1990 would encourage people to leave independent churches which were still abusing CGM teachings.

<sup>53</sup>Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics II, 236.

<sup>54</sup>James Bradley Burke, "Are the Charismatics Losing Their Spirit?," U.S. Catholic, Aug. 1983, 22; "Who Are the Catholic Charismatics?," Christianity Today, 4 Sept. 1987, 48-49; and Julia Duin, "What Does the Future Hold for Charismatic Renewal?," Christianity Today, 16 May 1986, 38, 40-41. The fact that the renewal was maintaining vitality caused some observers, particularly in the Catholic Church, to wonder if the movement was entering a period of deeper growth.

<sup>55</sup>David Di Sabatino, The Jesus People Movement: An Annotated Bibliography and General Resource, Bibliographies and Indexes in Religious Studies, ed. G. E. Gorman, no. 49 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 7.

<sup>56</sup>Os Guinness, The Dust of Death: The Sixties Counterculture and How It Changed America Forever (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1994), 322.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, 323-324.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, 325-328.

<sup>59</sup>Enroth, 238. Enroth called the Jesus People Movement a "revitalization movement."

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, 240-241, 242-243, 244-245. The hippies' bias included an opinion of the established church as a middle-class club that excluded the rest of the world, approved the status quo, and refused to be critiqued for the materialism and decadence of American society. In addition, some within the Jesus People Movement accused the established church of denouncing and trying to ignore the counterculture.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, 15, 67, 120-121.

<sup>63</sup>Di Sabatino, 2-3.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, 4, 7-9, 10-14, 17.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., 19.

<sup>66</sup>Edward E. Plowman, The Underground Church: Accounts of Christian Revolutionaries in America (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook Publishing Co., 1971), 43-44.

<sup>67</sup>Plowman, 44; and Di Sabatino, 4, 7.

<sup>68</sup>Di Sabatino, 7-8; and Plowman, 44-45.

<sup>69</sup>Plowman, 48-51; and Enroth, 48-50. Hoyt's decision to join the Children of God was based on a prophecy that his ministry was in error because it was not totally committed to God. So Hoyt joined the Children to be completely committed to God.

<sup>70</sup>Di Sabatino, 8; and Plowman, 46. In addition to joining Peninsula Bible, the Wisers became staff workers at Evangelical Concerns in San Francisco with the Sands.

<sup>71</sup>Randall Balmer, Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 18-19; and Randall Balmer and Jesse T. Todd, Jr., "Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa, California" in Portraits of Twelve Religious Communities, vol. 1, American Congregations, eds. James P. Wind and James W. Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 673.

<sup>72</sup>Balmer, "Calvary Chapel," 674-675.

<sup>73</sup>Di Sabatino, 10-11.

<sup>74</sup>Di Sabatino, 11; and Balmer, Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory, 19-20, 22-23. Smith placed the estimates of baptisms and conversions at 8,000 and 20,000, respectively.

<sup>75</sup>Balmer, "Calvary Chapel," 684, 689-690, 690-691; and Enroth, 93.

<sup>76</sup>Enroth, 107-019. At the time Spark's left Campus Crusade, many of his friends rejected his idea for the CWLF and ended financial support for his work. To adopt the countercultural lifestyle was to separate oneself from "the good people of America."

<sup>77</sup>Plowman, 82.

<sup>78</sup>Enroth, 111-112; and Plowman, 83. Right On! once made a request for 1,000,000 Christians to pray for Art Goldberg, an instigator in the Free Speech Movement. Goldberg stated he would accept Christ if that many people prayed. In May of 1971, Goldberg reported that he received 200,000 pieces of mail from Christians praying for him.



<sup>79</sup>Plowman, 70-71; and Enroth, 113.

<sup>80</sup>Enroth, 106-107. Enroth says that getting out of the counterculture did not result in becoming part of the establishment or getting a hair cut, but he does imply that it meant a noticeable change in lifestyle, such as getting off drugs.

<sup>81</sup>Plowman, 76.

<sup>82</sup>Enroth, 109-110.

<sup>83</sup>Richard Quebedeaux, *The Worldly Evangelicals* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978), 151-152. The Berkeley Christian Coalition's other ministries were Dwight House, a transient crash pad; Abrigo Ranch, a long-term rehabilitation center for alienated people from Berkeley; a house church; and The Crucible, a layman's theological education program.

<sup>84</sup>Di Sabatino, 10.

<sup>85</sup>Di Sabatino, 10; Enroth, 71-72; and Anne Eggebroten, "Rally Round the Cross," *Christianity Today*, 21 August 1970, 42-43.

<sup>86</sup>Enroth, 117-119; and Di Sabatino, 12. According to Di Sabatino, the Jesus People Army moved their entire operation from the Wallingford district to an abandoned warehouse near the Seattle Center sometime between 1969 and 1970.

<sup>87</sup>Enroth, 51, 52-54, 121-122; and Di Sabatino, 15.

<sup>88</sup>Enroth, 22-23; and Di Sabatino, 8. Enroth theorized that Berg was either kicked out or that his salary at the church in Arizona was insufficient to support his family.

<sup>89</sup>Enroth, 24.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 23-24, 25.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., 25-27, 30.

<sup>92</sup>Enroth, 28-29; and Di Sabatino, 15. The dispute over the Coachella property began when some of Jordan's supporters visited and learned that the Children lived on 10 acres of a 100 acre property. Upon asking the elders why they did not use all of the property that Jordan requested funds for on their behalf, the elders in turn confronted Jordan.

<sup>93</sup>Di Sabatino, 18; and Enroth, 30-32, 34-35.

<sup>94</sup>Di Sabatino, 18.

<sup>95</sup>Phil Tracy, "The Jesus Freaks: Savagery and Salvation on Sunset Strip," Commonweal, 30 October 1973, 123, 124-125.

<sup>96</sup>James Nolan, "Jesus Now: Hogwash and Holy Water," Ramparts, 10 (August 1971): 26.

<sup>97</sup>Henry Luce, "A Letter from the Publisher," Time, 21 June 1971, 1; and Mayoh, 56, 59.

<sup>98</sup>Enroth, 10; and Mayoh, 60, 62. The article's net also drew in Campus Crusade for Christ (which was started nearly 20 years prior to the Jesus Movement) and Teen Challenge, an evangelical drug rehabilitation ministry. These and other "straight" ministries were never part of the actual movement, despite the article's exaggerated claims.

<sup>99</sup>Di Sabatino, 13-14; Richard Lovelace, "The Shape of the Coming Renewal," The Christian Century, 6 October 1971, 1164-67; and Donald M. Williams, "Close-up of the Jesus People," Christianity Today, 27 August 1971, 5-7. See also Robert F. Berkey, "Jesus and the Jesus People," The Christian Century, 22 March 1972, 336-38; W. Fred Graham, "Technology, Technique, and the Jesus Movement," The Christian Century, 2 May 1973, 507-510; and Billy Graham, "The Marks of the Jesus Movement," Christianity Today, 5 November 1971, 4-5.

<sup>100</sup>Di Sabatino, 17.

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, 17, 18.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, 5. There were some controversies raised by the merging of the two theologies. Among those were the question of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit being an event following salvation, the use of glossalalia by all or some Christians, and demonic possession of Christians.

<sup>103</sup>Di Sabatino, 5.

<sup>104</sup>Di Sabatino, 5, 6; and Enroth, 161-164, 167-168, 168-170, 71-172, 174-175, 176-178.

<sup>105</sup>Di Sabatino, 5-6; and Enroth, 182.

<sup>106</sup>Enroth, 186, 187-190.

<sup>107</sup>Di Sabatino, 6; Enroth, 181; and Paul Baker, Contemporary Christian Music: Where It Came From, What It Is, and Where It's Going (Westchester, IL.: Crossway Books, 1985), 33.

<sup>108</sup>Enroth, 192-193. Enroth described the impact of the movement as “more like a match that flares brightly but briefly than a steady candle flame of lower intensity but greater duration.”

<sup>109</sup>Quebedeaux, New Charismatics II, 218.

<sup>110</sup>Plowman, 62; and Enroth, 209.

<sup>111</sup>Di Sabatino, 4; and Quebedeaux, New Charismatics II, 218-219.

<sup>112</sup>Di Sabatino, 6; and Enroth, 195, 196-197, 198, 199. Ted Wise defined three groups of Jesus People associated with Pentecostalism: those who stressed uncontrolled glossalalia, those who used tongues privately in prayer but used tongues in public if a person with the gift of interpretation was present, and those who once were involved in glossalalia but later rejected it and became disaffected from Pentecostalism.

<sup>113</sup>Quebedeaux, New Charismatics II, 130, 230.

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*, 36-38.

<sup>115</sup>Enroth, 79-80, 81; and Baker, 32-35. The quarrel with Capitol centered around the title of their second album, “I Love You.” Norman originally wanted the title to be “We Need a Whole Lot More Jesus and a Lot Less Rock and Roll”; and he wanted a picture of Jesus on the cover. Capitol refused because of the commercial risks and chose instead the title “I Love You” with a picture of the band on the front.

<sup>116</sup>Enroth, 80-83.

<sup>117</sup>Di Sabatino, 18-19. As of the writing of his book, contemporary Christian music controlled 8 percent of all sales in North America and was outselling classical and jazz music together.

## CHAPTER 2

### SEPARATE BUT UNIQUE: THE HISTORIES OF COVENANT CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND JESUS PEOPLE USA

The Charismatic Renewal and the Jesus People Movement both exhibited signs of institutionalization as time progressed. In the same way, specific ministries within each movement also formalized. Covenant Christian Church, a Charismatic, non-denominational church in Sylva, North Carolina, and Jesus People USA, a surviving Jesus People community in Chicago, Illinois, are two examples of ministries from each of the larger movements that originated from informal groups and grew into larger, more complex, and more formal organizations. This chapter will narrate the history of both ministries and show how the two developed into their present form.

The origin of Covenant Christian Church occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In September of 1966, Arden Horstman came to Western Carolina University in Cullowhee, North Carolina after receiving his doctorate in geology from the University of Colorado. Arden was married at the time, but his wife, Naomi, did not travel with him to North Carolina because of a life-threatening illness that she developed. By November, Naomi was well enough to join Arden in Cullowhee.<sup>1</sup>

Naomi's illness caused her and Arden to believe that God wanted them to do "more than just live and teach." They began attending various churches in Cullowhee and eventually joined Cullowhee Presbyterian Church around 1967. After being invited by a friend named Linda Morris, Arden and Naomi also began attending a church in Franklin, North Carolina that was part of the Assemblies of God, a Pentecostal denomination. Through the Pentecostal teachings of the Assemblies of God, the

Horstmans learned about the Holy Spirit and the baptism in the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to attending the Assemblies of God's church, Arden and Naomi also went to a Full Gospel Businessmen's convention in Charlotte around 1972. Four students from the university, Derry Smith, Mary Byrd, Frank Gordon, and Tim McCurry, also went with them. Upon returning from the convention, the students started a prayer group in Derry's apartment, which was a stone house on Dicks Gap Road near Harrill Dormitory. The Horstmans also started a second prayer group for faculty and local residents at their home in Sylva.<sup>3</sup> For about the next two years, the two groups met separately and grew until the student prayer group had approximately 8 to 10 students and the Hortsman's group had about the same number. Among the new people who joined were several professors, such as Dick McMasters, a history professor, and his wife Eve, Nealy Enloe, a business law professor, and his wife Faith, and Tom Gamble, a modern foreign language professor.<sup>4</sup>

During the same period of time, another independent student ministry appeared at Western Carolina University. Peace One Way (also called P.O.W.) was started in October of 1971 by Roger Wall and based on a similar group at Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina. On October 21, 1971, Roger placed an ad in the campus newspaper, The Western Carolinian, inviting any interested people to meet in the Catamount Room of the University Center. From that first meeting, Peace One Way grew quickly in size; and by February of the next year 50 to 60 students were attending the meetings on Sunday and Wednesday nights in the Cherokee Room, which at that time was on the first floor of the University Center.<sup>5</sup>

The short-term effect Peace One Way had on the campus was tremendous according to Phil Woody, an alumnus of Western and former member of P.O.W.; indeed by the fall of 1972, Peace One Way was the largest group on campus with approximately

75 to 125 students coming weekly to the meetings. Most of these students were involved in the small study groups that prayed and studied the Bible together. In addition, Peace One Way hosted several events that were outreaches to the campus. The most significant of those outreaches was a Jesus Rally held in late spring of 1972 that started on the night of Friday, May 5 and ended on Sunday morning. According to the Western Carolinian, "a good size crowd turned out for the rally," even though no exact count was ever made.<sup>6</sup>

Peace One Way also had a long-term influence. Thirteen people became full-time pastors or attended seminary, and two people, Roger Wall and Danny Iverson, became missionaries to Jordan and Japan, respectively. Dozens were converted to Christianity by Peace One Way, and many more developed a deeper spiritual faith. Ultimately, those who were involved with Peace One Way believed it was the greatest thing that had happened spiritually in the history of Western Carolina University.<sup>7</sup>

The success of Peace One Way led to opposition from the other campus ministries, which took the form of competition between them and the independent ministry. Fortunately, Cullowhee Baptist Church, opened up to P.O.W. Its pastor, Reverend Ted Purcell, realized that Peace One Way was not a cult and therefore not a threat to established churches even though the campus ministries believed P.O.W. was drawing students from them. But the campus ministries' objections became so acute that, at one point, they tried to get the chancellor to ban P.O.W. since it lacked a denominational sponsor. Without any backing from a denomination, Peace One Way was in danger of losing a place to meet on campus and being forced out of the competition. P.O.W. responded to this challenge by organizing itself as a student organization. The leaders approached Tom Gamble, who was attending P.O.W. functions prior to attending the Horstman's prayer group, and asked him if he would be their faculty sponsor, which he agreed to. With Tom Gamble as their sponsor, Peace One Way avoided the efforts of

the campus ministries to remove them as a threat.<sup>8</sup>

Before describing further the history of the prayer groups and Peace One Way, it is important to acknowledge that the religious environment at Western was very consistent with what was occurring nationally. Steve Kerhoulas and Jack Harrison, two alumni of Western Carolina University and former members of Peace One Way, became Christians in 1971. Both knew immediately that they knew nothing about their new faith. Kerhourlas stated they "knew very little about the Scriptures, and [how] to really grow in . . . [their] faith." They needed fellowship with other Christians and to get in the habit of studying the Bible. Both men recognized a need to develop their belief system, but were not getting that need met by the existing campus ministries.<sup>9</sup> This was true not only for students like Steve and Jack but also for some of the faculty who were Christians. Tom Gamble, who renewed his commitment to Christianity while in graduate school, became involved with Peace One Way and the prayer groups because he "was looking for some kind of Christian fellowship but . . . was not finding it in the Episcopal Church," of which he was a member.<sup>10</sup> The Horstman's attendance at both Cullowhee Presbyterian and the Assemblies of God church in Franklin also demonstrates that even though they wanted to be part of the Presbyterian church, the Assemblies of God church offered something that Arden and Naomi believed they and the Presbyterians lacked: the power of the Holy Spirit. So it appears that some of the Christian students and some of the Christian faculty members believed the local churches they attended were failing to meet their spiritual needs. Consequently, they were going outside of their established churches to meet those needs.

Between 1972 and 1974, both the prayer groups and Peace One Way interacted with each other. This interaction took place at both the student level and the leadership level. Tom Gamble was both the faculty sponsor for P.O.W. and involved in the prayer

group. Phil Woody, after becoming a Christian in 1973, soon became active in both groups. Two other P.O.W. leaders, John Barton and Bruce Powell, were both leaders in the prayer group.<sup>11</sup> Because of this interaction, more and more of the students attending P.O.W. meetings and activities became involved in the Charismatic Renewal as represented by the prayer groups. A shift soon occurred within P.O.W. as the students involved in the Renewal began to accept more and more of its teachings. Those students eventually formed a Charismatic wing within Peace One Way.<sup>12</sup>

The change soon became a bone of contention for the non-charismatic leaders within Peace One Way. P.O.W. was based on evangelical and fundamentalist teachings which declared that the “sign-gifts,” such as glossalalia, healing, and prophecy, were no longer in operation or relevant for the modern day Christian. This position was the opposite of the Charismatic viewpoint, which saw all spiritual gifts in operation and relevant for today. The two wings of P.O.W. respected each other and had a healthy dissent regarding their theological stances.<sup>13</sup> However, since P.O.W. was originally an evangelical Christian organization, it was decided that the Charismatic doctrines could no longer be taught by those who supported it.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the efforts of Peace One Way’s non-Charismatic leadership to prevent the teaching of Charismatic theology, its continued support by a segment of P.O.W. eventually became a schismatic issue. By 1975, the Charismatic and non-Charismatic leadership of P.O.W. agreed it was best for both groups to go their separate ways.<sup>15</sup> From that time on, a distinct evangelical student group and a distinct Charismatic group existed on campus. Most of the students who were Charismatic and part of both groups soon left P.O.W.<sup>16</sup>

Peace One Way operated as an evangelical student group until 1980. However, the ministry went into a state of decline when Roger Wall graduated from Western and



left Cullowhee in 1975. His charisma, which had sustained and held the group together, went with him.<sup>17</sup> Consequently, a leadership vacuum set in at that point, and the leadership of P.O.W., both old and new, came together to consult about the situation. Two of the leaders, Steve Kerhoulas and Ernie Lilley, came to the conclusion that P.O.W. had fulfilled its purpose and was now, according to God's will, to come to an end. Other leaders, however, thought the ministry could continue in a different form and attempted to change P.O.W. into a chapter of the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, a national Christian campus ministry.<sup>18</sup> In its new form, P.O.W. continued to decline due to inconsistent student leadership, lack of a permanent campus minister, and decreases in membership. By early 1980, the chapter ceased to exist.<sup>19</sup>

As for the prayer groups, many important developments took place between 1973 and 1978. In 1973, the Horstmans moved to Cullowhee after the owner of their house in Sylva asked Arden and Naomi to leave so that the owner's daughter could use the place. The Horstmans moved into the Sossoman House, which was the old student center for Cullowhee Presbyterian, located on what is now the church's parking lot.<sup>20</sup> At that point, both the student prayer group and the faculty prayer group combined and began meeting at the Sossoman House.<sup>21</sup>

After moving to the Sossoman House and combining groups, the prayer group looked to the pastor of Cullowhee Presbyterian, Stanley Bennett, to provide oversight for them. This was done merely for the sake of formality and because the Sossoman House was the student center.<sup>22</sup> In addition, a key element was added to the structure of the prayer group sometime around 1973. A visiting speaker named John Kirkpatrick encouraged the prayer group to establish some leadership, and so Arden Horstman, Tom Gamble, and Bruce Powell were appointed by Kirkpatrick as elders. This is considered by Drew Hendrick, who was a member and elder of Covenant Christian Church, to be the

first development in the prayer group's transition to a church.<sup>23</sup>

For the next three years, the number of students within the group increased. Although there were still Christian faculty members and local residents attending, the student portion of the group began to outnumber the rest. Eventually, the faculty and community parts of the prayer group began to decrease. By 1976, the prayer group had become primarily a student group. Tom Gamble and the Horstmans were the only non-students within the group.<sup>24</sup>

In 1976, the prayer group began to assume more of the characteristics of a church as several of the students decided to stay in Cullowhee, get married, and raise families after graduating. For those people who stayed, it became necessary to have a greater amount of pastoral care. Drew Hendrick, who was a student from Asheville, and Phil Woody were appointed as elders. It was also necessary to get people to make a definite commitment to the prayer group because of its loose organization. Those involved with the prayer group were now encouraged to sign up for cell group Bible studies. There was also a reduction in the number of large group meetings. Prior to 1976, the group held two meetings a week on Tuesday and Saturday nights in order for students to have some flexibility in choosing when they could attend. After 1976, the Tuesday night meeting was discontinued. Thus, more of the aspects of church structure started to appear at that time.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to new developments in the prayer group's structure, the group found another individual to give oversight to the ministry when Tom Gamble became good friends with Jay Fesperman in 1976. Jay and his wife, Sally, founded a retreat center called The Inn of the Last Resort in Franklin, NC and were involved with Christian Growth Ministries and the Shepherding Movement. Tom Gamble, who believed he needed spiritual oversight for his personal life, entered into a formal relationship with Jay

Fesperman and received counsel from him about his personal life and on how to lead the church until Jay's death in 1992.<sup>26</sup> The significance of this relationship was that the prayer group avoided the authoritarian aspects of the Shepherding Movement. In a personal interview, Drew Hendrick said that the prayer group had nothing but positive interactions with Fesperman. Hendrick also stated that the late 1970s and early 1980s were the most spiritually intensive years for the prayer group as a result of their relationship with Jay Fesperman. So even though the prayer group became involved in the Shepherding Movement, they were able to avoid the problems that the larger movement experienced.<sup>27</sup>

By 1977, the prayer group had roughly 75 to 80 people attending as more changes took place within the group. Cullowhee Presbyterian began construction on a sanctuary and student center next to the Sossoman House. Since the church needed to use the building for both their student ministry and Sunday School, the prayer group started meeting at Tom Gamble's house.<sup>28</sup> In addition, Naomi Horstman passed away. After he married his present wife Sally in 1978, Arden decided to become more involved with Cullowhee Presbyterian, and so he ended his involvement with the prayer group.<sup>29</sup> Another change that took place in 1977 was when Phil Woody moved to Asbury Seminary in Wilmore, Kentucky in order to study to be a minister. He remained at Asbury until January of 1979 when he moved back to Cullowhee in the belief that God wanted him to return.<sup>30</sup> The last change that took place was in 1979 when Bruce Powell resigned as an elder in order to marry and raise a family. After his marriage to a young lady who lived in Franklin, Powell moved to Atlanta.<sup>31</sup>

The next important step that the prayer group took was in June of 1979 when the elders decided to incorporate as a church, though it was not until July 26, 1984 that the prayer group incorporated. The reasons for such a long delay are not given in any of the

minutes from the elders' meetings, which began to be written and filed in June of 1979, though there are many references to efforts on the part of the elders to find a lawyer who could assist the church with the process of incorporating. It is very likely that the prayer group had difficulties in getting the legal assistance to complete the process of incorporation.<sup>32</sup>

While trying to incorporate, the group continued to develop into a church in other ways. A decision was reached to switch to a Sunday morning meeting in 1980. An effort was also made either to find a permanent meeting place or to buy property on which to build. Between 1977 and 1984, the group met in various places such as Tom Gamble's residence, Phil Woody's house, the Episcopal student center (also called the Canterbury House), and the Old Camp Lab School cafeteria. However, it was not until 1984 that the church finally moved into a permanent facility when it rented a building on Old Cullowhee Road where Zoo Video is presently located.<sup>33</sup> Last of all, an official name was adopted. Locally the group was known as "Tom Gamble's Group," but, in the effort to formally establish its presence in Cullowhee, the group named itself Cullowhee Covenant Fellowship.<sup>34</sup>

A very interesting development occurred between 1980 and 1984 when the church established a sister fellowship in Asheville. Under the guidance of the fellowship in Cullowhee, a prayer group consisting of four families and three singles moved with Drew Hendrick to Asheville in April of 1981 after a year of preparation and discussion. Although there were some initial difficulties, the fellowship in Asheville remained strong and maintained good relations with the fellowship in Cullowhee. After Drew went to Asheville, a new elder, Jamie Cleveland, an alumnus of Western and a local teacher, was appointed by the elders.<sup>35</sup>

Another important development was the decline in the number of students and

non-students attending the fellowship's meetings. Between 1980 and 1984, as few as three or four students were involved with the fellowship. The number of non-students also dropped as low as the teens partly because no new members were entering the fellowship and also because of the recent move of Drew Hendrick's group to Asheville. The fellowship became non-student in orientation because of the lack of students. This produced two benefits. It changed the mentality of the group and made the non-students recognize that they were part of a functioning Christian fellowship. It also changed the perspective of the local community from viewing the prayer group as students to a group of non-students with families and careers. In short, this decline in student numbers aided the transition toward becoming a church.<sup>36</sup>

After Cullowhee Covenant Fellowship was incorporated in 1984, the church, according to Phil Woody, was given an opportunity to further improve its public image. The church believed it needed one of the elders available to do full-time, pastoral work. In 1985, a Christian benefactor began providing a couple hundred dollars a month. This enabled Phil Woody to become the full-time pastor for the church and to be involved in various religious organizations such as the campus ministers group at Western Carolina University and the Jackson County Ministerial Association.<sup>37</sup> The benefit from this was tremendous. For the first time, the local religious community was fully aware of the existence of Cullowhee Covenant as a church and able to have contact with someone who was Charismatic. Previously, the community had perceived Cullowhee Covenant as "sort of an off-the-wall . . . group." With Phil out in public as the pastor, the community could "put a face on the church" and see that Cullowhee Covenant was not a cult. Eventually, Phil's relationship with other ministers became so positive that the church was even recommended to those looking for a Charismatic church.<sup>38</sup>

Two more important developments occurred after 1984. One was the creation of

Cullowhee Covenant School in 1987. The school was formed for the purpose of providing children, both in the church and in the community, with a Christian-based education that emphasized both quality academics and biblical values. Phil Woody became the principal of the school, and the elders served as the school board. The school, which was staffed by volunteer teachers, quickly grew in size from an enrollment of 13 in 1987 to 50 students by 1991 in grades kindergarten through eight.<sup>39</sup> In addition, new elders were appointed by Tom, Phil, and Jamie. Dolphus Brown and David Stiens were ordained on April 17, 1988. As of 1991, these five men were the official leaders of the church.<sup>40</sup>

In 1990, Cullowhee Covenant Fellowship experienced two major changes. Three years earlier, the church began to search for property on which to build a building to house the school and to use for worship services. The building the church had rented since 1984 was plagued with many physical problems and was not a suitable learning environment. In March of 1990, the church offered sixty-five thousand dollars for some property along Cane Creek near Old Highway 107. When it was quickly discovered that the land was swampy and the deed was misrepresented, the church was able to get out of the contract. Then in autumn of 1990, the church, with some assistance from its benefactor, purchased a warehouse owned by C&H Enterprises on Fairview Road in Sylva, renovated it, and moved to the new location at the end of 1990.<sup>41</sup>

The other important change was the name of the church. Since the church was no longer in Cullowhee and wanted to expand its vision beyond the university, it was deemed necessary to rename the church. So on November 1, 1990, an amendment to the church's charter was made which changed the name from Cullowhee Covenant Fellowship to the present name of Covenant Christian Church of Jackson County.<sup>42</sup>

Since 1990, the church has returned to its place of origin by establishing a campus

ministry at Western. This ministry is now a recognized campus organization at the university under the leadership of Ken Jenkins, and the organization fulfills one of the purposes for Covenant Christian's existence: outreach. Through the campus ministry, Covenant Christian Church continues to fulfill what it believes is its calling to minister to the students of Western Carolina University.<sup>43</sup>

While the Charismatic prayer groups in Cullowhee and Sylva were just getting started in 1972, a Jesus People ministry far removed from the North Carolina mountains, Jesus People USA, was also established. Originally, Jesus People USA was part of another Jesus People ministry, Jesus People Milwaukee. This group was founded in February of 1971 by Jim Palosaari, an actor and hippie who, along with his wife Sue, accepted Christianity at a tent revival near Seattle. The couple became involved with Linda Meissner and the Jesus People Army before leaving Seattle in the early part of 1971.<sup>44</sup> Jim Palosaari wanted to return to the Midwest, believing God wanted him to start a Jesus People ministry in that region. Arriving first in Chicago, Palosaari found very little interest in supporting him, but upon traveling to Milwaukee, he found people willing to receive the Christian gospel and a group of Full Gospel Businessmen who wanted to support Palosaari's work.<sup>45</sup>

Jesus People Milwaukee, also called JPM, grew very quickly. Starting with seven people living in an old hippie pad on the East Side of Milwaukee, the ministry grew to 200 by the next year. A few of the members who would later be part of Jesus People USA and would be important to its founding and leadership joined within that year. Among these was Glenn Kaiser, a rock musician and drug addict who converted to Christianity in January of 1971 and joined JPM in September that same year, and John W. Herrin, Sr., a pastor struggling with alcohol abuse and marital infidelity who joined because one of his daughters, Wendi, converted to Christianity through the witness of

Palosaari's group and because of the dedication that Herrin saw within JPM.<sup>46</sup>

Jesus People of Milwaukee was structured as an intentional community. The group lived and worked together with all financial needs met by sharing from a common purse that depended solely on donations. Two houses were rented out. One house was for single men, and the other was for single women and married couples. At the end of 1971, JPM rented an abandoned hospital building to house the entire community.<sup>47</sup>

Throughout its existence, the ministry focused on evangelization and discipleship. There were several outreaches. One was a coffeehouse called the Jesus Christ Power House, which operated out of a renovated hardware store that the ministry rented. Another outreach was Street Level, a newspaper that Jesus People Milwaukee created to evangelize, to explain their work, and to inform about events that JPM was sponsoring. One other outreach was music rallies. The ministry had two music groups. One group, The Sheep, played Jesus rock music. The other group, Resurrection Band, which was led by Glenn Kaiser, performed Christian folk and rock music. Together, the two groups performed at churches, schools, parks, and other places throughout Wisconsin, Illinois, and the upper peninsula of Michigan<sup>48</sup>

With regard to discipleship, the community operated a school in which the community members studied the Bible and were instructed by visiting pastors and seminary professors. In addition to the religious training, the community members would go out in the streets during the day to evangelize within the countercultural community that existed on the East Side of Milwaukee. It was through the school that the community developed a means of helping the members learn about the Bible, apply its wisdom to dealing with personal issues and relationships, and train to be better witnesses to non-Christians.<sup>49</sup>

On April 23, 1972, the Jesus People Milwaukee community came together in a



“graduation” service after a year of discipleship. At that point, the community intentionally split into four outreach teams to evangelize and send converts back to Milwaukee to train at the school. Palosaari, who believed God wanted him to minister in Europe, took The Sheep and thirty of the oldest members to Europe. Bill Lowery, a tent evangelist with a ministry called Christ is the Answer, took the newest and largest number of converts. He had become acquainted with Jesus People Milwaukee just as the community started to break up and wanted a group to assist him in evangelizing the Southwest. The third group remained in Milwaukee and would act as a coordinating group under the direction of Frank Bass, who was from Duluth, Minnesota.<sup>50</sup>

These three groups fell apart over time. The coordinating group was the first to go when Frank Bass died of cancer. Without any effective leadership, the group in Milwaukee quickly disintegrated.<sup>51</sup> The team that went with Bill Lowery eventually traveled not just in the southwestern United States but also to the Philippines and India. However, Lowery’s group broke up when the ministry expanded to such an extent that the leadership could not hold the group together.<sup>52</sup> As for Palosaari’s group, its efforts to evangelize in Europe were not very successful. The group eventually traveled to Great Britain and found financial support from a Christian businessman named K. P. Frampton, whose children had joined the Children of God, the extremist Jesus People group described in Chapter One. Frampton was looking for a way to preach the Christian gospel to Britain’s youth. With Frampton’s support, Palosaari’s group created a musical called “Lonesome Stone” and toured in Britain and parts of Europe. Unfortunately, the stresses of touring took their toll on the group and they returned to the United States. At that point, Palosaari, according to Glenn Kaiser, “fell into . . . immorality,” and his marriage and the group broke apart.<sup>53</sup>

The fourth group was the Jesus People USA Traveling Team. Led by John

Herrin Sr. and composed of the Resurrection Band and 35 people, the team moved down the eastern seaboard, evangelizing in different places. The team published their own newspaper, Cornerstone, which borrowed from Street Level a little of its content, as an evangelistic tool and a way to inform people about the team and Resurrection Band. By the summer of 1972, the group arrived in Jacksonville, Florida and spent the next several months there and in Gainesville.<sup>54</sup> During their time in Florida, Jesus People USA dealt with the concerns of local churches as to whether or not they were part of the Children of God. In response, Cornerstone printed a defense of their ministry entitled, "We Are Not the Children of God." This article described some of the errors of the Children mentioned in Chapter One and pointed out that Jesus People USA was not like the Children in any way.<sup>55</sup>

By Christmas, the group was ready to return home. The team had a difficult time in Florida and elsewhere in the South. Very few people responded to their work there. A few people, like Neil Taylor, who is currently one of the pastors of JPUSA and had become a Christian prior to meeting the group, responded to the work of the team, but not enough to justify remaining. So at the end of 1972, the group returned home to spend Christmas with their families.<sup>56</sup>

The traveling team quickly found a tremendous response to their ministry upon returning home. After checking on the converts from rallies at Benton Harbor, Michigan in 1972, the team traveled through northern Minnesota and the upper peninsula of Michigan in the early part of 1973. An incredible revival broke out while the group was in Michigan. In small towns such as Ontonogon, Houghton-Hancock, and Ironwood, hundreds of people committed themselves to Christianity. The revival convinced the traveling team that God was at work and it was better to stay and continue their work in the region than to return to Florida.<sup>57</sup>

Throughout the time that Jesus People USA was traveling in 1972 and 1973, the group desired a place that they could call home and use as a base from which to send outreach teams. In May of 1973, the team came to Chicago and, believing that God wanted them to set up a base in the city, obtained permission from Faith Tabernacle, a church that helped Jesus People Milwaukee when they held outreaches in Chicago, to stay in their large basement area until the group could find a more permanent place. While the intent of the community was to find a place within a couple of weeks, it was about two and a half years before the community moved out of the church.<sup>58</sup>

It was while JPUSA was in Faith Tabernacle that it faced one of its greatest challenges. John Herrin Sr., who had led the community for several years as its pastor, began to make advances toward a young woman in the community. This woman, instead of being seduced, went to Dawn Herrin, John's wife, and confessed to her what had occurred. Dawn informed Glenn Kaiser and Richard Murphy, who were the deacons for the community, and the two confronted John with his error. Although Herrin appeared sorrowful for his actions, he did not change his ways. For the next six months, Glenn and later Herrin's son, John Herrin Jr., continued to deal with the elder Herrin as he tried over and over to seduce the girl with whom he had become obsessed.<sup>59</sup> Eventually, the situation reached a point to where the leadership in the community could do no more to help their pastor. After consulting Jamie Buckingham, a Charismatic pastor in Florida who had become friends with the community while in Gainesville, John Herrin Sr. was sent to a counseling ministry for errant pastors on March 18, 1974. However, instead of staying at the counseling ministry, Herrin left and never returned to JPUSA.<sup>60</sup>

The experience did more to strengthen Jesus People USA than to weaken it or destroy it. Approximately a week after John Herrin Sr. left, the leaders informed the rest of the community about his departure. The following comes from an interview with

Dawn Herrin-Mortimer about that event:

We sat down with everybody . . . after John had been gone for about a week and said, “You know, we don’t think he’s coming back . . . for a good while . . . ;” and I thought “Everybody’s gonna walk out . . . ;” but really there was just such a peace and everything; and everybody sort of understood. I think . . . everybody that had been at Jesus People at that point were from pretty hurt lives themselves. So they probably understood when somebody was messed up and wasn’t willing to repent; and most of us . . . stayed together.<sup>61</sup>

According to Herrin-Mortimer then, the community pulled together instead of pulling apart. As Glen Kaiser stated it, the importance of commitment to God and to the rest of the community became even greater.<sup>62</sup> Thus, the community chose to remain together because of their greater understanding of the value of commitment.

John Herrin’s departure also gave JPUSA a lesson in the importance of accountability within leadership. Prior to Herrin’s departure, the community increasingly began to stress the need for group leadership in which more than one pastor would be in authority. The pastors would hold one another accountable and would have to come to a consensus on the needs of the community. This happened as a result of studying the topic in the Bible and listening to various teachers speak on the subject. The difficulty with John Herrin Sr. firmly convinced JPUSA that they needed to implement group leadership. Consequently, a pastoral board was established with Glenn Kaiser and Richard Murphy as the two pastors.<sup>63</sup>

One other thing that Jesus People USA learned was the importance of oversight and accountability from outside the group. Prior to the situation with John Herrin, JPUSA had developed friendships with various Christian leaders, pastors, and evangelists. The community turned to these individuals for wisdom and advice on how to deal with the situation when it occurred. The result was that the leadership was able to get a better understanding of how to handle John Herrin and his problems. It also

demonstrated to the community how much they needed someone or some group from outside to give them oversight. As Dawn Herrin-Mortimer put it, JPUSA never wanted to be a “lone ranger.” So the community learned to draw on the wisdom and strength of Christians outside of Jesus People USA.<sup>64</sup>

After John Herrin Sr. left, Jesus People USA grew in size and developed in three areas over the next sixteen years. There were sixty-eight members living at Faith Tabernacle in 1974. The community was dependent on donations from various churches and individuals. By the next year, the community had almost doubled to 107. They purchased an apartment building with six flats in a working middle-class neighborhood called Ravenswood. In addition to that building, JPUSA rented a set of storefronts that were used to house the offices of Cornerstone as well as one of its first businesses, a craft shop called Mountain of Spices.<sup>65</sup>

Other than the development of the community’s leadership into the current structure of multiple leadership, the development of the group’s financial structure took an important turn when it established several small businesses to pay for the mortgage on the apartment building, the rent for the storefronts, and utilities for all the buildings. In addition to Mountain of Spices, JPUSA started a moving business and a repair business that quickly branched off into painting and carpentry. Advertisements were placed in Cornerstone to inform people in the neighborhood and in Chicago.<sup>66</sup> Consequently, the community started to support themselves rather than depend solely on donations.

Music was another area in which the community developed. Resurrection Band continued to tour after arriving in Chicago, as evidenced by the constant updates written in Cornerstone. The band was now traveling well beyond Chicago to places as far away as Sioux Falls, South Dakota. They also did two four-track recordings in 1974 before the controversy with Herrin: a folk set called All Your Life, and a rock set called Music to

Raise the Dead. The band, though, desired to create a full-length album. In 1978, after borrowing eight thousand dollars from a personal friend of the community, Resurrection Band's first album, Awaiting Your Reply, was recorded. However, the band learned the fledgling contemporary Christian music industry was not ready to risk an investment on an album that, "through the medium of rock and roll . . . [,] attempt[ed] to penetrate an area of artistic expression" still relatively unexplored by other Christian musicians despite the pioneering work of artists like Larry Norman. Nevertheless, one small record company, Star Song, decided to test the waters and support the album, and to the amazement of the Christian music industry and the community, Awaiting Your Reply went to number six on the Christian music charts. As a result, the album helped to make Christian rock music acceptable within the mainstream of contemporary Christian music.<sup>67</sup>

One other area in which Jesus People USA developed was its social consciousness. This awareness focused primarily on the needs of the community and extended from there to the needs of its neighbors, to the social problems of the United States, and to social problems of the world. Glenn Kaiser, in his explanation as to why it took six years before Awaiting Your Reply was produced, said that the daily, basic needs of the community along with the need to have a place to live outweighed the desire to make an album. The needs of the community's neighbors, which included drug addicts needing help to kick their habit and single mothers needing homes for their children until they could afford to rent an apartment, also took precedence.<sup>68</sup>

The growing social consciousness of JPUSA also affected Cornerstone. As the community settled in Chicago and began to look at its environment, the newspaper, which became a magazine around 1979, lessened its evangelistic tone while commenting more on the social problems of the city, the country, and the world. In its fortieth issue, the

magazine published a two page story about Uptown, an impoverished and racially mixed section of Chicago's North Side that JPUSA would eventually become more and more involved with over the years. The article described the despair and poverty of Uptown through interviews with those who lived there. It also encouraged the Christian church to respond positively to the situation rather than accept the consequences of human evil.<sup>69</sup> Another article, written four issues later, examined the effort to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. Although the community had previously reacted harshly to the amendment, thorough research on the subject caused Cornerstone to soften its opinion, although it still contended that the law's vagueness would lead to problems of interpretation that would cause more harm than good.<sup>70</sup>

Perhaps the most important article written by Cornerstone in the late 1970s was a four page article on apartheid in South Africa. Written at a time when few Christians in the United States were aware of the problem, Cornerstone provided an in-depth look at apartheid that examined its nature, which the magazine described as "a more subtle, but just as deadly, form of genocide."<sup>71</sup> It also looked at the efforts of South Africans, both black and white, to overturn the apartheid laws which had been established by the Afrikaners when they gained control of the government in 1948.<sup>72</sup> The article was a milestone for the magazine. It was not only a successful attempt at examining a major social problem, but it was also one of the first attempts by Cornerstone at investigative journalism. As time progressed, the magazine would continue to hone its reporting skills.

Throughout its time in the Ravenswood neighborhood, the community continued to grow in numbers. One major increase came in 1978 when a black community on the South Side of Chicago, New Life Fellowship, chose to join with Jesus People USA. The union with New Life came out of a two year relationship that began when one of its leaders, Ron Brown, sought JPUSA's advice on how to restart New Life after losing its

pastor when he committed adultery. With the help of Jesus People USA, New Life reestablished itself with a house, businesses, and its own newspaper, Lampstand, and New Life began to view JPUSA in terms of a sister/brother relationship. When problems arose between Brown and the other two pastors of New Life in coming to a consensus on decisions, Jesus People suggested exchanging couples in order to deepen relationships between the two. So for a month, Ron and Maguerite Brown stayed with the Jesus People while Roger and Kim Heiss stayed with New Life.<sup>73</sup>

It was not too long before the two communities began considering joining. Although New Life believed it was called to minister to the predominately black South Side of Chicago, Ron Brown soon believed that such a ministry could be done best through a community in which both black and white Christians lived together. JPUSA also felt the same. After careful consideration and prayer, the two communities joined.<sup>74</sup>

The pastoral board for JPUSA also increased in 1978. Six more pastors, Dennis Cadieux, John Herrin Jr., Victor Williams, Tom Cameron, Neil Taylor, and Dawn Herrin-Mortimer, were added. This brought the total number of pastors to eight, which is still the size of the pastoral board.<sup>75</sup>

As a result of the continued growth of the community, the apartment building could no longer adequately house everyone, even after purchasing another residential building across the street in 1977. JPUSA began searching for a larger building, which soon took them into Uptown. It was in Uptown that they purchased the Chapman Hotel, a former halfway house located on North Malden Avenue, from two nursing homes for approximately \$300,000 in 1979. The community remained at that location for approximately eleven years before moving to their current location, a ten-story retirement hotel on Wilson Avenue in Uptown, in 1990.<sup>76</sup>

During the 1980s, the community continued to grow in size and develop its



financial structure, social consciousness, and music. New businesses were established in this decade; one of those new businesses, Lakefront Roofing Supply, became one of the community's most profitable ventures. Lakefront Roofing Supply originated serendipitously from the community's painting business, JP Painters. Around 1981, JP Painters contracted to paint the top of a building in the Hyde Park neighborhood. Tim Bock, who joined JPUSA in 1978 and is now the general manager of Lakefront, was working at the site and recalled pointing out an incomplete portion of the roof to a worker. The worker completed the unpainted portion but damaged the roof in the process. The owner demanded that JP Painters repair the damage; and as a result of this incident, a roofing business, JP Roofers, was started.<sup>77</sup>

The roofing company, in turn, led to the establishment of Lakefront four years later. JP Roofers grew so much that the garage area behind the community's home could not hold the business. Bock was given the responsibility of finding a new location. After acquiring a new building, he informed one of the pastors that there was enough space to also house a supply business. The pastor encouraged Bock to study the idea, and he soon discovered there was a serious need for a roofing supply business in the location that the community was in. Thus, the newly purchased building became Lakefront Roofing Supply; since that time, the business has added three more locations. It currently generates about 9 million of the 12 million dollars of annual income that the community receives from its businesses.<sup>78</sup>

Jesus Peoples' social consciousness also continued to develop as it continued to discover what it meant to live in community and to address social problems. As a community, JPUSA drew on various sources within Catholic, Evangelical, and Charismatic Christianity that helped to fashion it into the ministry it is today. These included Mother Teresa, Billy Graham, Carl Henry, Francis Schaeffer, C.S. Lewis,

Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Jamie Buckingham. It even included Bob Mumford of Christian Growth Ministries, but just as Covenant Christian Church avoided the negative aspects of the Shepherding Movement, so too did JPUSA after the community came to the conclusion that most of Christian Growth Ministries' teachings were, in their opinion extrabiblical.<sup>79</sup>

The most important source that helped JPUSA define the nature of community for itself was a book by Jean Vanier, the founder of the Christian community, L'Arche. Vanier's book, Community and Growth, explains the challenges that Christians face when they join together in community with each other and the importance of overcoming those challenges through forgiveness, love, and openness to others. JPUSA has used Vanier's work in the past to express their understanding of Christian community and continues to do so to this day.<sup>80</sup>

The community's social awareness grew in other ways. After it moved into Uptown, the poor and the homeless began to visit for meals and a place to sleep overnight. A dinner program originated from those visits, along with a program that gave the homeless a place to sleep overnight in 1979. Cornerstone described the dinner and shelter programs along with life in Uptown in the article "Uptown: Our Neighbors."<sup>81</sup>

During the 1980s, JPUSA faced a very serious situation regarding the poor living in Uptown. Developers purchased dozens of buildings in Uptown with the intent of turning them into apartments for upscale residents. This process, called "gentrification," began in 1985 when Uptown was renamed Sheridan Park Historical District so the developers could get a twenty percent tax break. At the same time, the developers began to purchase buildings at extremely cheap prices and deliberately let the buildings deteriorate to the point that they were in violation of inspection codes. The developers then evicted the tenants to begin renovation of the buildings. With no place to go, the

evicted tenants would seek shelter in another low-income neighborhood.<sup>82</sup>

The community's awareness of gentrification began in the summer of 1986 when they learned that forty Laotian and Cambodian families living in a building six blocks away were given an eviction order by a developer. Many of these families were refugees who fled Laos and Cambodia after the Communists and the Khmer Rouge gained control of the governments. After receiving the notices, these families decided to march on the developer's offices, and Jesus People USA chose to take part. On August 16, 1986, the two groups staged their demonstration, which was successful when subsequent media coverage of the event "forced the developer to clean up his image by giving each family one thousand dollars to relocate."<sup>83</sup>

The gentrification problem, however, persisted. To make matters worse, JPUSA soon learned that Jerome Orbach, the alderman for their ward and a person they voted for in 1983 under a campaign for assisting the poor, was supporting the developers. Realizing that political action was needed, the community joined other religious and social service groups to create the Uptown Task Force on Displacement and Housing Development in 1987.<sup>84</sup> It was also that same year that Helen Shiller, a member of the activist group Heart of Uptown Coalition, was running for Orbach's seat. JPUSA first heard of Heart of Uptown in 1980 when it accused the community of being reactionaries who were only interested in speculating on Uptown property. This accusation came after the community turned their old Ravenswood buildings into condominiums to pay for purchasing the hotel on Malden Avenue. JPUSA equally disliked Heart of Uptown after hearing negative reports that it was a "socialist" organization that swindled from the poor and from government programs for the poor. Fortunately, a roofer who knew some of the people on the Jesus People's work crews encouraged the pastors to talk to Shiller. Upon meeting her, the pastors realized her genuine concern for Uptown and its poor, and the

pastors understood what a mistake they had made in assuming the worst regarding her and Heart of Uptown. After further discussion within the community, JPUSA decided to vote as a bloc for Shiller on the basis of their beliefs that the community was called by God to serve the poor of Uptown and that Shiller would represent their support for the poor. As a result of their decision, Shiller narrowly defeated Orbach.<sup>85</sup>

After Shiller's election, an important agreement was reached with the city and the developers. While both parties would not stop the existing renovation of buildings in Uptown, they did come to an understanding that low-income families should not be forced to move without providing them ample time to find suitable housing as well as receiving assistance from developers in finding housing. In addition, the city made it possible for some low-income housing to remain in the neighborhood. Thus, Jesus People USA's efforts helped to alleviate some of the worst effects of gentrification in Uptown.<sup>86</sup>

The community's decision to vote for Shiller, unfortunately, was met with strong negative reaction from Orbach's other supporters and certain Christian organizations. Orbach's other supporters falsely accused JPUSA of accepting bribes in the form of municipal construction contracts from city officials supporting the Shiller campaign. In addition, the Lakeview Evangelical Association, a network of Christian churches in the Uptown and Edgewater neighborhoods, asked one of the Cornerstone writers to write an editorial for the association's newsletter regarding the community's support of Shiller. The editorial, however, was never published. Instead, a negative story on the election results was printed. Such reactions to JPUSA's vote continued to occur for several years after Shiller's election.<sup>87</sup>

While the community's social conscience continued to develop, its ministry in music also continued to evolve. Resurrection Band produced eight new albums between

1979 and 1989 after the success of Awaiting Your Reply. While the band continued to create contemporary Christian music that was evangelistic in tone, it also wrote songs that reflected either the social commentary written in Cornerstone or events in the life of the community. "Afrikaans," a song on the second album Rainbow's End described the oppression under apartheid and the unwillingness of many South African whites to eliminate the apartheid laws. Another song about apartheid, "Zuid Afrikan," was performed on the 1985 album, Between Heaven and Hell. The song offered a reminder from the New Testament gospels that those who live by the sword die by it and encouraged white South Africans to repent of apartheid. In addition to these songs, there were songs such as "Elevator Muzik," which was produced on the album Mommy Don't Love Daddy Anymore and focused on the negative aspects of American consumerism in the early 1980s, and "Waitin' on Sundown," [sic] which is on the album Silence Screams and describes a "corporation hit-man" evicting the Laotians and Cambodians in 1986.<sup>88</sup>

Success also expanded the fan base and the scope of Resurrection Band's tours. By the early 1980s, they were no longer playing only in the Midwestern United States but were now playing all over the country and overseas. Nevertheless, success to the band only meant they had greater opportunities to preach the Christian gospel. According to Quincy Smith-Newcomb, who wrote an article on Resurrection Band in the trade magazine, Contemporary Christian Music, the measure of success for the band was the fruit of their ministry; that is, those who converted to Christianity or who made important changes in their lives as a result of listening to an album or being at a concert. In this way, Resurrection Band was in important extension of the work of Jesus People USA.<sup>89</sup>

Another development that occurred with the community's music was the establishment of the Cornerstone Festival in the summer of 1984. Patterned after contemporary Christian music festivals that started in the early 1970s, Cornerstone

Festival was unique because it invited innovative Christian bands who played rock, punk, or metal rather than middle-of-the-road performers that other festivals favored. It also offered seminars that offered in-depth teaching on various subjects such as the arts, culture, ethics, family issues, and the inner-city. The community hoped that the festival would bring together young, culturally radical believers and older, straight believers. Eight thousand attended the first festival, and so despite losing sixty thousand dollars, JPUSA decided to make the festival an annual event. Since then, Cornerstone Festival, according to the magazine, has become the “premier Christian arts and music festival” in the United States.<sup>90</sup>

In 1989, Jesus People USA took a very important step when it joined a denomination called the Evangelical Covenant Church. It was the result of many years of searching for a group to which JPUSA could formally commit and which could give oversight for the community. JPUSA had looked at various organizations and ministries as possibilities, but none would have accepted JPUSA until it made major changes in how it lived and operated as well as to the community’s vision. To JPUSA, it would have been asking too much. Fortunately, Jesus People came into contact with the ECC in 1987 through a recommendation from John Perkins, a friend of the community. After nearly two years of discussion, visits with the denomination, and prayer, Jesus People USA joined the ECC, concluding that it understood the vision of the community and was open to having Jesus People USA as part of the denomination.<sup>91</sup>

Since 1989, Jesus People USA continues to be a strong and vibrant community. As of 1992, there are approximately 400 people within JPUSA. Most of the community’s work with the poor is now done through Cornerstone Community Outreach, a ministry which was founded in 1989 and is located on Clifton Avenue in Uptown. The ministry continues to operate a dinner program and provide overnight shelter for the homeless

along with emergency and transitional shelters for families and second-stage housing for single mothers with children.<sup>92</sup> Resurrection Band continues its work of evangelistic outreach and social commentary through music. The group produced two more albums in 1989 and 1991: Innocent Blood and Civil Rites.<sup>93</sup> As for Cornerstone, the magazine now claims a circulation of around fifty-five thousand and is well known for its work in investigative journalism. The magazine's most impressive article, "Selling Satan," examined the life and testimony of Mike Warnke, a Christian comedian who also claimed to be a former Satanic high priest. "Selling Satan" showed that Warnke, who had a habit of creating incredible stories as an adolescent and a young man, completely fabricated all he said of his involvement in Satanism in various books and tapes. The article further asked Warnke to turn away from his lying, to confess the lies as sin, and to make restitution by removing his works from the Christian publishing market. At the same time, the article also asked the Christian church both to hold Warnke accountable for his deeds and to forgive him. For their work, the writers of "Selling Satan," Jon Trott and Mike Hertenstein, received recognition in an article written by Jay C. Grelen for the Columbia Journalism Review.<sup>94</sup> Considering where it originated and what it has done, Jesus People USA is truly a living legacy of the Jesus People Movement.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Arden Horstman, interview by author, 8 March 1997, Cullowhee, NC, tape recording.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Arden Horstman; Thomas Gamble, interview by author, 17 March 1997, Cullowhee, NC, tape recording; and Phil Woody, interview by author, 11 March 1997, Cullowhee, NC, tape recording.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas Gamble; and Phil Woody.

<sup>5</sup>Steve Kerhoulas, interview by author, 2 April 1997, Cullowhee, NC, tape recording; "P.O.W. Holds Meeting," The Western Carolinian, 21 October 1971, 3; and Karen Fuson, "POW Attempts to Share Christ, His Love," The Western Carolinian, 3 February 1972, 2. Kerhoulas described Wall as "this Southern Baptist who kept talking about 'Praisin' the Lord [sic] and all these hymns . . . that I'd [sic] never heard of."

<sup>6</sup>Phil Woody; Steve Kerhoulas; "Jesus Rally," The Western Carolinian, 4 May 1972, 4; and "P.O.W. Jesus Rally," The Western Carolinian, 9 May 1972, 4.

<sup>7</sup>Steve Kerhoulas; Phil Woody; and Jamie Cleveland, interview by author, 10 March 1997, Cullowhee, NC, tape recording. Cleveland states that Wall became a missionary for the Southern Baptist Convention; and Iverson works for the Presbyterian Church in America.

<sup>8</sup>Steve Kerhoulas; Phil Woody; Tom Gamble; and "Cullowhee Baptist Pastor Resigns," The Sylva Herald and Ruralite, 13 December 1973, 1. Even though the students attended P.O.W. meetings during the week, they were encouraged to attend the church of their choice for Sunday worship. In this way, P.O.W. was attempting to get their students involved with the local campus churches.

<sup>9</sup>Steve Kerhoulas.

<sup>10</sup>Tom Gamble. Tom also stated that his need for fellowship was far greater than his desire to be Peace One Way's faculty sponsor. So even if he had not been asked to be the sponsor, he would have continued attending the meetings.



<sup>11</sup>Phil Woody. To be more specific, John Barton was part of Peace One Way's steering committee while Bruce Powell was a bible study teacher.

<sup>12</sup>Tom Gamble.

<sup>13</sup>Steve Kerhoulas. Kerhoulas acknowledged that there was dissent regarding the Charismatic teachings because of confusion over what was true. All of the members of Peace One Way wanted to be fair in their interpretation of the Bible. As Kerhoulas stated it, "If it emphasized all, we wanted all. If it emphasized some of the gifts, [then] we just wanted to have what God wanted us to have."

<sup>14</sup>Phil Woody.

<sup>15</sup>Tom Gamble.

<sup>16</sup>Jamie Cleveland.

<sup>17</sup>Arden Horstman. "I think P.O.W. broke up simply because the fellow [Roger Wall] who was leading it graduated and there was nobody there with the charisma he had or the ability he had to draw people in."

<sup>18</sup>Steve Kerhoulas.

<sup>19</sup>Jamie Cleveland. Phil Woody. If the chapter had grown large enough, a permanent Intervarsity staff person would have been appointed.

<sup>20</sup>Arden Horstman; and Phil Woody.

<sup>21</sup>Tom Gamble.

<sup>22</sup>Tom Gamble; Phil Woody; and Arden Horstman.

<sup>23</sup>Drew Hendrick, interview by author, 30 March 1997, Asheville, NC, tape recording.

<sup>24</sup>Tom Gamble. Gamble felt that the non-student portion of the prayer group left since they felt out of place as the demographics and focus shifted more towards the students.

<sup>25</sup>Tom Gamble; Phil Woody; Drew Hendrick; and Jamie Cleveland.

<sup>26</sup>Tom Gamble; Drew Hendrick; Jay Fesperman, "Life Is Relationships!," Intercessors for America Newsletter, November 1992, 1; and Jay Fesperman and Sally

Fesperman, The Inn of the Last Resort, Franklin, NC, produced by Vic Costello, 20 min., HIS Productions, n.d., videocassette.

<sup>27</sup>Drew Hendrick.

<sup>28</sup>Phil Woody; and "Cullowhee Presbyterian Church Plans Building," The Sylva Herald and Ruralite, 26 August 1976, 1.

<sup>29</sup>Arden Horstman; Tom Gamble; and Jamie Cleveland.

<sup>30</sup>Phil Woody; Jamie Cleveland; and Drew Hendrick. Phil Woody attended Asbury for only a year and a half; and according to Jamie Cleveland, Woody did not complete his studies at Asbury.

<sup>31</sup>Drew Hendrick; and Jamie Cleveland.

<sup>32</sup>Elders' minutes, AD, 25 June 1979, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; Elders' minutes, AD, 10 September 1979, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; Elders' minutes, AD, 7 June 1982, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; Elders' Minutes, AD, 21 June 1982, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; and "Articles of Incorporation of Cullowhee Covenant Fellowship Church, Inc.," DS [Photostat], 26 July 1984, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; original in the Department of the Secretary of State, Raleigh, NC. The articles of incorporation was signed by the current elders at the time, which were Tom Gamble, Phil Woody, and Jamie Cleveland.

<sup>33</sup>Tom Gamble; Phil Woody; Elders' minutes, AD, 15 October 1979, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; Elders' minutes, AD, 13 September 1982, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; Elders' minutes, AD, 16 January 1984, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; and "Cullowhee Covenant Church Has New Meeting Facility," The Sylva Herald and Ruralite, 30 August 1984, 7A.

<sup>34</sup>Phil Woody. Tom Gamble, even though the fellowship met at his house for some time and he was one of its leaders, did not like the fact that the fellowship was referred to as his group since it was, in reality, not his group.

<sup>35</sup>Drew Hendrick; Jamie Cleveland; Elders' minutes, AD, 25 February 1980, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; and Elders' minutes, AD, 17 December 1981, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC.

<sup>36</sup>Tom Gamble; and Jamie Cleveland.

<sup>37</sup>Phil Woody; and Elders' minutes, AD, 2 December 1985, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>"Covenant Christian School Handbook," TD, May 1996, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; "Some Facts About Covenant Christian, 1987-1994," TD, c.a. 1994, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; and "Covenant Christian Church Buys Facility and Relocates Ministry," The Sylva Herald and Ruralite, 17 January 1991, 8A. The number of students enrolled are for students who started at the beginning of each school year from 1987 to 1991.

<sup>40</sup>Elders' minutes, TD, 14 April 1988, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC.

<sup>41</sup>"Covenant Christian Church Buys Facility and Relocates Ministry," 1A; Phil Woody; Jamie Cleveland; Elders' minutes, TD, 1 November 1990, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; Elders' minutes, AD, 1 October 1987, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; Elders' minutes, AD, 1 March 1990, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; Elders' minutes, TD, 20 September 1990, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; Elders' minutes, TD, 18 October 1990, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; G. L. Sprinkle, Topographic and Boundary Survey of C. H. Enterprises, Inc. and Covenant Christian Church, Inc., DS, 12 October 1990, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; Settlement Statement on Purchase of Property from C. H. Enterprises, Inc., D [Photostat], 30 Nov. 1990, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; original at Jackson Savings and Loan Association, Sylva, NC; and "Loan Settlement Statement: Covenant Christian Church, Inc.," DS [Photostat], 30 November 1990, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; original at Jackson Savings and Loan Association, Sylva, NC.

<sup>42</sup>Phil Woody; and "Articles of Amendment to the Charter of Cullowhee Covenant Fellowship Church, Inc.," DS [Photostat], 1 November 1990, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; original in the Department of the Secretary of State, Raleigh, NC. Document was signed by Phil Woody and David Stiens.

<sup>43</sup>Tom Gamble; Elders' minutes, TD, 6 December 1990, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC; and Elders' minutes, TD, 14 March 1991, Church Records, Covenant Christian Church, Sylva, NC.

<sup>44</sup>Dawn Herrin-Mortimer, interview by author, 12 June 1998, Chicago, IL, tape recording; Wendi Kaiser, interview by author, 9 June 1998, Chicago, IL, tape recording; and Jim and Sue Palosaari, "The Milwaukee Story," Street Level 2, no.1 (1972): 5.

<sup>45</sup>Wendi Kaiser; "The Milwaukee Story," 5; and Glenn Kaiser, interview by author, 17 June 1998, Chicago, IL, tape recording. Milwaukee was the last place the Palosaaris ever imagined they would start their community in. They liked Milwaukee the least of all the cities in the upper Midwest.

<sup>46</sup>"The Milwaukee Story," 5-6; Glenn Kaiser; and Jon Trott, "Life's Lessons: A History of Jesus People USA Covenant Church," Cornerstone 22, nos. 102 and 103 (1994): 11, 12. The street address for Jesus People Milwaukee's first home was 2728 North Frederick Street.

<sup>47</sup>Dawn Herrin-Mortimer; Wendi Kaiser; Glenn Kaiser; and "A Year With Jesus," Street Level 2, no. 1 (1972): 10.

<sup>48</sup>"The Milwaukee Story," 6; "Life's Lessons," 12; "Year With Jesus," 8, 9, 10; and Dawn Herrin-Mortimer. Palosaari did not approve of the name "Charity" because he felt it would make people think the band was manipulating the audience for handouts. For this reason, Palosaari would not advertise the band's rallies in Street Level. So the name was changed to "Resurrection Band."

<sup>49</sup>Wendi Kaiser; Dawn Herrin-Mortimer; and "Year With Jesus," 8.

<sup>50</sup>"Life's Lessons," 12; Dawn Herrin-Mortimer; and Glenn Kaiser.

<sup>51</sup>Glenn Kaiser.

<sup>52</sup>Wendi Kaiser.

<sup>53</sup>Dawn Herrin-Mortimer; Wendi Kaiser; Glenn Kaiser; and "Life's Lessons," 21. According to Wendi Kaiser, Palosaari's group settled in Oregon and started a new band called "Servant." It was during that time that Palosaari fell into immorality.

<sup>54</sup>"Life's Lessons," 12-13; "The Milwaukee Story," Cornerstone 1, no. 1 (1972): 5; "Resurrection," Cornerstone 1, no. 2 (1972): 5; and "Jesus People USA," Cornerstone 1, no. 3 (1972): 4-5. Cornerstone also utilized Street Level's artistic style, which was similar to that of Kaleidoscope, a Milwaukee secular underground newspaper.

<sup>55</sup>"We Are Not the 'Children of God'," Cornerstone 1, no.3 (1972): 6.

<sup>56</sup>Dawn Herrin-Mortimer; and Neil Taylor, interview by author, 11 June 1998, Chicago, IL, tape recording.

<sup>57</sup>"Life's Lessons," 13; Dawn Herrin-Mortimer; and "Revival In the Northland," Cornerstone 2, no.8 (1973): 10.

<sup>58</sup>Wendi Kaiser; Neil Taylor; "Life's Lessons," 13-14; and "To Be A Disciple--Jesus People USA," Cornerstone 2, no. 9 (1973): 6.

<sup>59</sup>Dawn Herrin-Mortimer. Mrs. Herrin-Mortimer was formally Dawn Herrin, the wife of John Herrin, Sr.

<sup>60</sup>Dawn Herrin-Mortimer; and "Life's Lessons," 16.

<sup>61</sup>Dawn Herrin-Mortimer.

<sup>62</sup>Glenn Kaiser. Here is a portion of Kaiser's view of the events at that time:

I think it was one of those "fish or cut bait" things. Now you're gonna stand up for what you believe. You're gonna live out the Scriptures. You're gonna really latch on hard to the Lord Himself. You're gonna be more and more brutally honest about your own temptations and battles and struggles. You're gonna be more linked with godly people in this community . . . . Those were serious formative times for us as a community; and where a lot of people might have said, "Forget it. We're outta here. You know, its just too painful to go through this," I think the word 'commitment' loomed ever larger.[sic]

<sup>63</sup>Wendi Kaiser; "Life's Lessons," 16; and "Jesus People USA," Cornerstone 3, no. 15 (1974): 2. See also Neil Taylor. John Herrin, Sr. was opposed to creating a pastoral board.

<sup>64</sup>Glenn Kaiser; and Dawn Herrin-Mortimer.

<sup>65</sup>"Jesus People USA," 2; "Cornerstone--Jesus People USA [masthead]," Cornerstone 4, no.23 (1975): 3; and Jon Trott, "Life's Lessons: Part Two of the History of Jesus People USA Covenant Church," Cornerstone 23, no. 104 (1994): 18-19. See also Wendi Kaiser. The phrase "living by faith" is how the community described its financial support prior to becoming self-supportive. Mrs. Kaiser said they trusted God to care for their basic needs.

<sup>66</sup>"Life's Lessons: Part Two," 19-20; Tim Bock, Twenty-six Years of Inner City Chicago Missions, cassette in 9822, SWA, n.d.; "JPUSA Movers," Cornerstone 4, no. 26 (1975): 8; and "JPUSA Repairs," Cornerstone 4, no. 26 (1975): 15.

<sup>67</sup>"Resurrection on the Road," Cornerstone 3, no. 14 (1974): 4; Jon Trott, "Life's Lessons: The History of JPUSA, Part Three," Cornerstone 23, no. 105 (1995): 40; and "Feedback," Cornerstone 6, no. 41 (1978): 14.

<sup>68</sup>“Feedback,” 14.

<sup>69</sup>“JPUSA Summer,” Cornerstone 8, no. 47 (1979): 34; and “Uptown,” Cornerstone 6, no. 40 (1977): 4-5.

<sup>70</sup>“E.R.A.: Women’s Search for Equality,” Cornerstone 7, no. 44 (1978): 3-5; Jon Trott, “Life’s Lessons: Part Four of the History of Jesus People USA,” Cornerstone 23, no. 106 (1995): 44. In the conclusion of the article, a brief apology is made for becoming affected by “preacher’s madness” in the past over various causes that the staff were either so offended by or so enamored that “our flaming rhetoric . . . [would not] allow a balanced view of that cause.”

<sup>71</sup>“Apartheid,” Cornerstone 7, no. 42 (1978): 8.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid, 3-4, 8-9.

<sup>73</sup>Jon Trott, “Life’s Lessons: Part Two,” 21, 22; and Ron Brown, interview by author, 13 June 1998, Chicago, IL, tape recording.

<sup>74</sup>Ron Brown; Jon Trott, “Life’s Lessons: Part Two,” 22-23; and “Psalm 133,” Cornerstone 6, no.41 (1978): 10.

<sup>75</sup>“Jesus People U.S.A.,” Cornerstone 6, no. 41 (1978): 3.

<sup>76</sup>“JPUSA Summer,” 34; Jon Trott, “Life’s Lessons: Part Two,” 21-22; Jon Trott, “Life’s Lessons: Part Four,” 46; Neil Taylor; and “Concrete Echoes,” Cornerstone 24, no. 107 (1995): 59. The “Concrete Echoes” article provides the current address of JPUSA, which is 920 W. Wilson, Chicago, IL 60640.

<sup>77</sup>Twenty-Six Years of Inner City Chicago Missions; and Tim Bock, “Business History of Jesus People USA,” Graph, n.d., Personal Files, Chicago. Bock originally joined Jesus People USA to help the poor as a social worker.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid.

<sup>79</sup>Jon Trott, “Life’s Lessons: Part Four,” 43. Jesus People USA believed Mumford’s shepherding concept was becoming increasingly rigid and hierarchical in nature. This was contrary to the community’s developing views on relationships between members, which was mutual willingness to deny self for each others’ sake.

<sup>80</sup>“Community,” Cornerstone 9, no. 50 (1980): 36-37, 42. Article consists of excerpts from Vanier’s book, Community and Growth.

<sup>81</sup>Dawn Herrin-Mortimer; and “Uptown: Our Neighbors,” Cornerstone 9, no. 52 (1980): 6-8.

<sup>82</sup>Dawn Herrin-Mortimer; Jon Trott, “Life’s Lessons: The History of Jesus People USA, Part Seven,” Cornerstone 25, no. 109 (1996): 44; and “Editorial,” The Rev Mag, 27 September 1987, 4-5.

<sup>83</sup>Jon Trott, “Life’s Lessons: Part Seven,” 44-45. See also Dawn Herrin-Mortimer. In her interview, Mrs. Herrin-Mortimer tearfully recalled the community’s involvement with the evicted Laotian and Cambodian tenants and their demonstration.

<sup>84</sup>Jon Trott, “Life’s Lessons: Part Seven,” 44, 45.

<sup>85</sup>Dawn Herrin-Mortimer; and Jon Trott, “Life’s Lessons: Part Seven,” 44, 45. Mrs. Herrin-Mortimer recalls the meeting with Helen Shiller:

So when we got together, we saw this woman who wasn’t[sic] a Christian, but she was so honest and forthright. . . . She just loved the people in this neighborhood; and she was going to run for alderman. . . . She just wanted the poor people to have sewers that worked[,] . . . have lights that worked[,] and . . . have decent housing; and we did too.

<sup>86</sup>Ron Brown.

<sup>87</sup>Jon Trott, “Life’s Lessons: Part Seven,” 45.

<sup>88</sup>Resurrection Band Discography List 1974-1992, D [Photostat], ca. 1992, Editorial Archives, Cornerstone, Chicago; original in Grrr Records, Chicago; Resurrection Band, “Afrikaans,” Rainbow’s End, Grrr GR1002, sound cassette, 1979; Resurrection Band, “Zuid Afrikan,” Between Heaven and Hell, Capitol 4XT41024, sound cassette, 1985; Resurrection Band, “Elevator Muzik,” Mommy Don’t Love Daddy Anymore, Light LC5803, sound cassette, 1981; and Resurrection Band, “Waitin’ On Sundown,” Silence Screams, Grrr 7018123690, compact disc, 1988.

<sup>89</sup>Duncan Carling-Rodgers, “Heavy Metal Gets A New Life,” Gold Coast Bulletin, 16 September 1982, 35; and Quincy Smith-Newcomb, “Resurrection Band: Uptempo 1980s Heavy Metal, New Wave and Power Pop,” Contemporary Christian Music, February 1982, 26. Kaiser once saw albums as “calling cards” that could get the band in places they had not performed in. Later, he began to see them as ministries in themselves that could go places the band never could.

<sup>90</sup>Wendi Kaiser; Jon Trott, “Life’s Lessons: The History of Jesus People USA

Part Six,” Cornerstone 25, no. 108 (1996): 47-48; and “Cornerstone ‘84 [Advertisement],” Cornerstone 12, no. 68 (1983): 24-25. To the community, the Cornerstone Festival was to be to contemporary Christian music festivals “what Seven-Up was to cola: the *unfestival*.”

<sup>91</sup>Wendi Kaiser; Glenn Kaiser; Dawn Herrin-Mortimer; Ron Brown; and Neil Taylor.

<sup>92</sup>Wendi Kaiser; Neil Taylor; “Calling,” Cornerstone, 18, no. 91 (1989): 24-25; “Answered Prayer,” The Rev Rag, 8 November 1987, 1; and Jay C. Grelen, “By the Book: The Evangelical Investigators,” Columbia Journalism Review, 31, no. 4 (November/December 1992): 16.

<sup>93</sup>Resurrection Band Discography List.

<sup>94</sup>Grelen, 16-17; Jon Trott and Mike Hertenstein, “Selling Satan: The Tragic History of Mike Warnke,” Cornerstone 21, no. 98 (1992): 7-9, 11-14, 16-17, 19, 30, 38.



## CONCLUSION

The history of any organization, group, or movement will always be unique, even when there are certain similarities held by all. While a particular social institution might form, grow, adapt, and die in response to a certain set of conditions, another social institution will appear and develop under a completely different set of circumstances. The same is true for religious bodies and movements. Although a church, denomination, or new religious movement may share the same belief system, each will be established under unique circumstances; and each will form a pattern that is completely its own. No one church, denomination, or movement ever develops in a linear fashion. They instead evolve in differing ways as they respond to both internal and external events.

Added to this recognition of the uniqueness of each religious body's organic history is the acknowledgment that any religious body will view their institution's history as distinctive and interpret that distinction in accordance with their faith. Although a non-member will examine a church, denomination, or religious movement and draw conclusions predicated upon his or her theological, socio-political, and personal views, the member will not only do the same but will also judge whether the decisions, actions, and responses of the institution were in accordance to the will of God on the basis of religious writings, their personal convictions, and his or her perceived responses of God to prayer. Glenn Kaiser stated it this way:

Now if you're concerned about biblical Christianity, that's great. If you're not interested in biblical Christianity, then maybe you wouldn't think so highly of what we have done and the little dent we've made in this part of Chicago or certain areas of the world were we've been or have had some impact. I mean, it just depends on how you measure a life and what you think life and love and truth are about. I believe they are about Jesus Christ[,] . . . about biblical mandates, about biblical integrity, about self-denial, and surrender to the Lordship as well as

the Savior of Jesus Christ; and I think if you're on that page, then you'll think, "Yeah. Cool. Great." If not, you might think, "Interesting cultural thing, you know. Throwback to Woodstock, you know. That kind of . . . the hippie thing. What an odd place and community. What a weird thing, you know."<sup>2</sup>

It is important, then, for the historian to not just describe the unique, objective pattern that a religious body took in response to internal and external events but to also point out how the church, denomination, or movement interpreted that response within the context of their faith.

The Charismatic Renewal and the Jesus People Movement were certainly a result of the social changes that occurred in the 1950s and 1960s. The Baby Boom, economic growth, television, the civil rights movement, and the Cold War had major effects on American society. Some believed that the mainstream churches were ill prepared for such rapid changes. Negative perceptions by some of religion as a means of holding society together, the departure of members to either more conservative churches or to simply no longer hold any affiliation with a church, and the conservative reaction to liberal theology were the fruits of the liberal's poor preparation for effectively responding to the changing times.

The secular world was also struggling as much as the sacred world with what was happening in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. The frustration that many Baby Boomers felt not only at their inability to effectively deal with social change but also at the unwillingness of other segments of American society to respond to the times compelled a handful of them to either resort to political violence and revolution or to try to step outside of American society altogether. Neither solution was totally effective. The New Left could not agree on how to instigate revolution, much less decide on who would lead it, and disintegrated into various factions that were politically weak. Some of those involved with the New Left became hippies, while others remained and increasingly used violent means to justify their political ends. As for the hippies, their efforts to fulfill

the Beat's dreams of bohemia, while somewhat successful in drawing attention to environmental issues and in making religion socially acceptable to the youth, met with equal failure. According to some theorists, the hippies were too much a part of the society they were trying to change, relying heavily on the straight society to meet some of their materialistic needs. Eventually, this reliance on straight society pulled the hippie counterculture back toward the mainstream. Thus, the counterculture of the New Left and the hippies also responded inadequately to social changes of the 1950s and 1960s.

In looking at what happened to religion in the 1950s and 1960s, it could be safe to say that the Charismatic Renewal was a reaction to the belief that God was no longer active in the world. Some Christians came to the conclusion that they were deprived of something that could help them to cope with the effects of rapid social change in their personal lives. This led them to seek a solution outside of the established churches. In turning to Pentecostal theology, which asserted that God still played an active role in the world through the work and power of the Holy Spirit, those Christians from the mainline denominations found what they perceived was the answer to their need through the baptism in the Holy Spirit. As they encouraged others to seek the baptism, these early Charismatics helped to create a new ecstatic religious movement that sought to renew spiritual vitality within their denominations. This renewal arose in response to the ineffectiveness of mainstream denominations at helping their members deal with social change and its effect on their personal lives.

Portions of the laity within the mainline denominations were not the only ones who helped to establish the renewal. Some of the clergy were already open to the Charismatic Renewal after being involved with the Full Gospel Businessmen and through interaction with David du Plessis. Although there was initial opposition to the renewal within the denominations, these sympathetic clergy assisted in removing much of that

resistance through encouraging tolerance and patience so as to see what good would come from the Charismatics. The significance of this acceptance on the part of sympathetic clergy is that the denominations reflected the tendency of a religious body at an institutional stage of development to be tolerant of theological viewpoints from outside the denominations. This demonstrates that not only did the laity believe the new Charismatic teachings would aid in dealing with the effects of social change but the denominations also thought those teachings would be helpful both in responding effectively to social change and in recovering spiritual life and social influence.

Despite the formation of independent churches and communities, the Charismatic Renewal stayed largely within the existing denominations and gained the respect and acceptance of most denominations by the 1980s. With the acquisition of this acceptance, however, the movement began to be drawn back into mainstream Christianity, losing part of its identity and distinctiveness in the process. The Charismatic Renewal reverted back to being a part of the institutional church during the 1980s.

Covenant Christian Church, on the other hand, has remained a distinct Charismatic entity since it became an independent church. It originated in much the same way that other entities within the renewal did: as a small prayer group. However, unlike these other prayer groups, the prayer group in Cullowhee never truly operated from within a certain church even though it was under the oversight of Cullowhee Presbyterian for a short time. The people involved with the prayer group were part of various denominations as well as the evangelical campus group, Peace One Way. However, the people in the prayer group were willing to leave their respective churches and commit themselves to the developing fellowship once they believed it was the will of God for them to do so. They also encouraged others to do the same as evidenced by the effort to sign individuals up for small group Bible studies. The Shepherding Movement, although

it was criticized in the larger renewal movement, further benefited the Cullowhee fellowship, which avoided the controversial aspects through its relationship with Inn of the Last Resort founder, Jay Fesperman. Once it became incorporated and found a permanent home, Covenant Christian truly reached a point of maximum efficiency based on its establishment of Covenant Christian School, Campus Rock, and the church in Asheville. So while the Charismatic Renewal remained a movement within the denominational churches, Covenant Christian was able to forge its own path as an independent, non-denominational church.

The Jesus People Movement can also be classified as a religious movement, but one that definitely started from outside the mainline denominations. In one sense, it was another religious alternative within the counterculture, a distinct renewal of the Christian faith that originated from a handful of hippies converting or recommitting themselves to Christianity. The renewal, in the six to eight years that it lasted, had a strong influence all along the Pacific Coast in the United States. It formed a unique theology that combined fundamentalism with Pentecostalism to produce an experientially based and eschatologically driven evangelism that relied on the Bible as the authoritative word of God and used the early Christian church as a model for living in the twentieth century. In addition, it influenced the development of contemporary Christian music by bringing new artists into that movement.

The Jesus People Movement ceased to visibly exist after the mid-1970s. The loss of the counterculture as its primary mission field was something that it could not recover from. However, as it began to visibly disappear, the Jesus People Movement did show signs that it was in a process of maturing. Members of the Jesus People movement were seeking theological training and were entering the mainline churches. Had this not happened, it might have remained a movement that, like the Charismatic Renewal, sought

to bring reform to American Christianity. Unfortunately, that is something which will never be known.

Even though the visible Jesus People Movement faded, its essence lived on.

Cornerstone wrote an article on that subject in 1976 entitled “The Jesus Revolution: Where We Are”:

“The hardline [sic] Jesus Movement has long ago had it,” states Dr. Martin E. Marty, professor of church history at the University of Chicago Divinity School. . . . We would reply, “The media headline Jesus Movement has had it!” It seems those researching the topics are spending too much time in offices; not enough in the field; consequently, they’re out of touch with the grassroots revival that is taking place all over the country. . . . At first the established churches feared the Jesus Movement would start a new denomination. Now because the Jesus People have consistently worked and in many instances remained in the established churches, the movement has been declared dead by them. . . . It is true that the Jesus Movement today is not symbolized by the trippy kid of the early seventies who had merely added Jesus to his bag. Those who treated Jesus just as another trip left long ago to return to their former lives. The Jesus Movement has certainly not died down but grown up as all healthy Christian movements should. Now the Jesus person is better typified by the serious Christian concerned with the finer points of discipleship.

If you think the Jesus Movement is dead, don’t play any funeral music around us.<sup>3</sup>

The essence of the movement remained in a few Jesus People Movement ministries.

Jesus People USA is just one of those remaining organizations that, like Covenant Christian Church, developed into a strong and vibrant ministry. Despite their struggle with John Herrin Sr., the members of JPUSA became stronger instead of weaker, relying on their commitment to one another as a community to stand together. As it grew, Jesus People USA found permanent places to live and established self-supporting businesses. The community also established a board of pastors that would hold one another accountable and provide leadership for the community through consensus. In addition, the community sought and found a denomination that allowed them to retain their

identity. Last of all, JPUSA developed a social consciousness that, combined with its evangelical Christian faith, found expression through serving one another, serving the poor, music, and writing. As a social institution, Jesus People USA, therefore, has truly attained its “youthful vigor;” but along a course that is uniquely their own and which they believe was given to them by God.

If anything has been gained through studying the history of the Charismatic Renewal and the Jesus People Movement, it is that the history of any religious institution is unique. Both movements never became more than incipient organizations, but each responded differently to what was occurring during the 1950s and 1960s. The Charismatic Renewal directly influenced American Christianity through a reformulation of Pentecostal theology that was acceptable to many middle-class Christians; and the Jesus People Movement encouraged both hippies and more conventional people to seek a personal, experiential relationship with Jesus Christ while influencing American Christianity through its music. In the same manner, the two ministries examined in this thesis, Covenant Christian Church and Jesus People USA, formed and developed under particular circumstances; both organizations grew in response to the needs of their members and local communities in which they were established. The things they shared in common was their Christian faith, the influence of Charismatic theology on their ministries (which for JPUSA was probably not as great as for Covenant Christian), and their involvement with the teachings of Christian Growth Ministries. Beyond that, their histories were very distinct. Thus the Charismatic Renewal and the Jesus People Movement were two religious movements that uniquely responded to the social changes occurring during the 1950s and 1960s and influenced American religion during that period of time.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Glenn Kaiser.

<sup>2</sup>"The Jesus Revolution: Where We Are," Cornerstone 4, no. 28 (1976): 2.

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